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“Bring the World Together One Note at a Time”:
A Qualitative Study of
Intercultural Practice and Identity Development of Musicians

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2021

Abstract

Musicians face particular communication and identity challenges when working with music and people from other cultural groups. Those challenges impede efforts to promote intergroup projects and rapport. Intercultural communication studies have made significant contributions in understanding how people work and live across cultures but do not explicate the unique ways in which professional musicians engage internationally. Thus, there is a need to research musicians' intercultural practice and identity development. This qualitative study addresses the gap through three research questions: 1) What aspects of intercultural communication and identity processes are significant to musicians when they begin intercultural music practice? 2) What challenges do musicians report during intercultural music projects? 3) What keeps musicians engaged in intercultural music practice in the long term?

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 music professionals engaged in intercultural music-making with questions about their projects and experiences. These were complemented with field notes from observations of six respondents' live concerts. Recordings and written accounts relating to participants were also collected from the internet to inform the analysis. Purposive sampling and theory-led thematic analysis were guided by a priori themes developed from Young Yun Kim's and Etienne Wenger's theoretical framework. Kim's Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-cultural Adaptation and Wenger's Communities of Practice theory place individuals' music careers into intercultural and social learning contexts. The theoretical notion of boundaries - *boundary crossing* and *boundary learning* - has also been used to address socio-cultural differences that result in discontinuities in activities and interactions. Codes were arranged under a three-part dynamic of *encounter*, *stress*, and *learning*, which describes how individuals cross groups and work on differences perceived.

The findings delineate how musicians experience and learn at musical and cultural boundaries mixedly. Music enabled them to coordinate temporarily by providing *non-verbal* routines, working arrangements, enjoyments, and promising identities essential in motivating individuals to start intercultural music practice. However, language proficiency, social communication, and cultural adaptations become more critical as musicians work long-term across cultures, organise complicated projects, and negotiate nuanced meanings. Although respondents may state cosmopolitan ideals and intercultural objectives, their focus often gravitated back towards musical issues that emerged in their performance and organising work.

Finally, respondents' experiences suggest that organisers with intergroup mediation objectives should consider arranging language training and designing for meaningful intercultural experiences. It is beneficial for musicians to know what cross-cultural communication and adaptation would be expected and how to seek cultural informants' help. The findings contribute to theory by offering a novel manifestation of professional musicians' intercultural activities as boundary phenomena. The diverse cultural experiences told from the musicians' perspectives enriches our social and psychological understanding of intercultural challenges. These musicians' projects and words demonstrate how crossing boundaries, with mutual interest and creative adaptation in musical activities, opens up possibilities for new intercultural collaborations, rapport, ideas, and identities.

Lay Summary

Musicians face particular communication and identity challenges and opportunities when working with music and people from other cultural groups. However, little research looked into these social aspects of intercultural musical projects. This qualitative study combined boundary notions from social learning and intercultural theories to examine musicians' intercultural projects and identity development. 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 music professionals; these were complemented with field notes from observations of six respondents' live concerts. I also collected recordings and written accounts relating to participants from the internet to inform the analysis. Codes were arranged under a three-part dynamic of encounter, stress, and learning, which describes how individuals cross groups and work on these theoretical boundaries. Finally, I discussed how findings contribute to implications for individuals and organisations interested in developing intercultural musical collaborations.

Acknowledgements

This research would not have been possible without the support and friendship of many in Edinburgh and beyond. I would like to thank my supervisors, Raymond MacDonald and Graeme Wilson, for all of your guidance, understanding, encouragement, and reassurance for the past five years. I am also grateful to the many musician participants without whom I could not have developed my thesis.

Thanks to all who have formed the Reid School of Music community, especially the Institute for Music in Human and Social Development, Shelly Coyne, Emma Moore, Katie Overy, and Joy Vamvakari. Thank you all for helping me grow as an international researcher.

During my PhD, I have enjoyed the time volunteering and organising events with St.Cecilia's Hall. I am thankful for these opportunities. I would like to thank Ruthanne Baxter, Alec Cooper, and Sarah Deters. Your musical and professional expertise greatly helped me organise intercultural concerts and events. I am also grateful to those who helped me on all different occasions.

I have had the good fortune to meet a few very good friends. I am especially thankful for Ari, Shruti, Zlati, and my partner Philip who holds an unwavering belief in me in this long journey.

Thanks for the endless love, encouragement, and support from my family, my Mother, Father, and Grandmother. I love you all.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Context: Musicians' profession and living reframed in an intercultural context

In the UK, the World of Music and Dance Festival (WOMAD) is an annual world music event, which has been occurring for 30 years. With the broad variety of musicians invited and genres included, it is the largest international festival of its kind. Thousands of festivalgoers have gathered to enjoy arrays of live performances, presented by musicians from around the world. Embracing and appreciating musical and cultural diversity, its organisers state on the festival's homepage that one of its primary aims is to "promote cross-cultural awareness and tolerance". In the past years, it has also been held in Australia, Chile, Spain, and New Zealand. With similar forms of organisation and intercultural statements, over a dozen music festivals have emerged across continents during the last three decades; for instance, Falun Folk Music Festival (Sweden), Havana World Music (Cuba), Rainforest World Music Festival (Malaysia), Rudolstadt-Festival (Germany), and World Music Shanghai Festival (China).

On a stage across the Atlantic in the USA, a group of musicians from all over the world is performing their new composition. It is considered a unique work, for it is an unprecedented combination of musical elements from their respective cultures. Each an expert regarding their own instruments and musical tradition(s), those individuals had decided to work together in the Silkroad Ensemble, launched by a well-known classical cellist: Yo-Yo Ma. This Boston-based ensemble's albums have won two Grammy awards: a Classical Crossover Album in 2009 and, more recently, a Best World Music Album in 2016. Like WOMAD, Silkroad project also has a clear and prioritised cross-cultural statement on their official website (<https://www.silkroad.org/>): "Silkroad creates music that engages difference, sparking radical cultural collaboration, and passion-driven learning for a more hopeful and inclusive world." Its founders and members repeatedly advocated these cultural incentives in

public talks and interviews. Matching their statement, the group initiated several workshops and educational programmes aside from its touring schedule, such as Along the Silk Road, a curriculum that the group produced in collaboration with the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE). This ensemble is not unique; there are numerous multicultural music groups across the world, active in educational and community settings, with similar descriptions of cultural aspirations.

1.1.1 Intercultural aims and confusions in musical activities

Many musical events and group initiatives have declared their intercultural concerns and aims. Their use of the term “culture” needs to be understood in an anthropological sense. Music activities have been used to encourage bonding between social classes, and further between ethnocultural communities (Hemetek, 2016). The latter can include, for instance, German musicians’ contact with Turkish music, their communication with Turkish musicians, professionals, and audiences; vice versa, Turkish musicians’ contacts with German music, and their communication with German musicians, professionals, and audiences. These types of exchange constitute the intercultural context of this study.

It is confusing when the same vocabularies are used with different connotations. One can describe a collaboration between two musicians from the same cultural community, but with different musical backgrounds, as “crossing a cultural boundary”. One can also say the same for a project between musicians specialised in the same genre, but from different cultural backgrounds. Intercultural purposes and criteria for music have been developed across the two domains, but few terms are systematically clarified and agreed upon across them. In worse-case scenarios, activities carried out where notions are confused can boomerang against the best intentions. If a musician, music manager, organiser, or educator has intercultural purposes, it is helpful to clarify whatever musical and cultural assumptions they may have.

Regardless of differing assumptions, music has been assigned a function: responding to cultural differences. People may have distinctive interpretations of what the terms “cultural”, “cross-cultural”, “intercultural”, and “transcultural” mean exactly. Some may have different stances and purposes, organising their events and collaborations in varying manners. Others may consider music’s positive cross-cultural effects a myth and argue that making music across cultures does not automatically mean learning about other cultures (Carfoot, 2016). Nonetheless, the wide use of similar narratives suggests that many people consider it a convincing argument that musical practice can catalyse intercultural experience and learning. In an ideal scenario, it can generate the development of positive views and attitudes towards cultural differences and people from unfamiliar cultural backgrounds (Clarke et al., 2015; Gilboa, 2016; Harwood et al., 2016; Higgins, 2012; Knudsen, 2021; Kuchenbrandt et al., 2014; McKimm-Vorderwinkler, 2010; Westerlund et al., 2020).

1.1.2 Musicians’ experiences within an intercultural context

The international experience and ability to work in multicultural teams became valuable, with rocketed communication and mobility within, and across, societies. *World Migration Report 2020* estimated that there were around 281 million international migrants worldwide in 2020, which means approximately one in every 30 people is sojourning or living outside the country in which they were born. This change is seen more frequently in Europe and Northern America, which are hosting over 141 million migrants (McAuliffe et al., 2019). Large groups of immigrants and international sojourners lead to more frequent intercultural, interpersonal contacts. Western European countries - such as France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom - have a growing proportion of immigrants among the population. Residents in these countries experience intercultural contacts more intensely; and sometimes the culturally dominant group(s) are not the majority any more (Van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013).

Cultural diversity and intercultural issues present unprecedented challenges in work and private life. With limited experience and attention, individuals tend to become familiar with things that are used daily and interesting. The rapidly expanding prevalence of intercultural contact, however, challenges people to remove different cultures from a catch-all “other” drawer in the mind. As a result of shifted demographic composition, both immigrant and native inhabitants have begun developing more individualised mannerisms and identities (van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015). Having and handling intergroup communication requires strenuous learning, being committed, in the long term, to engaging oneself in out-of-the-comfort-zone experiences of communicating with people from unfamiliar socialisation settings (Kallio & Westerlund, 2020; Spencer-Oatey & Dauber, 2019). How to live and work with culturally different people are questions that individuals ponder in the office and read about in the news while having breakfast.

These questions have also landed on musicians’ tables as a part of their musical practice and identity development. The environment in which their work and daily activities take place has been marked by two notable changes since the 1980s: increased intercultural contact, and music-cultural connection in narratives. The first change is apparent in the emergence of intercultural, international and (neo-)traditional music projects (Baumann, 2001; Connell & Gibson, 2004), as well as in musicians’ accounts of their intercultural contacts in person and through mass media (Balosso-Bardin, 2018; Bayley & Dutiro, 2016). With music festivals, touring, and social media platforms, an increasing number of musicians encounter culturally different music, audiences, and colleagues in their professional milieu. International festivals and ensembles allow the opportunity for musicians to perform to a culturally diverse audience and work side-by-side with their international counterparts. Some lived in a cosmopolitan city such as London, thus pleasantly and, sometimes unpleasantly, experiencing cultural diversity as a part of their daily life through mass media such as broadcast and television programmes, if not in personal contacts.

Decision-making has become increasingly complex for musicians; they have been presented with endless options for practice, meanings, and identities, both culturally and musically. For example, a South Korean musician can pick up a double bass and become a classical or jazz musician; or a British musician can learn clarinet and klezmer music from the internet. Despite their distinctive environments and individual predispositions, an experience is shared in their learning of music that is historically developed and claimed by other cultural communities. Intercultural experience and communication thereby play an increasing role in musicians' musical activities and lives, present among their learning requirements or choices for enhancing their professional practice.

The second change is witnessed through narratives, where cultural diversity and identity became major themes in music. More professionals discussed inspirations they had at home and in travels, learning and performing more genres originated from outside their cultural communities and interacting with individuals abroad. International development became a more feasible career option, with a global audience and musicians towards whom individuals can reach out, thanks to online music and communication platforms. Among various forms of contact, one-way mass communication allows individuals to gain exposure to music from different cultures, even at home, and grow among endless musical skillsets and repertoires (Dalagna et al., 2020). At the same time, streaming caused recording sales to dwindle, and live performances became a more significant source of musicians' income, motivating them to tour more, both at home and internationally (Petridis, 2020). The music-cultural shift in narrative began globally, with UNESCO's appointment of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2001, and its addition of musical traditions to the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage since 2003 (<https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>). Musicians' intercultural practice and development are encouraged, in juxtaposition with cultural heritage protection.

Increasing intercultural contact, alongside public discussion around it, influences musicians' development. It also influences other professional communities. There are classrooms in which teachers face students who have not learnt to speak the official language of the society yet; and multinational collaboration projects have brought scientists of different nationalities to work together. It is almost impossible for these professionals to be unaware of other cultures' presence in their work, and this is the internationally connected world in which many individuals grow up, live, learn, and make a living through music.

Musicians' intercultural experiences need to be taken into consideration, primarily because they are cultural beings. This echoes ethnomusicologists' maxim that every musical practice is cultural (Brinner, 1995). Increasing mobility and diversity have put musicians in contact with music and people of other cultures. Their lives often involve international trips and sojourns, and/or internationalisation within their home country. Their musical changes can be traced back, at least partially, to changes in personal feelings and perspectives, which can be further traced back to their new experiences, from a new piece of music one heard or strangers one met, to novel ideas that crossed one's mind. Simultaneously, musicians are professional beings. One does not always identify with, nor feel belonging to, cultural communities when music acts as one's primary concern and source of identification. Some individuals active in specific genres (e.g., folk, jazz, and metal) share certain occupational and even personal traits across countries, which seem to be more than what they share with co-nationals (Harwood, 2017).

Intercultural communication grew to form a more integral part of endless choices musicians make in their careers and lives. It prompted a responsive change in musicians; namely, intercultural music practice, imagining and relating their music practice to a global context. Meanwhile, musicians experience both enjoyment and stress from colleagues' comments, an audience's reactions, and criticisms. Their decisions of what to learn and negotiate cannot be discussed without their lived experience in professional

communities and settings, considering how much time is spent in musical training and work. Their choices of communication, therefore, cannot be discussed without consideration of their intercultural experiences.

1.1.3 Musical and cultural boundaries highlighted in an intercultural context

There is no commonly agreed definition of intercultural music practice, from events to groups. Many such projects and musicians were labelled first as fusion, crossover, or cross-cultural collaboration, due to the difficulty to name and categorise their unconventional work. Although “world music” has gone out of favour (Lewis et al., 2021), some still resort to the term to market to an audience.

In Bohlman’s (2020, p.110) pithy description, *Rough Guides to World Music* gave forth an impression that “world music is boundless and boundaryless”. It seems so at first glance, because the category firstly included every traditional, folk, and art music from the developing world outside mainstream genres of developed countries (e.g., classical and jazz). In the 1980s, when attention finally tapped into global musical activities, musicians from all corners of the world had their moments in the spotlight - including Bhundu Boys, Bulgarian State Television Female Vocal Choir, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, Salif Keita, and Youssou N’Dour, to name a few. It expanded, at times, to cover musical traditions from developed countries (e.g., roots, folk, and fusion work that incorporates any of those genres), and contracted to include only intercultural collaborations (Bohlman, 2020).

World music feels boundaryless because its “boundary” is drawn by cultural differences, rather than by musical differences. The category focuses on cultural unfamiliarity and the relationship between musicians’ cultural and professional identities. Taylor (1997) listed a dozen examples of how, in the world music market, works are categorised mainly by musicians’ ethnocultural, and not musical, backgrounds. For instance, Josephine Banig Roberto - a Filipina singer who lives in Los Angeles and was described as a Madonna

soundalike - was labelled as world music instead of as a pop/dance figure. This confusion between musical and cultural categorisation contributed to the illusion of world music being “boundless and boundaryless”. It seems that, for musicians whose practice is categorised under traditional, folk, roots, and fusion, their professional communication must contain more intercultural reflections in fighting against cultural “pigeonholing” (West, 2013).

World music’s history and conceptualisation are important to intercultural contact and collaboration in practice, because it highlights cultural boundaries in music and works as a space for music-cultural discussion. Furthermore, it draws attention to the problematic aspects of confusing musical and cultural boundaries. Opinions and expectations regarding world music evolved along with intercultural views in larger society. The overflow from academic communities to music professionals is illustrated in reframing and redefining “world music” with concepts of cultural diversity and hybridity (Bohlman, 2002). The range of world music expanded when a multiculturalism emphasis on the boundaries between cultural groups came into fashion. It shrank when multiculturalism fell out of favour in the late 1990s (Malik, 2015), with theories proposed by cultural scholars like Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha (Bhabha, 2012; Hall, 1997) and music researchers’ critiques on the ethical issues about how music is appropriated and recirculated (Wood & Harris, 2018).

One notable change, in recent years, is musical festivals and groups’ new ambitions of having musicians of different cultures collaborate (Baumann, 2001). Organisers invite hundreds of musicians to one city to perform. Additionally, they work harder to “matchmake” musicians, encouraging mutual learning and understanding between individuals from different ethnocultural communities. Accordingly, the organisational and discursive foci of musical activities have been moved gradually from exchanges and coordination on the community level towards “dialogue” between musicians, which highlights interpersonal connections (Wood, 2018).

Despite controversies - such as the fragmenting effects of world music (White, 2012) and multiculturalism (Dietz, 2009) - dozens of music-cultural festivals, and thousands of groups, have mushroomed across continents. WOMAD festival and Silkroad Ensemble - with their cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue aims - were considered exemplars of intercultural music development. Did those musical activities succeed in delivering their intercultural learning goals? Did intercultural experience have an impact on musicians? Researchers proposed to examine how this process transpires for audiences, through listening from a communication perspective (Harwood, Qadar, & Chen, 2016), and for professionals who are directly involved in projects catalysed by, or aimed at, encouraging intercultural understandings from perspectives of postmodernism (Lipsitz, 1994), music education (O'Flynn, 2005), ethnomusicology (Weiss, 2014), and historical and ethnographic analysis (White, 2012).

Newspapers compared music work and musicians to a bridge, not only between musical groups, but more so between cultural groups and societies at large (Henahan, 1985); a comparison which was also drawn by music-professionals (Balosso-Bardin, 2018). This narrative's popularity provides cosmopolitan ideals and aims for the musicians to talk about, or even define, their cultural and music-professional identity (Östersjö & Thùý, 2013). The analogy highlights the role of brokering object played by musical practices, and thus the broker role acted by musicians. Moreover, it implies perceived gap, discontinuities, and differences between communities. As Kim (2001, p.69-70) commented:

“Through communication, strangers acquire at least some degree of new cultural learning and, at the same time, lose some of their original cultural patterns [...] It reaffirms the basic premise underlying this theory that we humans are never ‘finished products’: we refine, we rearrange, we revise, and we evolve. In this fundamental context, cross-cultural adaptation as portrayed is simply a special case of the ever-present human learning and development process.”

This boundary notion links together Young Yun Kim's *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*, with Etienne Wenger's social learning and identity theory, *Communities of Practice*. Their theoretical frameworks are united in depicting individuals' social dynamic and learning; they can be adapted to consider specific circumstances of musicians who experience cultural differences, and therefore boundaries, in intercultural music career and/or lives. I will argue that real-life experience in musical and social activities orientate individuals towards specific intercultural perspectives and narratives. Positive global imaginations only occur of their own volition. The more attention that is directed to intergroup misunderstandings, conflicts, and fragmentation in the music domain, the more musical significance and criteria would be negotiated around these social issues and solutions. This is shown in how music's role has been praised in overcoming linguistic barriers and in catalysing social bonding across cultural groups.

1.2 Intellectual context and focus

There exists considerable literature regarding musicians' intercultural music projects and experiences. The interplay between music practice and globalisation has been studied extensively. However, few observations have been made based on intercultural communication theories. Previous music studies, which had include intercultural learning topics, tend to fall into one of two varieties of conclusion. Researchers from educational, practical, psychological, and neuroscientific backgrounds often hold a more optimistic view, concluding that music education and social activities can facilitate intercultural bonding and learning. Provided suitable conditions, music can act as a more effective medium for intercultural learning on an individual level (Sousa et al., 2005).

In contrast, scholars who take a group-level analysis tend to observe the darker side: an inequality of socio-economic status associated with cultural backgrounds (Frith, 1996; Lipsitz, 1994; Taylor, 1997). They warn that the

unequal dynamic influences ethnocultural musicians' music practices, when interacting with musicians from mainstream cultural communities, because the former tend to be in a weaker position in leading the collaboration and in defining their music and themselves against essentialist views.

Both categories of conclusions share a hidden assumption that individuals have high plasticity, which means that they adapt as “active, if not always successful, strategists of their own development and synthesizers of their own ‘inclusive self-interest’ [...]” (Slavin & Kriegman, 1992, p.11). Therefore, communication and social learning play pivotal roles in musicians' changes. Individuals learn and change their behaviours and perspectives through social exchanges in new musical and cultural environments. However, in most cases, even if communication across cultures appears as an important aspect, it serves as a supplement to musical activities, instead of as a main focus of musical research (Partti, 2012). As Abraham Maslow (1966, p.15) commented, “I suppose it is tempting, if the only tool you have is a hammer, to treat everything as if it were a nail.” Music is often the hammer, intercultural communication and learning the nail, but scarcely the other way around. This study allows for intercultural communication and social learning to be hammers, investigating individuals' musical practice from those two perspectives.

1.2.1 First strand: Intercultural communication

Intercultural communication studies is a core strand of theories contributing to the intellectual backdrop of this study. It contextualises individuals' musical activities and lives in a broader (inter-)cultural environment. Mobility and diversity have been identified as central themes of multicultural and intergroup challenges (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011; Kim, 2019). Behavioural and psychological adjustment issues were observed widely in American soldiers, volunteers, and managers who left their home nations to serve and work overseas (Landis et al., 2003). With a diversity of immigrants settled in one country such as the United States, individuals at home - from teachers, to managers at the headquarters of multinational corporations, to staff at

international organisations such as the United Nations - also identified issues in internationalised classrooms, workplaces, and societies at large.

Culture has been conceptualised in different manners across disciplines. A mainstream view, in the intercultural communication field, defines it as shared sets of behavioural practice and psychological meanings, historically developed through individual members' reactions to, and interactions in, their local environments (Berry, Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002, p.21). It highlights the importance of social and local aspects in shaping a cultural community, echoing an essential view of cultural relativism that came into focus in the early 20th Century, and became a mainstream methodology decades later (Baghramian, 2015). Works by anthropologists - such as Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict - argued that ethnocultural traits are not intrinsically superior or inferior to each other, but only different:

“It is my opinion that the main object of ethnological dissemination of the fact that civilization is not something absolute, but that it is relative, and that our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes (Dall & Boas, 1887).”

The broad field of intercultural communication was initiated by such cultural relativism premises. Communication researchers Spitzberg and Changnon (2009, p.7) reviewed relevant studies and posited a definition of intercultural communication: “the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioural orientations to the world.” Intercultural communication scholars, across disciplines, have expressed a common concern and aim: to help individuals engage in more effective and appropriate communication between cultures. With this ultimate pragmatic purpose, attempts have been made to identify and theorise issues encountered by individuals, institutions, and societies in contact and interaction with cultures unfamiliar to them.

Affective, behavioural, and (social-)cognitive perspectives were taken by researchers (Ward, 2001). With a shared pragmatic concern, suggestions have often been in the forms of individual learning or organisational advice (Deardorff, 2015); for example, what expatriates can do as individuals and what support corporations can provide to help ease such transition. Numerous teaching, assessment, and coaching methods have been developed. Culture-specific competencies and frameworks are identified, to account for how deep understanding of a specific cultural community is acquired through extensive knowledge of perceptions and behaviours that are unique to it; on the other hand, culture-general competencies and frameworks, such as cultural awareness and tolerance, which value generalisability of cultural information outside its cultural context (Bathurst, 2021). Consequently, pedagogical methods (e.g., critical incident) were designed to cultivate desirable skills and traits for the growing population living and working in unfamiliar cultural environments (Arasaratnam, 2015).

One popular dichotomous categorisation of intercultural communication and competencies is based on characteristics of observability: explicit/implicit, surface/deep, and overt/covert. The formers include how people behave and talk; the latter, less perceptible, are manners in which people view and experience an incident (Deardorff, 2006; Kim, 2019). Shaules, in his deep culture model theory (2007), emphasises that, while explicit competencies are not necessarily easy to learn (e.g., speaking a new language), it is still easier to notice those differences by comparing to nuanced implicit understandings. The latter requires individuals to perceive, and even challenge, intangible and taken-for-granted aspects of their own perspectives and attitudes. Yano (2016) discussed how notions including redundancy, repetition, imitation, and mimicry, negative connotations in English notwithstanding, are valued in *enka* (a Japanese popular music genre), and it is difficult to convince people otherwise if they did not see its appeal in the first instance.

Viewing music firstly as an overt performance, intercultural researchers have used it to illustrate a point that a shared framework of references, which makes two individuals feel an affinity, is not equivalent to ethnocultural communication competence. Shaules (2007) argues that a Peruvian and an Iranian teenager might talk about hip-hop music they both like, but this does not mean that they can communicate and function when put in each other's cultural environment. He points out that, when the former is mistaken for the latter - as a social identity for cultural identity - it is likely for individuals to imagine an exaggerated rapport while still being guided unconsciously by their respective cultural values and assumptions.

Etched from early childhood, it is challenging for people to recognise, put into words, and change those imperceptible tendencies. American anthropologist Matthew Engelke (2019) elaborated an incident during his visit in Zimbabwe, which illustrates how some bodily experience is cultural and hard to alter, even with sheer willingness. He was casually asked if he likes cricket. Thinking "cricket" referred to the sport, under the context, he answered in the affirmative. When a fried (insect) cricket was offered to him, with his anthropological training, he tried to eat it. However, he immediately vomited. "All the book learning in the world, though, can't undo twenty years of life - another kind of learning (p.27)." He reasoned that this happened not due to any stomach flu, but under the influence of cultural experience. This is an extreme case, though similarly, without cultivated feelings and sensibilities approximate to locals, one might feel and view a musical piece in ways fundamentally differing from locals' perspectives.

Aside from competence models proposed within educational settings (Byram, 1997), much adaptation outside the classroom is studied from a learning perspective, including aspects such as individual predisposition (e.g., personalities and motivations), host environment (e.g., ethnic and mainstream community), and social support among others (Kim, 2001). Many models and conceptualisations have been created to explain this complex communication

and learning process (Spitzberg, 2015). Positive attitudes and challenging experiences of difference are shown as two underlying elements within one's intercultural learning (Deardorff, 2006; Precht & Davidson Lund, 2009; Spencer-Oatey & Dauber, 2019).

Bennett (1986)'s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) summarises six stages of how individuals make sense of cultural differences. He proposed that human beings start from natural egoistic and ethnocentric perspectives (denial, defence, and minimisation), and can move towards more ethnorelative ones (acceptance, adaptation, and integration). An individual can conduct adequate behaviours in intercultural communication, while still holding an ethnocentric view (Bennett, 2004). Recognising that everyone is a complex and multifaceted being is, therefore, an essential step within Bennett's ethnorelative thinking stages. For instance, international managers and students, during short sojourns, can often acquire some linguistic and behavioural skills, but have not yet seen locals' behaviours, concepts, and sentiments as valid - reasonable, valuable, and heartfelt - in their specific context.

Young Yun Kim, in her integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation, merged contributions from various perspectives (e.g., micro- and macro-level adaptations, long- and short-term adaptations, and adaptation as problem or learning) and across disciplines, in order to articulate common experience in individuals' intercultural transitions. She extensively reviewed previous literature, which included various research into, and accounts of, immigrants and internationally relocated communities; examples included Ghanaians in Toronto (Owusu, 1999), English individuals in Italy (Parks, 2012), and Greek-, Italian-, and Anglo-Australian working-class adolescents (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985), et cetera. Several assumptions and boundary conditions were established, which inspired a fundamental proposition that remarked that learning happens as long as individuals are in sustained communication with a new community. The theory then attends to how and

why adaptation takes place via communication, on an individual level, which is helpful to identify and make sense of musicians' intercultural experiences (Berry, 2005; Shaules, 2007; Ward, 2001). Kim provides a thorough understanding of the relationship between communication and individuals' adaptations. Her theory brings notions and observations on intercultural experience to bear on communication, through which we can view musicians as cultural beings, focusing on their communication concerning cultural experience and identity.

Intellectual discussions in intercultural communication, competence, learning, and identity studies, above, can find their counterparts in music research. Cultural relativism leads to three critical implications in music research. Firstly, in terms of knowledge, cultural insiders' experiences are seen as important context and information for outsiders and newcomers, who want to become insiders as well. For instance, Feld (1984) studied Kaluli people's music, taking into consideration native musical notions and ideals. Secondly, in terms of meaning, it renders in-group members' views more valid in redefining conventions and creating new practices of the community. Peking Opera actors and actresses in China are considered more authoritative than others, in terms of directing new Peking Opera work (Wichmann-Walczak, 2005). Validity is attached to insiders for their cultural and professional membership, reputation, and future tied to the respective community.

Lastly, in terms of learning, it is vital for people who study cultures and music outside home communities to approximate such experience and knowledge through immersing themselves, albeit only partially, into the social practice of their target groups (Blacking, 1973; Brinner, 1995). From the 1960s, interpersonal communication and social learning have been suggested, on a much broader scale, as a critical method in social science and humanities, encouraging frequent intergroup contacts of all sorts. Ethnomusicologists correspondingly proposed that it is pivotal that scholars learn to play the music

they are studying, thereby immersing themselves into local musician communities (Hood, 1960).

Based on cultural relativism, researchers and practitioners of music pedagogy have developed new educational methods in which music is put in a global picture (e.g., World Music Education, Global Music Education, and Cultural Diversity in Music Education) (Schippers, 2009; Volk, 2004). It is argued that including diverse music traditions in curricula, from early to adult education, and having students partake in diverse musical events can allow them to learn about different cultural communities. However, criticisms soon followed, observing that, in actual practice, it often backfired, initiating a superficial and limited level of learning that strengthens cultural stereotypes of participants (Hess, 2013). Further, intercultural contacts and learning can also be discomforting for music teachers who take the lead in class (Kallio & Westerlund, 2020).

The learning and identity negotiation of an increasing number of musicians occurs in intercultural circumstances. The differences experienced - in a foreign city and natural landscape, food, language, sounds, music, audience response, nuanced ideas and feelings - become a part of musicians. Affective experience is a critical dimension to intercultural communication, and constantly underscored in musicians' accounts. Music is seen, at times, primarily as an artistic practice on its own and, on occasions, as part and parcel of a whole system of activities and symbols developed by specific communities. Some cultural competencies, like "aesthetic sensibilities" (Kim, 2019), have been integrated into musical commentaries and critiques, gaining attention in the mainstream discourse (Bohlman, 2002). Such arguments have confronted musicians in their attempts to negotiate values and to define competencies for their music.

Intercultural ideas - be they protecting, symbolising, reinventing, bridging, or transcending cultural boundaries - have been brought up more frequently

(Aussems, 2018; Bayley & Dutiro, 2016; Um, 2005). Taylor (1997) already described this trend in his study on world music in the popular music market, suggesting that musicians must subject themselves to a more thorough intercultural reflection when working with various traditional music and musicians. This tug of war - a constant negotiation on what constitutes proper musical practice - now occurs on a global scale, between those who are concerned for the betterment of their specific musical and cultural practice. Intercultural experience and narrative thereby play a unique part in musicians' learning and identity negotiation. Years of living in a community endow individuals with specific behavioural, cognitive, and affective orientations, influencing what they want to do and aspire to be. Thus, the strand of findings on intercultural communication enriches this study's understanding of musicians, as it focuses on their intercultural experiences and adaptations that encompass professional developments.

1.2.2 Second strand: Social learning and identity

The social learning and identity strand of this research underscores the importance of social dynamics in individual development. One develops expert skills, acquires membership within specific communities, and influences a group's activities and perspectives in interaction with others (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). It differentiates between categorisation, membership, and identification, regarding musicians' intercultural practice and identity development. "Membership" implies a prerequisite of community, where a group of people identify internally with each other in some ways for their practice and for themselves. For example, somebody can create, in their mind, an identity category of people playing pink guitars (categorisation), or identify themselves as a pink guitar player (identification). However, that cannot directly create a membership, unless some come together to talk about pink guitars and recognise each other as like-minded on some level.

It takes laborious learning and socialisation for individuals to invest a sense of self in their musical practice and group, and gradually move from peripheral

dabbling to more central participation, negotiating for themselves a competent identity with other members (Ashforth et al., 2007). As much as the expression of feelings and ideas is often viewed as part of the nature and function of musical practice, communicative abilities to network with professionals and interact with an audience have also been brought to light, as musicians' key professional and transferable competencies (Bassett, 2013).

The time requirement implies that it is easier for people who can commit to working together frequently to form sets of conventions and, therefore, a sense of community. It is convenient to identify with local and familiar communities, and against the foreign and unfamiliar. Traditional music revivals were related to the representation of local membership and the community's 'bottom-up' conventions against sweeping globalisation (Baumann, 2001). The performance of local identity, "intergroup posturing" (Kim, 1991), is thus sought after in the conservation and promotion of music and other domains, such as local dialects, craftsmanship, and architectures.

The "local" unit of identity can change fluidly from a country, region, province, city, to district, depending on how a person feels and prefers to set themselves apart from others. In extreme views, an individual person can form a local unit (Moore & Barker, 2012). Wenger (1998), in his social learning and identity theory *Communities of Practice*, elaborates on practice-based groups as primary local units, which are created by "a group of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do, and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly." For instance, users of an online music forum can engage in frequent chats, exchanging their opinions on the latest music news. However, they are not a community of practice until they compare notes on a craft, be it writing music commentary, collecting albums, or organising concerts. Similarly, cultural communities are not communities of practice, but "imagined communities" (Anderson, 2006). Chinese people, who may have never met each other, may nonetheless feel an affinity because they imagine their lives

are tied to shared symbolic traditions and a “common future” of the group (Nash, 1989, p.14).

Moreover, he notes that insiders co-construct what is valid knowledge and membership criteria for communities of practice. Despite the significance of communication and abstract interpretation work (what he termed “reification”), it is stressed that partaking in activities with others is the essential source of individual learning. The theory is explained in four components: “(1) meaning: the way individuals experience life as meaningful; (2) practice: shared resources that sustain mutual engagement; (3) community: social configurations; and (4) identity: how individuals learn and create a history of becoming in communities.”

Social interaction is an indispensable source for adaptation and identity negotiation, because people encounter considerable differences and challenges, and learn to respond to them. For musicians who frequently come together to play music, it is easier for them to be more familiar with one another. They have developed specific skills, knowledge, routines, and understandings, which distinguish them from others and evoke a sense of unfamiliarity when they go outside of their norm, and when people outside visit. Intercultural and professional communication intertwine in musicians’ working interaction with people of different cultural backgrounds. Subsequent changes can be considered inspiring or worrying from different perspectives. Nonetheless, more intercultural contacts are occurring, with associated challenges found in how musicians play and communicate with people of other cultural communities, view musical and cultural differences, and feel they belong to certain musical and cultural groups.

The aforementioned social learning and identity lens has a few theoretical implications for studying musicians’ intercultural musical practice and identity development. It highlights the social and local character of learning and identity work, alongside an individual agency in changing oneself and communities,

over time, through how people practice, view, and experience the world. Social learning and identity theories thereby share common premises with intercultural communication. They provide intellectual perspectives that allow exploration of how musicians experience intercultural communication; how they enact and negotiate their identity work across professional and cultural communities. Both strands accentuate the “nitty-gritty” of day-to-day practice. In musicians’ case, it includes conventional means of scheduling rehearsals, arranging and traveling to gigs, completing sound-checks, rehearsing pre-performance, and bargaining to earn more.

The two intellectual strands highlight that music-professional and cultural experiences have become increasingly intertwined in musicians’ daily lives; intercultural music events and groups involve hybridisation in activities, and multilateral meaning negotiation between individuals who hold distinctive interests, conventions, and perspectives. Musicians are challenged to clarify ambiguity in their experiences both for themselves and to others. It is theorised that musicians develop in their social learning and identity negotiation amongst professional and cultural communities.

1.3 The design of the study

This study is designed as qualitative research, with theory-led thematic analysis based on intercultural communication concepts and social learning and identity studies. It is focused on the role intercultural communication plays in a sample of musicians’ practice, experience, and identity work, including the increasingly interconnected negotiation between their cultural and professional identities. The conceptual model was built on Kim’s (2001) integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation, alongside Wenger’s (1998) communities of practice. The two theories share two premises: individuals are bound to respond and learn through their communication; and their experience and imagination contextualise their decisions across domains. A bricoleur approach is taken to draw concepts and methods available for practical

objectives, regardless of their fields, consistent with the pragmatism tradition (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Fishman, 1995) (see section 4.1.3).

In light of the research aim and conceptual model, the interplay can be approached from the following research questions:

- a) What aspects of intercultural communication and identity processes are significant to musicians when they begin intercultural music practice?
- b) What challenges do musicians report during intercultural music projects?
- c) What keeps musicians engaged in intercultural music practice, in the long-term?

Qualitative approaches help to reveal answers to these inquiries about human experience and meanings (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). These questions are explored from musicians' perspectives; how they come to their specific way of viewing, doing, and talking about their professional and cultural practice. These peculiar skills, discussions, and understandings are identity work as proof of community membership, which can be developed voluntarily, unwillingly, or unconsciously through individuals' instinctive changes in reaction to their local environment (Hargreaves et al., 2017).

We need to closely inspect individuals' experiences because communication and practice happen through individual units (Kim, 2019). It is each person who encounters and feels the discontinuities between cultural and musical communities (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). Local and social practice focus means that this study's data needs to include how individuals behave and speak about their choices, collected from first-hand interviews, observations, and secondary public records. It is considered neither possible nor intended to find the one "truth" of an individual's experience. Observable actions and words negotiate most of the membership, and unobservable subjective imagination constitutes another essential element of learning and identity work. Two musicians may perform the same music and say the same words to their international colleagues and audiences, but with distinctive imaginations and

feelings of what they are playing, what their vocation is about, and what it means practically, socially, and personally. Notwithstanding this, it is possible to approximate it through interpreting the rationales and how individual musicians make sense of their lived experiences and shape their particular personal narrative, which stays consistent with their observable records. The sense-making and narrative creation are learning required as part of musicians' careers.

Wenger stressed the actual practice in social participation, but interactions with colleagues and audience characterise music-professional practice. Communication is a central aspect of music-professional practice and identity (Miell et al., 2005). It is noticed that professional musicians are more experienced in interviews and talking in public, being more conscious of the performance and narrative elements of their identity (Wilson & Macdonald, 2017). Nevertheless, even a romanticised version of experience helps to reveal underlying assumptions regarding what constitutes, for musicians, an identity ideal to oneself and proper to the public.

I interviewed 17 musicians and professionals who have been involved deeply in intercultural music events and groups over an extended period. The audio recordings were transcribed into text. Observation and supplementary documentation were collected pre- and post-interviews. During live shows from six respondents, field notes were taken concerning their communication decisions (i.e., costume, repertoire, introduction) with an audience. Online recordings and written accounts of participants were collected as additional data (i.e., second-hand data such as magazine and online interviews, and biographies on musicians' official websites) were used to inform the analysis.

The analysis involves reading into the latent meaning, and an overview of what musicians said and did. It is assumed that "there are always multiple interpretations to be made of any phenomenon, which depend upon the position of the researcher and the context of the research" (King, 2004, p.256).

The analysis is not about ascertaining how real individual accounts are, but how narratives play a necessary part in interpretation and negotiation work. Any behaviours and talk of individuals in public contain an element of performance, where people automatically try to present an ideal self. Data triangulation was conducted by collecting first-hand interviews, non-participant observation of some live concerts, and online data. The use of multiple data sources can provide a more comprehensive picture of musicians' intercultural experiences over time.

With theoretical highlights regarding the importance of local practice, it is impossible to answer how each local musician and community ought to function. This study intends neither to add another answer as to how music and musicians should be categorised, nor to how musical collaboration should be organised. At the outset of this research, my intention is to explore and describe how musicians commenced intercultural practice and learned to live with cultural differences encompassing their professional practice. This study is intended to raise mutual awareness of how intercultural communication and music discipline can be reciprocally valuable.

1.4 Structure of thesis

In this Introduction chapter, I have:

- Provided background understanding about musicians' intercultural music practice and experience;
- Introduced an intellectual backdrop, including an intercultural communication with subsequent social learning and identity thread;
- Outlined an interplay between intercultural communication and music in musicians' practice, experience, and identity work;
- Indicated what I set out to achieve in this study, and how this was to occur.

The remaining chapters are organised as follows. Chapter 2 introduces significant concepts and a conceptual model. Chapter 3 reviews the relevant literature for factors that potentially influence individuals' intercultural and musical activities. Chapter 4 is an account of methodology and methods. In Chapter 5, an account of themes coded under Encounter provides insight into how communication mechanisms affected respondents' initial intercultural experiences. Music, as a boundary object, provides working arrangements, enjoyments, or promising identities essential to keeping individuals participating and learning on the boundary. In Chapter 6, a description of themes under Stress reports language proficiency and communication as constant challenges to intercultural musical projects. There is perpetual pressure from a lack of recognition for respondents' professional competence when crossing the boundary. In Chapter 7, an explanation of themes under Learning suggests that respondents developed distinctive modes of relation with musicians of different cultures. It is observed that those who maintained strong connections with at least two cultural communities tend to be more successful with their intercultural music projects. Chapter 8 is a summary of how the findings answer the research questions posed. Finally, in Chapter 9, further discussion is presented around the relationship between intercultural and music practice, as well as practical implications, conclusions, and future recommendations.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Introduction

For the first time, Kim's and Wenger's theories are combined in this study to consider musicians' intercultural practice and identity development. It is posited that how musicians communicate with different cultures influences what they experience and how they develop their identities. There are two fundamental problematic situations faced by musicians in intercultural music practice: 1) when they work with individuals who are used to different musical and/or cultural customs; 2) when they need to work on the relationship between their musical and cultural identities. The theoretical framework for this study will incorporate boundary concepts (Kim's boundary condition and Wenger's boundary practice), stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, psychological wellbeing, negotiability, and dialogicality of identification (see Figure 2.1). The diagram shows how present study is positioned in relation to the two theories.

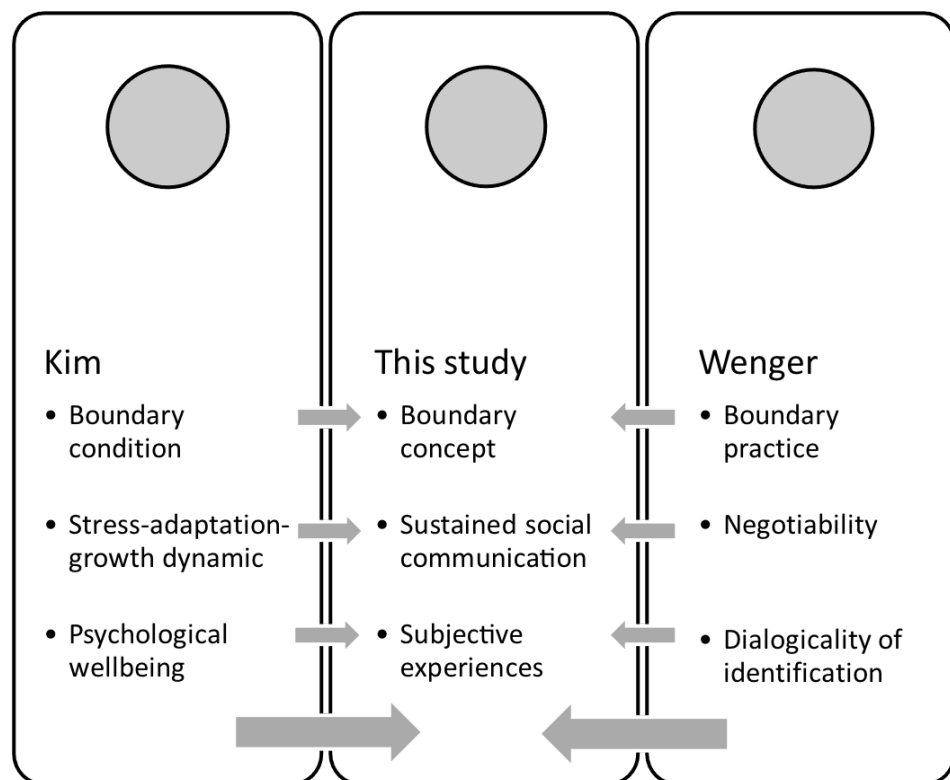


Figure 2.1 Kim's and Wenger's concepts and implications in this study

In the following sections, these views are introduced and explained. They form an intellectual backdrop, against which this study describes musicians'

experiences and learning on various music-professional and cultural boundaries, negotiating their competencies and identities.

2.1 Becoming intercultural: Integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation

2.1.1 Becoming intercultural

In Becoming Intercultural: An integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation, an integrated theoretical explanation was provided by Young Yun Kim, from a communication perspective, of individuals' experiences of relocating to a contrasting cultural community. Based on a wide literature review, she theorised how various kinds of communication initiate individuals' cross-cultural adaptations, which may ultimately shape their intercultural identities. She demonstrated how immigrant communities managed to discover and develop means of living in new cultural environments, referring to research findings and quotes from individual writings on such experience. It informs how musicians' professional decisions were potentially affected by communication and cross-cultural adaptation experiences.

Kim utilises several presumptions, which are supported by previous observations, one of which being that individuals are "open systems" for an instinct to deal effectively with changes in the environment. In other words, when contemporary changes prevent a person from achieving aims as they previously could, they would instinctively ascertain the reason for this, and what they should do to return to a new equilibrium. The term "*strangers*" refers to any adults who have relocated to another cultural environment. Strangers' cultural adaptations are, therefore, transformations triggered by an instinctive pursuit of functional and psychological wellbeing, and through efforts to become a competent member in their host society. Kim (2001, p.87) then summarised how personal, environmental (ethnocultural community and host community characters), and predispositional factors would make particular communication and adjustments more likely to happen.

Even if interaction remains at a minimum level, it still holds the potential for individual changes in aspects of functional fitness, psychological health, and intercultural identity. This potential has been observed, even in some relatively fixed traits, including those of personality (e.g., shyness) and aesthetic sensibilities such as “sensibilities and tastes in food, clothing, music, and humour” (Kim, 2001, p.86).

Intercultural communication challenges people to reflect on established bias in thinking and attitudes, leaving few stones unturned. Such metaphorical stones were laid out in a particular way by early cultural experience that shapes an individual’s initial development, which results in one’s *communication/social competence* that comprises “affective, cognitive, and operational (or behavioural) capabilities by which individuals organise themselves in and with their sociocultural milieu” (Kim, 2019, p.48). As those communication competencies are internalised, values and norms are incorporated into psyches and begin operating on an unconscious level, allowing individuals to interact with other members in their cultural community appropriately and effectively (Kim, 1991). “*Cultural identity*, as such, refers to a self-definition and definition by others and serves as a frame of reference or a system of knowledge and meaning - an extended conceptual horizon against which the individual assesses his or her own thoughts and actions” (Kim, 2001, p.49). In comparison, *intercultural identity* refers to “an acquired identity constructed after the early childhood enculturation process through the individual’s communicative interactions with a new cultural environment” (Kim, 2019, p.191).

Kim’s theory identifies intercultural experiences interwoven in a musician’s professional practice and identity negotiation. It includes those who play pieces that can be labelled as traditional and neo-traditional, who tour or perform live across cultural communities, and who work in groups with members from different cultural backgrounds. Challenges and decisions required by various

kinds of intercultural communication and collaboration can result in musicians' renewed sense-making of their activities, professional and cultural identities.

If an intercultural music project requires musicians to communicate with individuals of another culture, intercultural learning and identity negotiation occur regardless of whether they recognise cultural differences once a gap is perceived between internal competencies and external expectations, via communication. In the case of musicians, it can be their abilities to coordinate with culturally different musicians, bring in a culturally different audience, or convince culturally diverse individuals of their musical approach and meanings. It has a key implication for this study, which is that there are qualitative differences between musicians who have lived in another culture for years, and other musicians who have not.

2.1.2 Implications of stress-adaptation-growth dynamic in musicians' communication

Kim theorised that it is instinctive to maintain homeostasis; doing and perceiving things in a more or less balanced manner. This instinct can lead to a stress-adaptation mechanism: individuals learn about changes presented in a new environment until they find themselves feeling competent in aspects recognised as being meaningful. For example, for expatriates, it might be significant to get along with their local colleagues; for spouses who moved with them, to know where to get the right food and re-establish a social network; and for musicians, to find local musicians to play collaboratively, as well as suitable venues and audiences. The *stress-adaptation-growth* dynamic is core to individual activities and experiences in a new cultural environment.

Individuals are prompted into a stress-adaptation cycle by frequent social communication with people or mass communication from host culture communities. Large and intense adaptations tend to happen immediately subsequent to one's entry into a new culture. Despite distinctive intentions to assimilate to the host culture or to keep one's ethnocultural heritage fully intact,

new cultural habits would always replace some of the old ones. As strangers settle into new routines and become used to their host society, the intensity of their stress and adaptations would gradually reduce (see Figure 2.2).

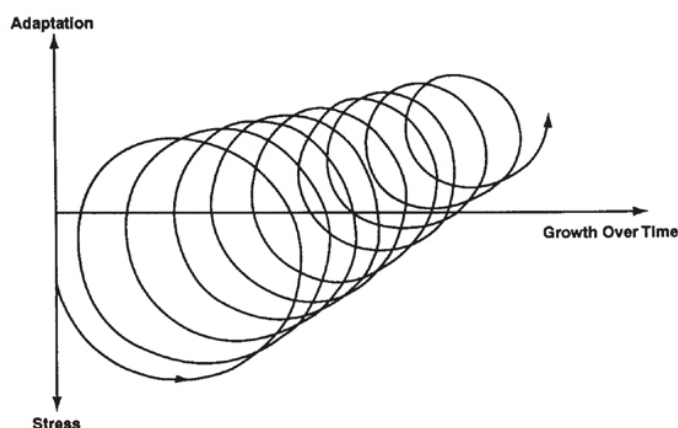


Figure 2.2 Diminishing Stress-Adaptation-Growth Fluctuation Over Time (Kim, 2001, p.59).

New cultural environments often present challenges across the lifespan (Bhagat et al., 2011; Coll & Magnuson, 2012). It is postulated that a musician's cultural learning is triggered, at least partially, by their urge to resolve new problems and tensions presented by ever-changing environments (see section 6.3.2). Learning enables them to return to a psychological balance. Therefore, this lifelong intercultural learning is akin to John Dewey's comment: inquiry begins in doubt and ends when that tension is temporarily relieved (McGranahan, 2017; Star, 2010).

2.1.3 Psychological wellbeing in musicians' identity development

Kim (2001, p.187) describes *psychological health* as "a state in which the individual's cognitive, affective, and operational tendencies work in harmony", and as "a dynamic fit between parts of the internal system and external realities - that is, an attainment of internal coherence and meaningful relationship to the outside world." Fitting in with the host environment hypothesises a higher psychological integration, which includes a stranger's reduction of hostility to the host community. There are many aspects in which two cultures may differ from one another, and it takes time for a person to learn and readjust in those

aspects. For instance, musicians, upon arrival, may already be good at participating in the host community's aesthetic and artistic activities, and capable of understanding its emotional experience. However, their language proficiency may limit them, thus rendering them feeling uncertain in expressing their ideas in verbal communication.

Kim highlighted "cultural identity" as being socially constructed, and therefore subject to different interpretations in trend. She discussed cultural identity as an achieved identity. For example, immigrants in the United States were expected to learn to talk and behave like native-born American individuals (Novak, 1974). Those who prefer assimilation policy may assume that American cultural identity is achievable. However, it comes at the cost of forfeiting one's habits and identification with one's previous community. In comparison, the more recent pluralist argument considers that individuals, including immigrants, can have multiple cultural identities. In addition to being an American, one may concurrently identify with other cultural communities. It means an American musician can also be a Japanese, Jewish, and Jamaican, simultaneously. Soto's (2013) study, regarding bilingual schools for Mexican American children in the USA, is in support of the pluralist assumption on cultural identity.

Nonetheless, pluralism also has its slippery side. When "culture" and "cultural identity" are used to highlight broadly artistic elements in shaping one's understanding of the world, this may result in an overestimation of cultural similarities (Shaules, 2007, p.32). In his example of Iranian and Peruvian teenagers, despite them having the same musical interests, the Peruvian teenager must learn Farsi to communicate with his Iranian friend's family and friends, and to go about daily activities - such as shopping - and live in Iran. The opposite is also true. They would like to define themselves by personal tastes, albeit that language proficiency and social competencies actually define their identity, in more concrete dimensions. Chinese Americans might find it easier to change their views regarding Chinese communities, but it still

takes time for them to learn Chinese and use the language like those who grew up in China. Therefore, the use of cultural identity is distinguished, in this study, from musical and gender identity, among others.

The view that cultural identity is a social construct has a significant impact on the development of musicians' identities. Firstly, it suggests that different definitions of cultural identity influence one's judgment on whether, and how, musicians can acquire another cultural identity. For instance, after a British musician studies gamelan and lives in Indonesia for over thirty years, can they identify themselves as an Indonesian and as a Javanese gamelan musician? Kim's theory implies that this primarily depends upon the individual's frequent communication with local people in the host environment, which, in this case, would be other Indonesian Javanese gamelan musicians.

Other theories conclude with different answers. Social network theory, which highlights social relation and profound friendship, suggest that rapports established with local individuals are crucial (Chi & Suthers, 2015). A musician's close friends and acquaintances would be an indicator of their obtaining cultural identity. Arguably, it can depend on how people in the local Indonesian community consider what makes a person to be considered as one of their own. In the case of them believing that blood and being born in the area are essential, it would be difficult for any foreign-born musicians to be treated like their Indonesian counterparts.

In summary, Kim's theory informs this study to consider under which conditions certain communication and learning become key to musicians. Basem Darwisch is an Egyptian-German oud player, who is well-known for his intercultural music group named Cairo Steps. He went from Egypt to Germany to study Egyptology and Ethnology, remaining musically active between the two countries. In an interview with the Daily News Egypt, when asked about his experience of arranging for international projects with Egyptian organisations, he commented that: "If you mean routine and bureaucracy, well

I know that, and I deal with it by adapting. It would be naïve to try to use a European system in Egypt” (El-Fekki, 2017). His comment supports Kim’s observation that, in order to be successful, musicians’ musical projects require specific cultural competencies and adaptation.

Kim’s focus on the social and mass communication that musicians have with host and ethnic communities, alongside her stress-growth dynamic, contribute to the conceptual model of this study. Her explanation of adaptation aspects, such as language learning, add to specific themes within the analytical framework. Kim chose to exclude the possibility for cultural newcomers to change their host society, instead focusing on their adaptations to it. Consideration of cultural strangers acquiring the same legitimacy as natives is a controversial issue. The communication and adaptation theory also leaves the specific impact of the music-professional practice on intercultural communication unexplained. A brief review of Wenger’s theory, which is subsequent to this, posits a social learning and negotiation mechanism, which sheds light on how musical activities influence musicians’ intercultural communication, and how music-cultural identity interplay plays out for musicians’ negotiation with various communities.

2.2 Communities of practice: Social learning and identity

Wenger explained his intention to study learning phenomena, inspired by how past apprentices learned within their peer groups. Based on the peripheral participation concept (Lave & Wenger, 1991), as well as his ethnographic observation in a claims processing company, he observes that people gather to learn and improve whatever activities they are interested in, subsequently creating a shared history of learning. For example, children gather after school on the playground and learn songs (Harwood, 1998). The nature of this is the same with vegetarian groups who compare and share notes or recipes. A *community of practice* is defined as “a group of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do, and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly.”

Wenger attempted to take a non-judgmental and morally neutral stance when describing the roles of individuals and communities in learning, and their roles in negotiating what knowledge and values are worth learning. In the first half of his theory, he focused on the individual learning process, alongside social participation within a community. He argued that past experience, coupled with a person's goals, come together to form a spontaneous context of priorities and skills. For instance, in their book, Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said (2002) explained and discussed, in detail, why and how they met and decided it was a good idea to start the project of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. It includes their international experiences of working and living in different countries over the years, their shared concern for the seemingly inextricable Israeli-Palestinian situation, and their capacities to organise such an international project.

In the second half, Wenger moved his foci to the holistic experience on the individual side, describing individuals' experiences of learning and identity work, both across communities (spatially) and over a lifetime (temporally). Discerning differences between membership identification, and negotiability, he thereby provided a set of terms to describe dilemmas and challenges musicians face on the boundaries of communities. The subsequent sections will provide detailed introductions of those terms.

2.2.1 Implications of negotiability in musicians' participation

Negotiability refers to “the ability, facility, and legitimacy to contribute to, take responsibility for, and shape the meanings that matter within a social configuration” (Wenger, 1998, p.197). In other words, it can be described as an individual's effectiveness to negotiate meanings and values with communities. Wenger distinguished three modes of belonging to a community, namely, *alignment*, *imagination*, and *engagement*. These are shown in the parallel concepts of identification and negotiability (see Figure 2.3).

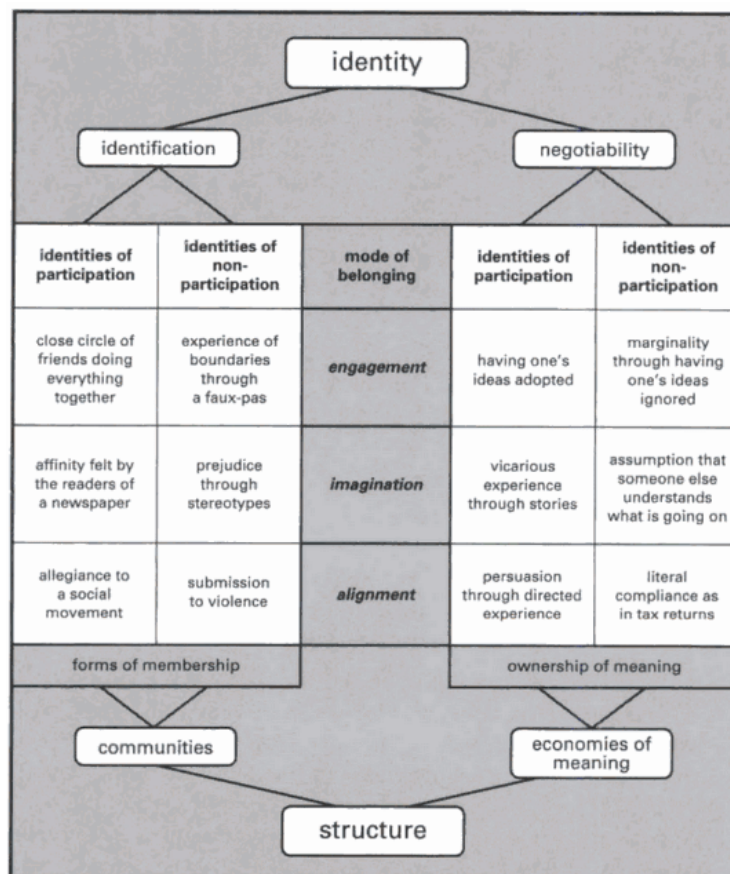


Figure 2.3 Social ecology of identity (Wenger, 1998, p.190)

Participation and non-participation demonstrate an individual's perception of practice, meaning, and identity with which they identify and value. Through those terms, Wenger describes the dynamic of social learning between individuals and other members in communities, which also occurs in intrapersonal decision-making between one's multiple activities and priorities. The framework casts light upon gradual changes of behaviour and mentality in a musician's social interaction, with both their previous and new musical

communities. The priority discussion is consistent with Sam and Berry's (2010) acculturation model. The two cross-cultural psychologists propose that to maintain ethnocultural heritage or not, and to maintain contact with larger society or not, are two critical decisions for individuals to make, which influence how they participate in host communities.

This emphasises the co-constructed nature of a person's identity negotiation to define what matters (more) in varied contexts. Wenger's negotiability highlights social dynamics, where ideas are adopted and ignored in interactions. Individual efforts for meaning negotiation can be taken into account or ignored by members of communities and the larger society, which constitute a part of their identity. It suggests that musicians can convince their host society, and change their criteria on competence and identity. Shared history, within a community, supports an individual in reasoning for their decisions and negotiating for a more positive image. Some musicians are credited with more authority in their domain for various reasons (e.g., their long-term participation or a series of successful records), and are therefore more likely to influence music-making in their communities of practice (Becker, 2000). For individuals on the peripheral position of groups, it often takes more effort to redefine and amend what group members consider as valuable behaviours and perspectives.

Nonetheless, neither deep participation nor identification guarantee how successful a musician will be in achieving their goals in negotiation. For instance, after taiko (Japanese percussion performance) was revived through Kotō's artistic production, Japanese diaspora and individuals with no Japanese heritage began learning how to do it (Baumann, 2001; Wong, 2005). Percussionists can invest years in practising and performing taiko and creating their own work. However, the authority on taiko skills, norms, concepts, and criteria remain in residence with the Japanese taiko troupes.

2.2.2 Dialogicality of identification in musicians' identity development

Dialogicality of identification refers to a person's inner dialogue between internal identification and external categorisation by others of them, via their social communication. Individuals have, in their mind, what roles are expected from different communities and which parts they want to enact. It is implied that the participation by people, in various groups, is a conscious process of identity development. Individual agency is enjoyed in choosing communities, or at least the level of (non-)participation. Musicians may decide to leave a band or genre, to persist, or to dabble in others. Or, they may arrive but play music in an absent-minded manner.

This view of learning and identity explains individuals' operational and psychological adaptation in music-professional and cultural domains. It suggests that sustained social participation is vital. A major element of one's identity work is negotiated and developed from history that they share with members of specific communities, which is shown in their competence to interact with and understand them (see Figure 2.4).

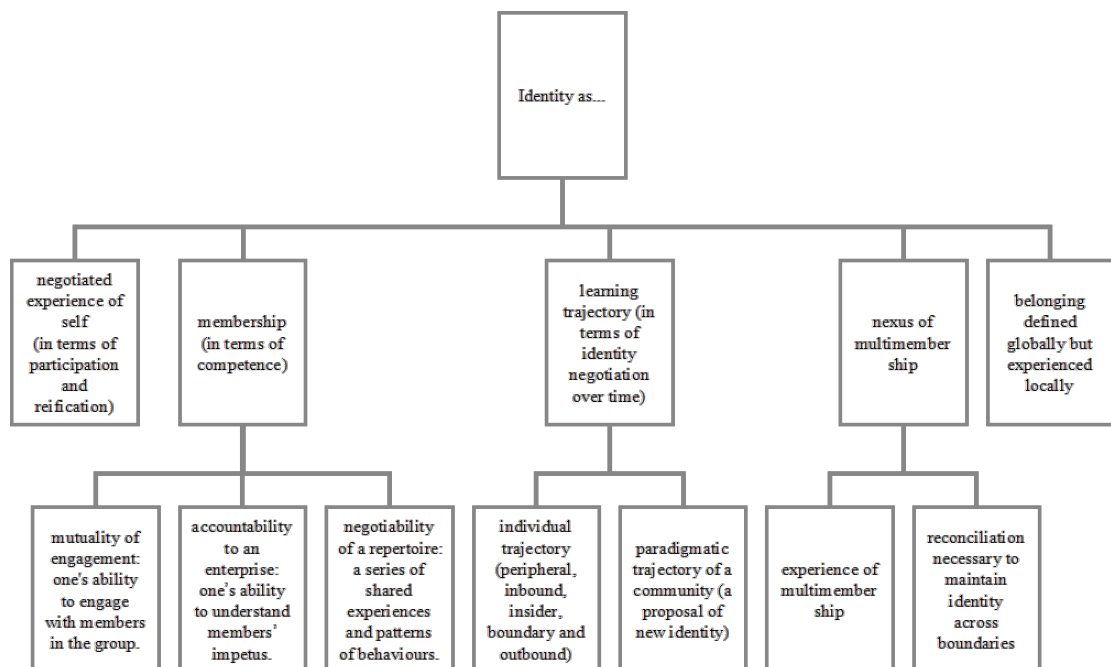


Figure 2.4 Five Dimensions of Identity Framework in Community of Practice based on Wenger (1998).

Distinctive behaviours, preferences, understandings, and social histories weave into a unique pattern, shaping personal identity. Furthermore, individuals adopt multiple perspectives, allowing them to alternate between them. For example, when a musician and a marketing manager enter a shopping centre, it is likely for the former to better notice more details of the background music, and the latter to pick up on sales strategies used by each shop. However, aside from being directed by occupational habits, if the musician and the marketing manager are with their three-year-old daughters, each can note what may delight and upset her. This forms another set of characters in competencies, putting them into a “parent” category.

The social history of practice and membership combine to form a person’s identity in terms of what they can do and tell who they are at a given moment. Thus, people are *nexus of multimembership* that carry across communities a whole set of their mixed experiences, competencies, and perspectives. Whether a musician, a parent, a cook, a manager, a friend, a poet, a housewife/househusband, an accountant, or a swimmer, a person can spend time doing and being each and all of these across their lifespan. Having endless options has its darker side, however, as increased exposure and access to different music and countries complicate individuals’ identification, participation, and negotiation.

Reconciliation work begins when an individual perceives tension between their priorities in relation to what they should do. There is a need to specify and negotiate what they do and what they do not do, who they are and who they are not. Wenger highlighted identity challenges faced by an individual when they participate in colliding practice landscapes. Different parts of identification can conflict if the means of operating, or the priorities, of two communities clash. For instance, being a cultural policymaker and a professional musician, a person would face a dilemma that may not be involved when they consider themselves only to have one role or the other.

Dialogicality of identification underlines a person's inner dialogue between internal identification and external categorisation, via social communication. Wenger's view of identity development echoes Jenkins's (2014, p.20) proposal of "internal-external dialectic of identification": social categorisation forms an individual's internal identification, as they internalise or resist labelling from others. Dialectics of identification are significant to musicians in intercultural music activities, because their ethnocultural identity is brought into their professional communication, activities, and reflection.

The dialogical nature of identification explains the issue in "world music". The category creates an identity tension between how musicians are labelled by others and how they prefer to identify themselves. Musicians did not invent the term. It started when people in the music industry identified and segmented a growing group of music lovers looking for albums from outside their own cultures, when foreign records became more accessible. World music marketing was launched targeting this considerable audience segment, comparable with how Walmart purportedly put beer and nappies on the same shelves after establishing the buying pattern among fathers purchasing for the household (Wilson & MacLean, 2011). Therefore, it is the epitome of out-group categorisation on musicians: for the convenience of audiences and marketing, musicians' ethnocultural identities are brought into their professional communication and activities.

World music description and characterisation do not need to be accurate for it to be helpful to the audience and industry categorisers or to influence the musicians categorised. Some musicians mentioned that they detest defining their music or themselves in that way (Byrne, 1991). In his note for *Bothy Culture*, Martyn Bennett defied such broad pigeonholing, stating his preference for a more individualised categorisation (see http://www.martynbennett.com/Album_BothyCulture.html; West, 2013). Many avoided "world music" altogether, choosing specific descriptions for their work

or denominating it as intercultural/transcultural/international (Kalia, 2019). Also, through social interaction, world music categorisation can give rise to new membership. There are musicians such as those in Världen Band, who took up the label of world music and tried to redefine the term with positive connotations, experimenting with democratic leadership and creating new norms for the world music community that they envisioned (Balosso-Bardin, 2018).

Musicians are “nexus of multimembership” with their engagement in diverse music-professional and cultural groups. Cultural and musical identities may be compatible in some cases (e.g., a Javanese gamelan musician among other traditional musicians), and not in others (e.g., Ale Möller, a Swedish musician who learned to play the bouzouki, a Greek string instrument; <http://www.rootsworld.com/rw/feature/moller2.html>). In either case, Wenger summarises that individuals would instinctively work on their identity, choosing what to do and considering varying between different groups, thinking of their rapports with individuals in different groups, and what signify for them.

Identity work is crucial when one is on community boundaries. It requires great effort to make peace with others while being at peace with oneself, in one's activities in and across different groups. Individuals work on their multiple memberships - maintaining and making sense of them. Musicians may use musical perspectives to make sense of their private intercultural experience and express it in music. Their individual efforts of reconciliation, whether intended or not, have the potential, then, to transform their activities and those individuals into a bridge between their communities.

The individual experiences of communities and boundaries are not static as they are constantly constructed in social interaction (Jenkins, 2014, p.23). Encounters with other ethnocultural groups influence the shaping of group identity and its characteristics, making sense of self-other differences and creating self-other contrast (Barth, 1966). This boundary-learning feature

develops a key pattern in the communication, stress, and learning of musicians. Crossing cultural communities is a challenging boundary experience, because it requires distinctive social competencies in interpersonal communication from individuals across groups. However, Wenger views this as essentially the same experience of participation and non-participation encountered in different social settings; to work with musicians of the same cultural backgrounds or not, and to talk with people of the same cultural backgrounds or not.

Musical identity can serve as a crosscutting identity, providing musicians with a sense of affinity for common activities and experiences. It is also shown in a widespread willingness to believe that music practice can offer a common framework of reference that enables musicians, among others, to interact across cultural boundaries (Bohlman, 2002). Wenger's theory suggests that this happens because music is capable of acting as a boundary object, around which social participation can be organised and sustained in the first place, thereby carrying the potential for mutual understanding.

For musicians who are deeply involved in mixing and reinventing traditional music, the act of defining identity - which practices and competencies are meaningful - has been shifted from conventional communities to those individuals. Traditional musicians can reinforce their arguments with established music-cultural traditions and recognised conventions. When deviated from norms within a group, musicians often become responsible for negotiating meanings for their creations, and it is uncertain how such negotiation will transpire. Världens Band illustrates how musicians, in various communities of practice, gathered with an intercultural focus to work on their own traditional music, and that of others (Balosso-Bardin, 2018). They aimed to ascertain how to improve at the boundary-crossing practice, collaborating interculturally with musicians, communicating the idea to their audience, and ultimately becoming better musicians.

Focused on social dynamic, Wenger's boundary practice, negotiability, and dialogical view of identification contribute to an understanding of how circumstances in which musicians' communication, participation, and identity negotiation occur affect what learning and changes they find necessary and useful. Furthermore, he highlights how individuals are nexus of multimembership, and thus the essential reconciliation work, which inform this study's view on musicians' identity negotiation.

2.3 Key concepts and terms

2.3.1 Boundary notions: musicians' crossing of cultural and professional boundaries

This section introduces Kim's boundary condition in communication and Wenger's boundary practice. In a study on boundary practice, researchers reviewed literature adopting the term *boundary object(s)*, *boundary-crossing*, *boundary-learning*, and defined *boundary* as "a sociocultural difference leading to discontinuity in action or interactions" (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011, p.133). However, they did not elaborate on how sociocultural differences first come into being. Wenger (1998, p.103) answered that a shared history naturally forms boundaries over time, which are "discontinuities between those who have been participating and those who have not".

Kim (2001, p.70) used boundary conditions in consistence with this definition. Intercultural communication is a boundary experience, and learning between individuals who lack shared histories of learning and are unfamiliar with each other's music and culture. The theory centres on crossing between cultural communities, based on three boundary conditions (Kim, 2001, p.34):

- 1) The strangers have had a primary socialisation in one culture (or subculture) and have moved into a different and unfamiliar culture (or subculture).
- 2) The strangers are at least minimally dependent on the host environment for meeting their personal and social needs.
- 3) The strangers are at least minimally engaged in first-hand communication experience with that environment.

Musicians who move to another society, and who need to make a living by performing to its local audience, meet all three boundary conditions. They are, therefore, *strangers*, sharing some of the communication and adaptation experience in Kim's descriptions. To work and live in a different cultural community requires a varied communication competence. For instance, the UK and China have developed distinctive sets of customs and etiquette, the differences in which exist in almost every aspect of life (Shaules, 2007). Upon arrival to the two countries, individuals might thus comment that "it is like a different world!" Those experiences of differences - of being unable to communicate fluently or not knowing what to do in a new cultural environment - accentuate a person's cultural identification with their home community. Over years of relocation, however, Kim proposes that individuals may begin to behave and think more like a host local. Kim (2001, p.65) summarised that intercultural identity has the "boundary-crossing nature of such development in identity."

Wenger adopted *boundary practice* to explain various forms of connection between communities: how they coordinate within a society, without necessarily having shared understandings. His boundary notion is from Star and Griesemer's (1989) explanation of how boundary objects facilitate long-term cooperation (e.g., in an international laboratory project) in the absence of consensus. However, Wenger defined *boundary object* more broadly, as a shared space, activity, craft, item, or idea, amongst other forms. It is taken up in common by different communities, connecting them in their negotiation of practice and meaning. He illustrated the concept using an example of writers:

For instance, an author has jurisdiction over what is written, but readers have jurisdiction over what it comes to mean to them. Jurisdiction over various aspects of a boundary object is thus distributed among the constituencies involved, and using an artifact as boundary object requires processes of coordination and translation between each form of partial jurisdiction.

Similarly, musicians share a likewise negotiation concern, despite the fact that novel-writing vastly differs from playing music. The base of artists' boundary practice and negotiation involves making good music, which using the same logic as "the proof in the pudding is in the eating". However, their activities also include interaction in public, such as in various concerts where musicians often make small talk to their audience. People often rely on reifications to connect what their community do to others in the larger society. For example, campaign slogans like "black lives matter" serve to convince how the issue is relevant to everyone's lives and wellbeing. Through these words and values such as justice, people of different ethnic communities align in a protest, without needing to work together frequently, to agree with each other wholeheartedly, nor to know each other personally. Those reifications enable groups to coordinate without agreeing upon shared perspectives. Music is a reification that has people working together or feeling belonging, without having shared understandings.

Years later, taking in the count of Wenger's theory, Star (2010, p.604) further clarified that a *boundary object* must have the following features:

- 1) The object (remember, to read this as a set of work arrangements that are at once material and processual) resides between social worlds (or communities of practice) where it is ill structured.
- 2) When necessary, the object is worked on by local groups who maintain its vaguer identity as a common object, while making it more specific, more tailored to local use within a social world, and therefore useful for work that is NOT interdisciplinary.
- 3) Groups that are cooperating without consensus tack back-and-forth between both forms of the object.

These clarifications have crucial implications for this study. Music is a primary boundary object in musicians' encountering of professional and cultural boundaries. It enables collaboration projects by providing musicians of different genres a set of work arrangements and narratives, bypassing verbal communication, to some extent. There would not be the same mechanism for culturally different philosophers or architects who wish to work together on a book or blueprint. It is also a boundary object by functioning as a shared topic

in conversations between musicians and with organisers, audiences, critics, and scholars. Music, acting as a boundary object, explains overlaps and consequent confusion between intercultural and music-professional domain. When people describe music as a bridge between musicians across cultures, they partially refer to the boundary object roles that music serves.

Tailoring explains Feld's (1996) "schizophonic mimesis" from the boundary perspective. The phrase was coined to describe how a sound is separated and used out of its original context. Sampling and blending of musical elements are frequently used in fusion works. For instance, an Indian traditional raga snippet can be recorded and used in a popular song. However, a traditional musician may also watch and learn techniques from other musical traditions, but use them in playing and developing their folk music. In such tailoring uses, the identity to a sound or technique's original community becomes vague.

Finally, a boundary object is something that the two groups can work on, while no standard procedures are established between the two groups as they have distinctive customs and views. Intercultural music projects always involve, and are characterised by, tensions and arguments regarding how musicians approach and arrange the music across traditions. Their choices demonstrate what purposes, meanings, and criteria music has. Boundary challenges were observed, in the New York Times, in the work of Ravi Shankar and Lakshminarayana Subramaniam to bring together Indian musical traditions with the symphony orchestra (Henahan, 1985):

The basic hurdle for such composers simply may be this: that two traditions with less in common than those of Indian classical music and the symphony orchestra would be hard to find anywhere in the world. The differences are not merely in the sharp contrast between Indian and Western instrumental sonority, which can be quite effective and appealing, but in basic aesthetics - in what each culture considers beautiful and what each expects its music to serve.

Wenger's theory characterises *boundary practice* in relation to participation, identification, and negotiability. One cannot learn to become a musician without gaining familiarity with certain practices, people, and perspectives.

They participate in a group and gradually acquire competencies to work with its members and understand those individuals' perspectives. Similarly, one becomes a police officer, a criminal, a smoker, and a hiker. In contrast, a lack of historical interaction between two communities results in a lack of standard procedures between the two. For example, a “weird subterranean connection” (Martin, 1998), describing the work between Scottish bagpipes and Brazilian percussion, suggests the band is viewed as a boundary practice. Meanwhile, according to Wenger’s theory, co-national musicians, dancers, and instrument makers’ practices (e.g., Scottish bagpipers, Scottish country dance dancers, and bagpipe makers) may have great *overlaps* but not *boundary practices* (see Figure 2.5).

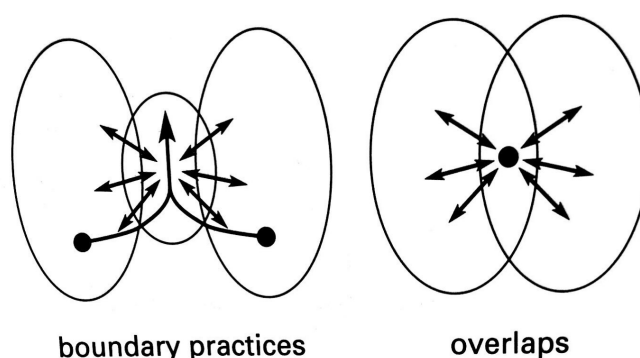


Figure 2.5 Types of connection provided by practice. Adapted from *Communities of Practice* (p.114), by Etienne Wenger, 1998. Copyright 1998 by Cambridge University Press.

The terms “boundary” and “bridge” have been adopted, in studies and individual stories, as theoretical concepts, and as metaphors in music and intercultural communication (Frith, 1996; Kim, 2001; Sutton, 2003; White, 2012; Young, 1995). Nevertheless, in reality, musicians’ activities and communication can be categorised into two types of boundary practice: between cultural communities (e.g., a Mongolian Khöömei singer completing a world-tour or a Senegalese musician settling down in France); and between professional musical communities (e.g., a traditional singer entering a conservatoire or a classical clarinet musician turning to klezmer clarinet). Individuals change behaviours, perspectives, and attitudes on the boundary

as necessary, to the level in which they can cooperate with others. They also change when finding it useful to help them respond to, and make sense of, new circumstances.

Boundary notions explain intercultural and professional development. Wenger's views of boundary practice and identity negotiation contribute to the ongoing discussion of cultural identity and its acquirement. Kim proposed that a relocated person learns about, and can potentially become a member of, the host cultural community (Kim, 2019, p.49). Wenger's concept supports her proposal from a social learning perspective. He did not touch upon cultural identity, but his boundary practice explains how one may sustain, and negotiate for, their cultural identity with the new host society, starting from their engagements and progression in a smaller professional community within it.

2.3.2 Communication, learning and identity

Firstly, music-professional bands and communities are viewed as Wenger's *communities of practice*, which is defined by a shared practice. Frequent interaction, centred around a common practice, forms a specific sense of community, rapport, and membership. Music-professional communities, bands, orchestras, and long-running projects are communities of practice, while cultural communities are not. Musicians' negotiations with professional and cultural communities involve different communication mechanisms. Musicians can negotiate an intercultural identity through frequent work with internationals on a shared musical purpose (e.g., performing, recording, rehearsing, devising or learning new work). Their communication outside of work, in the private domain (e.g., with their life partner, friends, or families-in-law), however, cannot be defined by one shared practice and task.

Communication

Kim defined *communication* as "all activities of message exchange between an individual and the environment...Messages are more than explicit, verbal, and intentionally transmitted messages. They include all those implicit,

nonverbal, and unintentional messages by which people influence one another” (Kim, 2019, p.32). Her broad definition on communication builds up to an overarching *cross-cultural adaptation* concept: “the dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to new, unfamiliar, or changed cultural environments, establish (or re-establish) and maintain relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationships with those environments” (Kim, 2019, p.31). In brief, individuals make cross-cultural adaptations as instinctive responses to their communication with a new environment.

Musicians’ communication results in individual changes. Communication is a pivotal interface in individual learning and identity negotiation, when moving between cultural communities. Thus, it is essential to distinguish how, and with whom, the communicative activities occur. Kim observed that social and mass communication (how), and host and ethnic communication (with whom) affect how an individual would adapt, acquiring communication competence.

Communication/social competence is fundamental in proving a person’s membership to communities. *Host communication competence*, is defined by Kim (2001, p.73) as “the overall capacity of the strangers to receive and process information appropriately and effectively (decoding) and to design plans to initiate messages or respond to others (encoding) in accordance with the host communication system”. *Ethnic communication competence is an individual’s aptitude to engage in, and contribute to, what constitutes meaningful participation in their home ethnocultural community.*

Wenger emphasised investigating the activities in which people participate over time, rather than what they say. Communication starts from, and ends with, practice in the sense of musicians’ activities, because musical participation provides the source of experience, space for dialogue, and need for learning and identity negotiation. The work of professional musicians heavily features communication, in comparison to that of other occupations such as engineers or stock analysts. Aside from music work, they convey their

ideas and the value of their music through social communication. This includes circumstances such as: street performance, where words, among other techniques, are used to urge the audience to pay for the performance; concerts where musicians talk to, and interact with, the audience to create an enjoyable atmosphere; social media where musicians write promotional messages to attract more people to buy tickets; and funding applications they send to organisations. Those professional communication methods require linguistic competence, at the least.

Bringing cultural identities into musical activities changes how people may talk, view, imagine, and experience musical and cultural identities. Traditional musicians can confirm their cultural identities in music, with music being encouraged and recognised institutionally as the embodiment of cultural traditions. Some are even given titles such as “national treasure”, and some listed as “intangible cultural heritage inheritor” as a part of Chinese cultural heritage policy, following UNESCO’s intangible cultural heritage list (Zhang et al., 2015).

Learning

Learning is a social phenomenon. Musicians encounter distinctive cultural and musical boundaries, resulting in them having to choose what to learn. Individuals are inspired to join a group and learn further, partly because, at the time, they may think it improves their music, career, or life. Learning can also be an unintended outcome out of social interactions, where artists gather with their friends and engage in casual chats. In either case, individuals learn in communication with others and groups. This social and shared history of learning characterises Wenger’s communities of practice.

Learning also serves as an identity opening. It is motivated by necessity and by individuals’ envisioned identities. “Opening” implies that there is a pre-existing boundary of self. Learning can be viewed as developments of personal competence: “the change from novice to expert in a particular domain”

(Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). On an interpersonal level, learning can be conceptualised as “the development from legitimate peripheral participation to being a full member of a particular community” (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Identity work involves individuals’ subjective imaginations concerning what they do, and constant negotiations to acquire particular membership and identities in the community.

Identity

Definitions of communication, boundary, and learning distinguish between interpersonal (social) and intrapersonal (individual) levels. Regarding identity, the two levels are shown in categorisation and identification. A dialogical dynamic between external classification and internal self-definition has been observed (Jenkins, 2014; Wenger, 1998). Musical competence can serve as an indicator of cultural categorisation. For instance, Jerome Charles White Jr, stage name Jero, a black singer of *enka* (a Japanese sentimental ballad popular during the post-war period), released his first album in 2008. Doerr and Kumagai (2012) analysed a discourse accompanying his performance, which stated that “Jero is almost Japanese because he sings enka well.”

Wenger proposes to consider non-participation because which practice one is unable or unwilling to do is as crucial as their participation. He redefines what a person considers as “self” and “others”, as participation and non-participation in identification. Non-participation is first shown as what individuals do not do; for example, people who do not smoke (non-smokers). It is also constructed in descriptions of what one cannot do, such as people who do not sing or claim that they are tone-deaf. Some classical musicians may state that they do not see themselves playing jazz, jazz musicians that they are not interested in folk, folk musicians that they cannot abide listening to metal for long, etc. One would feel little stress, however, as one’s career does not require to do so. Non-participation is also shown in what people do, but neither enjoy engaging in nor concur with.

Kim's and Wenger's theories value sustained participation. They agreed in perceiving participation as an identity development where one perfects their expertise in one domain, but also a rapport shared with others in accomplishing common goals in local communities. These are essential to musicians' negotiation of a competent identity across musical and cultural boundaries. Individuals can only actively participate in a limited number of communities. This physical limitation presents a core challenge of boundary crossing and brokering in intercultural music practice. Cultural and professional identities, within and on boundaries, all require sustained social communication and participation from musicians.

Musicians' decision-making, in this process, leads this study to focus on their subjective experiences, their internal identification and imagination. Members in various communities attach diverse importance and meaning to their practice, imagining and creating an effective combination of self. Additionally, continuous attempts are shown to bring different parts of identity into an integrated piece, or at least an integrated narrative. Ibarra's (1999) study on newly-promoted managers reports how individuals would bridge the transition with provisional identities, attempting different ways of managing and reflecting on which one best fits with their personalities.

Kim's cultural strangers' situation explains how sustained host social communication initiates individual learning within a new cultural environment. The learning includes operational competencies, and one's working of mental activities to maintain a psychological balance. Her theory enriches this study, with detailed intercultural adaptation processes, contextualising musicians' learning between cultural communities. Wenger's theory points to two significant challenges for musicians. Firstly, participation challenges demand musicians to create an arrangement to play together in multiple musical communities. Secondly, negotiation challenges require them to bring together different aspects of identity from their participation across communities, and to negotiate a convincing professional identity.

2.4 Conceptual model

The theoretical framework for this study set out in Figure 2.1 highlights musicians' boundary practice across communities; their sustained intercultural communication in, and beyond, professional practice; and their identity interplay as a cultural and professional being in their subjective experience.

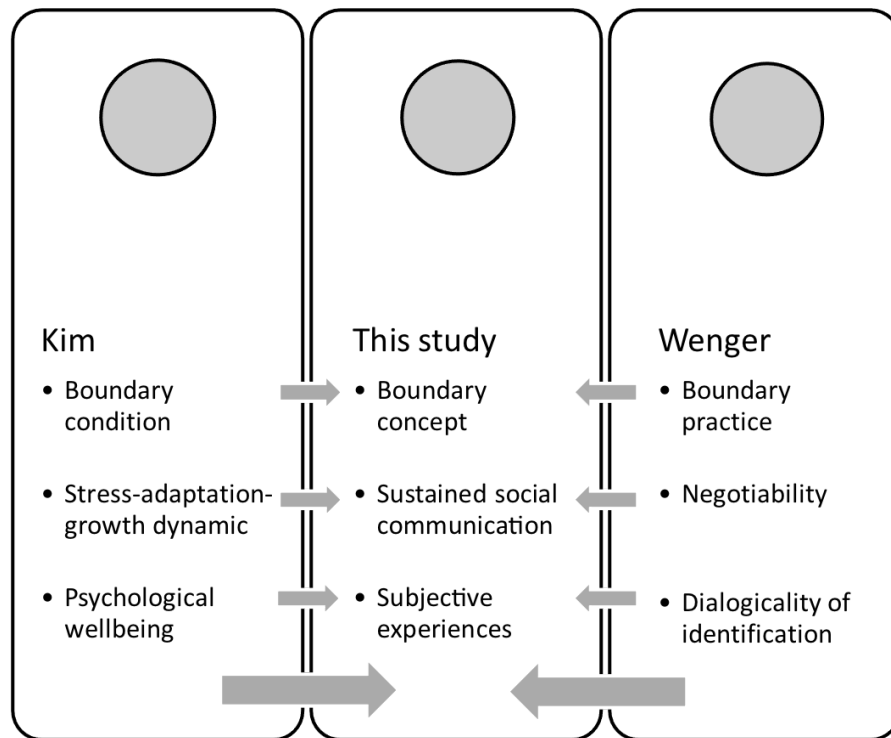


Figure 2.1 Kim's and Wenger's concepts and implications in this study

It posits that, when individuals have social communication with a host society and/or international musicians, an instinct to maintain homeostasis can prompt them into the stress-adaptation-growth mechanism. This section will set out the key components of that framework: Encounter, Stress and Learning.

2.4.1 Encounter

Different forms of intercultural contact orientate individuals to specific experiences, perspectives, and learning potential. Wenger (1998, p.112) described three types of boundary encounters - including delegations, one-on-one, and immersion - each of which has a distinct communicative dynamic, orientating differently to experience and learning (see Figure 2.6).

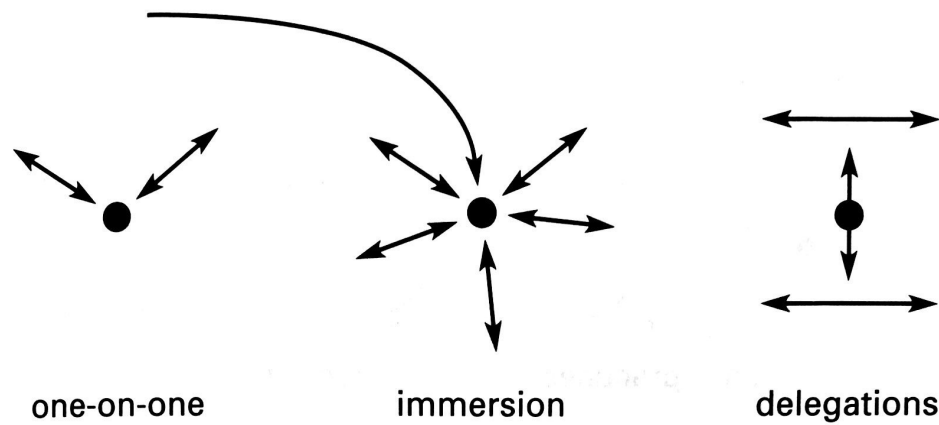


Figure 2.6 Types of boundary encounter (Wenger, 1998, p.113).

Delegations allow groups of members from two communities to observe and negotiate in their encounter, both within each community and across them. Simultaneously, the risk lays in people opting to “cling to their own internal relations, perspectives, and ways of thinking” (p.113). In a musical context, this occurs when two bands, of differing styles, come together for a performance. In a cultural context, it takes place in the interaction between ethnocultural community members residing in the same society. Ethnocultural neighbourhoods (e.g., “Little Japan” in Shanghai or Chinatown in London) provide conditions for delegations where the observation goes both ways. Ethnocultural newcomers (in the previous example, ethnic Japanese) can observe how hosts (ethnic Chinese in Shanghai) behave and talk with each other, cushioned by their ethnic community (Little Japan). Vice versa, visitors from the larger ethnic Chinese population and international society can also note some of the etiquettes the neighbourhood’s residents’ share with Japanese society.

One-on-one meetings happen when there are only two individuals involved in communication. The two may amend their conversation style and customise learning only slightly, in relation to the other person (Shaules, 2007). For musicians, this typically happens in duo collaborations. International couples are excellent examples of micro-level interaction and adjustments.

Immersion allows a visitor to experience and observe a host practice the most, provided they temporarily suspend their established view, such as how anthropologists approach their field trips. The visit can be temporary, as in when people casually join and withdraw from social clubs; an Iranian percussionist, for example, may attempt a taiko course out of curiosity. It can also be a long trip, such as when how expatriates, international managers, and engineers work overseas for many years. When a Chinese employee, for instance, moves to a small American town that has few Chinese residents. It is usual to be peripatetic, not knowing how long one is going to stay and be committed to their local community. Comparing musical and cultural participation, it is more complicated and costly to leave a country than to withdraw from a specific music practice.

Individuals encounter unfamiliar items every day, including people, music, behaviours, and opinions. Musicians decide, personally, whether or not to learn across communities and start an intercultural music project. Predispositions, like aesthetic sensibilities and previous ethnocultural experiences, can influence the specific music or culture they find congenial. Aside from past influences, active participation can be incentivised by fulfilment experienced at boundary encounters, and how this helps musicians to obtain what they desire.

Motivation themes were not in the original conceptual model at the outset of analysis. However, Waterman's and Seligman's motivation categorisation of *Hedonic enjoyment*, *practical choices*, and *eudaimonic meanings* in positive psychology is useful here. Hedonic enjoyment is a state with "the presence of positive affect and the absence of negative affect" (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Practical choices are defined by *extrinsic motivation*: "the performance of an activity in order to attain some separable outcome" (Ryan & Deci, 2000). This differs from intrinsic motivations, where people enjoy an activity as they find it inherently pleasant, satisfactory, and meaningful. Eudaimonic living is the other intrinsic motivation where one expresses an enjoyment in making use of

their strengths, towards something larger than themselves (Seligman, 2004).

Pragmatism concurs that somatic perception - bodily experience - precedes cognition such as reasoning and evaluation, persuasively orientating individuals towards specific thinking and perspectives (James, 1978). In other words, feelings have a compelling influence on one's decisions about what to participate in and how to communicate. What makes people feel good tends to make them more receptive to certain ideas. The same motivations may keep musicians playing music and communicating with people from distinctive musical and cultural backgrounds.

2.4.2 Stress

Identity is formed through participation and reification within and across communities of practice. Participation includes what individuals do, which could be any musical activities from playing music or collaborating for an album, to rehearsing. They learn unfamiliar ways of engaging in music and activities with others, and personal relationships and friendships forged out of those shared activities are essential to their work and wellbeing. *Participation gap* describes differences between what they perceived as external requirements, and what they did to remain in, and sustain, a shared practice. If no gap is apparent and the larger group seems convinced of their approach, individuals may keep doing what they like; but the perception of a gap, and not meeting the expectations of those around them, will be experienced as stress.

Reification focuses upon the dimension of meaning negotiation, which is shown in what respondents expressed and argued. It refers to "a process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness'" (Wenger, 1998, p.58). This could include participants' music, interviews, musical concepts, procedures, tools, etiquettes, etc., which they used to make sense of their experiences and support their views. *Reification gap* highlights difficulties encountered when participants strived to define musical and intercultural competencies and obtain a

competent identity; again, these difficulties are experienced as stressful. Identity work requires individuals to work on their participation and reification, attempting to play music as they want and convince others of their music's meanings and values.

2.4.3 Learning

The component of Learning comprises themes adopted from Wenger's modes of belonging, namely, alignment, imagination, and engagement. Throughout time, people learn various manners, routines, and habits. They develop perspectives, relations, and their sense of identification in interaction with different people on each project, from being an outsider, stranger, newcomer, guest, dabbling player, to being a regular and core member of a tight-knit circle. Wenger categorised them into modes of belonging based on individual (non-)identification as what they do and what they consider intrinsically or extrinsically motivated, and how their opinions are treated in meaning negotiation within such related communities (Wenger, 1998, p.173):

- 1) Alignment - "coordinating our energy and activities in order to fit within broader structures and contribute to broader enterprises."
- 2) Imagination - "creating images of the world and seeing connections through time and space by extrapolating from our own experience."
- 3) Engagement - "active involvement in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning."

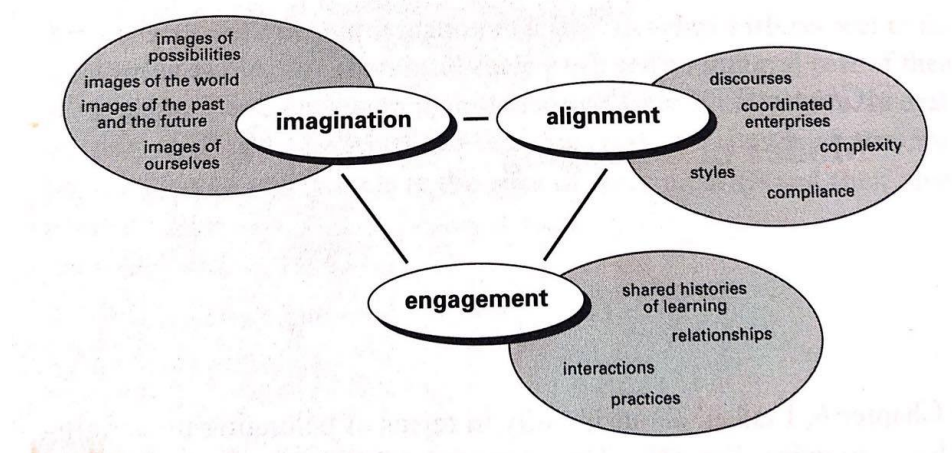


Figure 2.7 Modes of Belonging (Wenger, 1998, p.174).

Alignment corresponds to what individuals do at the boundary encounter when they join a community, and to participation gap when they progress further. In contrast to observable coordination, the imagination mode of belonging requires no action, but considers what people enjoy and value - their inner motivation, understanding, and empathy - which shapes feelings behind what one does. The difference in ideas and feelings forms reification gap. Engagement focuses on the social process in what people do together, and interactive negotiation on which ideas are adopted and which are ignored.

2.4.4 Linking encounter, stress, and learning themes

It is possible to create a synthesis of Kim's and Wenger's theories because both emphasise the crucial role of sustained social interaction (in Kim's term *social communication*; in Wenger's term *participation*) in learning. The conceptual model for the present study is formed in correspondence to three ordered research questions. It underscores how communication mechanisms play a central role in musicians' subjective experiences and social interactions; explains how musicians learn upon perceiving discontinuities between music-professional and cultural communities; and develops distinctive parts of their identities (see Figure 2.8):

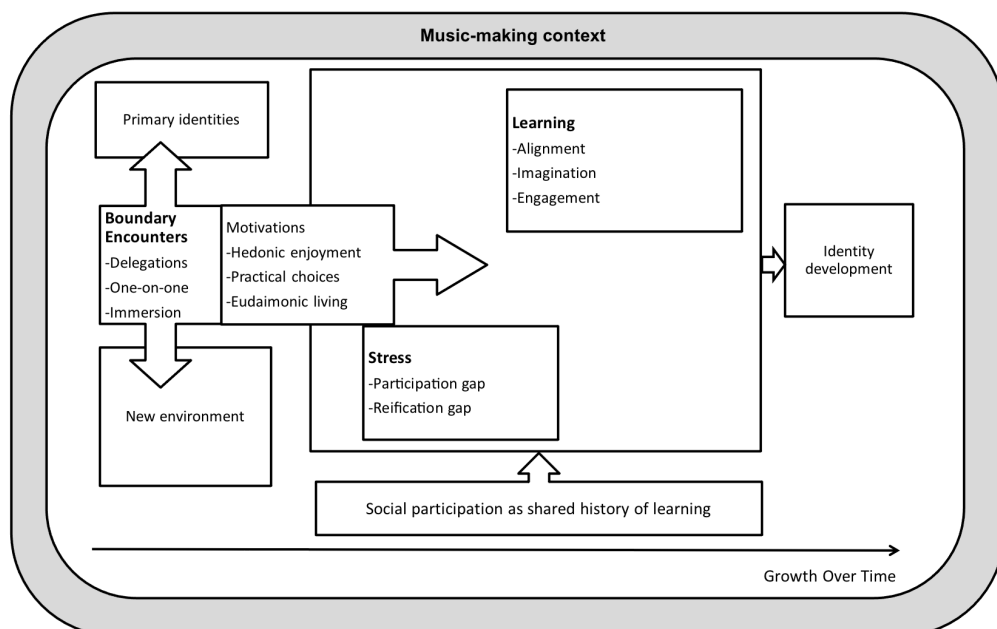


Figure 2.8 Conceptual model of musicians' intercultural practice and identity development.

This begins with what happened in practice: musicians departed from primary music and/or home cultural community (Encounter); through social communication, what challenging changes they found they needed to make (Stress); to developing their boundary projects, what musical and cultural identities they envisioned and negotiated with their activities and connections, as the source of identity development (Learning).

Sustained boundary activities challenge them with wider participation and reification gap between what they can or cannot achieve, who they are and are yet to become, what they want to learn or not. Familiarity with another professional and cultural practice is acquired through learning skills deemed necessary to the group. Another essential element of learning is the social rapport and shared history of learning, cultivated with colleagues and people around them (Wenger-Trayner et al., 2014). Those choices of what to learn and who to spend time with touch upon a fundamental consideration: what meanings and identities an individual holds dear.

Cultural identity negotiations are important on both sides of an intercultural musical interaction. They result in differing answers regarding whether musicians who have sojourned to a country for decades, to learn its music, can acquire a new cultural identity through their sustained communication with the new environment. The assumptions of people who already have that identity can impact on musicians' negotiability when their performance involves musical traditions outside their cultural communities, and/or with musicians of different cultures. Intercultural assumptions and discussions affect musicians' activities and identity negotiation, where cultural identity becomes relevant to their professional activities.

Musicians take an agency in inner imagination and negotiation of meaning, to ensure reconciliation between those views. They acquire perspectives from repeatedly making sense of unfamiliar cultural and musical communities, as

well as an emerging identity, that adds up to a nexus of multimembership. The communication that occurs in their musical practice becomes shared history with others (as social participation, competence, membership, boundary learning, etc.). The themes of alignment, imagination, and engagement outlined in section 2.4.3 affirm a level of musicians' autonomy in choosing to feel different kinds of belonging to various practices, meanings, values, people, and communities. The next chapter will review relevant literature on intercultural communication and international music-making.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

Works on musicians demonstrate that those professional individuals have myriad aspects. Abundant research and musicians' accounts have depicted music as a part of life that determines who the professionals are, both to themselves and to larger society. They make, play, and perform music, and attend music festivals with all kinds of interests and ideas about music, arts, career, duty, and finance. Concurrently, musicians have multiple sides of life alongside music (e.g., young new mothers (Bolden, 2012)), which influence their musical activities. This study is interested in the intertwined experience of musicians being cultural and professional members in musical activities when they are in contact with music and individuals of different cultural communities.

The literature review focuses on studies that inform the overlap between musicians' intercultural and music-professional experiences. Two questions were asked initially: 1) can intercultural experience affect musicians' practice?; 2) can music-professional practice affect musicians' intercultural experience? There are many investigations concerning musicians' musical and cultural adaptations, but few of them focused on details of how musicians conduct and experience intercultural communication.

The review includes the development of intercultural communication and identity study, and professional communication and identity study. These investigations can offer transferable insight from their understanding of a broader populations' intercultural and professional aspects of life. The literature thereby proposes that there is a missing puzzle piece regarding what musicians might experience when they live and work in a foreign country, international teams, and multicultural society, considering a broad spectrum of individuals' experiences in similar circumstances. We will move on to a broad view considering under what conditions - practical and theoretical background - people deem music an effective intercultural mediator and moderator. Finally, the gap in existing research is discussed.

3.1 Can (inter-)cultural communication influence musicians?

Anthropologists and ethnomusicologists began forerunning discourse on music with cultural relativism views. They studied music outside their cultures, integrating anthropological methodologies with musicology studies. Mantle Hood (1960) first proposed the concept of “bi-musicality”, based on bilingualism studies in linguistics, inspired by the possibility of an individual shifting between two musical traditions in the way that they are capable of speaking and switching between two languages fluently. Blacking (1973), in his famous work, *How Musical is Man*, noted that some musical experience may be universal; however, a listener only attains more nuanced messages when they share culture-specific knowledge with the performer. Therefore, he argued that the music of one community must be evaluated within its cultural context and from an insider’s perspective.

Although the priority of these scholars was to understand orientations of musicians and their music-making in different cultures, intercultural communication was then involved in their fieldwork, their observations on local musicians, and self-reflexive and cultural self-awareness notes. In Benjamin Brinner’s ethnographic study of a Javanese gamelan community, an intra-cultural communication process and competence between musicians was studied and conceptualised as an element of the community’s professional competence framework (Brinner, 1995). For instance, subsequent to rehearsing together over time, musicians would better understand each other’s personal style, and what specific cues and whom to listen for at different points in a performance. This skill of listening and interacting appropriately is crucial to successful teamwork in performance, especially considering gamelan’s intricate arrangements. He suggests that any musician who wants to learn this needs to get into the social web of ensembles of Javanese musicians.

3.1.1 Intercultural communication and identity of musicians

Considerable research evidence supports the view that intercultural experience affects musicians' actual practice. There are studies on musicians' musical perception, performance, teamwork, organisation, and identity negotiation, involving music-listening and various forms of communication with people of other cultures.

Musicians' cultural experience influences their musical perception. Hopkins (1982) had three musicians, from Greece, India, and the United States, listen to pieces of Norwegian hardingfele music, then asked them to interpret its rhythm pattern. It was observed that the three participants attempted different and new possibilities in their endeavours to make sense of unfamiliar structure, but they all fell back to relying on their previous musical experience to identify patterns. The result that none of them ascertained the correct pattern suggests that they had not been previously exposed to Norwegian music, or that they did not have frequent contact with Norwegian musicians in everyday life.

Around the 1980s, more musicians and individuals had easier access to music from all corners of the world, to travel for international festivals and events among other purposes, to contact musicians of different cultural backgrounds, and, sometimes, to come across various international musicians at home. In *The Music between Us: Is Music the Universal Language?*, it was argued that live music-making, which has participatory and inclusive features, could better create intercultural empathy; meanwhile, it was surmised that non-personal communication (e.g., radio, TV, and the media) can also have significant effects with the following list of examples (Higgins, 2012):

- music-making by members of multiple musical cultures, where the different cultures' performance styles blend in the production of music;
- performances that include works from various cultures, whether in authentic or in culturally adapted performance styles;
- music-making that fuses stylistic features of different musical cultures together (Ravi Shankar's Symphony, performed with the London Philharmonic, is an example);
- participatory music-making in a style that is endemic to a particular musical culture but includes participants from outside it;
- participatory music-making that invites contributions in multiple musical styles;
- one or more persons listening to recordings of music from a musical culture of which they are not members;
- people from a different musical culture appropriating a musical style or aspects of a musical style foreign to all of them;
- and listening to recordings or watching video presentations of such appropriations.

Figure 3.1 Examples of cross-cultural musical encounters (Higgins, 2012, p.179-180)

The list includes many general musical activities; it can be postulated that musicians can only spend more time listening and making music than the general public. Furthermore, this list implied what Higgins considered as indicators of participatory and inclusive elements: 1) participation of culturally different individuals; and 2) music-cultural identity correspondence in musical activities (e.g., whether the music one listens to and plays has originated from their cultural community).

Other studies observed that intercultural experiences and factors could affect professionals' decisions in commencing a project, finding group members, and organising rehearsals and performances. Cassandre Balosso-Bardin, a professional musician and ethnomusicologist, played in and conducted her study on Världens Band ("*World's Band*" in Swedish). Brothers Arvid and Erik Rask, two Swedish string players, started this multicultural group in 2012, describing it a social experiment with a democratic organisation in intercultural music practice. Balosso-Bardin, through her participant observation and in-depth interview with 11 out of 14 band members, depicted what the band went through and analysed how individuals viewed their group experiences. She

quoted Arvid Rask's account of the origins of this multicultural project. He credited it partly to the influence of Ale Möller, who is a well-known Swedish folk musician, and his uncle's regular collaborations with musicians from diverse cultural backgrounds (Balosso-Bardin, 2018, p.87):

Since I grew up with it, I took this thing for granted, it's not exotic, it's just there. I didn't reflect about it so much. So doing this project and listening to world music is perfectly normal.

Early intercultural contact with foreign music and musicians may plant the idea in the founder's mind. However, the international agenda of funding institutions and travelling conditions observably shaped the project. Their grants from Statens Musikverk (Swedish Performing Arts Agency) required them to include four musicians each from two main nationalities. Founders counted international visa policy and cheap air travel as two significant determinants that led them to choose the UK as the other leading country; they subsequently invited four British musicians to join the original line-up (see Figure 3.2).

The researcher may harbour some positive bias in reporting on the band's role in intercultural communication, for she was involved in the project from the beginning. However, her study indicates that some musicians began considering how culturally different individuals are involved in the decision-making process in musical collaborations. Moreover, they made conscious choices to organise it in a participatory and inclusive way, giving every musician their turn in leading and making final decisions within the group.

Name	Instrument(s)	Provenance and membership in VB
Thea Åslund	fiddle, hardanger fiddle and vocals	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Cassandre Balosso-Bardin	bagpipes and recorders	France (2012-pres.)
Abdou Cissokho	kora and vocals	Senegal (2014-pres.)
David Foley	wooden flute and whistle	Scotland (2012-pres.)
Dave Gray	melodeon	England (2012-pres.)
Adam Grauman	bass, double bass, viola da gamba	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Mischa Grind	percussions and backing vocals	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Charu Hariharan	vocals and percussion	India (2012-pres.)
Matthew Jones	guitar and UK booker	England (2012-pres.)
Tobias Karlehag	percussion	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Anna Malmström	clarinet and bass clarinet	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Anna Möller	fiddle and vocals	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Arvid Rask	mandola and backing vocals	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Erik Rask	manager/producer	Sweden (2012-pres.)
Alexander Thyberg	sound engineer	Sweden (2013-pres.)
Past members		
Msafiri Zawose	vocals and ilimba	Tanzania (2012)
Maisie Greenwood	fiddle	England (2012)
Rutendo Machiridza	vocals and mbira	Zimbabwe (2013)
Navah Elbaz	vocals	Tunisia (2014-2015)
Felicia Westberg	double bass (dep. for A. Grauman)	Sweden (autumn 2016)

Figure 3.2 List of band members current and past, their instruments, and their provenance (Balosso-Bardin, 2018, p.89)

Rask's case of being in contact with foreign musicians from early years at home, due to his uncle, might be rare, but his experiences and aspiration of organising a participatory and inclusive multicultural music project is not a separate case. Baumann (2001) predicted that future research would focus more on developing appropriate music-making processes that can respond to intercultural issues, rather than conceptual development. Indeed, with such concern stated, in an ethnographic study on Finnish contemporary folk music, six types of musicians' intercultural music activities were summarised (Hill, 2007):

1. Long-term collaborations are used to forge contemporary alliances and egalitarian affiliations amongst Nordic musicians.
2. Historical archival and field research is used as source material to define shared roots and heritage amongst Finno-Ugric cultures (and often connotes modern versus "primitive" status differentials).
3. Exclusions and unacknowledgment of influences serve to disassociate and distance musicians from cultures or groups that are disliked or perceived to be threatening (such as Russians and minorities).
4. Incorporations of "exotic" disembodied "world music" sounds (such as djembes, kotos, and didgeridus) serve to mark cosmopolitanism, contemporaneity, and participation in a global scene.
5. Discourse about "global folk music" communities and short-term collaborative projects assert subcultural affinities with distant groups based on shared values.
6. Extensive study and practice in another tradition express deep personal connections borne of individual experiences.

Figure 3.3 Six types of transnational musical activities (Hill, 2007, p.51)

Although Hill's study only considers activities of Finnish folk musicians, some of her observations (in Figure 3.3) converged with those on the aforementioned list (Higgins, 2012) of cross-cultural musical contacts (see Figure 3.1). Both acknowledged how recordings and in-person musical activities are an essential source for intercultural experiences. Differences were suggested between non-personal and personal intercultural contacts (e.g., activity types 2) 3) 4), versus 1) 5) 6)), and between intra-cultural contact in 1), and inter-cultural personal contact in 5) and 6). Hill also distinguished between short-term collaboration in 5), and long-term collaboration in 1) and 6). In 6), where a person is committed to extensive learning of other musical traditions, Hill summarised that, aside from field trips, Finnish musicians often rely on recordings and immigrant instructors. Therefore, immigrant and sojourning musicians appear to be key contacts and sources in local musicians' music activities and learning. Hill's categorisation supports the notion that, under umbrella terms such as world music, crossover and fusion music, transcultural/international/intercultural music activities, musicians developed many types of new music-making processes and activities.

Intercultural encounters have become more ubiquitous experiences in musicians' work around the world (Baumann, 2001; White, 2012). Even when musicians remain in their home community and never travel outside, many are exposed to different music and cultures through mass media and changing interests of their local audience. Subsequent to conducting two separate ethnomusicology studies in Indonesia and South Korea, Sutton (2003) commented that traditional musicians, although in two distant countries, developed some hybrid genres that combine instruments, structures, and approaches mainly from local cultural communities and the "Western" community. He did not specify what he meant by "Western". However, South Korean musical examples, that have jazz and Western classical music as the other half of the hybrid, indicate that the ethnomusicologist was probably referring to Euro-American communities in general. Similar observations were made on musical acculturations in traditional music communities in other countries, for instance, in Yang and Welch's (2014) research on "Westernisation" and "modernisation" challenges of teaching Hua'er music (a type of traditional folk song in north-central China) in Chinese universities. In brief, research on musicians' musical adaptations and accounts summarised that widespread intercultural communication affect professionals' decisions concerning performance, teamwork, and organisation.

Aside from adaptations in technical aspects, researchers have observed the role of cultural identity in musical activities. "Fusion" and "hybrid" are used, very broadly, as promotional language when music is commercialised. However, the terms were rarely used for a hybrid between musical traditions originating from within South Korea. It is implied, therefore, that Korean musicians' definitions are partially built upon perceptions of what is Korean, and what is not. Musicians in Sutton's study were born and raised in South Korea, thus obtaining a more or less clear-cut South Korean cultural identity. In contrast, some musicians live and work in a bicultural/international context (e.g., they relocated with their family) and face more challenges in defining and negotiating their cultural identities.

Georgoulas and Southcott (2017), in their single case study on musician's bi-musicality and bicultural identity, interviewed Calista, a singer who was born to Greek parents in Australia. She was born and raised in Australia, and supposedly had an Australian identity with more shared experiences and orientations with Australian individuals than with Greek people. However, the singer recounted her experience of racism in childhood, and how she made sense of that and integrated the "hybrid" experience between Greek-heritage and upbringing in Melbourne with her musical identity:

"We are not Greeks, [although] a thousand people would revolt in hearing me say that because they're so invested in the concept that you are what your lineage says and not where you were born or your current environment." [...] "in Greece we're foreigners as well and there's a stigma." [...] "I'm not a Greek singer per se as I'm not from Greece. I am a Greek-Australian singer." (Georgoulas and Southcott, 2017, p.1516)

Mass migration happened, and is still taking place, globally. Many musicians have a migrant family history and are raised in an environment in which they are made conscious of their relatively different identities. For instance, within the UK there are Apache Indian (birth name Steven Kapur) and Sheila Chandra, who are of Indian descent, and Egyptian-British singer Natacha Atlas. In some cases, like Apache Indian, musicians made clear that they represented a "hybrid" experience and community (Taylor, 1997). Some musicians discussed efforts and enjoyments in learning about their heritage community (e.g., *A Tribute to Sheila Chandra - Interviews*, 2008). Some learned the language, flowing back and forth between their home and heritage groups. Some highlighted cultural self-awareness, perspective-taking, and empathy in their learning, as well as friends and rapports they made along the way. Many of those skills, modes of thinking, and attitudes are identified as crucial intercultural competencies, which may be a sign of how increased intercultural communication is involved in musicians' identity negotiation and learning.

3.1.2 Transferable insight from intercultural communication and identity studies

Musicians such as Calista, Apache Indian, and Arvid Rask portrayed their feelings as an experience shared by a much wider community: musicians and non-musicians, whoever have a cultural hybrid childhood, upbringing, and life, among others; this could be due to family migration, personal sojourn, and relocation. Some accounts highlighted their experience as a cultural member of a group and as an individual who underwent particular intercultural issues. These aspects render intercultural communication and identity studies, on all walks of life, relevant to understanding musicians' encounters with different cultures. It might be worthwhile, when considering the following literature, to imagine that some musicians are among their participants.

During the last century, people witnessed substantive social shift (Van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013). Advanced transportation and communication technologies now allow individuals to move and communicate across national borders more conveniently than ever (Tu, 2001). More people find themselves in contact with artefacts and individuals from ethnocultural communities far away on the internet, or bumping into each other working and living within one society (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992).

Intercultural encounters have been materialising throughout human history. However, the unprecedented level of mobility and diversity presents contemporary societies with challenges when groups - who are now close neighbours - harbour culturally distinctive interests and ideals, which may be compatible, but may also clash. Consequently, Intercultural Communication emerged as a new interdisciplinary field, with contributions from anthropology, communication, cultural studies, education, linguistics, and social and cross-cultural psychology, among others. The common goal is to enable individuals of different cultural backgrounds to communicate, work, and live better with each other.

Acculturation research contributed to the emergence of Intercultural Communication field. In the 1930s, the Social Science Research Council in the United States recruited three anthropologists to form a new subcommittee on Acculturation; studying, from a cultural anthropological perspective, large groups of immigrants and their life patterns following arrival. They defined acculturation study as one that deals with “those phenomena which result when *groups* of individuals have different cultures and come into first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original pattern of either or both *groups*” (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p.149). This definition highlights personal contacts in a group context. Some other early works are from the 1940s, when scholars (e.g., anthropologist and social scientist, George Bateson, and sociologist, G.H Gardner) were asked to provide their insights of another culture at foreign intelligence agencies during wartime. One particularly well-known study is perhaps Ruth Benedict’s *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, published in 1946, which had a profound impact on how people outside, and even within, Japan view the Japanese community and its culture (Kent, 1999; Suzuki, 1999).

In the 1960s, psychologists were asked to create a training programme and set of selection criteria for American volunteers who joined the Peace Corps to teach in the Philippines (Guthrie & Zektick, 1967). In the early 1970s, Intercultural Communication gradually emerged as an applied field, in the United States, for its growing diplomatic, military, and civil activities overseas. Concurrently, a growing group of American personnel and expatriates working overseas presented a civil demand for intercultural training and research. Personality traits - such as curiosity, flexibility, openness, sensitivity, etc. - have been identified as crucial to those individuals’ successful adaptation and wellbeing in an unfamiliar cultural environment.

During the 1970s, more researchers adopted quantitative methods to assess previously identified elements (Ruben, 1976). The study on national value orientations at IBM, from Geert Hofstede and his team, and the GLOBE study

were among the most well-known and ambitious cross-cultural studies at the time. Both were conducted within an international business and management setting. Between 1967-1973, working at IBM, social psychologist Hofstede collected survey data from over 100,000 of its employees across countries; he analysed psychological features of different groups based on factor analysis, and published his cultural dimension theory in 1991 (Hofstede et al., 2005). Based on initial results and theory, he and his colleagues further developed six dimensions, which include: individualism and collectivism; masculinity and femininity (which is indicated by an individual's motivation to be in top-rank or to do what he or she likes); power distance (for instance, from greetings to decision-making conventions between managers and subordinates); uncertainty avoidance (which represents how uncomfortable individuals feel about ambiguity and unpredictable futures); long-term and short-term orientation; and indulgence-restraint (which describes how strict social norms treat hedonic enjoyments).

Criticisms were made of quantitative methods in cross-cultural research. Construct, method, and item bias of researchers are identified in assessment from a psychological perspective (Van de Vijver et al., 1997). Hofstede's six cultural dimensions compare cultures and explain, more directly, individuals' varying preferences and reactions in international organisational management. However, his use of certain terms - such as masculinity and femininity - was considered controversial. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005, p.119) outlined that this aspect was labelled so because "this dimension is the only one on which the men and the women among the IBM employees scored consistently differently". Nevertheless, Adler and Gundersen (2007) suggested that, if that were the case, "career success" and "quality of life" would be more proper.

Researchers also suggested that theoretical descriptions on cultures (e.g., Geert Hofstede's cultural dimension model and Ruth Benedict's study on patterns of Japanese culture), when not coupled with rich experiences within the subject culture, can lead a reader to make static and essentialist

explanations of behaviours unfamiliar to them. An example of this is viewing Americans' arguments on public morality simply as puritanical or individualist (Shaules, 2007), or all aspects of Chinese family conventions as Confucianism.

From 1980, there was an emerging group of intercultural communication researchers and specialists. They redirected scholarly attention from identifying and understanding different cultures, to facilitating harmonious individual and group transformation in contact of another culture. The group includes Janet and Milton Bennett, Young-Yun Kim, William Gudykunst, Stella Ting-Toomey, Harry Trandis, and Alfonsus Trompenaars, amongst others. Although they may not use exact wordings of effectiveness and appropriateness, their theories and practical implications initially contributed to emphasising the two as primary elements of intercultural competence and aim.

Their theories were translated into tools of intercultural training and assessment, in order to cultivate, evaluate, and predict a person's abilities to work and live internationally. Many adopted a self-report approach. Bhawuk, alongside his colleague Brislin, put forward the Intercultural Sensitivity Inventory (ICSI), which is a paper-and-pencil test that contains 46 items for entrants to rate their disagreement/agreement on a seven-point scale (Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992). Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman (2003) developed a 60-item Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) based on Bennett's (1986) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). They employed the same seven-point scale self-report, which puts one's intercultural development into one of six stages proposed by DMIS. Three of them relate to ethnocentrism (Denial, Defence, Minimisation), with the other three to ethnorelativism (Acceptance, Cognitive Adaptation, Behavioural Adaptation) (Bennett, 1986).

Qualitative researchers worked on developing holistic theories that aim to be concise and capable of explaining existing intercultural phenomena. Ting-Toomey studied ethnic conflict, and proposed the Face-Negotiation Theory in

1985. This posited that it is a universal priority for individuals to maintain and manage a positive face (self-image), but that this becomes challenging because of different conceptualisations and approaches to faces in different cultures (Ting-Toomey, 1988). In 1986, she began working on an Identity Negotiation Theory based on Social Identity Theory, which was developed principally by social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner during the 1970s and 1980s. Tajfel and Turner's theory highlighted the importance of affirming not only personal identity salience, but also social group membership. Adopting this in an intercultural and ethnic identity context, Ting-Toomey (2005) summarised that, to meet a need for belonging, people also constantly position themselves within a larger ethnocultural group.

Researchers in Communication have studied interaction between individuals of different cultures since the 1960s (Arasaratnam, 2015). Based on a heuristic theoretical analysis of intercultural competence models and conceptualisations, communication scholars Spitzberg and Changnon (2009, p.7) define *Intercultural Competence* as "the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioural orientations to the world". The terms *Intercultural Communication Competence* and *Intercultural Competence* are used both interchangeably and broadly, to describe a person's effective and appropriate interaction with cultural differences. The two researchers constructed an exhaustive list of over 200 items (concepts and factors) from previous intercultural findings, which they grouped broadly under: motivation (e.g., Ting-Toomey's (2005) collective self-esteem); knowledge (e.g., Deardorff's (2006) cultural self-awareness and culture specific information); higher-order skills (e.g., Gudykunst's (1993) ability to empathise and ability to accommodate behaviour); and other categories (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009, p.36-43).

Intercultural competence is significant to any individual whose work involves communication across cultural groups. A study on multicultural teamwork in a

virtual environment noted that successful achievement of group goals is dependent not only upon group members' specialities or expertise, but also on their intercultural competence (Zakaria et al., 2004). Although this study, and those aforementioned, did not make reference to musicians, it can be assumed that intercultural competencies also play a part for musicians in achieving common goals in their multicultural ensembles.

Intercultural communication and identity study findings gradually form an exemplary image of how an individual flourishes in a multicultural context, regardless of their profession. Arasaratham (2016, p.6) summarised that an interculturally competent person can be described as one who is "mindful, empathetic, motivated to interact with people of other cultures, open to new schemata, adaptable, flexible, able to cope with complexity and ambiguity." This summary has become an integrated character description in pedagogical objectives and candidate criteria within educational institutions, in international management, and occasionally also in the music world.

However, there are ongoing debates concerning what constitutes successful intercultural communication and development. Many researchers have underscored cognitive complexity; one's ability to accommodate and form multiple contradictory perceptual categories. Adler (1974) described an advanced stage in which individuals can create a world-view to make sense of cultural differences, essentially within their local context. Bennett (2004) suggested that intercultural communicators may reach this "constructive marginality" (p.72) when they cease to maintain affiliation with one single culture.

On the other hand, Sparrow (2000) criticised this cognitive focus as an overly intellectualised detachment, a typical individualistic ideal of individual development. Taking an affection-focused perspective and criteria, she made the contrary argument that a person's belonging and connectedness to their current host community is a primary indicator of their intercultural learning.

Shaules (2007) commented that these disagreements are due, in part, to different values held, and partly to a lack of neutral and common vocabulary to describe intercultural experience and learning.

Most intercultural communication and identity research has been conducted in specific personal, intergroup, and institutional settings; however, they are all against unreflecting reactions, and aim to encourage and support individuals in learning cultural skills, knowledge, understandings, and attitudes. Influenced by Star's (2010) view on the trial and error nature of scientific collaboration, I would argue that they still serve as a useful "map" and sounding board for researchers and practitioners who work within music-professional contexts. Arvid Rask, co-founder of Världens Band, reflected on challenges in experimenting with democratic leadership within the multicultural music group (Balosso-Bardin, 2018, p.90):

I remember thinking that one of the main challenges is that half of the band is from Sweden and they know each other very well, they have tight connections and all speak Swedish. Because they were the norm [...] a key thing was to get everyone involved so it didn't become an exclusive club [...] so that all fourteen people in the band would form a group identity as quickly as possible, instead of seeing all the things that separate the group as the main thing in the group. (A. Rask, interview, 24 May 2017).

Rask is one of many contemporary international musicians who find research, explore further, and discuss more openly the nature and mechanism of intercultural communication (Huyssen, 2012; Taylor, 1997). Musicians in multicultural collaborations, teachers in bilingual or international schools, and managers at multinational companies alike can work together, organising activities in a more informed manner based on the new common ground built by those studies.

3.1.3 In summary

Music and intercultural communication studies suggest that musicians have increased experiences of different cultural communities in their respective

careers and societies. Increased intercultural contacts - even when through mass media and not in person - have an encompassing influence on individuals' musical adaptations and developments.

For any musician, communication is a vital process through which experience and learning take place, and through which they negotiate their identities. An international music career means one is possibly made aware that many individuals speak different languages, have different musical and cultural knowledge, tastes, concert conventions, value judgments, and responses, among other differences. Thoughts of how to better communicate with those people, when appearing in musicians' decision-making, can provoke them into reflecting on cultural differences and boundaries, and on who they are culturally and musically.

Part, if not all, of a musician's cultural conventions, attitudes, views, and experiences are transferred into their musical perception, performance, organisation, and identity negotiation, when in contact with another culture. Therefore, it is informative to our understanding of musicians to know where they were born, raised, and socialised as a member living over the years within one community or between multiple cultural communities. Moreover, additional attention to an individual's cultural identity - how they feel and are labelled culturally - can complicate musicians' professional communication and identity negotiation process.

3.2 Can music-professional activities affect intercultural communication?

Musicians' professional activities and identities provide a local and situated context in which their communication is conducted. The context often endows individuals music-professionally featured experiences, perspectives, and belongingness, which further affect how they experience and interpret the cultures of themselves and of others (O'Hagin & Harnish, 2006; Tsioulakis, 2011). Few focused entirely on the process of intercultural communication between individual musicians. In the context of pan-African jazz, it was

commented that musical research “has emphasised hybridity without dealing frontally with the human relationships that produce hybrid forms” (Stanyek, 2004, p.100-101). However, music research can be viewed partially as an intercultural communication study, when intercultural competence is involved as one of its foci. The following section will review human relationships accounted for in some music research that aims at allowing its participant to learn to communicate more effectively and appropriately across cultures.

3.2.1 Music-professional activities in intercultural communication

Debates on the role of music in intercultural relations are ongoing. Christopher Small (1998, p.9), in his well-known work, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*, proposed to view music as a verb, with musical activity entailing a person to “take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.” Listening to, and talking about, music are also counted as musical activities, by this definition. The following review will focus on the impacts of music-making, music-listening, and musical discussion on intercultural communication. Some studies are based on youth, amateur, and non-musician participants. They can inform this study, considering all musicians are young once, and the line between musical amateur and professional is sometimes blurred.

Many music teachers and education researchers contributed their cross-cultural studies and intercultural interventions within an educational context. There are projects whose participants are within one society (e.g., Neto, Pinto, & Mullet, 2016; Sousa, Neto, & Mullet, 2005) and joint international programmes between universities (Klopper, 2010). Allport’s positive intergroup contact conditions describe how those studies attempted to organise music-making activities, stating that the ideal circumstance of intergroup communication involves equal status and cooperation, common goals, and institutional support during the interaction (Allport et al., 1954).

Although positive impacts have been reported in some of those music projects, Bergh (2007) suggested that the influence may not be sustained over time. He interviewed participants who had joined a multicultural music programme at Norwegian schools 13 years ago, which they had found to be an enjoyable experience; however, he found little impact on the current daily lives and relations with other cultural groups of those individuals.

A year-long investigation on the effect of music as an intergroup intervention tool was conducted in a music programme co-organised between German and Polish music schools (Kuchenbrandt et al., 2014). Ten unconnected encounters were arranged between different schools. Intervention group individuals (180 participants including German students and teachers), who went abroad, were asked to fill in questionnaires on three occasions: before departure, after arrival, and four weeks later. A control group, who remained at home (125 participants), completed questionnaires twice: before and after the programme. Interestingly, researchers only discovered significant positive changes towards Poles in German students who went to Poland, in contrast to those who had played music with Polish exchange students at home. It was speculated that the wider socio-cultural experience beyond music (e.g., homestay) might play a more active role in attitudinal changes.

Watching, instead of directly participating in, an intercultural musical collaboration can also affect individuals' cultural attitudes (Harwood et al., 2016). Three researchers - Harwood, Qatar, and Chen - adopted intergroup contact theory, recruited 182 participants, and played four manipulated news broadcasts to them (two Arabic individuals, and an Arabic and a white individual playing music/developing an app together). The analysis, from pre- and post-survey, reported that vicarious musical contact - watching Arabic and white musicians make music together - results in more positive attitudes towards the Arabic group. These studies have shown that broader social context cannot be overlooked in a comprehensive assessment of both

multicultural music education and intercultural music experience.

Researchers interested in political and international affairs have examined the impacts of intercultural music initiatives through qualitative methods. In particular, the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra attracted great attention (Ramel & Jung, 2018). Riiser (2010) interviewed its former members and cautiously concluded that intercultural reconciliation effects, in reality, might not be as substantial and positive as they were perceived by its founders, mostly based on the rapport felt by her respondents.

Aussems (2018) interviewed organisers and participants of eight music initiatives in Bosnia-and-Herzegovina, which had set explicit rapprochement goals since 1995, following the Yugoslavian war. She observed that there was a lack of enthusiasm among locals regarding the explicit interethnic peace projects. Music initiatives realised their reconciliation goals relatively better than other kinds of project, though paradoxically with its participants focusing more on the role of programmes in their personal development (e.g., a source of pride or professional prospect) and rapports within the musical programme (e.g., one's orchestra was described as "a family"), instead of on interethnic tolerance and rapport. Nonetheless, in those studies, some key parts of musicians' intercultural communication, learning, and identity negotiation mechanism were missing. For instance, under what social circumstances did musicians encounter music and musicians of different cultures? What happened when musicians did not share a common language or social etiquette? How did musicians adjust their verbal and non-verbal communication? How did they organise multicultural group rehearsals?

The music festival has emerged as a popular form of event organisation. Baumann (2001) observed that music festivals served as a popular platform for musicians to perform, meet people of different cultures, learn music, and thus to reflect on their cultural views. For instance, Falun Folk Music Festival's organisers in Sweden (since 1989) were interested in inviting more

international musicians and developing multicultural concepts and other intercultural views. Ethno camp was arranged to support young musicians in coming together to learn from each other during the festival and to present a performance at its conclusion. On the other hand, Fredriksson (2019) interviewed three actors who were key because they were all concurrently organisers, musicians, and music researchers. He then argued that, despite Falun festival's well-known multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism aims and impacts, its organisers' core priority was ultimately about professionalism, in improving and promoting Swedish folk traditions and local music-professional scenes.

Playing music and getting better at it are many musicians' principal motivations and aims (Hallam, 2002; Stebbins, 1992). They described music as a primary pull-and-push factor that leads them to relocate to a new cultural environment. Hemetek (2016) combined music and migration research and conducted three case studies on musicians from different minority communities (Roma, Bosnian refugees, and immigrants from Turkey) in Austria. Her final case study involved Mansur Bildik, a Kurdish-Anatolian saz (Anatolian long-necked lute) musician. She quoted part of his writing concerning how he moved to Vienna (Bildik and Fuchs, 2008, p.23 as cited in Hemetek, 2016):

In the 1970s my concert tours led me to Europe. By chance I came to Austria. I should have got married to a Turkish girl who lived, however, in Vorarlberg. But I ended up in Vienna. Since 1980 I have been living in this city and since 1990 I have been an Austrian citizen. First of all, it was the music which brought me to Austria: on the occasion of concerts, I was often approached by lovers of Turkish music, as there was a lack of saz players in Vienna at that time.

Mansur Bildik's story suggests that he first visited Vienna due to concert tours, and stayed because he had sensed a market for his musical expertise in the city, after talking with an audience there who favoured Turkish music. There

may be other factors, such as his betrothal at the time, but music was crucial in mediating his visit and relocation.

Moving from musicians' professional activities to people who listen to their performance, other researchers observed a reduction in an individual's prejudice through exposure to the music of "other cultures". Many such music-listening and intergroup attitudes studies have been conducted in the context of youth development, reporting that music with pro-diversity messages may lead to positive attitudinal changes in its listeners. When individuals are led to perceive common or compatible facets of their identities, music can improve facilitation of intercultural communication, through reducing in- and out-group bias between cultural groups (Miranda & Gaudreau, 2018).

Music-listening habits and preferences have also been studied for their roles in facilitating, as well as hindering, social interaction. Their effects have been observed across life stages: from early childhood (Soley & Spelke, 2016), to high school teenagers (Lonsdale & North, 2009), to those entering adulthood (Tarrant et al., 2001). The General Learning Model (GLM), an extended version of Anderson and Bushman's (2002) General Aggression Model, provides a plausible explanation as to how mass media affects a person's social behaviour through persuasively changing their subjective experience (e.g., emotions, cultural imaginations, and stereotypes). Mass communication can bring a long-lasting adjustment in how individuals interpret and experience social circumstances (Buckley & Anderson, 2006).

Greitemeyer and Schwab (2014) employed the General Learning Model to study how music listening may result in prejudice reduction. They conducted three studies with student participants recruited from Austrian universities. The Turkish community was chosen as the target outgroup, for it is one of the largest immigrant groups in Austria and Germany. The combination of these three studies reported that students who had listened to music that has pro-integration themed lyrics (e.g., "I wanna see the world united and learn to live

as one”) expressed less prejudice and a more helpful attitude towards Turkish individuals (Greitemeyer and Schwab 2014, p.543).

Intercultural trainers agreed that mass communication could hold significant influence over the audience’s perceptions of different cultural groups. Cortés (2004) recounted how he had introduced Bandura and Walters’ (1977) “sleeper effect” of mass media, by utilising music as an illustration during intercultural training sessions. During one class, he gave trainees two pieces of contextual information - a lone white man and a canyon - and asked them to close their eyes and listen to a film soundtrack, which “begins nostalgically before shifting into an ominous, minor-key theme, underscored by drumbeats” (Cortés, 2004, p.279). Students were then asked to describe what they had “seen”. As expected, many suggested a similar image of Native American people lurking and waiting to attack. The technique, according to Cortés, enables trainees to reflect on how they gradually formed negative and positive stereotypes concerning other cultural groups, owing to mass media, and how they learn to view the media content more sceptically. It thereby helps reshape participants’ cultural experience of music and sound effects.

In Fowler and Blohm’s (2004) meta-review on intercultural training methods, they included arts (including music) as an effective tool: firstly, the content of artworks is highly adaptable based on trainers’ needs; secondly, they are suitable with groups of different ages and sizes; thirdly, they are highly accessible. According to their experience, arts can be adopted to “illustrate a model, to teach an intercultural concept, to provide practice in an intercultural process, to contrast cultures, and to teach about specific culture” (Fowler & Blohm, 2004, p.53). Sharing personal musical experience was used as a method in conflict mediation sessions to help trainees remain open to members of other cultural groups (Avi Gilboa, 2016). A great significance has been attached to reflective observation when intercultural trainers and therapists adopt music as a medium for sessions.

Essentialist elements were identified in the commercialisation and consumption of music from unfamiliar cultures (White, 2012). The social anthropologist then proposed a list of anti-essentialist listening strategies (see Figure 3.4). Some aforementioned research on music's effects in intercultural experience has made similar calls. Moreover, White's list addressed the concern of scholars who are also anxious that globalisation, commercialisation, and cosmopolitanism may serve an unintended, but significant, role in musical adaptations, "constructing images of culture which serve centre-western commercial interest within an unequal world" (Bhabha, 2012; Hall, 1997; Holliday, 2010, p.165).

1. Question the notion of music as a universal language: Question the status of "universals" in music. First, are they universal? Second, are they about music or about values?
2. Be more specific about what is meant by "hybrid" (Try to describe exactly what is being mixed and to determine if certain elements of the mix are dominant over others.)
3. Be aware of clichés (Seek out and avoid clichés by comparing the promotional content of music to that of other styles or regions.)
4. Be skeptical of binary oppositions (Identify binary oppositions and try to invoke entirely different models for explaining the function or meaning of cultural practices and beliefs.)
5. Strive for a balance between similarities and differences (...)
6. Don't be afraid to talk about sound (...)
7. Pay attention to genre (...)
8. Try to understand the lyrics (...)
9. Speak with real human beings (Try to befriend someone who comes from the country that interests you and exchange ideas with that person not only about the music itself but also about the role music plays in that particular society.)
10. Find out more about a country's culture, politics, and history (...)
11. Question your tastes (...)

Figure 3.4 Anti-essentialist listening strategies (White, 2012, p.207-210)

In Edward Said's (1978) well-known work, *Orientalism*, he determined that positivist scholars' summaries on "neutral" cultural categories of individualism and collectivism are more like a seemingly well-justified, albeit culturally-biased, idealisation of a western Self, alongside the demonisation of a non-western Other (Said, 1985). Both idealisation and demonisation are essentialist views, categorising others within a set of fixed ideas with positive or negative characteristics, rather than complex and living individuals. White's

directives to listeners suggested that a reflexive audience can also avoid potential hazards of musicians adopting oversimplified intercultural and musical narratives. One can find that reflective observation often acts as a crucial principle in these academics' arguments and advice.

Eva Fock's (1997) observation can provide a more detailed interpretation of how music is used in, and affects, cultural group posturing. She is perhaps among the first few music researchers who explicitly stated a concern with the term "intercultural communication" in her ethnographic study on 367 Danish high school students (15-20 years old), collected from both native and immigrant families. The ethnomusicologist observed that, firstly, social interactions across groups were limited outside of classrooms, with few youngsters of different groups sitting at the same table during lunch. Secondly, immigrant teenagers did not listen to music associated with their parents' regions, when in the presence of Danes. Ultimately, it was highlighted that music is capable of creating a stereotypical image of "otherness". It is effective far beyond musical domain, directly influencing teenagers' posturing and belonging during contact on their cultural group boundaries.

3.2.2 Music-professional identity in intercultural communication

Social identity theory is a popular framework adopted by researchers to study music's role as part of musicians' intercultural communication. It focuses on how individuals identify themselves, categorise others, and acquire membership to particular groups. Therefore, the approach highlights interactive and contextual variables (e.g., in-group favouritism or out-group stereotype) in long-term interpersonal communication and development. Social identity has a significant influence on musical identity. Hargreaves, Miell, and MacDonald (2002) concluded that one's musical identities start with certain biological predispositions, and are then shaped, over time, by the individuals, groups, and circumstances as they develop within a particular culture.

Harwood (2016) ascertained, from the social identity, perspective how music could provide three kinds of social identities to assist in cultivating musicians' intergroup rapport: 1) locally shared identity, such as a band; 2) cross-cutting occupational identity, like a percussionist or a musician; and 3) a universal "human" identity. It is thus vital to also view musicians as members of professional communities and make sense of associations between their professional and cultural identities.

Baumann (2001) commented that international music festivals bring musicians into encounters with foreign music, people, and cultures, which elicit their reflection on the cultural identity of themselves and of others. Encounters and new experiences would also potentially result in individuals occasionally reviewing what commonalities and differences construct local, regional, national, international, and global identities (see Figure 3.5).

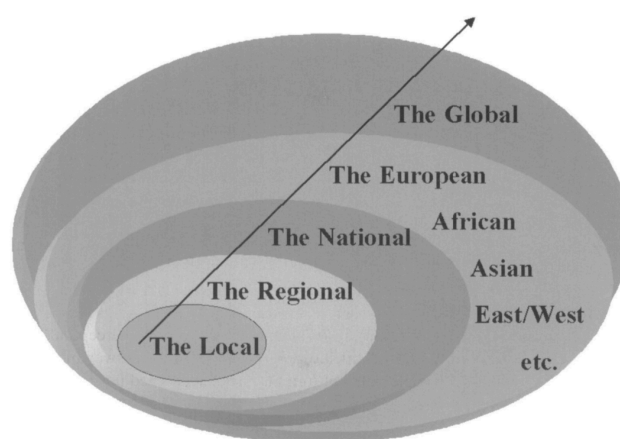


Figure 3.5 Local, regional, national, and transnational constructs in their hierarchically mental inclusivity (Baumann, 2001, p.11)

Bakagiannis and Tarrant (2006) adopted social identity theories and explored whether the perception of similar musical preferences would generate more positive intergroup attitudes. Their participants were 97 Year 10 students from a secondary school in Manchester, UK. They were put into two groups and led to believe that people outside their group had similar (group A) or different

(group B) musical tastes to them. They were then asked to evaluate the other group and estimate how they would be perceived in return. It was reported that participants in group A showed more positive attitudes to the outgroup. They also expected members of the other group to view them more positively. On the other hand, researchers also observed positive intergroup perceptions shown by those who believed the two groups had different musical preferences. Nevertheless, the study demonstrates how musical taste can be a moderator for intergroup experience, by creating a shared musical identity.

Gilboa (2016) designed the *Let's Talk Music* model for intergroup mediation, and tested it between Israeli and Arabic adolescent students. Its essential mechanism is to create a common "human" identity, through students' sharing, within small groups, their favourite music, as well as personal and cultural stories related to the music they chose to share.

In summary, shared musical activities and identities can affect how musicians initiate and experience intercultural communication. When individuals communicate in a professional context - music-making, listening, rehearsing, performing, interviewing, and writing biographies - their intercultural communication occurs under local circumstances that have specific music priorities, conventions, and values. Music literature shows that music can mediate and moderate intercultural communication and learning processes. Studies on international initiatives and festivals illustrate how music causes musicians to travel. This can facilitate and encourage musicians' contact and rapports with culturally different people. Research confirmed that music can influence how individuals view people of specific communities.

3.2.3 Transferable insight from professional communication and identity studies

Musicians' activities and accounts show that music-professional conventions and ideals are significant in the experience of those individuals. It is important to consider other communities who consume, evaluate, and mediate musical

activities. Their preferences and opinions have an impact on musicians' practice and identity negotiation. Firstly, I took a step back to look at what constitutes professional communication and identity, in general.

Schnurr (2012, p.17) defines professional communication as "interactions which may take various forms and which take place in a context that is broadly related to work, and involve at least one participant who is engaged in some work-related activity." There are different means of categorising professional communication. Erving Goffman (1978), in his work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (first published in 1956), adopted dramaturgical terms to distinguish between frontstage and backstage contexts, which, he noted, are not clearly separate from each other:

Throughout our society there tends to be one informal or backstage language of behaviour, and another language of behaviour for occasions when a performance is being presented. The backstage language consists of reciprocal first-naming, co-operative decision-making, profanity, open sexual remarks, elaborate griping, smoking, rough informal dress, 'sloppy' sitting and standing posture, use of dialect or sub-standard speech, mumbling and shouting, playful aggressivity and 'kidding', inconsiderateness for the other in minor but potentially symbolic acts, minor physical self-involvements such as humming, whistling, chewing, nibbling, belching, and flatulence. The frontstage behaviour language can be taken as the absence (and in some sense the opposite) of this.

According to Goffman, frontstage and backstage communication can vary and overlap depending on the audience, the nature of activities, and the specific communicative context. For instance, a doctor would talk and interact differently when in the presence of a patient, in contrast to when they were with a medical colleague. Aside from contextual categorisation, in Koester's (2006)

corpus-based analysis on workplace discourse, it was concluded that professional communication can also be sorted into transactional (task-orientated) and relational (relationship-orientated) aspects, often with the former being the priority.

Professional identity is co-constructed through a professional communication process (Schnurr, 2012). It is a significant and social part of a person's identity, particularly when one spends a considerable amount of time at work (Mael & Ashforth, 2001). Social identity theory has also been widely employed to explain issues in management and organisational studies (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). A key difference is made between organisational and occupational professional identity. For instance, a computer scientist who works at IBM can simultaneously identify with the company (organisation) and their computer scientist peers in the industry (occupation). Choice of identification also depends on the potential perceived in identities. Mael and Ashforth (2001) speculated that, when work organisations cannot meet a person's identification need, people may instead invest their sense of self in an occupational identity, among others.

Therefore, it is important for organisations and communities (e.g., orchestras and ensembles) to design and provide socialisation procedures that support a newcomer's adjustment and identification. In a study with longitudinal survey data from 150 business and engineering graduates during their first seven months of work, it was found that the process in which entrants are socialised holds both substantive and symbolic values over and above what they learn (Ashforth et al., 2007). A professional community does not need to be large to provide individuals with a sense of potential belonging and identification. Investigating from an applied linguistic perspective on intercultural communication, Holliday (1999) emphasised the importance of "small culture" - such as one's neighbourhood and workplace - as against "large culture", which is on a national level. The research suggests that it can take interaction within only a small group of people to develop a shared history, repertoire, and

perspective, and a sense of belonging and community (Holliday, 1999; 2010).

It has been observed that people rely on musician's ethnic identity and ethnic markers (e.g., physical features, costume, and accent) when judging their musical competencies. Vanweelden and McGee (2007) asked student participants to watch video clips of classical and spiritual music. The students then completed evaluation forms on conductors' performance. The results indicated that, independent of student evaluators' ethnic background (white/black), both groups rated white conductors' performance higher in western art music and that of black conductors higher regarding spiritual music.

Physical ethnic identity markers can also lead to "misplaced approval". For example, ethnomusicologist Trimillos (2004) noted that his Asian features caused people to place trust in his legitimacy to perform and teach Japanese koto, although he is of non-Japanese ancestry. This tendency can be taken up by amateurs - and presumably professionals - conducting "group posturing" in their musical practice in an attempt to negotiate a positive cultural persona (Jenkins, 2014; Solis, 2004). Current professional communities and mainstream society also attach a symbolic importance of communication to music (e.g., "honest signal") (Harwood et al., 2016).

Performing well in one's work is positively related to one's development of intercultural competence. MacNab and Worthley (2012), in their cultural intelligence development study on managers and management students (over 370 respondents in the US and Australia), provided training sequence and asked for verbal feedback at the end. Results of trainers' and trainees' evaluations reported that one's professional efficacy is vital to general self-efficacy, which in turn directly influences cultural intelligence development. In other words, being successful in a career can make one feel more confident in their general competence, which predicts how well they learn in an intercultural context.

3.2.4 In summary

Music research demonstrates diverse musical traditions and its positive effects in cultivating an individual's positive intercultural attitudes (Miranda & Gaudreau, 2018). Studies observed that proximal experiences play a pivotal role in shaping one's feelings and perspectives (Berry et al., 2002). For musicians, shared music-professional experiences and professional identities can be coordinated at the level of milliseconds (Harwood et al., 2016). Researchers also carried out various action studies, designing musical activities that aim at making positive changes for individuals (Papageorgi & Welch, 2016). Applied ethnomusicologists contributed greatly to the findings, through their attempts to develop interventions that utilise various music traditions as intercultural tools (Hemetek, 2016; Pettan & Titon, 2015).

Music studies emphasised the importance of communication competence outside of music-making, such as interpersonal and teamworking skills (Miell et al., 2005). It is argued that it is difficult to prepare students for professional transition, because distinctive communication competencies are involved, and sometimes created locally, in the course of musicians' professional and social activities (Bassett, 2013). Musicians learn to react immediately and form implicit team understanding through performing together in all different places and at all occasions throughout the years. To negotiate a membership into a professional band and community, individuals must first participate in professional performances and bands.

Music can mediate and moderate intercultural communication and learning. Furthermore, professional practice and playing in bands train musicians for specific communication competence, both within and outside music-making, which may positively influence their intercultural communication. Music-professional identity, when associated with ethnocultural identity by musicians and their audiences in larger society, can generate distinctive foci and results of music performance. To develop musically, one needs to play and communicate in groups. However, there is a lack of research on how individual

musicians engage in specific intercultural communication that facilitates their collaborations, projects, and developments across cultures.

3.3 Bridging music and intercultural communication disciplines

To summarise the literature reviewed in this chapter, researchers have paid considerable attention to intercultural learning of musicians, and even that which is aimed at facilitating intercultural rapprochement and reconciliation in music. Making music with culturally different individuals, and listening to recorded music, are significant intercultural experiences (Higgins, 2012; Hill, 2007). White (2012) exhorted the individual audience to adopt a list of anti-essentialist listening strategies for world music, which reflects a principle of reflexive observation (see Figure 3.4). However, existing research tended to lack close examination of the parallel intercultural and professional communication mechanisms, experience, and learning, which often take place when musicians simultaneously cross music-professional and cultural boundaries.

Communication has always played an important role in music careers. In professional music participation and production, interpersonal communication is heavily involved in teamwork with musicians among other professionals, and with audience. It is also essential to those who perform in community and healthcare settings (Preti & Welch, 2013). For any performing artists who need to communicate frequently with audiences of different cultural backgrounds, intercultural communication becomes a necessary, if not prominent, aspect of their profession (Harwood et al., 2016).

Additionally, festival and event organisers have developed and set routines to design and organise international events, responding to musicians' visa and logistics issues, and producing more travel opportunities and intercultural experiences for musicians. These events provide an additional platform for more frequent and intimate exchanges between individuals from different cultures. The new experience may result in changes, where individuals

discover they sometimes cannot achieve their goals because of salient cultural differences presented in the audience, who have distinctive customs and perspectives.

Ever-increasing cultural group diversity and mobility across societies presents unforeseen challenges, in the work and personal lives of musicians. Individuals may perceive that their competencies and identity are challenged, and thus feel excited, protective, and threatened. We need to look deeply and qualitatively into individual cases of communication and learning for a better understanding thereof (Bennett, 1986; Kim, 2001; Ting-Toomey, 2005).

The present study, therefore, sought to understand the overlap and interplay between an individual's intercultural communication and music-professional practice:

- How does professional practice affect musicians' intercultural experience and development?
- How do intercultural communications influence individuals' music-professional practice and development?
- How do music professionals with distinctive cultural and musical backgrounds come to work with one another?

It is time to apply recent intercultural theories and findings to study individual musicians' communication, projects, and identity negotiation across cultures. In local communities, current musical developments are fuelled by a globalised market, requiring musicians to make decisions as to whether and how to accomplish intercultural communication in their work. The foreseeable future growth of music entails ongoing globalisation and increasing intergroup communication in the music industry (Taylor, 1997).

It is difficult to reflect on one's own cultural perception because it is abstract, and often imperceptible. Thus, what if we adopted a different perspective that cultural experience and perspectives have an immediate influence on

musicians' lives and decision-making? What if we assumed that relating musical and cultural experience would, in one's view, make a difference to their professional practice, living, and even wellbeing? This study draws on intercultural communication and social learning frameworks, based upon existing theories, to make sense of the social process whereby music and culture are brought together, and address gap in the literature.

Communication competence is understood and defined differently in music-professional communities. Different conceptualisations of competence also exist systematically across cultural communities. It is acknowledged that economic and practical elements act as a part of external encouragement and pressure, due to the concern of making a living. However, this still leaves many decisions of musicians unexplained. Such as, how did musicians' intercultural communication influence their professional activities? How did they negotiate meanings for their music decisions within an intercultural context? How did they perceive cultural differences in their musical activities? This study bridges the gap between music and intercultural communication disciplines, giving closer examination to the interplay between musicians' music-professional and intercultural communication, and intertwined experiences.

Chapter 4 Methodology

This chapter first describes how purposiveness criteria of pragmatism influenced the study. The subsequent sections elaborate on how pragmatism, cultural relativism, and bricolage are combined for the purpose of this study, and form the lens for inquiry. Pragmatism and cultural relativism lead this study to value practical and (inter)cultural contexts, which influence the musicians' perspectives and behaviours. Bricolage was utilised for its problem- and context-orientated approach to creating the conceptual model, collecting data, and conducting the analysis. The conceptual model (Fig. 2.9) was developed in response to analysis, augmenting Kim's and Wenger's theories (Bryman, 2003; Firestone, 1990) with new concepts to arrive at a theoretical framework that could account for the experiences of intercultural musicians. Sections in this chapter will introduce the design of the study and how it was completed, detailing and accounting for the sampling, data collection and analytical methods adopted. This chapter concludes with reflections on methodological choices, and how this study relates to larger society.

4.1 Methodological background to the research

4.1.1 Pragmatism: Philosophical assumptions and stances

American philosophers William James, Charles Peirce, and John Dewey proposed pragmatism having a central idea that human experiences and behaviours can be better, and only truly, understood with its purposiveness and outcomes in their local context (James, 1978; Jenkins, 2014; Shusterman, 2011). Pragmatist philosophical assumptions and stances imply that musicians' intentions determine what they find challenging and useful. They can judge for themselves what is knowledge, based on how helpful it is to achieving their goals.

Pragmatism emphasises the role of immediate experience in how individuals create their personal views of truth. In the early 1900s, William James proposed that there exists a plurality of subjective truth, based on his study of varied religious experiences. Each human defines what is true, essentially

based on its usefulness experienced by them in day-to-day life. When a person perceives and says what is meaningful and valuable, it is to assign and negotiate that item a level of usefulness in guiding individual and social life. The item can be tangible (e.g., a flute, a person, a score, etc.) and intangible (e.g., differing concepts and perceptions of “justice” (Leung & Morris, 2001)).

What is true to a person is created by various means, according to James, based on two kinds of individual experience: primary somatic experience and secondary intellectual experience. Somatic experience comprises bodily experience and sensibilities that are immediate, intuitive, and, often, indescribable. Both somatic and intellectual experience affect the process by which one views conclusions and knowledge as useful to their local situation. Hence, one’s truth is neither superior nor inferior to another’s.

Practical aspects and criteria always underlie two types of experience, as people consciously and unconsciously evaluate them by practicality. For example, people may prize clean water as it sustains their life. Similarly, they may appreciate “disequilibrium” as a concept, because it helps them understand individual growth and make wiser learning decisions (Greene, 2006). A person need not change their view, as long as it can explain their past experience and predict their future. Conflicting perspectives are shown in court when two people can espouse opposite views of who is guilty, based upon different interpretations of the same evidence.

There are different levels of difficulty for people in gathering various types of evidence. For instance, a musician and a medical doctor, watching the same live performance, would gather different observations on the performer’s musical skills and health conditions based on their expertise. Although no one’s truth is intrinsically superior or inferior to another’s, not everyone’s truth holds the same level of contestability. However, if individuals can have easy access to information, James encourages everyone to further their perception and create consistent interpretation and personal truth. In the same spirit,

White (2012) recommended that, when listening to the music of other cultures, individuals can actively research the cultural, historical, and political background, as records and information on many musical traditions are made accessible nowadays. The information can reduce the audience's reliance on marketing-imposed labels, making them more receptive to innovative musical works.

Each person can retain their specific criteria of what is useful, defining what is (the) reality and ways to approach what they consider meaningful goals for themselves and their communities. Through constant social interactions, individuals can potentially change their surrounding communities by persuading others to do and view things differently. Paradoxically, for some ideas to be valid, people need to be convinced that those perspectives are true and meaningful in the first place (James, 1978).

Practicality, when determined partly by individual experience, emphasises that people do what they do from within the parameters of their personal perspectives. Ergo, pragmatism suggests a moderate stance on human autonomy and plasticity. Autonomy posits that individuals assume an active role in their negotiation with, and of, ongoing social reality. Social interactions can shape, but also be formed by, individuals' experience. For example, classical music was viewed, experienced, and treated differently by people a century ago, for they possessed different sets of subjective experience and knowledge. The experience of it has gradually changed ever since. Contemporary and popular genres developed, and musicological and cultural theories became available (e.g., postmodernism, feminism, queer theory, etc.) in the larger society, which changed individuals' experiences, views, and approaches to classical music (Leppert & McClary, 1989).

Not everyone has the same level of capacity to influence how others perceive and experience reality. It can be determined by the complex interaction of contextual and personal variables, such as whether a person is charismatic

and in a critical position. In either case, individuals' development of ideals (e.g., role models (Ibarra, 1999)) directs their attention and interests towards specific inclinations, which affect their decision-making (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). For example, the musician Ale Möller mentioned how he tried to pick up some elements, and learn in depth, from works and musicians he idealised (<http://www.rootsworld.com/rw/feature/moller2.html>).

Practice (what people do), subjective worlds (what people feel and think), and symbolic meaning negotiation (what people value) are intertwined. From practice in social communication, individuals experience emotional states including stress and appraisals, and they interpret and construct their worldviews. With renewed know-how, feelings, perspectives, and values, they engage in social interaction and negotiate for what people should do, think, and value. For example, critical scholars have been debating the view that power is the primary factor in social influence (Greene, 1994). Societies gradually change thereafter, when individuals manage to convince more people and get their inventions - new ways to do and view things - transferred into common practice and thinking.

Pragmatist assumptions and stances underpin my research aims, questions, and approaches to understanding how musicians' long-term intercultural practice and identity negotiation take place across music-professional and cultural communities. The study aims to inform musicians' activities, as well as educational and organisational programmes that support intercultural learning of musicians and non-musicians. Pragmatism contributes a purposive and problem-solving focus to setting directions for research questions and approaches.

[4.1.2 Cultural relativism: ground for intercultural communication](#)

Cultural relativism argues that different, yet valid, "truths" can be developed and constructed particular to different cultural communities. Pragmatism's proposal of alethic pluralism also implies a relativist view on truth across

cultural differences. For example, what music means in one cultural group can be different in another. Pragmatism, when applied in cases of cross-cultural comparison, recognises that groups can develop various contradictory, albeit rational, perspectives, simultaneously. Relativist perspectives alike lead to an interpretative approach in studying a cultural community. They value understanding their insiders' views; advocating for emic, over etic, approaches (Creswell, 2013).

Social constructionism is one of the main contributors to the development of cultural relativism (Bennett, 2017). Sociologist Peter Berger and philosopher Thomas Luckmann, in their work, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), put forward the idea of social constructionism. They posit that social reality is built by process of internalisation and externalisation. *Internalisation* refers to where context conditions human experience and understanding, through socialisation processes. *Externalisation* refers to where individuals create and sustain social institutions through their role enactment, via social interactions. For instance, Becker (2008) observed that, when individuals opt for an occupation such as musician - a professional group that is already labelled as a "deviant" - the choice thereby renders individuals deviants (*internalisation*). Then, they would take up such a role and position themselves against non-musicians who are positioned as rigid, which reinforces the deviant image of musician groups (*externalisation*).

Social constructionist researchers often adopt an interpretative approach, although with differing foci. In order to gain an understanding of the subjective experiences of individuals, they utilise observation, individual accounts, and open questions in interviews. For instance, interpretivism may focus on musicians' subjective experiences and perspectives on being a "deviant". Social constructionists may study how these individual experiences and thoughts formed in their specific cultural contexts, or how musicians' deviant roles were mediated and formed out of social interactions (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). A pragmatist study, however, may focus on how musicians' activities in

specific environments instil in them certain experiences, and thus senses of purpose for being a deviant, and how effectively being a deviant helped or hindered them from achieving their goals.

Cultural relativism highlights cultural differences that are overlooked by pragmatist thinking, even when the latter stresses the plurality of perspectives. Cultural relativist researchers argue that knowledge, in all cultural communities, is a meaningful product within its local context. This argument leads to a stance that cultures ought to be treated as equal entities. It further points out the methodological weakness of creating an evaluation of a cultural community based on criteria developed entirely by researchers from outside the group.

Intercultural communication research was built upon such cultural relativist assumptions. There is not one, but multiple, efficient communication systems, depending on specific problems identified, and on conventions and values negotiated by each society. Etiquettes and internalised communication understandings are also developed historically, by way of sustained social interactions of individuals in response to their local environment (Berry et al., 2002). Therefore, communication effectiveness and appropriateness are situational and dependent on whether local interlocutors share certain goals, rules, and views of communication.

In brief, cultural relativism resonates with pragmatism's pluralist view of knowledge, arguing that cultural groups can possess multiple and conflicting versions of truths. It suggests that knowledge is produced, and communication and musical competencies defined, dependent on local, provisional, and cultural contexts. Different systems of musical views and competencies have been described in studies on a Javanese gamelan musician community (Brinner, 1995), a Kaluli community in Papua New Guinea (Feld, 1984), and a Venda community in South Africa (Blacking, 1973). Cultural relativism has functioned as a methodology that requires researchers to acknowledge the

perspectives of cultural insiders, regarding their music and appropriate communication.

4.1.3 Methodological framework: Linking between bricolage, pragmatism, and cultural relativism

Lincoln and Denzin (2000) first used *bricoleur* in the spirit of Claude Levi-Strauss (1966), to describe where researchers conduct their research similar to “handyman’s, jack-of-all-trades’s, use of what materials and tools are available and which seem sensible” (Lincoln, 2001, p.693). Kincheloe (2001) picked up on the term and developed the concept of bricolage and its key implication as an interdisciplinary approach. He notes that researchers need to be aware that every research perspective and method has distinctive theoretical and philosophical stances. A single methodology is often laden with assumptions and, therefore, limitations that blind it to other important facets (Bateson, 1936; Kellner, 2003). In an attempt to address the issue, bricoleurs adopt multiple perspectives and methodologies. When a researcher makes use of various perspectives, they will acquire “more dimensions and consequences” out of their data (Kellner, 2003).

Kincheloe recommended that researchers review various methods and methodologies regarding their historical and philosophical situatedness, in the way that a handyperson would check tools in their toolbox. Subsequently, the object of inquiry would shape how researchers precisely combine tools - specific analytical frames and methods - across disciplines, which makes *interdisciplinarity* (Kincheloe, 2001, p.685). He clarified that bricolage does not provide standardised procedures of research methods because it would defeat its own purpose. If one interdisciplinary research study is profoundly responsive to its object of inquiry, its research nature, form, and methods would be shaped by its specific research objects, questions, and the context within which it occurs.

This investigation is interdisciplinary in two senses: its object of inquiry and its methodology. Its research interest in musicians' activities, on both cultural and music-professional boundaries, mark its inquiry as interdisciplinary. In terms of methodology, this study brings together, for the first time, Kim's intercultural communication theory with Wenger's social learning theory, which shows one way to construct interdisciplinary research - "an integrated melding of disciplinary perspectives into a new methodological synthesis" (Kincheloe, 2001, p.685).

Interest has been growing in collaborations and borrowing methods across academic communities, and the intensity of debates regarding how to bring distinctive research perspectives and methodologies together has increased. Kincheloe's timely proposal of bricolage presents a robust pragmatic ground, which is echoed in Patton's argument concerning the pragmatic approach (Patton, 1990, pp.38-39, as cited in Greene, 1994, p.537):

Rather than believing that one must choose to align with one paradigm or another, I advocate a paradigm of choices. A paradigm of choices rejects methodological orthodoxy in favor of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality. The issue then becomes [...] whether one has made sensible method decisions given the purpose of the inquiry, the questions being investigated, and the resources available.

Kincheloe and Patton, alike, reason that, when researchers focus on intentionality and how well individuals achieved their goals, their research attention is orientated towards problem-solution and application. They would care more about the object of inquiry and problem-solution than loaded assumptions with which methods carry. They would thus employ a mixture of approaches, techniques, and data collection and analysis methods, which they deem most appropriate to meet their study purposes (Rossman & Wilson,

1985). Pragmatism has provided a philosophical underpinning for bricolage and this interdisciplinary research.

Like the aforementioned handyperson, I created theoretical and conceptual frameworks (see section 2.4), drawing upon a toolbox of intercultural, social, psychological, and educational concepts that remain vigorous across disciplines, with a sensitivity to the (inter)cultural context of musicians' real lives (Fishman, 1995). Different forms of data were utilised, including interviews, observations, and extant documents (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000).

Pragmatism and cultural relativism together suggest a criterion of usefulness in a person's shaping of their individual truth, subjective experience, and decision-making regarding cultural boundaries. The two notions were implied in Kim's and Wenger's work. They drew widely upon literature across disciplines, focusing on individual development in interaction with the sociocultural environment, and elaborating on practical implications of their theories. It is necessary to understand musicians' perspectives, as individuals often make decisions based on perception and reasoning that feel intuitively true and useful. To take others' perspectives is the first step to understanding what is meaningful to them, and how to communicate better with them.

Three popular qualitative research paradigms have different foci: utilitarian pragmatism, which focuses on a project's effectiveness in reality; interpretivism and constructivism, which emphasise subjectivity, contextual information, and pluralism in understanding; and critical social sciences, such as feminism, queer studies, or studies of low-income communities that aim at empowering various minority groups (Greene, 2000). (Constructivism differs from the aforementioned constructionism with an emphasis on an individual's development of internal stability (Ackermann, 2001)). The object of this research combines the first two elements. It takes a similar focus and approach, recognising that pluralistic understanding of the subjective experience and contextual influence is crucial in understanding individual intentions and social

behaviours. However, its ultimate aim is to explore musicians' effectiveness in intercultural environments.

What a human feels and thinks about the world, others, and selves does not need to be a unified version (King, 2004a). The Jamesian view of truth implies a recognition of the abundant existence and value of culturally different truths. Every cultural perspective, with which its cultural members were imbued, can be true and valuable to them. Moreover, when those individuals move and live in another culture for long periods, they may develop a complex mindset that accommodates two incompatible, and even contradictory, worldviews from their home community and current host environment, which help them effectively deal with cultural differences (Bennett, 1986).

Qualitative methods enable me to investigate musicians' intertwined practice and experience in both musical and cultural domains (Brinner, 1995). Firstly, qualitative approaches can focus on studying phenomena as they occur in natural settings, and can provide detailed descriptions of socially constructed realities and meanings assigned to particular experiences (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Secondly, they are more capable of achieving in-depth comprehension, when compared to quantitative methods. Researchers can focus on generating "a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting" (Creswell, 1998, p.15). This study is exploring aspects of musicians' intercultural practice, learning, and identity developments that are yet to be fully understood. Quantitative methods are more effective when there is an established theory to be tested. In comparison, qualitative methods are more appropriate when the object of inquiry remains an under-researched area, and calls for an in-depth and holistic investigation (Cools, 2006).

Music and intercultural communication activities are rarely explored together. This might be because they are located in different branches of humanities and social sciences, with distinctive research interests, methodologies, and

methods. However, Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p.3) observed that many humanists started looking to social sciences for social theories that can provide them new research perspectives, and social scientists to humanities for their more complex interpretation of texts and contexts. It is time for social science and humanity researchers to use their studies as “sites for critical conversations” concerning globalisation and community, among other topics. This study serves as such a site.

4.2 Methods

The theoretical framework invites the consideration of musicians’ sustained social communication, subjective experiences, and aims. Wenger points out that continuous social interaction, in a community, plays a primary role in individuals’ learning and negotiation of meaning and of their identity. Similarly, Kim highlights that the sustained interpersonal interactions a person has with their local and host communities are crucial to their intercultural development. Consistent with Kim’s and Wenger’s views of identity development, data collection and analysis were focused on what individuals said and did, and on the consistencies between the two.

Qualitative data were gathered for theory-led thematic analysis. They include semi-structured interviews, naturalistic observations of musicians’ communication behaviours (e.g., how they interact with an audience during a live concert), and supplementary documents of musicians’ communication (e.g., biographies and clips of past performances) (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000). In some cases, I could not observe respondents performing live. Supplementary documents include recordings and written accounts relating to interviewees were gathered to suggest what sustained sociocultural interaction an individual has had, and with which professional and cultural communities they participated, learned, and negotiated. Based on first-hand interviews and accounts from secondary sources, I analysed musicians’ social interactions and subjective experiences, as guided by the conceptual model.

4.2.1 Sampling strategy and criteria

Respondents were recruited using purposive theoretical sampling. Purposive strategy was adopted because musicians in certain intercultural music practice “may have a unique, different or important perspective on the phenomenon in question and their presence in the sample should be ensured” (Creswell, 2013; Mason, 2017; Robinson, 2014, p.32). Participants firstly needed to have earned their living from their music performance for some time. It is observed that a professional status makes a crucial difference regarding how individuals respond to a potential conflict between their music interests and the pressure of making a living out of performing music (Green, 2002). In comparison to cultural newcomers in other professions, individuals with a musical occupation tend to be more socially active, gaining attention and exposure in social and mass communication channels. General self-efficacy in one’s profession is a critical factor indicating the success one feels regarding their adaptation to a new cultural environment (MacNab & Worthley, 2012). This observation is consistent with professional identity studies, which observe that career identity forms a primary element of an individual’s overall identity (Shott, 1979).

Another sampling aim is to capture a wide range of musicians who are with distinctive intercultural trajectories and experiences, as recorded by intercultural theories. Theoretical sampling adopted differs from other purposive sampling strategies, as sampling decisions are made based on a conceptual model during data gathering and provisional analysis (Coyne, 1997; Robinson, 2014). As the analysis progressed, I searched for musicians with contrasting music-cultural background who might enrich the emerging theory. For instance, I talked with a non-Japanese taiko musician and, thereafter, searched for another taiko musician with a differing cultural background. It allows multidimensionality in research, which is an important quality in an investigation of musicians whose music-making contains cultural boundary practice and interactions (Partti, 2012; Welch, 2007).

Ward (2001) organised different situations and experiences of the international population into six categories based on their purposes, time-span, and type of involvement. These categories are: tourists, international students, international workers, immigrants, refugees, and indigenous people (who have “always been there”). These features affect individuals’ motivation, participation, and learning features when in contact with other cultural groups. Participants had to have intercultural experiences for some time, either through years of musical contacts or living in another cultural community. It is observed that individuals who live outside their home community, for over three years, demonstrate more intercultural sensitivity and skills (Bennett, 1986; Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992). Individuals experience cultures differently, for instance, when they move to another country as a child with their family, or to look for study or work opportunities.

It was recognised that such categorisation of cultural groups does not encompass the varied individual situations that happen in real life (Ward, 2001). From an early stage of their life, some individuals may grow up between different local communities when they need to move around with their family (e.g., the children of ambassadors). Some grow up between mainstream culture and their parents’ culture (e.g. Soto’s (2013) study on bimusical identity of Mexican American children in Mexican American bilingual-bicultural school). Some live in international neighbourhoods and attend international schools, which represents a small and unique bubble of a multicultural environment (Pollock et al., 2010). In the limited time of this study, I could not recruit musicians who have all those backgrounds. However, the sample achieved were diverse enough in their intercultural backgrounds to arrive at a theory that could account for the experience of a wide range of musicians.

4.2.2 Data collection methods

I began seeking out respondents by searching online for performances that had: 1) been listed under “world music”, “traditional”, and “folk” categories on websites of music festivals and agencies; and 2) whose work had been

described in intercultural terms and labelled “world music” by others and/or themselves. At the outset, I prioritised well-known international festivals and local organisations, such as Fringe and Celtic Connections, as well as Edinburgh-based music agency FreakMusic (e.g., <https://www.freakmusic.co.uk/>). Those organisations attracted many international musicians to join their events or platforms. People can use websites to look up musicians, utilising keywords such as ‘traditional’, ‘folk’, or ‘world music’. The ambiguity of intercultural musical practice also allows musicians to use almost any of those labels to reach out to their respective target audience.

I also told acquaintances and friends that I would like to interview musicians of such kinds. Through my search online and their introductions, new musicians were found and put in the potential respondent list. Their musical and cultural backgrounds were then checked. If their experiences suited the sampling criteria and more specific needs found in the analysis at the time, I emailed or talked to potential musicians in person, where possible, to invite them for an interview.

Interview

The data collection procedure was designed to accommodate and be convenient for culturally diverse participants. During August 2017 to August 2018, 15 interviews were conducted with 17 professionals (thirteen individual interviews and two joint interviews). Each lasted 75-90 minutes. Thirteen interviews took place in the UK, one online with a participant in the USA, and one in China. Eight interviews took place face-to-face in public locations such as cafés, the participant’s office (one interview), and musicians’ residences (five interviews). The online interview utilised the video-conferencing application Skype, as the respondent was in the United States while the researcher was based in Scotland. Skype interviewing has been used as a viable alternative to face-to-face, in that the researcher and interviewee are still able to interact visually and aurally in real-time (Lo Iacono et al., 2016).

A semi-structured approach was used, with a list of open-ended questions on key topics generated from the literature (see Appendix A). Every interview commenced with the researcher reading interviewees the research information, confidentiality protocols, and agreements to quote, and seeking their verbal confirmation of consent. Interviewees were first asked to give an account of how they became part of their international/intercultural music projects. After their accounts, key topics covered were: their musical background; their intercultural experience; their relations with band members or musicians they have collaborated with; how they communicated and rehearsed; what musical and cultural challenges they have encountered; and how they coped with those challenges.

Semi-structured interview was adopted for it combines a level of flexibility with control (King, 2004a). This method is useful when seeking to explore interviewees' subjective experiences. A set of interview topics and questions were created based on the conceptual model (see Appendix A). Questions were adjusted along the data gathering and provisional analysis process, and depending on respondents' specific backgrounds. Baker and Johnson (1998), however, point out that researchers should treat interviews as data generation instead of data collection. This view has implications for how conceptual model and interview data are treated in this study. Interview data is seen as co-constructed by interviewer and interviewee(s). It is noted that interview questions shape, and are key parts of, the data; thus, they can be read as accounts, rather than as reports.

Some interview questions changed depending on respondents' specific situations. For example, musicians were asked whether they had stayed in another country for long. When their answers were negative, I did not ask further questions about acculturation. Instead, I asked about their long-term collaboration experience with musicians and audiences of another culture. Interview questions also changed depending on the ongoing analysis during

the data gathering period. I started provisional analysis of each interview directly after transcribing it. The first interviewees were South Korean musicians experienced in performing fusion music, and had not stayed long-term outside their home country. To explore the missing intercultural experience identified in the analysis, I then began looking for musicians who relocated for a long time, and questions were about their music-professional experience in their host society.

I sought to be sensitive to personal and theoretical biases in the interviews. Active listening skills and verbal prompts were utilised to encourage interviewees. Probing techniques and follow-up questions were employed to obtain comprehensive data, and to ensure that the interviewees' accounts were contextually and adequately understood. Interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed for analysis. The unit of analysis is each entire interview transcript, with the transcript convention (see Appendix B).

All interviews were conducted in English, except for one in Mandarin with a Lisu Chinese musician (whose first language is Lisu). I coded the text first, and later translated key quotes from Chinese into English. Nord's (2018) Skopos theory's three principles of translation offered guidance; namely, skopos ("purpose"), coherence, and fidelity. I translated the text, adhering to word-for-word translation to keep the original order of words and grammar, as the translation intended to let the musician speak for himself. The translation's coherence was also borne in mind, as was the extent to which it conveyed what the interviewee wanted to say. Finally, I asked a proof-reader to check and ensure that the meaning was translated correctly and clearly.

Observation

Observation prior to the interviews provided contextual information to generate interview questions and data on musicians' actions and communication decisions with a culturally different or diverse audience, in performance. I observed six respondents' concerts as an audience member. I chose their live

performances that had an intercultural theme (e.g., refugees, immigration, etc.), and/or at an international festival. Some participants did not schedule any public performances during the data collection period. Others had concerts, but the time and financial costs created barriers that made it difficult for me to attend them. During the performances I visited, I took notes on a small notebook, or using a smartphone when it was dark. This study adopted several modes of observing, out of ten identified by Tjora (2006, p.437): Generalisation (what is the interaction pattern?); Interpretation (why are the actors doing this?); Wondering (what is in the actors' minds?); Explaining (could this be the reason?); Reflecting and reacting (being influenced by the field); and Assessing (evaluating people's behaviour). With a focus on (inter)cultural elements in their communication with audience, I listed three main items of observation, including:

- 1) How musicians presented their cultural and musical membership (e.g., through costumes);
- 2) Whether and how they adjusted their repertoire to specific audiences (e.g., adding locally popular songs); and
- 3) Whether they delivered cultural and historical contexts of music and their intercultural opinions (e.g., artistic or political) to their audience, in written or oral form.

To exemplify this, some musicians spent minutes between pieces, telling stories and anecdotes of how the piece originated, was developed, or performed in its cultural community, what it means to the community and musician personally. I wrote down that they did 3) in a manner that suggests a tendency of individualisation strategy, which values culture-specific and individualistic information in communication.

Observation allowed the researcher to see musicians' communication strategies towards their audience in a natural setting, differing from when they are attending an interview (Silverman, 2019; Wilson & MacLean, 2011).

Musicians' behaviours in live performance are a significant aspect of their professional identity. How interviewees interacted with their audience also reflects what they expected from the crowd. It gives a chance to identify aspects of practice that the musician may not think to report on, or may not even be aware of themselves. Observation data thereby provides further information to my interviews with musicians, probing for explanations on what aspects they opted to interact with their audience on, and how they understand what they did. Observation and interview are employed together; the former helps identify respondents' notable intercultural communication strategies, while the latter gather answers from individuals regarding why they behaved so (Whyte & Whyte, 1984). Observation data are viewed as "clues" instead of "discoveries", revealing hidden characteristics and dimensions of communities (Alasuutari, 1998).

Supplementary documents of musicians' communication

There are abundant documents pertaining to musicians' activities and written communication, including data online, which is informative to the social mass communication aspect (Silverman, 2019). The additional data were not fully coded, but were used as supporting material with notes taken on them (Davidson, 2004). They included flyers, booklets, concert programmes, and some web-based data, which contains material from musicians' official websites, press articles, critics, videos, second-hand interviews, and comments.

New forms of data relevant to the studies require qualitative researchers to make creative use of them (Puchta and Potter, 2004). Online presence becomes more influential as it is a cost-efficient and principal means by which musicians can utilise varied platforms to directly connect with an international audience, building their own website and posting on social media platforms (e.g., YouTube, Facebook, etc.). As online platforms become a more primary channel between musicians and their international audiences, they also

become a useful window for researchers to view musicians' communication decisions.

I watched videos, read written interview accounts of respondents, and noted where their answers differed. As guided by the theoretical framework, I paid attention to (in)consistencies between behaviours and narratives when they took place with culturally different individuals around. It made me reflect that the interviews with respondents also had their specific cultural context, and might be conditioned by the best form by which the musicians thought to convey their ideas to me. In the same way, I read flyers, booklets, and performance programmes, in order to gain a sense of target audience, and compared them with the themes I had at the time.

Documents of musicians' communication are advantageous in that researchers do not influence their production, unlike interviews which they conduct (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). The additional data can demonstrate mainstream trends in media (e.g., magazines and newspapers), and varied opinions from audiences (e.g., blogs or below-the-line comments). The internet provides rich accounts on motivations and challenges, told by other musicians active in intercultural music projects, serving as a triangulation source for this qualitative data analysis (Wilson & MacLean, 2011).

I collected documents centred around respondents, including material from their official websites, interviews, clips online, and concert promotion materials. I then used broad online searches regarding topics such as "intercultural", "transcultural", and "world music", and imported those relating to musicians in intercultural music practice to NVivo. I particularly looked at musicians' language choices on official websites; how they presented specific musical and cultural identities, and whether they stated purposes of intercultural rapport, musical cross-fertilisation, and protecting traditional music.

Text and videos posted online provide rich data for researchers to gain a better understanding of how the professionals present themselves and interact with people. The wide spread of smartphones and versatile social platforms (e.g., blog articles, audio/video recordings, podcasts, etc.) make mass and social media primary channels for international communication. Kim (2001) observes that a cultural newcomer's ability to communicate with host individuals is positively associated with their use of host channels of mass communication (e.g., Hispanic individuals in the USA reading American newspapers), and negatively with ethnic mass media (e.g., the same people watching Spanish television shows). Live, public performances form a great part of musicians' meaning negotiation and identity performance, in which they express their opinions, interact with local people, and talk about their ideas. Interviews and public performance might be secondary sources; nonetheless, they give valid information concerning musicians' communication strategies and identity negotiations, which triangulate my interview and observation data. The materials collected were communications intended for the public, thus had no major ethical concerns involved.

Respondent details

17 respondents were from 11 countries of origin, consisting of (based on the country of birth): one American (US), one Argentinian, one Brazilian, six British (three English and three Scottish), one Chinese, one Greek, one Indian, one Iranian, one Iraqi, three South Korean. They are detailed in Table 4.1, in which the names have been changed.

Name	Instrument(s)	Home community	Sojourn(ed) Community (over three years)	Musical genre (as described by themselves)	Observation	Other documents
Min-jun	composer, contrabass, producer	South Korea	N/A	contemporary, fusion	✓	✓
Do-yun	hang drum, dae-gum, so-gum (Korean flutes)	South Korea	N/A	traditional, fusion	✓	✓
Seo-yun	gayageum and piano	South Korea	N/A	fusion, traditional	✓	✓
Andrew	percussion	Scotland	N/A	samba and Scottish bagpipe crossover	N/A	✓
Sarah	percussion and vocals	England	N/A	samba and Scottish bagpipe crossover	N/A	✓
Ahmad	Oud and vocals	Iraq	Scotland	Arabic	N/A	✓
Marcos	trumpet, vocals, percussion, cavaquinho	Brazil	Scotland	Brazilian, Afro-Cuban, jazz	N/A	✓
Ioannis	guitar, composer, producer	Greece	England	traditional, Balkan, jazz	N/A	✓
Karen	clarinet	England	N/A	klezmer, Balkan, traditional	✓	✓
Pedro	sitar and guitar	Argentina	United States, Scotland	traditional	✓	N/A
Anna	taiko (Japanese percussion sets)	Scotland	N/A	taiko drumming	✓	✓
Farhad	santur (Iranian hammered dulcimer)	Iran	England	traditional, fusion	✓	✓
Oscar	composer and gamelan	Scotland	N/A	contemporary, jazz	N/A	✓
Isla	festival staff	Scotland	N/A	N/A	N/A	✓
Atpo	lusheng and hulusi	Chuxiong Yi Autonomous Prefecture (China)	Beijing (China)	traditional, indigenous	N/A	N/A
Myra	singer-songwriter	India	United States	Hindi, pop, jazz	N/A	✓
Makoto	composer, flute, taiko, shinobue (Japanese flute)	United States	Japan	Japanese traditional, American jazz, cross-cultural musical collaboration	N/A	✓

Table 4.1 Musical and cultural backgrounds of the respondents

The respondents' music-professional activities involve an intercultural focus. They stated purposes of bridging between musical genres, and/or between cultural groups, in their musical performances and ensembles. They are practitioners of styles such as traditional folk music, fusion music, or contemporary composition. Five are female and eleven male; all in their early to late adulthood.

They have distinctive cultural backgrounds and intercultural experiences. Nine interviewees had never sojourned for an extended period (longer than three years). Eight stayed in a country for more than three years, as immigrants or international students, among other sojourning individuals who do not have a particular plan of remaining or leaving. At least three are descendants of earlier family immigration (e.g., Argentinian of British descent and American of

Japanese descent). One moved with her family to the US as a teenager; one had involuntary relocation as an asylum seeker.

Their identities are composed of multiple musical, cultural, and occupational elements. Some are multi-instrumentalists. The South Korean gayageum musician also plays the piano in her spare time. The Japanese American jazz-trained flautist learnt taiko and shinobue in Japan. The British clarinettist also picked up the accordion. Some have/had several professions. The Iranian musician is a computer scientist; the Lisu Chinese musician once turned to the jewellery trade.

Informed Consent

An ethics review was performed through a subject checklist, according to ECA's *Research Ethics Self Audit Level 1*. It was confirmed that the research belongs to Level 1, which does not involve any vulnerable groups, such as underage participants (see Appendix C). General ethical guidelines and advice with regards to the studies conducted in the field of humanities and social science were followed, including Edinburgh College of Art's *Ethics Policy*, University of Edinburgh College of Humanities and Social Sciences' *Research Ethics Framework*, and the UK Research Integrity Office's *Code of Practice for Research* (UK Research Integrity Office (UKRIO), 2009).

My intention was made known from the beginning, as Creswell (2013) emphasises that such action is important, to prevent deception in the name of research. Interview participants were informed of research aims. I provided study information in outreach emails and invited participants to reply confirming their consent. In addition to confirmation emails, I then verbally re-confirm informed consent (see Appendix D) at the start of each interview. Verbal consent was provided by interviewees, and kept on record with an assurance of confidentiality. All personal information was kept as confidential information to which only the researcher has access. Participation in the research was voluntary, and interviewees were assured of the right to stop the

recording or amend what they said whenever they chose. The process conducted is in accordance with the ethical consideration document recently updated and published by CAHSS Research Ethics Committee (<https://www.ed.ac.uk/arts-humanities-soc-sci/research-ke/serch-research-hub/research-ethics-integrity>). Every consideration and action was taken to avoid misunderstandings or confusion that could cause participants any potential inconveniences or harm.

4.2.3 Qualitative theory-led thematic analysis as analytical framework

It is beneficial for researchers to have an understanding of how to analyse the data before collecting it (Willig, 2013). A qualitative theory-led thematic analysis was adopted, with a conceptual model that utilises existing theories and findings as guidance to investigate the under-explored area of musicians' intercultural activities and identity development. This analysis method enables researchers to apply theoretical knowledge and findings, from the literature across disciplines, in a top-down approach to the study (King, 2004a).

Simultaneously, it allows newly collected data to revise the limitations of theories in a bottom-up manner. Although conceptual themes had been selected prior to data collection, they were subjected to revision throughout the data gathering and analysis process. Thematic analysis is often positioned as deductive, which allows researchers to “replicate, extend and refute existing studies” (Boyatzis, 1998). Nevertheless, by its nature, the analysis process is a combination of induction and deduction. Joffe (2012) observes the necessity of deductive-inductive duality in high-quality qualitative research; it is important to make use of the knowledge that already exists in the field. On the other hand, to conduct a sound deductive qualitative analysis, a researcher has to be as open as possible and think of potential codes that may better describe and explain the data, instead of simply looking for the ones that support a specific theory or conclusion, ensuring to treat equally and seriously new themes shown in the dataset, although they may not fall into preconceived frameworks.

Concepts and findings in intercultural communication research provide a refreshing lens for studying musicians' experience. Sandelowski and Barroso (2003, p.913) note that a thematic analysis where "concepts are actually used conceptually or themes are actually used thematically to recast portions of data" has "the effect not simply of serving as a reasonable way to group data but of either extending the theoretical or other intellectual tradition from which they were imported and/or illuminating an experience." This study takes the view that identity negotiation involves individuals' narratives (how they try to convince people that their practice is meaningful, and thus valuable, in oral and written communication), their behaviours (what they do and which groups they participate in), and the consistency between the two.

Interview and observation data provide crucial information on musicians. The usefulness of the theoretical framework was tested against the data, opening to the data from bottom to top. Throughout the analysis, themes are used as codes and analytical framework, to some extent (Bryman, 2016). Using theory-led thematic analysis in this way maintained transparency in my interpretation process, and allowed reflection on stances taken.

Seeking a latent level of meaning behind words means to explore individuals' experiences and views on musical and cultural differences, suggested by what they said and did. Transcripts were coded accordingly, with concepts serving as a tool for generating data in the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Grammatical details were not seen as critical, because more than half of the respondents (and I) are not English native speakers. The analysis was conducted with coding steps adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006) (see Figure 4.1). I examined recurring patterns with the analytical framework and put them into categories. Subsequently, with groups of topics and questions in mind, the condensed data were reviewed, and sentences coded and recoded. All data were reviewed several times, "condensed, clustered, sorted, and linked over time" (Miles et al., 2018, p.155).

1. To transcribe and note down ideas and potential coding schemes.
2. To create as many potential codes as possible; to code extracts of data inclusively to keep some surrounding information and thereby the context.
3. To write the name of code and its brief description on separate Post-Its, and organise them into piles of themes; to think about the relation between codes, themes, and different levels of them. The researcher can also create a 'miscellaneous' for temporary storage.
4. To review conceptual themes and their internal homogeneity to see whether data under one theme is coherent; then its external heterogeneity, whether themes work with each other well. Also, to re-code data that has been missed in earlier coding stages.
5. To define and refine each code, conduct and write detailed analysis for each individual theme.

Figure 4.1 Coding steps adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006, p.87-93)

NVivo (version 11.1), a form data management software, was used for the coding and analysis process (Bazeley & Richards, 2000). During the first time of reading the transcript, themes were adopted to respond to items deemed as important, such as sustained intercultural living experience, language proficiency, different communication decisions with a different audience, and a cultural identity that is associated with musical identity. Text that presented specific behaviours, experiences, and perspectives was coded into themes under the (sub-)categories. I took notes following interviews, and wrote my thoughts about the text data after the first time of reading and coding them. After identifying some patterns following two to three interviews, I researched literature that could provide plausible explanations for newly emerged patterns and questions on music and intercultural related topics. Those ideas inspired the initial and further coding.

Text that could not be put into original categories was coded with new themes or (sub-)categories. However, these predetermined categories were not fixed. They could be "revised, removed, and added" during the data coding process (Cho & Lee, 2014, p.10). For instance, a set of acculturation identity strategies ("assimilation", "separation", "integration", and "marginalisation") and two aspects of adaptation ("behavioural adaptation" and "psychological

adaptation”) were first listed as sub-themes. However, it was soon ascertained that they could not explain patterns shown in the data, such as affective and motivational factors in musicians’ narratives and their influences on individuals’ choices in professional activities. I also removed some initial codes that originally seemed significant, but later seemed to be tangential to research questions, such as “Early experience with music”. I kept writing new notes in Post-Its, in addition to older ones, and linked them to certain nodes.

Specific themes were chosen under each research question, to form perspectives that anchor the analysis. It started from what happened in practice: musicians who started their trajectory departing from their primary music domain and/or their home cultural community (Encounter); through social communication, what challenging adjustments they found they needed to make (Stress); to developing their sets of boundary practice repertoire, what musical and cultural identities they envisioned and negotiated with their local practice, as a source of identity development (Learning).

I found more participants to interview until data saturation was achieved. Categories and coding were reviewed and revised until themes emerged from the data that kept repeating previous ones (see section 4.2.1). Opinions were gathered for how many qualitative interviews are sufficient, from fourteen established social scientists and five early career researchers (Baker & Edwards, 2012). They summarised that it is impossible to set a ballpark number, as it depends on the purpose and nature of individual research. Nevertheless, it is suggested that a few interviews are enough to reveal the variety of a phenomenon, if that is the intention of the study.

I ultimately had codes such as *eudaimonic living* and *interest gap*. The former is defined as “an intrinsic motivation where one expresses an enjoyment in making use of their strength towards something larger than themselves”; the latter “differences described between external preferences and what one would like to play personally. That helped me analyse and describe musicians

intercultural practice and identity development. As I noticed data had gathered repeatedly under these headings, I stopped gathering interview and observation data and began writing up my thematic analysis. Examples of analysis conducted on the interviews, observations, and supplementary documents are included in Appendix D.

The final step of this research was to extract findings from conceptual and bottom-up themes. The thematic analysis had been operating as a site of interaction between theoretical concepts on one side, and musicians' subjective experiences and actions on the other. Conceptual categories and themes provided a holistic explanation on individual musicians' intercultural practice and identity development, from their first significant intercultural musical incident until 2018.

It is acknowledged that the ideological and physical presence of researchers has a deciding influence on their study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). My view would be unavoidably influenced by theories, as parts of my viewpoint and identity are socially constructed. There was a struggle to balance the research agenda with submitting to emergent meaning. In consideration of the positioning of my voice in talking about the data, a non-interventionist strategy was adopted, in which long strings of data are used in quotes, while being careful not to leave readers stranded without the knowledge of my interpretation (Holliday, 2007).

4.3 Methodological reflections

More researchers have been borrowing methods and combining methodologies across disciplines of social sciences and humanities (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000). Kincheloe (2001, p.688) underscored that, in interdisciplinary research and bricolage, researchers must have a "philosophical/epistemological/ontological sensitivity to the context of analysis. Such a sensitivity is a key element of the bricolage, as it brings an understanding of social theory together with an appreciation of the demands

of particular contexts.” In this study, conducted between intercultural communication and music research, I continued to reflect on my understandings, stances, and purposes, which affected decisions of research methods, data collection, and analysis (Star, 2010).

Researcher subjectivity and coding reliability are noted first, which are naturally affected by theories and personal background. This is considered as an inherent part of qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). Stake (1995) explains how, although it cannot be value-free in qualitative data generation, analysis, or discussion, a potential antidote is to “identify affiliations and ideological commitments” that influence researchers’ interpretations (Stake 2006 as cited in Partti, 2012). Furthermore, Wenger (1998) argues that unique focus and perspectives are the significant contributions of social theories.

Another concern is research reflexivity - the attempt to approach the topic from differing perspectives, and the richness of the description produced (King, 2004b). Efforts were made to be as open as possible, and to allow the data to speak for themselves. Throughout the reflexive thematic analysis process, I continued to create a consistent comprehension through summarising detailed notes regarding themes, selecting illustrative quotes, and producing a coherent “story” of the findings.

It is surmised that an individual’s understanding of themselves is no different in kind of from their understanding of others (Ryle, 2009). For most people to reach such self-knowledge, data can include observable behaviours, talk (inner dialogue in one’s mind, murmuring to oneself, and vocally to others), and other forms of communicative practices and products (e.g., hardcopy books and comments posted online) (Jenkins, 2014).

All social observation contains a level of performance (Goffman, 1978), and data triangulation was used to crosscheck the consistency across different aspects of musicians. Data from multiple sources enrich each respondent’s

case, forming a more detailed portrayal of musicians' behaviours, perspectives, and narratives. Prominent, representative, and special patterns that emerged from the analysis of datasets were interpreted, clustered, and categorised with attention to research questions and conceptual model. Excerpts from the transcripts were selected to illustrate and exemplify the various findings.

Pragmatism guided the creation of this study between two separate academic communities. The pragmatist view posits that efforts can best be evaluated against their intended purpose(s). Designing interdisciplinary research between intercultural communication and music made me deliberate over aims and object of inquiry. My theoretical aim can be summarised as to “serve as a starting point or further discussion, negotiations of meaning, and ideas for pragmatic applications” between intercultural communication and music activities (Partti, 2012, p.46).

William James' pragmatism theory is not without criticism. Gale (1999) reports a flaw in James' theory, in which he attempts to not prioritise any perspectives while taking up mystical experience to explain all aspects of human experience. Interestingly, Gale used a blues analogy, commenting that while the self-contradiction means James' work can no longer be treated as a systematic philosophy, it is still a great work in which he sings lamentingly for his personal expression “The Many Selves Blues” (p.2), “I Aint Got No Contracausal Free Will Blues” (p.72), and “The Divided Self Blues” (p.332) (Gale, 1999). However, James was able to produce a convincing enough subjective reality for at least himself and some others, through his perspectives of mystical experience; therefore, he achieved the aim he defined for philosophy - “a worldview according to which one may live” (James, 1978; McGranahan, 2017, p.172).

It is possible that every individual has physical and cognitive limitations due to all-persuasive cultural learning processes (e.g., cultural experiences, assumptions, and attitudes towards music). Personal limitations and boundaries are not intrinsically superior or inferior, but distinctive directions of

learning and development, be it ploughing deeply into, and being an expert in, one domain, or being a polymath across multiple. It is essentially the same for research, music-professional, and cultural communities. Such intellectual, professional, and cultural self-awareness is essential for interpersonal communication between individuals with distinctive cultural and professional experiences (Bennett, 1997; Deardorff, 2006).

I clarified how personal views (being an international sojourner and an outsider to the professional music community) influenced my research focus and analysis. It is vital that researchers whose study is on intercultural matters recognise the role of subjective experiences and biases in their research motivation and approach. Anthropologists and ethnomusicologists emphasise much on this reflexivity, and incorporate it into their methodologies, which “acknowledges that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.15).

There are various means of counterbalancing researchers’ subjectivity and cultural bias. Through self-reflection, one can identify certain preferences, stances, and assumptions hidden in studies. Focusing on participants’ subjective experience also assists in contesting cultural and intellectual bias towards musicians. These thoughts led me to interview and observe a variety of musicians who have long-term experience in intercultural music projects, in order to obtain a diverse collection of individual professionals’ experience. Respondents of this study are not representative of any specific cultural or musical group. However, Willig (2013, p.22) commented that “from a pragmatic point of view, the aim of research is not to gain access to an abstract truth independent from human experience but rather to generate understanding that will be useful.” This research allows me to understand how and why a particular case became what it is (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013).

It is critical to recognise and acknowledge culturally, professionally, and disciplinarily burdened assumptions and attitudes, so as to perform research between disciplines of intercultural communication and music. These biases are also lenses developed by members of these communities to help them analyse and explain the culture and music, as well as the music-cultural relation. Although intellectual learning is useful in creating unison between subjective experience and reality, it cannot completely alter the affective - bodily and immediate - experiences, such as what food and music people enjoy, or by which means they feel comfortable to communicate (James, 1978).

The thesis itself, like other written artefacts, is my action to negotiate values for musicians' intercultural communication and development. This research aims to raise mutual awareness, and initiate future coordination, reflection, and even transformation on the field boundary. As with all such research, it has limitations. Kincheloe (2001) commented that perfecting bricolage and interdisciplinary study is a lifelong process. However, researchers have to take the first step and keep improving upon their flaws. Palmer (1999, p.250) states that:

“interdisciplinary research requires a balance between established core knowledge and the infusion of new knowledge. As researchers explore new problem areas, they do not necessarily abandon their disciplinary concentrations. Most have dual or multiple agendas, building on a core research specialization as they transit into a newer hybrid area.”

This thesis is an effort to inform individuals regarding, and convince them to recognise, this shared problem space between music and intercultural communication, and to ascertain more useful practices based on individual musicians' peculiar identity negotiation experiences. Ultimately, it is up to local individual practitioners to carry out and develop intercultural and interdisciplinary activities.

Individuals realise, reify, and reinforce their views on music and culture as social constructs (e.g., what meanings are valued and how they can be better negotiated). In light of this, during the data collection and analysis, the researcher paid attention to musicians' intercultural behaviours and decisions, which come together into narratives these musicians settled on respectively. Musicians and researchers can thereby be considered as members of two communities of practice, where individuals come together to do music/research. Musicians learn to make decisions and narratives regarding their music, interviews, and talk in pursuit of presenting an ideal self; academics learn how to reflect intellectually, as well as conduct, write, and present their research.

Lastly, pragmatic purposes made me attentive to solutions created by musicians, when they were in the face of various logistical, sociocultural, and psychological challenges brought about by being in contact with other cultures. Through recognising musicians' biases and meaning creation - their opinions, behaviours, and narratives - as equally valid viewpoints, this study revealed respondents' bottom-up intercultural communication and music-professional practice. Individuals successfully dealing with such issues indicates positively perceived well-being and social development, in both intercultural and music contexts. Findings would inform intercultural and music practitioners how to provide support that can encourage people to negotiate positive intercultural and musical meanings, as well as identities, over time.

People can channel their energy to anything, as far as reality allows, and as long as they are convinced that it is worthwhile. It is for musicians to create and negotiate whether they love reviving or reinventing a music-cultural tradition, or care to describe the current multicultural society, or wish to depict and predict a mysterious futuristic fantasy in a different way. I reflected on my experiences as a Chinese person who has studied within the UK for four years, and as a postgraduate student who "migrated" from intercultural communication to the music department. I would like to envision that music

practices would facilitate intercultural communication, learning, understanding, and bonding. This vision is built on the foundation of data I gathered from musicians for this study. The subsequent three chapters - Encounter (Chapter 5), Stress (Chapter 6), and Learning (Chapter 7) - show the analysis through which I came to hold such a vision. Every small but substantial step from individual musicians, their trial and error, leads further to the understanding of individuals and communities who value boundary-crossing and boundary-learning, and boundary itself. Utilising such boundary perspectives, it is hoped that everyone can find their version of worldview according to which they may live; a worldview in which they find it believable and inspiring to come together and develop a more harmonious society across communities.

Chapter 5 Encounter: On the boundary

Three chapters of analysis each correspond to one of the overarching categories from the conceptual model: Encounter (Chapter 5), Stress (Chapter 6), and Learning (Chapter 7). This chapter aims to answer the first research question, exploring what intercultural communication circumstances and identity aspects lead musicians to participate in, and initiate, intercultural music practice. Encounter has two main themes (see Figure 5.1). *Boundary encounters* describe different social dynamics that afford musicians various kinds of musical and cultural learning on the boundary. *Motivations* report an inner identification aspect that intrigues, interests, and encourages musicians to venture into unfamiliar musical traditions, or to begin a new intercultural hybrid project.

5.1 boundary encounters	5.2 motivations
5.1.1 delegations	5.2.1 hedonic enjoyment
5.1.2 one-on-one	5.2.2 practical choices
5.1.3 immersion	5.2.3 eudaimonic living

Figure 5.1 Encounter themes and codes

Bringing the world together first involves one's encounters with musicians specialised in different styles, among individuals of other cultural backgrounds. Respondents rehearsed and performed with professionals with distinctive musical traditions and from particular cultural communities. They gained contact with new groups of people and music through a mixture of interest, coincidence, and necessity. Musicians' inner worlds and views are significant at the encounter stage, which will be elaborated on further under motivation themes. Out of enjoyment, sense of fulfilment, and practical concerns, respondents started one kind or another activity that leads them to learn in a new musical and cultural community. It appears that they often stayed for a

promising identity and life, which they could imagine themselves acquiring and developing.

5.1 Boundary encounters

Music-professional encounters occur under varied circumstances, such as touring, collaborating, travelling, music festivals, and artist residency. Wenger's boundary encounters explain how musical activities and career present a person with different experiences. Work is a specific site where people of different expertise collaborate out of necessity. Musicians need to work with other musicians, music managers, organisers, venue owners and staff, and sound engineers, among other professionals. Encounter focuses on musicians' boundary crossing and learning in the presence of musicians from different cultures and genres, where music is the primary boundary object.

Three communication mechanisms in musical and cultural boundary encounters (delegations, one-on-one, and immersion) are reported on separately. There are some overlaps between themes because respondents experience all three in various situations, depending on whom they are with and within what context they believe the communication happens. There is also no distinct line between musical and cultural encounters. Practices, motivations, purposes, and foci affect how individuals define their boundary-crossing. Lines between music career and daily life are fluid where:

- professional communication starts and ends;
- one is being a professional in public and in the private domain; or
- one is talking with peer professionals or close friends.

Intercultural encounters allow individuals to face socio-environmental changes and learning demands. They include technical and behavioural aspects - such as different languages and conventions -, implicit aspects - like values and priorities -, and social aspects - such as the need for a new local network. Such adjustments encompass respondents' musical activities. They are presented with, and exposed to, individuals who speak different languages and approach

music differently. Such social contacts with hosts, co-ethnics, and other international individuals influence their musical decisions.

5.1.1 Delegations

Delegations are situations where: “a number of participants from each community are involved in an encounter, the negotiation of meaning takes place at the same time among members within each practice and across the boundary” (Wenger, 1998, p.112). The term “delegations” is used differently here, without its conventional political connotations. Intercultural delegations are characterised by individuals who have both host and ethnic social communication, and hence need to negotiate meanings with individuals from within and across cultural groups. Individuals may remain with their own musical and cultural groups and their ways of thinking. Expatriates and immigrants may choose, instead, to remain with their co-nationals, and mostly spend time within the group. However, one can learn in their simultaneous meaning negotiation with insiders and outsiders. Musicians, from either side, can observe how participation and meaning negotiation are undertaken in the other community.

Andrew is a Scottish musician who specialises in Brazilian percussion, and he is a founding member of a fusion band that mixes Salsa beats with Scottish bagpipes. This offers a good illustration of musical delegations between musicians of different genres. However, the two contrasting expertise are associated with, and thus respectively represent, Brazilian and Scottish cultural communities, which makes the collaboration intercultural. Their members are mainly from within the UK, with a few internationals. Some specialise in Brazilian percussion, and others in pipes. In an interview, Andrew told how the group came into being. In the extracts displayed hereafter, the researcher will be referred to as <R>:

<Andrew>: And we had a set of Brazilian...refined set of Brazilian percussion instruments. And then the bagpipes came in because as a percussion band, we were travelling, we sometimes use voice and percussion, and sometimes with flute and percussion. And then we were invited to play at a

Football Cup Final. And traditionally football matches had a pipe band, like military pipe band. And we decided 'okay, we will use the Brazilian batucada and add bagpipes.' So that's when we started to use bagpipes.

The commissioned performance at a football tournament allowed Andrew and other percussionists to have a taste of this fusion, and to think that the collaboration with pipers had potential. Andrew knew a piper who was interested and who could bring in more pipers from his marching band. When those two groups of musicians worked closely together, percussionists observed how pipers work in rehearsals across the group. Andrew and Sarah mentioned their observations of how bagpipers worked on tunings and steps. There were three or four pipers who tuned their pipes to play the harmonies more delicately. Moreover, Andrew and Sarah mentioned an argument between percussionists and pipers, regarding what the group should do if the rhythm were to fall apart. The argument, concerning which side should adapt, shows a negotiation between the two groups. They came to settle on an arrangement that the percussionists would shift because the drones of pipes make it more difficult for pipers to change their rhythm.

Parallel to the music activities, intercultural delegations suggest a co-existence of host and ethnic social communication. The location of the project and the origin of musicians determine who the hosts are. For example, in the Edinburgh Iranian Festival 2018, a collaborative performance was organised between bands from Scotland and Iran. The Scottish band was the host, with the Iranian band the visitor. In those circumstances of international touring and collaboration, where musicians travel in a group, the stress to learn and adapt is relatively light. Knowing the stay is temporary means that there is less pressure perceived by individuals to learn to speak a local language fluently, and to understand how to communicate effectively and appropriately in terms of the host culture. Aside from performance, music training also brought respondents to visit another country. For instance, Anna mentioned, in her interview, that she took on a three-week trip to Japan with members from her group for a taiko programme, during which they learned with Japanese taiko

teachers and players:

<Anna>: The {Japanese} culture itself is really different to here {Scotland}. It's very unique. Everybody is, you know, very respectful towards each other. There is different levels of seniority, and the way you bow to each other, the way you say things. It's all very difficult, and very different.

She had an initial experience of Japan, observing how Japanese people behaved with peers and seniors differently. Those intercultural music experiences tend to be told with a level of cultural novelty and curiosity. The language barrier is the most noticeable challenge. However, in delegations encounter, musicians are like tourists as they are expected to leave the local community, thus can afford not to speak the language, nor participate actively in its local life. Locals tend to treat travelling musicians as passers-by; therefore, not expecting them to behave or communicate like a native.

<R>: Before you went to Japan, do you need to learn a bit Japanese for you to...

<Anna>: Well, yeah, so it was quite difficult, when I was in Japan, because I didn't really understand what the sensei was talking about. He only knew very broken English, but we have someone came and can translate it a little bit? Who understood (what it's about).

The existence of "translator/interpreter" in Anna's account is consistent with my observation of non-English speaking bands' performances in the UK. In performances from South Korean groups, one or two musicians, often the group leader, stepped forward to talk with international festival organisers, and the audience, on behalf of the ensemble. Seo-yun is a South Korean musician who plays 25-string gayageum and piano. She put together an ensemble in Seoul, during 2010. In her interview, she recounted how she recruited musicians and later established a social enterprise for policy benefits. During her band's performance, it was noted that the other five musicians did not speak at all, and Seo-yun introduced every piece and her bandmates, and interacted with audiences. It was also observed that, during Karen's performance in Milton Keynes, she introduced most ensemble members to the audience. The "speak/contact person" translated and interpreted for band

members, taking up most host social communication. Thus, the remainder of the musicians did not have to speak, avoiding some host social communication.

There are one-off and short-term intercultural musical delegations commissioned by organisers and initiated by musicians, such as the collaboration between an Iranian bagpipe band and a Scottish marching band. However, a project with two groups of musicians from two genres and two cultures rarely lasts over time, and so is therefore not explored in this study.

5.1.2 One-on-one

One-on-one is defined as encounters between two members of two communities, which “involve only the boundary relation between them” (Wenger, 1998, p.112). It is advantageous, affording the two people a private, intimate work relationship, where they can communicate in a personal and forthright manner. However, routines and impacts they created during the project are thus limited to the two people making it small scale. One-on-one has a distinguishing feature of convincing, and adjusting to, only one other individual. Two people who represent two music or cultural groups are able to discuss and do things without consideration of the opinion of members of their respective communities. The simplest and most appropriate description comes from an Indian American respondent, Myra: “It’s a very intimate connection. Because you are just working with me, and I’m just working with you.”

Inter-musical one-on-one is seen where two musicians, specialised in different genres, work closely together, typically in crossover duos. Myra explained that she was still undergoing a transition to sing and perform professionally with a four-piece band. She started a duo project to practice improvisation skills, using more straightforward interaction with one guitarist in comparison to with a whole band:

- <Myra>: But I’ve just started doing an acoustic project where it’s just myself and a guitar player, and I improvise on that all the time.
- <R>: That’s a different kind of scenario like comparing to the...
- <Myra>: Exactly.

<R>: So how is it like when you just solo and improvise with the guitar?
 <Myra>: Because I just have to speak to one musician.
 <R>: {Laugh}
 <Myra>: Yeah, I mean in a band, because it's all these other people. So, it's a bit more complicated, a bit more intricate. It's just like you and this other person, then you already have a synergy, because it's a very intimate connection. Because you are just working with me, and I'm just working with you. If I'm about to do my solo, if I'm about to end my solo and there are like four other guys, five other people, then I kind of need to, in a way, communicate.

Myra stressed that working with one guitarist has more direct and immediate communication, in comparison to working with a larger group. The fact that she and the guitarist rehearsed tête-à-tête is essential for her to learn at her own pace, because only one another's opinions mattered during the project. Their decisions on how to play the music - when her solo would start and finish, for example - could be anything with which the two were happy. It is only necessary to listen to, talk with, and convince each other, customising communication styles as appropriate.

Myra's comment features the one-on-one boundary encounter in a musical context, which focuses on how two musicians of distinctive musical backgrounds began to play music, discuss their ideas, and arrive at a synergy. She did not mention the cultural backgrounds or differences between the duo members. Atpo, a Lisu Chinese folk musician respondent, mentioned his plan of collaborating with a Russian pianist in Beijing and preparing for another concert. (Lisu is from the Tibeto-Burman ethnic group, who reside predominantly in southwest China, Myanmar, India, and Thailand). The following excerpt is a translation from Chinese to English, as this interview was conducted in Mandarin Chinese:

<Atpo>: [...] Having a concert yourself abroad, and collaborating with a foreigner - that is totally different.
 <R>: Different.
 <Atpo>: Mm, having a concert abroad, just has an impact in that place. (When collaborating with a foreigner), however, I am only working with you in-depth, and we are in it together.

He distinguished collaborating with a foreigner from touring abroad on his own. It was also pointed out that the former involves closer communication and personal relationships. Atpo focused on the impact in those cross-cultural encounters, and did not go into details regarding music-making. Another respondent, Makoto, elaborated on his collaboration with a Korean musician who sojourned internationally and was based in the USA:

<R>: If you are speaking a particular kind of musical language, is there any musician share the same language as you do? I mean this very unique and special style of music fusion you are doing.

<Makoto>: Yeah, like there is one woman I work with, she's Korean, and she plays Korean wind instruments, and so she's very highly trained in traditional Korean music, but she also loves to improvise and play contemporary music. So she and I worked really well together, even though she doesn't play Japanese music, and I don't play Korean music. We both have like a really rooted sound in our respective cultures, we also love to improvise and we also have sensitive ears to each other's musical language. So I am able to adapt and adopt and really act, and change in really interesting ways together.

Inter-musical and -cultural one-on-ones happen when two musicians of distinctive musical and cultural backgrounds perform together. This particular encounter classes as being intercultural because one of the musicians grew up in the USA, and the other in South Korea. It is inter-musical because their primary training is rooted in distinct backgrounds. Makoto's description of their collaboration focused entirely on how his and her musical approaches managed to match, without talking about other musicians' opinions. His adaptation is also described in terms of reacting and changing to her, and her adapting to him. Musical teamwork between the two is presented as converging upon a common interest in contemporary music and improvisation. Their agreements and positive experiences in music led to more long-term collaborations, which is similar to what Myra and Atpo described. Quotes of the three respondents show that they experienced one-on-one encounter across musical and/or cultural boundaries. Furthermore, they perceived this

as a more direct communication mechanism in the music-making process and in developing rapport with another musician.

5.1.3 Immersion

Immersion “provides a broader exposure to the community of practice being visited and to how its members engage with one another. By themselves, visitors must ‘background’ their home membership in order to advance the boundary relation and maximize exposure to or influence on the practice of the visited community” (Wenger, 1998, p.112). Immersion encounter has its well-known advantage: the visitor learns about, and from, the host community to the fullest extent, on a one-way basis. Its disadvantage, however, is that those host individuals would not observe how the visitor functions in their home community.

Inter-musical immersion happens when a musician enters a musical community of different styles. It can be when working with a band of a different genre. Myra explicitly compared that the communication process is more intricate in a group than it is one-on-one. She primarily taught herself to compose Bollywood music and tried to work with a jazz band. She described the unfamiliar music-making process she experienced with jazz musicians at the encounter:

<Myra>: Bollywood music is not {big on improvisation}, so this is still a very new thing for me. Also I think like the most people when they start, they start off solo, or as you know, as an acoustic, like just themselves with like a guitar player or a pianist. I started off first with a jazz band. So, I kind of just threw myself into deep water, so now I'm kind of learning the whole process and I had huge learning curves, so that I could be able to understand these things quickly, and be able to do these performances, and be good at them.

Myra described the encounter with the phrase “threw myself into deep water”. This analogy is characteristic of an immersion encounter. It appears that, after she joined the band, pressing needs to pick up rules and ways in which the four jazz musicians made music were sensed. She observed, from a close

distance how musicians within work and perform with each other. It became urgent to learn jazz quickly, as shown by way she talked about the necessity to keep up with others. Improvisation is the key competence in Myra's learning curve. She commented that jazz improvisation with a group is more complicated than with only one musician, such as a guitarist or pianist. The same cannot be said for jazz musicians who performed with Myra, as they could not see how she worked in her musical milieu. This one-sided learning and adaption is characteristic of immersion. The encounter could be a one-off as Myra did not have to keep collaborating with jazz bands. However, she continued, possibly because she saw the potential in combining Bollywood music, Hindustani elements (e.g., language and singing skills), and jazz.

Intercultural immersion encompasses musical immersion, with considerable social communication with musicians and others from the host culture. Respondents mentioned the sense of being immersed when they moved on their own to a new cultural environment. If there are few co-ethnic members who share common language and customs, musicians would have to work with host and international musicians. Ahmad is an Iraqi Arab musician respondent, who was relocated from Iraq to Scotland through the United Nations. His Arabic band is based in Scotland. Part of band activities involves him teaching local and international musicians who are interested in Arabic repertoires. He commented that one reason for this is that there are insufficient Arab musicians to form an ensemble:

<Ahmad>: I came here, and the first thing I did here is... I established [band name], and I made a CD, I released a CD of [band name], that's the CD. Eleven songs in it. All Iraqi and Arabic songs.

[...]

<Ahmad>: But here, I don't have musicians.

<R>: No? There isn't any, like Iraqi musicians here?

<Ahmad>: Not at all. I'm the only musician in here, Scotland. So I'm trying to get one Arabic... not only Iraqi, even Arabic from Syria, Egypt. No. So, I have to get [band name] with all Scottish, or one is German and one is Irish. So, I teach them.

<R>: How did you actually find these people, like someone to learn Arabic music with you? How did you first come into contact with your members?

<Ahmad>: When I came here, I found only one, one girl.
<R>: How did you find her?
<Ahmad>: Actually, she found me. I went to a concert in London,
and she came to me, and said 'I play clarinet, and I would
like to play with you.'

This gives an example of how the physical environment imposed limitations on the kind of musicians one could find. The ideal situation, for Ahmad, is to work with traditional musicians who play Arabic music repertoire well, as this would save a significant amount of time for rehearsals. However, he could not find those musicians locally. There are Arab communities around, but few play what he performs on a professional level. As a newcomer in almost every social aspect, he was surrounded by local individuals, their ways of life and perspectives. Ahmad's story shows that, when there is a scarcity of musicians sharing similar cultural or musical practice, it is hard to form a professional-level traditional band right after one's arrival. An international band that mainly played Arabic songs eventually came into place, though it took him a long time, at the beginning, to teach non-Arab members traditional repertoires, and to rehearse to a good standard.

Local non-Arab musicians' interests to learn and perform Arabic music were essential to establishing the band. "Actually, she found me" suggests a mutual interest between local and sojourning musicians. This contact took place through a live concert that Ahmad performed with groups in London. The clarinettist walked up to him because she was interested to learn and play Arabic repertoire, and he agreed to teach her. This stresses how musical activities incentivise musicians to talk with individuals of different cultures. Ahmad's case also shows that performing in a culturally heterogeneous band may not be one's first choice, but can be necessary when there are not enough musicians from similar cultural and musical backgrounds.

Individuals can experience cultural immersion when they move from one region to another, within a multicultural country. Atpo moved to Beijing from Yunnan, both of which are in China, to work as a music and dance performer

in a restaurant. In his recollections of when he first arrived in the capital in 2005, he talked about experiences similar to his international counterparts. This included the language barrier, loss of social network, efforts to learn, live, adapt, and stay relevant to the new environment. He then met and married a Han Chinese lady. She was not a musician, but has helped him with miscellaneous management tasks, from making contacts and bookings in Chinese, to promoting concerts and activities on social media. It is helpful to have an informant from the host culture. However, the two cannot spend all their time together. In second-hand interviews, performance clips, and television programmes online, it was observed that Atpo handled the communication with hosts on his own, on those occasions. Ahmad's and Atpo's experiences are similar, as they were newcomers in almost every social aspect, surrounded by local ways of life and perspectives.

As Ahmad led the Arabic band, he learned how to get along with his members and prepare for concerts. His members had a busy schedule. Thus, the group could not frequently meet up for rehearsals. It was decided for him to go to other members' houses and meet up with them individually. This shows that, being the musical leader of the band, Ahmad was also put in the position of organising, as well as deliberating over and solving band issues, which entails his learning and adaptations on the cultural boundary. In his efforts to maintain the group, he adjusted communication styles and behaviours with members.

According to respondents, they started working more frequently with musicians outside their ethnic community after moving to the new society. Cultural newcomers' music - if capable of attracting and inducing enough interests from individuals in their host environment - gradually forms an intercultural music scene with professional and amateur activities. Ahmad recruited enough musicians interested in Arabic music to form a band. Marcos met jazz musicians to play together. Farhad moved from Iran to Britain for studying, in 2004. He has since been working as a computer scientist, researching Persian

music in London and playing santur at a professional level in events based at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS):

<Farhad>: Then I was invited to play in a concert at SOAS, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies. In June 2005, actually I managed to catch up a different programme, which was organised there with a ceilidh band playing Scottish and Irish tunes with a Greek rebetiko band. And yes gradually, I started to know more people and get to meet musicians. And (with) the band that was established at SOAS, and I was a founding member, actually.

Farhad's description shows how his intercultural immersion resulted in musical boundary encounters. He has collaborated with ceilidh musicians for a fusion project. The contact was made through SOAS events, and they tended to host concerts there. Ahmad's, Farhad's, and Myra's stories demonstrate how individuals meet local musicians specialising in different traditions: concerts and music-related events. Those musical boundary encounters were not pre-planned before they each moved to a new city.

Musical learning can lead to intercultural immersion. Musicians may go to another country to join a music programme that teaches a different style. Some respondents travelled to learn a musical tradition from local professional musicians. They went into cultural immersion for their musical interests, and a few of them stayed for years. Makoto, a Japanese American jazz flautist, went to Japan for a two-year taiko apprenticeship programme in his early twenties:

<Makoto>: Ah, first time living abroad, yeah. I visited Japan many times, but yeah, my first time living there, I was a young adult, 22 years old. I mean I knew what I was getting into, like I went knowing I wanted to study, but I knew they are really intense training regiment, and just total immersion into Japanese culture. [...]

<R>: Like in the academy or in the apprentice course, they didn't teach in English. They only did it in Japanese.

<Makoto>: Yeah, they only did it in Japanese. It's all Japanese people, so why {would they}.

Although Makoto was born to Japanese parents, he grew up in the United States, mainly as an American, and did not speak Japanese. He identified with

his Japanese heritage, but musical training was his primary reason for sojourning for years. The decision of joining the programme put him in a taiko community that was vastly different from jazz conservatoire training. Moreover, he was surrounded by Japanese trainers and trainees, who only spoke Japanese.

Respondents described their intercultural music practice as a gradual development out of musical and cultural boundary encounter experiences. The way in which they made contact with new music and musicians seems both random and fortuitous. Although individuals did not use terms like delegations, one-on-one, and immersion, interview data demonstrates that they were also aware of different communication and learning dynamics in their interactions.

Earlier visits into a new cultural or musical landscape do not always set individuals on a course of intercultural music practice. The Argentinean interviewee, Pedro, mentioned that he had been in contact with Indian classical music at times. He only started seeing its charm and considered learning it after becoming more interested in Buddhism and music's social aspect. A strong personal interest in playing music - and playing a specific type of music - emerged alongside interviewees' reasons to maintain their projects, which shifts us to motivational themes.

5.2 Motivations

Respondents first discussed an unfathomable pleasure experienced in their musical activities. Added to that, there are extrinsic and practical factors that push and pull musicians into specific decisions. Lastly, there is a feeling of accomplishment. For instance, reaffirming cultural identities provides a strong sense of purposefulness for organising and joining intercultural music projects. Ahmad and Atpo described their respective Arabic and Lisu music performances with an affinity towards their home communities. The “whys” and “therefores” reveal their sense-making about what constitutes excellent music and musicians, as well as meaningful life. Those attitudes and perspectives

are central to respondents' decisions to participate and negotiate meanings in their current communities. This is why analysing such motivations is essential to understanding musicians' commencement of intercultural music practice.

5.2.1 Hedonic enjoyment

Hedonic enjoyment refers to a state with "the presence of positive affect and the absence of negative affect" (Deci & Ryan, 2008). In most respondents' descriptions, ineffable musical enjoyments are the primary motivation that prompted them to begin, and continue, musical activities that cross musical and/or cultural communities. This includes positive boundary experience with a musical style, expressing oneself, playing in a group, and being affirmed by others.

A common source of hedonic enjoyment is beautiful and novel sounds, music, and music-cultural associations. According to respondents such as Karen and Anna, the first thing that attracted them varied from a peculiar sound of an instrument or a musical piece, to imaginations associated with such music. Feeling intrigued, they actively sought more information. Gradually, they pursued it more seriously, which involved more vigorous training with advanced classes and private teachers, learning from other musicians, and self-teaching.

Karen is a non-Jewish British clarinettist, and a founding member of a London-based klezmer band. She started learning classical clarinet when she was ten years old. Her clarinet teacher in Hungary - who played across classical and Hungarian folk music scenes - introduced her to klezmer with his band's performance at a festival:

<R>: But what attracts you? What about it that interests you in this music?

<Karen>: Mm, well, I suppose there must have been something about wanting to, well, personally for me, it's the folk element of it that I like. [...] My mum has always been listening to folk music, and because they are playing stuff in the kitchen, so I really like that, but then I started to learn clarinet, and that's very classical kind of instrument to learn. [...] So, the two

never kind of corresponded to each other, I just did orchestra, chamber music, learning, exams, you know, scales and studies, all the classical stuff. And then later like when I've left school, I went to study on a clarinet course in Hungary. And there was a teacher who is a very good clarinet classical player, but he also played other stuff, like Hungarian traditional music. Mm, and he got up on stage with the Budapest Festival Klezmer Band, which is the first klezmer band I ever saw, and they are brilliant. Then I thought 'ah, isn't that interesting that the clarinet in Hungary is a folk instrument', I never thought that it was a folk instrument before. It didn't, it's not in Scottish Celtic music like that, so I was pretty inspired by that.

Karen's appreciation includes affective and epistemic evaluations, which shows the pleasure she had from watching the klezmer performance. Several positive adjectives, used consecutively, suggests that she enjoyed the band's klezmer performance. It might be a polite gesture to her clarinettist teacher, or it might be a convention to be polite and speak well of peers (Becker, 2000; Macdonald & Wilson, 2006). However, Karen performed in a klezmer band for 17 years, which inclines one to think that it was an initial enjoyment that began her learning and practising of klezmer music.

When talking about why she enjoyed klezmer, Karen traced back to her interest in folk music as an early influence from her family. The amazement was accounted for as a click between the impressive performance she saw at the festival, and her early musical interest. Karen did not use any music theory to explain her positive experiences in folk music, but her family influence and simple affective claims, such as "I really like that". She reflected that she was inspired by that moment of discovering a previously unknown practice that involved her primary instrument, and that could be related to her previous musical interest in folk.

Karen is by no means a unique case. Respondents highlighted an ineffable sense of amazement and a connection to existing interests in their (re-)discovery of a musical style that gradually became a part of their career. Another respondent, Anna, born to Cantonese-speaking Chinese parents in

Scotland, plays in a taiko group based in the country. She described how she first saw the group's taiko performance and became intrigued:

<R>: So, you first saw taiko drum from [band name]?

<Anna>: I saw [band name] as well, when I started the course, because I didn't hear about them beforehand. I've only seen this Japanese groups, and then I thought 'oh wow', so when I started this course, I saw them playing on tour? So, I just saw them on the stage, and I thought 'that's incredible', I wanna be up on that stage one day? So, I started the audition, and that's when I started pursue being a professional drummer.

<R>: So, it is the move of the drum that attracts you? How... What about the drum that attracts you?

<Anna>: Also, overall look of the whole performance, 'cause it's not just... it's like an art form, rather than just music.

<R>: What's the difference between those two?

<Anna>: I don't know. I think aesthetically, it is really beautiful because everything is choreographed, so that everyone's movement, different timings... you know I came from sports studies, so I look at it from that aspect.

Anna used adjectives such as "incredible" and "beautiful" in describing her positive experience and perception regarding the performance. Her enjoyments were attributed to the peculiar timbre of Japanese percussion sets. Then she highlighted its "physicality" - how drummers move their body beautifully - having always been her interest. Akin to how Karen related her enjoyment in klezmer to her earlier folk listening, Anna connected the newfound interest in taiko to her long-term interests and knowledge in sports studies.

An evaluation like "beautiful" has both affective and epistemic dimensions (de Leeuw et al., 2021). Tappolet (1995) proposed that this sense of "is beautiful" means something fits with an individual's concept of "beautiful", and thereby makes their affective state such as admiration or attachment appropriate. "Amazing", closely connected to "beautiful", highlights an unexpected pleasure one feels by the heart. These adjectives imply an initial experience so great that respondents feel an impulse to go in new directions. Karen adopted the

word “beautiful” at times, mentioning her interests in Bulgarian folk among other Balkan genres and Indian classical music:

<Karen>: But I like, I mean my favourite music to listen to is probably, I don’t know, I like Bulgarian music a lot, because it’s so like the harmonies in it is just sooo beautiful. It can be quite hectic sometimes?

<R>: Hectic.

<Karen>: Hectic, like busy, like really busy in the music, but em.

<R>: So, you like this busy music?

<Karen>: Em, no, not all the time. No, not always. But some of it is just so beautiful, but then Indian music is really beautiful as well, I listen to a lot of that.

[...]

<Karen>: [...] So it’s crazy. And you know, when you hear it for the first time, you are just like ‘this is amazing!’ And then you just start to try and learn some of that, because that’s what we do. That’s what musicians historically always do.

Other respondents gave similar explanations: finding a kind of music beautiful directly led to their desire to listen, learn, and play it. Sometimes, listening is not enough. They wanted to make similar sounds themselves, acquiring and transforming the elements into personal repertoire and expression. This urge of imitating was put as a motive that is instinctive and integral to personal enjoyments; moreover, it is an impulse of a professional musician.

It seems that the “exoticness” and “unfamiliarity” of the music played a crucial role in the enjoyment. Japanese taiko, klezmer, Raga, and Salsa performance presented specific senses of cultural novelty, originating from cultural communities that are distinctive and sometimes distant from respondents’ own cultural backgrounds. Elements of the charm of these musical styles are the unfamiliar cultural systems behind them, which evokes musicians’ imaginations of those communities. Those mental images may be inaccurate, but they are nonetheless captivating. Individuals were aware of fantasy elements. The awareness and desire to improve motivated them to work with other musicians from such musical and cultural backgrounds, to go abroad to learn from its local musicians, and to compare notes with individuals who share similar interests.

The internet made it possible for musicians to watch, listen to, and learn the music originating from cultural communities far away. During one meeting, Atpo mentioned two musicians he likes, Alexandro Querevalú (Peruvian musician) and Leo Rojas (Ecuadorian pan flautist). After he saw a clip of Querevalú's Native American flute performance, he asked his instrument maker friend to make one for him. Do-yun also mentioned that he ordered a sheng (a Chinese reed-pipe mouth organ) after watching Tong Wu's performance. To obtain and play the new instrument is one way for musicians to start exploring a genre. Alternatively, musical learning takes place with individuals trying to replicate a piece of music using their primary instruments. Atpo took out his smartphone to show me Rojas' video of *Celeste*, commenting that he loves the music's liveliness and how the pan flautist visually presented it. He pointed at one scene in the clip where everyone sits around a bonfire and moves to the music, saying that he would like his music to be like that - to make people dance. He then picked up his *lusheng* (a free-reed bamboo mouth organ called *maniumugua* in the Lisu dialect of Atpo) and played a few traditional tune lines of *Celeste*'s beat.

The notion of "fusion" was not mentioned throughout the interview. Atpo seemed to enjoy what he did as primarily improving Lisu music. This shows how musicians make sense using their perspectives and purposes; whether bringing musical elements from outside into their own traditional performance would render it fusion, or whether it remains a traditional piece. Atpo's case suggests that, despite the controversy, an enjoyable experience evoked upon listening to a musical piece from another cultural background can prompt musicians to pick up some of its elements, including instruments, melodies, or rhythms.

Hedonic enjoyment shows in respondents' stories, where the music they came across brought them an ineffable experience upon listening to it. For lack of a better word, its "beautiffulness" motivated them to continually seek boundary

encounters and to learn further. Does this mean respondents feel joy just from playing a sort of “new” music they like, and if so, why? When further probed, individuals tried to list several personal affective and cognitive affinities with their chosen style (e.g., folk music for Karen and physicality for Anna).

Music was given a role in showing and representing something that respondents enjoyed and valued. This enjoyment in expressiveness emerged where musical elements, feelings, imaginations, and thoughts that mattered to respondents were transformed and made in their own musical creation, performance, and terms. One reason for Seo-yun to start her fusion band is that she felt traditional repertoire is limited, and a need for playing something new and different:

<Seo-yun>: Every Korean traditional instrument has Sanjo. For me, {it's} gayageum sanjo. If I play it, it is going to take one hour to play the whole song. But before, actually when you play gayageum, the old generation only play Sanjo, only Sanjo. If western people play Beethoven, they play this one, this one, this one, they play many songs, right?

<R>: Yeah?

<Seo-yun>: But we only play one song for our whole life, till death. Play only this one song, Sanjo.

[...]

<Seo-yun>: I made this band. Just for fun, I made it. When I started this group, it was only three gayageum. But I felt something... I felt I need more free sound? So, instead of only gayageum, we have two gayageum and one cello. And after that, one gayageum, one cello, and one piano. And one haegeum. So, it's getting into it. And so now, we are here.

Seo-yun described her establishing of the band as being for fun. It is suggested that the fun is in making new music, looking for something different after playing repetitively on gayageum with traditional repertoires. The instruments' changes show that her exploration process, turning to classical music to see what it has to offer without a definite idea of what “free sound” is. It suggests that the new development can be anything that musicians heard and liked. They grew up and lived in a world where they were aware of, and in contact with, music and individuals of different cultures. Such experiences make it more likely for them to relate to another community. It appears that traditional

repertoire has been associated with a “here and then” cultural identity. Communication technology exposed respondents to abundant choices to add to their skillset. They grew up in a different time, exposed to more diverse genres and information from across cultural communities. Thus, traditional music is often found inadequate to speak for an in-the-moment experience. Those explorations show enjoyment in using what one knows to express something “here and now”.

Playing in a group was commonly described as another moment of musical enjoyment. Aside from the joy of listening to beautiful music and expressing oneself, people felt pleasure when they coordinated well with others. The feeling of music, and sometimes personalities, clicking invokes a state of positive experience, which keeps individuals going back and meeting again in the group. Andrew commented on how percussion is advantageous in letting people experience the thrill of coordinating in the group:

<Andrew>: And with percussion you can... with most instruments, it's hard to get to the level where you can have a group interchange. You have to have a certain degree of technical ability. But with percussion, you can achieve that at a more basic level, you know, you can have that experience of group interchange, fitting in music, having a particular part, maybe a simple part, but form a part of the whole, and you can experience that quite quickly so. People can very quickly get that by percussion.

Percussion's less complicated requirement on musical competencies for achieving coordination is portrayed as an advantage because its participants can soon synchronise with one another and feel a part of the group. The individuals referred to include non-professionals and students who joined Andrew's percussion workshop. Fitting in, and interacting well, with others in music motivates people to keep participating in percussion groups.

Being with other musicians or audience seems to be naturally desirable. Respondents did not explain further why people want to be in contact with other musicians, nor with people in general. In aforementioned cultural

immersions, respondents like Ahmad and Farhad researched local musical activities and groups soon after moving to a new place, joining or starting a music group. Some brought up pleasant experience from socialising and building social support in the host and ethnic social interaction. Others claimed that there is an excitement in collaboration and rapport with internationals. Nevertheless, a greater pleasure comes when a coordinated effort on the boundary results in something respondents consider beautiful.

Social appreciation is the fourth and final source of enjoyment. Affirmation from an audience in performance emerged in respondents' answers as "the attraction" and "most exciting thing". Respondents elaborated on how they enjoy musical activities on their own and in groups of musicians, but how that is not the end. They worked, practised, and rehearsed with a goal and a vision of putting on a show. They often cited positive responses from an audience to exemplify how their music affected, and was valued by, others, and how they felt encouraged to turn an experiment and one-off performance into a long-lasting project:

<Andrew>: I think a part of the attraction of them, it began with they started getting people applauding them. In the pipe band, you rarely get people clapping. It really helps them being enthusiastic. So, they are attracted to the fact that... I remember one remarking 'oh, it's great, people came forward to it!'

<Sarah>: {laugh}.

<Andrew>: Instead of complaining the noise. Yeah, I think it was, I think it has taken a while to get used to.

<Karen>: But I'm... But also, when you are a classical musician, and some day you say 'okay, I'm gonna learn this piece music by ear, and play with a group of like French horn and accordion and concertina players, and like when you do, and the crowd kind of really enjoys that, start clapping along and dancing. Then it's the most exciting thing you've have ever done, even if you've played in the Royal Albert Hall, and done, you know, played the solo clarinet part in (Rach 2), or whatever.

Audience's responses can affect a musician's experience and decisions. Respondents' narratives show that they took delight in picking up others'

enjoyment and emotional status from nonverbal clues such as clapping, applauding, and dancing. Additionally, the status evoked in the audience does not need to be happy. It could also be an empathic understanding and imagination conveyed by musicians, such as homesickness, among other feelings:

<Ahmad>: But when somebody deports you from your country, you are still feeling about your memories back home. They are all Iraqi Jewish now in Israel, if you see them, they feel this homesick in Israel. They are all Jewish, so when I go to sing for them, some of them will cry. Yeah, and they enjoy the music. Now I sing for Israel people, but almost all of them came from Iraq. When I sing for this kind of people, they feel the music, they feel the word, and they infuse. I mean, there is some infusing with the song, they feel it.

Ahmad mentioned that he visits and performs in Israel every year, and how the audience there reacts to his music. According to him, they enjoy his performances because they echo their memories of Iraq. He did not elaborate on how not being able to visit his home country - Iraq - affected his own experience and decision. However, the fact that he brought it up in the interview shows that he cared for how an audience responded to his singing, and how they had empathic moments.

In summary, hedonic enjoyments were mentioned as various moments where respondents were on musical and cultural boundary encounters. It includes the moments where musicians came across musical performances and recordings of an unfamiliar style, tradition, and cultural community. They were moved by beautiful timbre, melody, and sense of novelty. It includes gratification where they express their personal experience; pleasure from coordinating well with other musicians; and excitement from being appreciated by an audience. Hedonic enjoyment is not about how one indulges oneself, but how moments of joy motivate musicians to keep participating and organising intercultural musical activities. The ineffable positive experiences that emerged in the data show that pleasure felt in various music activities is fundamental to individuals' beginning of intercultural music projects.

5.2.2 Practical choices

Practical choices include musicians' descriptions about how they did something they did not necessarily enjoy, in order to sustain their musical activities while relying on music to achieve practical goals. Attitudinal elements, such as wonder and passion, are internal motives for respondents to want to deepen boundary participation in the first place. Nevertheless, socio-economic and logistical issues may soon transpire, particularly for professional musicians who live on music. Practicalities immediately affect whether respondents can stay and learn on boundary encounters.

Cultural identity gave respondents comparative advantages in relevant musical performances, and a niche market. In interviews, sojourning musicians said that it soon occurred to them that the local audience appreciates a performance where they play music of their ethnocultural community. Marcos, a Brazilian musician who lived in Scotland for more than a decade, mentioned this perception:

<Marcos>: We began as [band name] because you think the Brazil is the niche on the market in here? And can give us a little difference. 'Cause so we have quite a lot of Brazilian music on our repertoire, mainly because we think like people would be interested in contacting us for this reason, you know.

He spoke about the thinking behind naming the band. "Brazil" was included in the name to attract more people who are interested in Brazilian music. It shows that naming and musicians' biographies serve as not only a group's self-identification and introduction, but also as an attempt to capture audiences in the niche market. Having an audience in mind can affect group decisions further than naming. Seo-yun mentioned her plan of combining jazz into her ensemble's performance. Respondents adopted certain styles and adapted some of their specific expertise, convinced that it could better win a crowd.

This is especially the case for those who moved to a host society where they felt encouraged to perform and showcase music relevant to their own cultures.

They have competitive advances in their language competence, aesthetic, and emotional orientations, rooted in their early history in the home cultural community associated with specific musical tradition. It remains debatable to what extent those culture-specific, linguistic and affective, competencies hold an effect on one's musical competence. However, perceptions of host musicians' and audience's preferences may pull respondents to be more in favour of their ethnocultural communities' repertoire than before. Ioannis reflected that he started looking into Greek musical traditions during his studies in the UK. Marcos did the same with Brazilian repertoire.

Vigorous systematic training at institutions does not always lead a person to be a full-time professional musician. Marcos had studied Trumpet Performance at a Brazilian university, and he makes his living currently from a non-music related job, performing in gigs semi-professionally. Meanwhile, music hobbies and informal learning can gradually turn into one's expertise, advantages, and, ultimately, career. Ioannis mentioned that he became a professional musician after came to the UK from Greece for Masters' studies in 1999, although it was not his initial intention. Sometimes, musical skills became a tool for respondents to achieve other goals. They wanted to travel, visit, or settle in another place, and music helped them cover the living cost. Once Atpo heard that a restaurant was recruiting for a resident performer in Beijing, he went for it with an idea of making a better living and settling down in the city:

<Atpo>: In my region, no one dared to go out to cities and make their living on music. At least in our region, in our Lisu region, I can say, no one dares to.

<R>: No one dares.

<Atpo>: Think about it, how much it costs to go to cities. You need to live, and in cities, people from our minority ethnic regions usually have little education background. When you come to make a living and want to settle down, what do you rely on? Your expertise. Everyone, you have to make efforts to integrate into the city. How that feels like? That isn't something can be dealt with in one or two years.

According to Atpo, he did not set off to be a professional musician. He was open to any opportunities to make a living in the capital. Folk music and dance happened to be part of his expertise that helped him get the job in Beijing, as he knows the music and dance of Lisu and surrounding ethnic areas well. He expected it to be difficult because many Lisu people from his region went out, but few managed to find a stable job in cities without a higher education background. He wanted to settle down and make a good life in the capital, and music became a tool that served this goal.

There needs to be local demand, opportunities, and funding for musicians to start engaging in their intercultural activities. Aforementioned competitive advantages describe respondents' evaluations regarding their personal assets and shortcomings in getting bookings. Aside from performing, funds come from musicians themselves, as well as others like funding organisations. Marcos and Farhad relocated and lived on other professions. Pedro was granted scholarships to take trips to India to learn sitar with a teacher and conduct his studies. Those external resources made possible, and supported, their boundary activities. Aside from musical performance and income from other jobs, respondents talked about a variety of opportunities, from favourable government policies, a growing number of musical and cultural festivals, to cultural institutions' grants:

Government policies

<Seo-yun>: [...] If I make my company into a Social Enterprise, the Korean government is going to support us. So, last year I made {that}. So actually, now our company is a Social Enterprise. And for every month, the Korean government supports them for the salary, payment.

Music festivals

<Myra>: [...] If there is a world music festival, or a jazz festival, or an Indian festival happening, like I have to apply to relevant festivals who would, you know, because there are so many different kinds of music.

Institutions of interests

<Karen>: And whenever someone there who is focusing on klezmer, they usually get a bit funding from the Jewish Music Institute to set up an ensemble. So, they have this klezmer ensemble, still I think is still going on now. There is a guy, one of my students, John, he's been running it. So, it's good to keep that kind of thing in universities, but the whole sort of progression of young people playing it and learning about it, mm... so that you get people forming bands, that is good for the... to generate a community of klezmer musicians. It's very important.

The quotes above show that individual perceptions of funding availability contribute to their long-term participation in crossing musical and cultural boundaries. Organisations have purposes and agendas, including supporting companies in public sectors, encouraging musicians and bands in certain styles, and boosting ethnocultural communities' strength. They support musicians, however, with requirements that shape applicants' musical activities, such as providing a particular service to the larger society, choosing musicians with specific musical and cultural backgrounds and creating a performance to fit in with an event, and preserving and promoting a musical tradition. Interactions between musicians and organisations prompt negotiations between their respective priorities. Where respondents did not fully agree with the idea, "practicalities" is one line of reasoning that helped them reconcile what they wanted to do with what they did in exchange for the support.

In summary, practicalities present external factors that make respondents decide to travel, work, live, and learn in a specific society. Different items are deemed as appropriate topics under social influences. Some respondents highlighted personal enjoyment and financial difficulties, while others preferred not to discuss it in detail. Despite that, interviews demonstrate that opportunities influence how individuals participate in international events relevant to their music interests; pick up and drop out of some musical practice; and collaborate with musicians of distinctive styles, such as those commissioned by event organisers. Those occasions offered practical advantages and resources, which catalysed the birth of various long-term

boundary practice groups like Andrew's and Ioannis', where respondents went in without initially expecting those encounters to last.

5.2.3 Eudaimonic living

Eudaimonic living is an intrinsic motivation where one expresses an enjoyment in making use of their strength towards something larger than themselves (Seligman, 2004). It can be one's cultural identification, musical identification, self-expression, and social connection (with peer musicians and audience), which frequently showed in respondents' explanation to why they started, and in some cases, kept their groups active over decades. Data show a need felt by respondents to argue for their styles and decisions, particularly how they performed traditional and fusion forms of music.

Cultural identification is a taken-for-granted source of affinity and responsibility. Respondents identified with their home culture without exception. Cultural membership is employed as an apparent and self-explanatory reason when musicians were asked why they turned to become involved in performing traditional music in its original or fusion forms:

<R>: So, traditional music in general? Or you mean the Greek traditional music you are interested in?

<Ioannis>: All traditional music, but obviously Greek, because I am Greek.

<R>: Why do you like traditional music though?

<Min-jun>: We are Korean.

<Do-yun>: I am Korean. I have Korean DNA. Korean traditional music is funny and interesting. And I want Korean music DNA {to mix with} another music, another instruments. I want to mix them in a new way.

"DNA" is used by Do-yun to explain his South Korean identity. Furthermore, characteristics of Korean traditional music were likened to it, as something inherited from ancestors. This belonging is then related to the satisfaction of blending Korean music creatively with other cultural elements. Fusion is meaningful to them in the sense of exploring the potential of their traditional music. The expression implies an entitlement to authority concerning a music-

cultural practice. “DNA” is a common metaphor and explanation adopted by musicians. It says on the official website of Salsa Celtica, a Celtic-Latin folk fusion band:

“Salsa Celtica are an 11 piece band featuring musicians from Scotland, Ireland and Cuba. As the name suggests the band’s musical DNA is a mix of Celtic and salsa. The combined depth of rhythm and melodies these two cultures provide make Salsa Celtica an irresistible force of passion, energy and joy.”

Seo-yun previously mentioned this personal enjoyment in reinventing new sounds from, and for, traditional instruments and music. Moreover, she spoke of the responsibility of introducing and passing on traditional music to her country’s future generations.

<Seo-yun>: Especially in Korea, when you play with only traditional instruments, people think ‘ah, it’s old-fashioned’. ‘It’s boring’. So yeah, for our generation, it’s fine. But to young generation, I have to think of something new.

She described fusion, combining traditional music with musical elements favoured by teenagers, as an approach and channel to reach out to the young South Korean audience. In Atpo’s case, his community’s music faces a more worrying decline for not having enough young musicians. In addition to attracting a mainstream Han Chinese audience to Lisu music, he discussed his goal of encouraging Lisu children to learn their traditional instruments and music. He argued that, in order to do that, it is significant to set himself first as an example, to show children that musicians of their communities can make a good living:

<Atpo>: But lusheng, instruments like lusheng, I would say, it is a responsibility of ethnic groups like us. And this sense of passion, I might be able to bring them forwards to our young generation. But firstly, I need to become influential and successful. These things are very important, so I am now making efforts to... I’ve been performing to the audience in and outside the country. I’ve been doing things like promoting the music, because I want to make an impact and show the value of our music, so that when the younger generation see me, they would say things like “ah, that’s great, I should learn music and be like him in future.” But now

what they see instead is the 'inheritor' in our region who lives in such a needy condition. His shabby house wobbled with the wind. Tiles are almost gone, and the rain leaks in, everywhere.

According to Atpo, it is understandable that youngsters are not willing to live like the impoverished elderly musicians. Meanwhile, he attributed these elders' persistence to their passion and sense of responsibility. Those speculations on other individuals show what the respondent saw as legitimate motives for playing music. His use of "passion" for music attests to hedonic enjoyments; and "responsibility" for Lisu group to eudaimonic living. He added that he was in the jewellery business for a few years, but returned to a music career because he felt that jewellery could not bring him a sense of fulfilment like music did.

<Atpo>: So, in my mind, 'til our generation, those elders and that music, there has not been any record for the music, it was passed on by their fathers and fathers of fathers to them, and then they pass it on to... one generation after another 'til now for more than 3,000 years. Through 3,000 years these ancient performances are still kept until nowadays, so I think that to me this is.... ah. I didn't have this feeling, this passion before. I didn't think it matters. It's fine if it's here. It doesn't matter if it's gone. There is no direct relation between it and me anyway. I am only one member of the {Lisu} group. But then I found that is not the case. Who is going to do it if I don't? Nobody. Basically, no peers of mine can do it. None. For one, to do this you need to be well suited. Your talent, your profession, and also your knowledge, all three conditions are essential.

Relating cultural heritage and identity to what he does, Lisu music's urgent status gave his career an irreplaceable purpose: conserving and promoting traditional Lisu music to Chinese and international audiences. It is also implied that Atpo saw himself as the only one who could currently do this work. He is musically talented and managed to live on music. He is knowledgeable in folk music, for he grew up and lived in a region that is home to many other ethnic communities. It was mentioned as a success that he and his partner organised a traditional music and dance celebration for Lisu's new year near his hometown, inviting Han Chinese friends and celebrities in his network to host,

and appear at, the event. Despite the fact that other traditional respondents did not speak of such a pressing need, they similarly highlighted the sense of purposefulness in bringing their music to the local, co-ethnic, and international audience in their current host society.

In addition to the affinity and responsibility connected with cultural identity, interviewees who lived in another culture for years discussed memories and nostalgia brought up by music, which is meaningful to themselves and their audience. For instance, Ahmad, the Iraqi Arab musician living in Scotland, concluded that he only listens to Arabic music these days because that is what he only likes listening to:

Music meaningful to musician

<Ahmad>: I actually, I listen only to Arabic songs.

<R>: The traditional ones? What about the popular ones?

<Ahmad>: Yeah, even the new ones.

<R>: The new ones?

<Ahmad>: Yeah, the modern ones. Some songs are good.

[...]

<R>: Mm, but not the music here?

<Ahmad>: No, no, I don't, because all my interest is to Arab side.
And I came {here}, full of Arab music.

Music meaningful to audience

<Ahmad>: I go two or three times a year to Israel. There is Iraqi Jewish in Israel.[...] The Iraqi Jewish were deported to Israel from Iraq, because they are Jewish. From all Arab countries to Israel. They go out and they... but they are feeling homesick, all of them, because they love their country. You like your country, yes? But when somebody deports you from your country, you are still feeling about your memories back home. They are, all Iraqi Jewish now in Israel, if you see them, they feel this homesick in Israel. They are all Jewish, so when I go to sing for them, some of them will cry. Yeah, and they enjoy the music. Now I sing for Israel people, but almost all of them came from Iraq. When I sing for this kind of people, they feel the music, they feel the word, and they infuse. I mean, there is some infusing with the song, they feel it.

Ahmad and his Jewish audience share the history of growing up in Iraq and being forced to leave the country and banned from returning. Although they

are from different ethnocultural communities, the way Ahmad described his audience suggests that he imagined that the Jewish audience truly understood and felt the same nostalgia towards Iraq. They all speak Arabic and hold similar sentimental feelings towards the songs. Their common history in Iraq forms their common Iraqi cultural identity.

Ahmad's audience may experience different conflict from his. He had to leave the country because he found himself unwilling to fight the Iraqi war any more. Meanwhile, his audience had another conflict between cultural and religious identities. He may represent one part, but not the whole experience. This highlights the multi-membership status individuals experience every day, requiring reconciliation efforts from them. Ahmad did not focus on those differences. His attention is the common understanding between his audience and him - why and how they empathised with him. This common ground of cultural identity might be imagined. Nevertheless, going to Israel to perform every year demonstrated, in action, that aspect of cultural identity.

Other words from Ahmad show that preferring music identified as belonging to his cultural community does not necessarily mean an aversion to intercultural contact. He enjoyed collaborating and playing with international and host musicians in Britain:

<R>: You know her {a British musician}, how?

<Ahmad>: Yes, she's a good composer. The first opera I had in Edinburgh, in 2003, I think. It was a great opera. She composed opera for us. And I was singing in this opera.

[...]

<Ahmad>: I select the tune. Last year, she had a concert about Syria, and she asked me to sing with her. I said 'okay', and I went and I sang in the concert Syrian songs, songs about Syria. She is a fantastic artist, and I like her.

Respondents who sojourned to the UK soon found that their past is viewed as an asset if they play respective traditional music, as aforementioned in practical choices. Often appearing together is their description of pleasure of feeling appreciated by host musicians and audiences when playing those

musical styles. These affective and practical factors in the host environment are likely to encourage respondents to start picking up their traditional music or being more engaged in it, identifying with their home cultural community:

<Ioannis>: I had some interest in traditional music before I came here, but that was further developed here. As here traditional music is more precious than in Greece. {With} not many people do it, more people need it. And in that way, I was in an environment where this music was more in demand. And as a musician, I didn't have any problem with that, you know.

Merging cultural identity in musical activities is not problematic for Ioannis. According to him, this is partly because he already had some interests. He then commented that the musician part of him could go along with this particular host preference and market demand. It suggests that Britain's local positive receptivity towards the music of different cultures made participants who moved here feel this was a viable way of living. They were encouraged to perform and improve the music of their cultural heritage and identity. They may not have had a keen interest to play traditional music before; however, cultural belonging makes such musical adjustment an easy option as a meaningful adaption, reaffirming cultural identities on the boundary.

It is noted that respondents were aware of how musician communities were under the influence of larger societies and their multicultural climates. A mainstream curiosity towards the music of different communities has been driving musicians to look for cultural origins in their musical activities for decades. Karen told the story of klezmer revival, which started with Jewish American musicians being asked by peer folk musicians about Jewish folk music. In Makoto's words, this social attention and emphasis on bloodline and cultural heritage can allow individuals consider and be sensitive to values placed on an imagined cultural identity corresponding to music performance:

<R>: [...] so your background is in classical and jazz kind of background, so how and why, what led you to go to Japan to learn taiko in the very first place.

<Makoto>: Basically, I played {taiko} when I was young. I started like, when I was like 11 years old in my hometown, but it was very recreational. I wasn't, it wasn't a serious practice for me.

But then yes, getting into classical music and jazz music, I went to a conservatoire for jazz, like school for music, and I realised that I didn't have a cultural relationship with jazz music, you know, in the way like, for example, black friends of mine did. Their connection with their heritage and music was so strong, that I started to think 'okay, well, where is that for me?' And that really (kind of made) me to wanna study Japanese music.

Root identity affords a source of affinity. It is a social category based on family history, which provided respondents with a connection with an ethnocultural community outside the home culture, albeit far from full membership. In Makoto's reflection, growing up in the United States, he is culturally an American first. It took him a long time to get used to Japanese surroundings, despite his Japanese family background.

Musical identity is another important source of meaning and identification, in addition to cultural and root identity in respondents' activities and imaginations. It provides an affinity that cuts across cultural experiences. According to interviewees, musicians share some characteristics regardless of cultural backgrounds. A broad interest in music work gives them a strong motivation to listen to, learn from, and work with musicians from other cultures.

Like cultural membership, having a musical identity or not is not entirely up to individuals. Music-professional identity is also a membership of a specific musician community. Each group developed its membership requirements, and respondents showed a need to negotiate for that membership accordingly. Makoto's comments on what jazz is about showed that he concurred with jazz's ethos. Furthermore, he demonstrated that he had a social history within jazz and taiko communities, learning and performing its music, respectively. It is observed that the learning and performing history deemed valuable to negotiation were often listed in respondents' biographies. This includes which conservatoire they went to, their teachers, associated acts, well-known venues and events, and in which country they have lived. Those musical and cultural

experiences are crucial for interviewees to be recognised as an expert in Arabic, Brazilian, klezmer, Korean, Indian, Japanese, or jazz music.

As much as a significant influence socio-cultural identification and categorisation play in respondents' choices of doing and viewing things, what they played and said shows that not everyone finds music associated with their cultural community a sensory enjoyment. Another music and its culture can be more pleasant instead.

Respondents' music groups form a community of practice with musicians rehearsing together regularly over the years. Newcomers kept participating in the scene and learnt musically and culturally how a musician is expected to behave and engage with others in this particular local group, understanding specific perspectives within. Some of those norms and understandings may be retained from the class. However, others can only be experienced and negotiated by musicians from inside the community. The grasp of this abstract realisation is personal, which is described by a saying attributed to jazz musician Louis Armstrong: "If you have to ask what jazz is, you'll never know" (Lewis, 2020). In interacting with various colleagues and audiences, individuals develop most of their professional skills and understandings, and effective means of behaving, communicating, narrating their stories, and defining or redefining their music.

When mentioning another musician for the first time in the interview, respondents referred to him or her according to the musical instrument, genre, nationality, and sometimes gender (a Greek violinist, a German girl who plays the flute, and a jazz guitar player). Instruments and genres are vital in musical practice, thus also to musicians' performances and interactions with others. Primary instrument forms a crucial part of musical identity, as in a clarinettist, guitarist, and percussionist. It can trace back to a casual and random choice in their childhood, which may have been under family influences. However, after participating and progressing on a learning trajectory (of being a sitarist,

taiko drummer, pianist, a musician) for a long time, instruments grow to hold increasing meaning for individuals:

<R>: Yeah, so was it your own idea like you wanted to learn classical guitar, or it's more like your parent saying 'do you want to the instrument? Maybe classical guitar?' Or things like that?

<Ioannis>: Ah it's hard to remember, but I think the idea was guitar, not classical guitar. But then to learn guitar, they didn't know much, so the classical guitar.

<R>: But why guitar?

<Ioannis>: Ah I think at that age you just do what your parents suggest, what they expect you to do so. And my mother presented to me this idea of playing guitar as a good idea. And I bit.

Musical identities change when people shift their commitment to a different primary instrument and group. Although Ioannis' initial musical experiences were pleasant in his account, music only gradually turned into a vocation after he went abroad to study. Some respondents changed their primary instrument because it was necessary for learning another musical tradition. Pedro started with the guitar and is currently playing the sitar. Andrew started with piano and flute at around eight years old, under his family's influence, found his interest in percussion later on instead, and became a samba percussionist.

A person can play and identify with multiple instruments. Do-yun, a South Korean respondent whose first instrument is daegeum (traditional Korean flute), identified himself also as a hang drum player. Over the years, musicians come across different cultures' music and instruments and learn several of them, with or without a firm commitment. Those boundary encounters shaped respondents' current music. Some contacts became more central to what they did in their music career and/or intercultural living.

Interviewees played in multiple bands within and across genres, from being a guest, to a core member, to a founder. Members collaborated in music and divided managerial and logistical tasks outside in various manners that reflected their involvement. It seems that, as long as there is a shared interest

to work together, musicians hold a versatility to work between different cultural creations, adjusting and adapting to various functions and activities as required.

<Marcos>: But [band name] is a project I started maybe more than ten years ago, and I try to keep this always, because on this I compose music, so I'm kind of more like a leading role in that group, {while} in other groups I'm just a follower.

<Ioannis>: [...] A musician wants to play music, and will... if the music is good and if it's got soul, then every musician will appreciate it, follow it, and maybe learn it and play it. And that's what happened to me.

Ioannis summarised that a musician is firstly someone who "wants to play music". This seemingly simple summary again implies intrinsic motivations and chief goals of respondents. He further added a prerequisite for people to appreciate and enjoy it: good music with a soul. This criterion is vague, but emphasises a profound quality of experience and feeling.

<Karen>: They always hear things, and want to learn how to do them. And that's in a way a music like klezmer evolved in the first place, from adopting the modes of a region, you know, the scales of a region and combining it with the music that you knew already.

Karen related her learning to what musicians always do when talking about why she started to learn Balkan music after playing klezmer for seven years. She implied a general feature shared by musicians across space and time, as one who likes music and is intrinsically motivated to learn and improve their musical activities. Thereby, respondents depicted themselves as members of a vast professional community whose primary music interest overcomes individual differences and inhibitions on cultural boundaries.

Hedonic enjoyment and eudaimonic living motivations connect respondents' musical and cultural identities. Those who were involved in fusion projects endorsed musical cross-fertilisation. The meaning of intercultural boundary encounters was valued, for it brings about the creation. In comparison, others who lived in a host community for years tended to focus on socialisation and cross-cultural learning processes between their home and host communities,

which becomes a primary meaning of their music. They may have learnt traditional music and were curious about the music of other cultures or fusion approaches; however, meaning negotiation of their musical activities would be linked to the relocation time and again.

Respondents' musical and cultural activities, experiences, and identifications merged into one being. The feeling and awareness of oneself were unignorable. Intercultural experiences overlap and interact with music-professional experiences. Sometimes they are so close that it is impossible to discern their musical from cultural feeling and thinking. Some interviewees, trained initially in western classical music, explained that they started engaging in folk and various crossover activities because they found some of their personal and cultural experience missing in what they were performing. There was a desire to express, in music, abstractly and aesthetically intricate cultural experience and hybrid cultural identity when individuals were exposed to the influence of more than one culture in their childhood. Belonging and expression are particularly a life-long issue for the fast-growing group of "Third Culture Kids" and "Cross-Cultural Kids" worldwide (Pollock et al., 2010). Those individuals experienced significant cultural differences during their childhood or youth because their parents worked and lived abroad. Makoto and Myra brought up this tangled web of musical and cultural identities in their life and career development:

<Makoto>: It's the wholeness of life. I'm American, jazz musician, I'm Japanese. I don't really consider myself Japanese American, 'cause it's another whole other, you know, it's like there is a whole community of Japanese Americans living in, for example, California. And they come from generations and generations of Japanese Americans, so I mean, they all speak Japanese, and they are in a community of Japanese Americans. So, it's like I grew up with Japanese parents in St. Louis, Missouri. So, I feel very American, so then up until I was 22, I haven't been really associating too much with other Asian or Japanese Americans. And when I moved to Japan, and I was living in Japan, so it's like very extreme, you know. It wasn't until when I moved to Japan that I eventually married a woman who is Japanese American, and so then I really started to understand what it is like to be a

Japanese American, just learning from her family, and her experience. So, in terms of identity, I'm embracing all of that, and not excluding anything. So, one reason I left Japan after being there for ten years, being in for ten years, I was like, 'Okay, this is great. It is great for it is, but I am kind of abandoning my jazz and classical, you know, all that stuff.' So, I wanted to, again, embrace that as well. And I was incorporating some of that stuff when I was in [band name of the Japanese taiko group] even, but you know, right now I am wholly embracing my entire background.

Individuals particularly highlighted “wholeness” in music when creolisation is a part of their daily lives and experiences. Expressiveness proffers another motivation for intercultural music activities. In Makoto's recount of his development, his growing up in the USA with Japanese heritage, classical and jazz flute music education in the USA, and taiko and shinobue training in Japan, all came together to form a unique path and identification. The history appeared as a juxtaposition of contexts in which he made choices from going to Japan, to settling back in Brooklyn. People are motivated to verify their situational memberships while having a trans-situational, comprehensive, and consistent view of self that can bring together those singly enacted identities (Mead, 1934).

When differences between cultural groups were highlighted in the society, respondents talked about how they came to experience reified discontinuities. Of those who grew up in multicultural families and neighbourhoods with entangled cultural and root identities - born to a Japanese family and raised in the US, born to a Chinese family and raised in Scotland, or moved from India to the US with parents as a teenager - how did they define and feel about being American, Chinese, British, Indian, and/or Japanese? Anna, the Chinese British respondent, focused on her musical identity. Makoto and Myra mentioned their challenges of identifying as a part of, and beyond, two cultural groups. They talked about the significance of expressing and recognising in music their personal experience as a whole, which contains each facet of identity. A belief was implied in interviews, that musicians work on expressing all aspects of themselves and should be allowed to express such in their

musical creations. They showed a shared focus on learning and improving their competencies to perform “beautiful” music, expand their repertoire, and create new pieces that can better express their feelings, imaginations, and ideas.

Social connection and initiatives are the fourth and last higher purpose that respondents discussed, in addition to their cultural identification, musical identification, and self-expression. Some respondents stated that social interaction is necessary, and should be a more prioritised objective served by music. Indeed, people may join a musical group to interact with others and feel connected. A close relationship with others, mediated and built through music performance, can be a fulfilling reward for respondents. Pedro completed his doctoral study on music connectivity between tabla and sitar players in North Indian classical music. His written self-reflection on his musical journey reported his gradual realisations concerning social rapport:

“Although I have been playing music since childhood, my approach towards ‘musicking’ (Small, 1999) was, for a long time, highly individualistic. As a teenager I wanted to be the fastest guitar shredder in school. Later, when carrying out my BA at Berklee College of Music, I spent most of my time composing avant-garde classical music in complete isolation. I continued having the same approach towards music throughout my Masters’ at the University of Surrey and into my first PhD at Royal Holloway. However, I slowly came to discover the joy of playing music - and particularly improvising - with other people. During this time, I also became increasingly interested in North Indian classical music, and especially sitar and tabla duo performance. The fact that my awareness and appreciation for what I would eventually call musical connectivity grew hand-in-hand with my appreciation of Hindustānī music was hardly coincidental. [...] I eventually came to the conclusion that - given my background as a guitarist and my attraction towards melody - the sitar would probably suit me better.”

This written account detailed, at length, a process of how and what meanings were negotiated for one’s musical activities. Motivations change throughout the years. What is truly important in life? Pedro had a musical answer: North Indian classical music. This corresponded with his increased valuing of social

connections, as its practice seems to demand, and thus facilitate, more interaction, understanding, and bonding between performers. Two other categories of motivation - pleasure and practicality - also showed in the picture for his choice between learning tabla or sitar. He first mentioned a personal enjoyment in the music; subsequently, his competence acquired from decades of playing the guitar gave a transferable practical advantage to learning sitar.

A performance, a song, an album, or a project - a common goal and thought that the group would keep going - bind musicians together, despite differing opinions. Musical activities can be intense, marked with conflicting ideas and perspectives. Members may prefer other approaches, sounds, and ways of coordination and communication, but a beautiful work out of collective efforts is ultimately enjoyable. Marcos stressed that music needs to “sound rather well” and “make sense” in the group:

<Marcos>: The importance is we sound rather well, and the music makes sense. That's main thing here, but it doesn't sound as a traditional Brazilian band, you know.

Subjective aesthetic sensibilities and criteria create further dissent and argument during group rehearsals and discussions. Although the former falls under an affective dimension, and the latter epistemic, both suggest that people enjoy playing music with others who appreciate and approach music similarly. However, a cross-cultural life places respondents in frequent intercultural contact and music learning, and they change. They have formed bands and performed with musicians available locally. Myra moved from India to the USA in her teenage years, and Farhad from Iran to Britain in his adulthood. From the perspective of host musicians, having these international musicians around means opportunities to learn and perform diverse music genres at home, and to have intercultural projects. Either way, sojourning respondents and their intercultural music practice took up a social and cultural initiative. They ascribed the importance of brokering between their home and host among other cultural communities to their performance, among other musical activities.

In summary, respondents were interested in learning the kind of music they enjoyed and considered inspiring and meaningful, upon encounters. They were interested in various identities on offer if they kept participating in, and improving on, musical and cultural boundaries. Those musical experiences and identity interests initiated and sustained their practice, bringing those professionals together to intercultural music projects, performing and learning with individuals of different musical or cultural backgrounds.

Motivation is a compound construct with multiple intertwined sources. An exciting intercultural and musical experience can come from a combination of hedonic enjoyments, eudaimonic meanings, and practical choices. Synchrony in music and experiencing a rapport with others brought respondents pleasant experiences, which encouraged future collaborations that started their intercultural music practice. Positive responses from diverse peers and audiences induced a fulfilling experience that helped them stick through high learning demands encountered when they diverted into something new. An audience's affirmation suggested that local people and fans may buy tickets for their concerts, in practical terms. Musical and cultural aspects were mixed in respondents' positive boundary experiences and motivations, including their identity negotiation. This mixture shows as an impetus for the beginning of their intercultural musical practice.

5.3 Summary: Linking themes of boundary encounters and motivations

Themes of boundary encounters and motivations show that learning and performing music across cultures are motives to initiate and maintain contact with people of distinctive cultural backgrounds. Hoping to improve musical competence, and to become a better and more successful musician, prompts host and international musicians into social interaction, working, talking, and learning with culturally different people, within and sometimes outside the music-professional bubble.

Cultural identity and social connection themes demonstrate how intercultural experience can influence, and even be, musicians' motivations. Relocation put people in contact with musicians and audiences of unfamiliar cultural groups. Consequently, those newcomers can become more motivated to play in a group and make social connections in music.

5.1 boundary encounters 5.1.1 delegations 5.1.2 one-on-one 5.1.3 immersion ↓	5.2 motivations 5.2.1 hedonic enjoyment 5.2.2 practical choices 5.2.3 eudaimonic living ↓
5.3.1 Initial boundary encounters: Crossing in sequence ↓	5.3.2 Hedonic vs. eudaimonic: Positive affective experience being the impetus ↓
5.3.3 Music-centred vs. social-centred: Different points in negotiation	

Figure 5.2 Linking themes of boundary encounters and motivations

5.3.1 Initial boundary encounters: Crossing in sequence

Experience at cultural boundary encounters engendered music-focused pleasure for respondents to further engage in a music and cultural practice new to them. Music seems to possess an arbitrary, yet powerful, influence on changing their attitudes and imaginations through evoking a positive listening experience or mediating a successful collaboration experience. Such fun drove them to actively play and learn music on the boundary in the short term. Some gradually resulted in long-term musical learning that incorporated intercultural understanding and identity development.

Initial transitions across musical and cultural communities often occurred in sequence, rather than concurrently. Interviewees marked their professional encounters as being different from intercultural encounters (e.g., before, after, or paralleling). In a music-centred intercultural practice, one may be exposed to Indian classical music at home through mass media or at international music festivals, and travel to India to learn it. In contrast, one may pick up a local instrument and join folk groups active in the host environment after studying or

working abroad. Either way, they had experienced a culturally distant practice and found pleasure and meaning therein.

5.3.2 Hedonic vs. eudaimonic: Positive affective experience being the impetus

Hedonic and eudaimonic motivations overlap considerably with similar sub-themes: musical enjoyment/identity, individual expressiveness, collective experience/cultural identity, and social affirmation. According to James (1978), this is hardly an accident, because meaning is, to an extent, rational justification and interpretation created by people based on their experienced gratification. For example, people maintain, and advocate the meaning of, a healthy diet because they credit it with their feeling invigorated. Similarly, making music and friends must be meaningful because people are convinced that doing so brings long-term happiness. It remains important to distinguish between them, as the hedonic enjoyment ends once one stops what they do, be it playing a piece or listening or dancing to music. Sense of meaning, purpose, and principles of good living - eudaimonic happiness - is, therefore, required to maintain more or less balanced wellbeing over the long term.

Home-based respondents highlighted pleasurable listening and collaboration experiences that had motivated them to pick up a new musical practice, joining relevant music communities. Karen's case represents individuals whose homes are internationalised societies. They are exposed to live music performances worldwide, and have departed from their original music practice to pursue a deviant interest. Those home-based musicians partly participated in varied intercultural activities because their performance and careers consisted of unfamiliar music-cultural traditions, multicultural band members, and/or diverse audiences. Practical and eudaimonic concerns accounted for their choices, but musical gratification often provided an intrinsic and initial push.

“Hitting it off” presents a vigorous pleasure for musicians to work together again. This is consistent with research on intergroup collaboration, which observed that immediate reward determines individuals’ willingness to continue collaborating across groups (Hanvey, 2001; Wright et al., 2005). Contrasted with vehement expressions on feelings and relish for music, interviewees rarely made strong statements regarding exact reasons for such enjoyment. Speculations were given with hedge words (Myers, 2010), explicitly declaring that it is one’s guess. Respondents recognised that their positive experiences could relate to early life, or resonate with their concurrent emotional status and interests. Karen connected the enjoyment of being surprised by the clarinet’s role in klezmer to her picking up the genre. However, individuals only arrived at such reasoning in retrospect.

The interview data show an affective combination of witnessing an excellent live performance and its relation to personal interests, spurring individuals into starting their practice. Some respondents pinned down parts of their enjoyment to specific ideas they had associated with music, such as a meditative image to Indian classical music. These imaginations and culturally-shaped aesthetics (e.g., intellectuality related to western classical music) pull musicians into a new music community and intercultural music activities.

5.3.3 Music-centred vs. social-centred: Different points in negotiation

Participants highlighted different aspects of enjoyment as an initial push. For home-based musicians, social connection with peer professionals showed in both their hedonic and eudaimonic motivation. However, they often placed musical pursuits as the impetus. Regardless of which boundary respondents crossed first, those who lived long outside their home community - Brazilian, Greek, Indian, Iranian, Iraqi individuals in the UK - tended to attach greater importance to social aspects as being pleasant and fulfilling experiences.

Sojourner interviewees went to their respective host societies with various identities: a computer scientist, a freelancer, an art management student, or a

refugee. It is shown that individuals took musical activities as a behavioural and cognitive resource, to respond to some sociocultural and psychological challenges in the new environment. Some mentioned that playing music with people helped them to relax outside study or work. It is surmised that it also puts them in contact with people who may help them navigate, advising them how to have effective and appropriate host social communication. Those international musicians also talked about adaptations taken according to overt and covert clues, gathered from the local audience's reactions in their host community. Ioannis reflected that his time in the UK, alongside an appreciation from local musicians and audience on him playing Greek music, are vital factors that caused him to learn more about the music of his cultural heritage. Over time, they became more involved in folk and intercultural music scenes relevant to their home cultural backgrounds.

Respondents' narratives highlighted a higher purpose, beyond personal gratification, when telling how and why they persevere with a particular music scene. They related what they do musically to a broader and collective framework beyond oneself, which first sought cultural membership and responsibility. Some interviewees with a non-western cultural identity (e.g., Korean) or root identity (e.g., Chinese British, Indian American, Japanese American) were in western musical practice (e.g., classical, jazz). They described a perceived gap between their musical and cultural identifications, which gave them an incentive to start or join an intercultural music project that incorporates musical elements from their cultural heritage.

Identity gap is an intrinsic motivation, but it is also a stressor. Participants who grew up as a minority in a society with different mainstream cultural groups recounted a more controversial identity negotiation in their life and career. Musical and cultural aspects entangle, for example: between their music-professional identity as a taiko drummer; cultural membership as a British citizen; and a social categorisation based on the cultural heritage as a Chinese person. Individuals made unique, colliding, and complementing connections

between their music-professional and cultural identities, which turned into a drive for their cross-cultural music learning and intercultural participation.

Intercultural music groups can be marked apart based on their founders' and members' motivations. There are co-national ensembles overseas, which contribute to music-cultural identity affirmation based on an imagined common history between members. Also, there are cross-cultural music learning groups; groups like Ahmad's band offer local and international members an experience and learning opportunity of Arabic repertoire. Lastly, there are intercultural music groups whose stated aim is to explore and reinvent music. These initiatives tend to seek musical traditions that are distinctive and distant for their musical and cultural novelty. Cultural differences and/or great tension between supposedly incompatible musical systems take the central stage of those intercultural musical practices.

Musical activities bring musicians of different styles and cultures together, but they need to span across cultures first. Encounters in music performances on musical and cultural boundaries gave respondents a taster experience of making music with different kinds of musicians. They further engaged in a professional activity, characterised by intercultural communication, for the musical and social enjoyment experienced and promising identities imagined on the boundaries. Thus, respondents' socialisation and rapports on the boundary are often maintained within music-professional communities as a part, and consequence, of professional activities where they came across and worked with each other frequently.

This chapter explained how respondents met with music and individuals of different cultures, which is indispensable to their incipient intercultural music projects. Boundary encounters (delegations, one-on-one, and immersion) reported the development thereof, considering different interpersonal mechanisms and consequent learning experiences. When musicians of two different practices come together for one project, they can observe the other

side, while negotiating their own behaviours and values in the other group's presence. One-on-one dynamics occur when work/life partners are on their own, and only need to adapt to one another. Lastly, when a musician visits a new musical community or cultural environment, they are likely to be immersed and surrounded by host individuals with unfamiliar customs and views.

Motivational concepts (hedonic enjoyment, practical choices, and eudaimonic living) then provided a psychological lens on respondents' inner worlds. The themes capture an overlap between music-professional and intercultural communication in personal experience and identification. In individuals' accounts, they started one or other intercultural music project for positive experiences and a prospect of being more self-efficient and having a better life, which further requires them to find meanings and purposes to obtain a long-lasting balanced mental state.

Chapter 6 Stress: Crossing the Boundaries

The second chapter of findings focuses on challenges of crossing music-professional and cultural boundaries, in respondents' projects. Interviewees commented that they became more resourceful and, therefore, unruffled by anticipated challenges. Nevertheless, challenges in obtaining coordination and social affirmation emerged as constant difficulties. Both are conceptualised as gap that individuals perceived in their *participation* and *reification* efforts (see Figure 6.1). The term "gap" is adopted to denote a neutral quality of difference between external and internal demands. Despite people possibly changing out of a sense of necessity, there is no intrinsic responsibility for any individuals - newcomers nor experienced members - to adapt to others.

6.1 participation gap	6.2 reification gap
6.1.1 mutual engagement	6.2.1 interest gap
6.1.2 joint enterprise	6.2.2 membership gap
6.1.3 shared repertoire	6.2.3 reaction gap

Figure 6.1 Stress themes and codes

Unfamiliar customs, and views in other groups, continuously require individuals to do and view things differently, which involves additional learning and identity work. Sometimes it involves learning a new language and/or building a professional network from scratch. Boundaries between communities are spaces of tension, anxiety, and stress. Participants had to ascertain, and do, what was required to sustain their intercultural practice and/or international career (e.g., music piece, project, peer recognition, and credentials). Moreover, they needed to construct a competent identity that was significant to their projects and purposes.

6.1 Participation gap

Participation gap denotes the difference between external requirements and respondents' personal abilities, some of which need to be filled for them to work in a project and nurture social connections. Participation challenged them in three dimensions: to engage with those working on the same activity (*mutual engagement*); to sense invisible, though substantial, interpersonal dynamics and understanding of everyone's roles (*joint enterprise*); and sets of references to common history (*shared repertoire*). Mutual engagement focuses on the action; joint enterprise on the interpersonal relationship generated in their working towards a common goal; and shared repertoire on objects and routines developed in a group.

For example, musicians in the same music group learn to perform and talk with others, and discover each person's strengths, weaknesses, and roles in the group. After years of performing together, they would have many stories. Similarly, accountants at one branch, basketball players in one team, and linguists in one office can better understand one another's talk and share more history than people of other trades, companies, teams, and offices. Participation history naturally generates those gap, thereby drawing the boundary. Outsiders and newcomers experience such participation gap when they arrive at a new musical and cultural environment and do not, cannot, or will not display those features.

In some respondents' cases, the sense of novelty that induced their affective and intellectual wonder about a particular genre brought them to an unfamiliar musical and/or cultural community behind its making. Desire to work and live better in the new community made them face those participation challenges. Many had to try to communicate appropriately with people of different cultural backgrounds. In respondents' descriptions, stress increased when they faced challenges in obtaining desirable musical outcomes in their projects, and when assessed professionally.

6.1.1 Mutual engagement

In the analysis, the concept of mutual engagement translates into participants' abilities to perform music and communicate with musicians from other musical and/or cultural communities. The interview and observation data demonstrate that music coordination, language proficiency, and personal communication are particular challenges to respondents' boundary participation. One of the first challenges is to have music-technical abilities to synchronise well with other people. Some respondents immersed themselves in a traditional genre, communities of which have already developed authoritative rules and aesthetics regarding good musical approach. Thus, to perform with traditional musicians, on their terms, means to learn those established customs and views. Ioannis described what being a good Greek traditional musician entails to him:

<Ioannis>: And one of them is to be able to connect with the dancers.
A good way to do it is to find the first dancer, the best dancer,
and play the rhythm with them.

<R>: Yes? What about other criteria to be a good musician?

<Ioannis>: Well, there are obviously the criteria for being a good musician in general. So, not being out of tune; being able to have a good sense of rhythm; connect well with the audience; have a broad knowledge of the material; how you connect the songs, the order of the songs? Mm, in terms of particularly Greek criteria, I'm not sure there are any differences being... The main difference is between the materials, which is a different sound (than) European (music) or Western music.

It is suggested that performing within a Greek traditional group first demands one to be familiar with music pieces, among other "materials". Ioannis pointed out that he found it valuable to know how to identify the best dancer and interact with them. Such skill can only be practised and obtained through performing with other Greek traditional folk musicians and dancers. This is one example of musical challenges for musicians who have diverted into an unfamiliar musical tradition. Many and more musical techniques and competencies remain until individuals have completed this many times themselves.

In contrast to groups with strong traditions and historical conventions, respondents can start from nothing when working on an intercultural project. The challenge of playing across styles is to blend two or more musical practices to respondents' liking. They need to check acoustics, such as whether the volumes and tunings of instruments are compatible. Makoto gave a brief example where two instruments may cancel each other out:

<Makoto>: [...] Like if I'm taiko, and there is a bass player, the sound of the taiko cancels out the sound of the bass player. The sound doesn't, you know, I can't hear the bass. The drum is like 'don----' that covers up the bass line. So, if I'm playing a big drum, and there is a bass player, then it is very difficult. So, the bass player has to play an electronic bass, or use a big amplifier, or I play the drum differently, so it doesn't have as much resonance. Or I can use a different drum, or play less, or play with (different agents) on the drum so it has a different tone. So, there is a lot of solutions, figuring out the problem, and then figure out solutions.

The respondent needed to check for, and respond to, those problems because taiko and bass were developed separately within different cultural communities. For instance, taiko and shinobue players working together would know potential issues and customary solutions, as would a jazz bassist and pianist. In contrast, on the boundary, there is not one firmly established and standardised solution. Thus, resourcefulness is key to crossover collaborations: six solutions listed by Makoto illustrate various directions by which the project can travel. A sonic focus showed in respondents' recounts of identifying and solving problems in the project.

Synchrony is a critical element and indicator of mutual engagement. It seems that respondents mostly learn about others' musical styles and particularities in rehearsals. If musicians want to move in synchronisation and formation for performance purposes, they need to arrange and rehearse for those movements. Andrew's group often performs marching and dancing, and he mentioned a specific challenge for pipers in the band to adjust their steps:

<R>: Is it easy to put these two music, to put Scottish bagpipes and Samba together? What do you need to do? How do you arrange or rearrange?

<Andrew>: Well, the first thing that is difficult for the pipers was to that they are from these military traditional bagpipe bands, so when the tunes begin, they always step with their left foot. And almost all bands, you step with your right foot, so {laugh} yeah, he had to (move to) the tunes, because he's walking with us. And we once got him to move, and he moved the wrong foot, and you see him going along, and you see he changing, {laugh} struggling. [...] And then, and then he played with us for a while, and when he went to play with the pipe band, and had the same problem, tried to learn with the beat and the right foot?

<Sarah>: Yeah, yeah.

<R>: So, the beat is the first thing that's difficult to...

<Andrew>: Well, the beat is... Yeah, the beat is fundamental. You have to be clean in the same place.

In his account, Andrew has outlined a fundamental aim of “to be clean in the same place”, and they made several adjustments in achieving this. Firstly, the pipe major (the leading musician of a pipe band) started stepping with the right foot instead. Small habits, such as stepping with the left foot, demonstrate the pipe major's membership in pipe bands and his history as a piper. His involvement in two groups required him to switch steps; start with the right foot in Andrew's group and back to the left foot in traditional pipe bands. Moreover, the pipe major's learning of salsa beat, and associated adjustments, play a central role in the mutual engagement between the pipers and percussionists, affecting how well the band coordinated:

<Sarah>: Everyone else is keeping time with him {pipe major}. But of course, with a band, they don't have any of that, for back-up. They have to listen, to where the beat is. So... I think there was probably a lot of education going on.

Sarah observed that, when other pipers had difficulties keeping up with salsa beats, they looked to the major's step for instructions. They brought this convention into group rehearsals, and Andrew learnt that was pipers' way of engaging with each other. The leading piper undertook “translation” work between salsa percussionists and the rest of the pipers. Those technical adjustments affect how well the crossover may turn out. The adaptations may not be difficult, but it is challenging because the exploration is a laborious process. Individuals must use time and effort to discover what to adjust in the

band, and how to achieve this. Sarah described this as “a lot of education”, which, instead of formal learning in the classroom, suggests a considerable amount of peer learning that gradually occurred between pipers and salsa musicians, for this boundary project.

Crossovers demand participants to rearrange many aspects for musicians of differing styles to coordinate. Behavioural adjustments, to enable mutual engagement, were illustrated with Makoto’s example of acoustic cancelling out problems when he played taiko with a bassist, then Andrew’s example of encouraging pipers to start stepping with the right foot first. There may be many small decisions, like those in acoustic and movement aspects. Musicians needed to settle on common ground with those decisions, in order to maintain their boundary projects. When it is difficult to find a working arrangement that guarantees musicians’ synchronisation, among other desired outcomes, a hybridisation project may happen only as a one-off or temporarily:

<R>: So, how did you find musicians who are like you, who like to play this type of fusion music? Because I suppose this is a bit harder to do it with people, instead of playing with musicians of your own co-nationals?

<Farhad>: Yeah, many issues happened, for example, we have a brilliant Brazilian percussionist, in our Kurdish band, and the down beats in a bar are in a different position than the Kurdish [rhythms], in Brazilian music. So anytime we expected just ‘bang’, it was pause.

<R>: {laugh}.

<Farhad>: And the time we needed a pause, and then ‘bang’, so...

<R>: So, what did you do with that then?

<Farhad>: We managed to communicate, and how to say that. [...] Yes, it didn’t last for a long collaboration. But when it was working, it was amazing. So, these differences create opportunities for creativity.

<R>: Yes, but what does it take, what do you think that it takes for a band to be a long-lasting band?

<Farhad>: Well, at least the downbeat needs to be at the same time.

Like Andrew, Farhad’s account suggests the same requirement of having the music start and stop in the same place. It seems that this is the *minimum* required for mutual engagement on the boundary. Collaborators do not need to play the same. Everyone can bring in culturally different rhythms,

but they need to at least know, or be able to expect, others' beats. The collaboration works once such understanding and expectations are established. Meanwhile, the Iranian santur musician's words show that it was challenging for his band to play with the Brazilian percussionist, because they could not always catch his beat. According to him, while the collaboration worked from time to time, it did not turn into a long-running project.

Collaborations do not need to result in any long-term commitments or learning. This dynamic is likened to the first several dates in a new relationship (Wenger, 1998). Only musicians who worked on the same project could decide whether or not they were happy with the outcome. If their musical interests, approach, or personalities fit, they may be interested in working as a team. Long life is not the only way to evaluate a boundary project's success; however, establishing expectations is initially crucial for musicians to behave and play like a group.

Respondents did not state that speaking different languages is the principal barrier in achieving their musical goals. This differs from intercultural communication research on international workers and students, where many listed language barriers as primary difficulty (Ward, 2001). Musicians could learn and perform non-verbally to some level in intercultural projects, cross-cultural learning, or international career:

<Makoto>: Like the training I mentioned, what we do is much as dance as we do drumming. And when you are (certain), so you know I have a strong musical background, so I was able to pick things up much quicker than the most, just listening and hearing and seeing. And with the dance, it's, they might say "Move your arms." But you watch them, and they are moving their arms. So, you do what they do. So, it wasn't like I was studying philosophy, you know. I was studying drumming and dancing, so it was like, you see someone drumming, you learn, and they say, "Don't do this. Do this." I say "Okay." So it wasn't, it wasn't difficult, in that sense, in language.

In Makoto's reflection, when he could not yet speak much Japanese, non-

verbal music learning and his western music education background made it easier for him to get through taiko, flute, and training of other art forms like dance. Philosophy was brought up in contrast to taiko, for its high requirement on language and verbal expressions. Being able to learn through non-verbal imitation contributes to his bypassing the language barrier, at least in the short term. Interviewees who are with varying levels of western classical music training (like Seo-yun, Anna, and Karen) all mentioned that such training helped their learning of an unfamiliar music style.

The non-verbal feature of music practice and learning are often emphasised as an advantage, in the intercultural context. Not sharing a common musical background or language does not hinder musicians from playing together. Atpo mentioned a concert in Beijing, in which he worked with a Russian classical pianist. It was observed from the clip that, during their performance, no words were uttered; however, there were some non-verbal exchanges, including a few eye contacts and nods.

Respondents' accounts of acoustics, arrangements, and non-verbal music learning demonstrate how music works as a boundary object that affords musicians of different languages and cultures the opportunity to work together. Most descriptions show a sonic focus on how they developed mutual engagement in boundary projects, familiarising themselves with one another's musical customs, while adapting to coordinate across those musical differences. Andrew's and Sarah's fusion group dealt with different movement between Scottish bagpipe and salsa percussions, by altering pipers' steps. In Makoto's case, he was the only non-Japanese speaking apprentice in the programme. His musical and cultural immersion was cushioned by non-verbal musical learning and his previous musical education.

On other occasions, interview and observation data suggest that language proficiency is important in maintaining long-term professional activities. Language difficulties were experienced both within and outside the musical

context. In rehearsals and performances, it seems that musicians who played together over the years can, more or less, speak one common language. Makoto mentioned he and a Korean musician worked well. While his explanation did not highlight the language aspect, the fact that they both spoke English was essential to how they could know that they shared many experiences and musical ideas:

<R>: Interesting, but does it take long for you to adapt to each other?
Was there a lot of work to do?

<Makoto>: Another thing. I've been working with her for a long term, and we had a lot of conversations. We talked about, "Oh this piece is from, you know, western part of Korea, where it's more folk music, not court music. And this one is more Shamanistic music, and it has a different feeling." So, she explains it, she plays it, and I hear, and I am like "oh."

It is implied that language is vital for musicians to give immediate explanation of their instrument, music, and approaches to their colleagues from distinctive musical and cultural backgrounds. The introduction can involve culture-specific contexts, histories, concepts, and sensibilities. Hence, musicians' language skills are significant in finding and creating a common ground. It shapes their performance and understanding of collaborators, which is constructive to a good working relationship in the long term.

Music work and training bought time for Atpo and Makoto to learn their hosts' languages and to communicate appropriately in host communities. Atpo mentioned difficulties of not speaking Mandarin well in his years of immersion communication with Mandarin-speaking audiences and musicians. He emphasised the efforts to find any chance to talk and practice. When I asked about his language learning, he admitted that he was in a better situation because he had already learned to speak some Mandarin in his job at a state-owned art troupe, in a city near his hometown.

Apprenticeship programme acted as a transition stage that bought time for Makoto to learn Japanese, while getting by with non-verbal communication. He was also motivated to communicate with Japanese hosts in their home

language, and made use of the time to learn to do so. This ability to communicate in the language as preferred, by the host environment, shows its significance to respondents' intercultural music projects:

<Makoto>: Even though I had a disadvantage as a non-Japanese speaker. But I study and I practice, when I'm in my free time then I taught myself how to read and write in Japanese, and I speak fluently now, so it was a long process that I... It's transformative. It changes my life completely in ten years.

On the one hand, music affords respondents with relocation and interactions with culturally different musicians with whom they practised speaking another language. On the other hand, language challenges and learning, in daily life, helped respondents to deal with language hurdles in music situations. Seo-yun mentioned how she improved her English, not in her musical activities, but mostly in parenting. She wrote down notes before making a phone call in English to arrange a play date for her child:

<Seo-yun>: Yes. So, one time, I wanted to take my son and his friend to somewhere. So, I called to the American... my son's friend's mum. I was very, very (prepared), I wrote down all the things I'm gonna say. 'Hello' and I read it, and she answered, replied me 'blahblahblah' {laugh}. I couldn't understand at all. 'Okay.' And then I called my husband, and told him 'I talked to her like this, but I couldn't understand {what she said} at all.' 'Okay, let's imagine what she said.' {laugh}

The incident exemplifies the times Seo-yun managed to convey information to others, but had difficulties in conducting an impromptu conversation. Meanwhile, it was observed in SU Ensemble's performance that being able to at least talk to the audience in English helped her warm up the concert. This account highlights the multiple facets of individual life and how they affect one another. Seo-yun is a musician, a South Korean, but also the mother of a young son. Married to a Korean American partner, and living in an international neighbourhood in Seoul, she often needed to interact with a group of English-speaking parents. Her family context asked her to speak English, which shows an indirect, nevertheless significant, role in developing language capacities to communicate with an English-speaking audience.

Respondents indicated communication difficulties, in terms of maintaining a working relationship with individuals, more often than language technicalities. This happened on social occasions, in musical activities, and broader daily interactions. Uncertainty about those interactions is not directly related to music or language abilities, but to *personal communication* - “individuals’ overall capacity to engage themselves in host social communication processes in accordance with the host communication system” (Kim, 2001, p.97). Not having experience working with culturally unfamiliar individuals appears testing to respondents’ mutual engagement in intercultural music projects. Makoto described his ten years of living in Japan as “transformative”. Indeed, years of living in another community pushed individuals to change their ways of communicating, viewing, and experiencing things. It was implied that broader communication challenges took place in his interactions with host Japanese individuals in the larger society, aside from musical coordination and a language barrier.

Social interactions require individuals to act and react in the moment, which can affect how successfully they live off musical work. When I asked about criteria for musicians, Karen detailed specific tasks and skills required to be a successful musician and to maintain a professional group over the decades; which comes with an example of attempting not to get on each other’s nerves when being in the same car for an extended period:

<R>: Yeah, but personally, what do you think it takes to be a good musician?

<Karen>: Well, I think you have to have skills in a variety of areas. Maybe not, to be a good musician, but to be successful in the music business? [...] The good musician means, let’s say with all the musicians, anybody who’s a professional musician is a good musician, like so let’s take it for granted that we are good musicians, and then let’s look at how do you become successful, and how do you make a living at it, and how do you do a good performance for the right, for the audience you’ve got, and how do you maintain a relationship with a band for a long time, like the 16 years [band name] has been, how do you keep that going without falling out, or changing your mind about what direction you are going in, or

those things, how do you sit in a car with three other people for six hours?

<R>: That's challenging?

<Karen>: After no sleep, you are getting (on), so there are a lot more things to think about really. That's being able to be a musician.

Karen differentiated the requirements of being a “good” and “successful” musician. It takes musical abilities to be the former, but a considerable amount of communication work and competence to achieve the latter. It is important to know how to better find and interact with specific musicians and audiences. Although many activities have now become online, it is still very common for professional musicians to interact face-to-face with colleagues and audiences for rehearsals and shows. Intercultural projects particularly required some respondents to improve their interactions with colleagues and audiences from different musical and cultural backgrounds.

Karen's account listed some occasions in which communication competencies are necessary, but did not divulge specific techniques. What constitutes appropriate behaviours, perspectives, and feelings differ locally: from a traditional ensemble of one culture to another; from a folk ensemble to a fusion band. It is up to respondents to ascertain how to communicate with their teammates and make a project work, taking account of others' feelings and perspectives, as well as their own personalities. Operational differences were often noted to soon transpire:

<Ioannis>: There are a lot of challenges, when you want to make music like that, generally any music. Well, it's also a challenge to not be in your own country, and do not have all the contacts and all that. But for us luckily, England has been very welcoming, has given us all sorts of opportunities, appreciated our music and invited us to play at the BBC a few times. So we are doing quite well, and we do feel welcomed. Maybe it is not that as easy as if you are in your own country, you know. Say your cousin runs a festival, so you just go to your cousin and say, 'Can I play at your festival?' Here you don't know anyone, so it's more like an official process, procedure, but... yeah.

Ioannis observed how people run music festivals differently in Greece and the UK. In Greece, organisers and musicians are more relaxed with curating rules, and family networks can achieve more. British and Greek musicians would know such norms in their respective country. However, those different conventions pose challenges to international professionals who have just arrived and wish to perform on local stages. There is pressure to learn how to organise and communicate with organisers, and find the right person for specific issues. This stress gradually reduces as newcomers find their way around organisers and organisations, along with their intercultural musical activities. Ioannis' example illustrates how local procedures require people to change their ways of communicating with organisers. For cultural newcomers, the first challenge is to have musical pieces and small talk work on the stage, with a specific audience. Soon, they also need to catch up on how to socialise and complete administrative work in manners appreciated by other musicians, as well as other relevant professionals.

Respondents mentioned miscellaneous preparation outside rehearsals and performances, which involves considerable communication work. In the interview, Anna, the Chinese Scottish taiko drummer respondent, was asked about her experience as a professional musician. She explained how a heavy workload - such as getting booked for performances, answering enquiries, and reserving venues - is a part of the group routine and distributed to its members:

<Anna>: And you know, my bosses basically, like they are professional drummers too. But because it's a small business, they also have to work on getting other performances, getting the tour started, and you know, booking gigs, enquires about that, quoting, you know. It's all about it. There is a lot of work. I mean, I would say a lot of preparation work is like 95% of work. Touring you know, it's really good fun, but actual performance is not a lot, you know, compared to the office work. You have to do the office work in order to do the performances. Also, you need to practice, but that's still a part of the preparation.

Group members gradually settled on a routine in which everyone knows who is responsible for, and proficient at, which parts of preparation work, including

making bookings, responding to inquiries, designing posters and album covers, handing out flyers, and teaching, to being the spokesperson in interviews. Everyone needs to undertake some preparation work when performance is viewed as fun and rewarding.

Aside from activities with fellow musicians, Ioannis noted that engaging with audiences of different cultural backgrounds is an essential experience that leads musicians to become more “international”. It makes individuals reflect and introspect on the cultural boundary regarding their home and host community’s musical ideals and criteria. It may give them more awareness of home and host cultural influences in their own thinking, and cause them to ponder what they personally felt essential in their music and life. Therefore, frequent exposure to different cultures may change not only individuals’ approaches to their own and others’ music, but also how they view their home community.

<R>: Is it the kind of passion of, and also the good skills of, musicians give soul to music... Or the music played needs to be originally having a good kind of composition for it?

<Ioannis>: I think it’s the skill? But it’s also the philosophy of the musician? And the open-mindedness? Which is attached to the philosophy. And, also, the exposure of the musician to the new audience, so a musician who has exposed himself or herself to a lot of audiences and has done many gigs, and has been through that channel, and equally has philosophised and has thought what they are expecting from music, and what’s important in life, and someone who’s also got soul in their playing. And that makes it much more international.

Flexibility is related to the challenge of constant exposure to different audiences. Live performances present myriad social occasions in which musicians need to interact and react flexibly. They differ from one city to another: in London, it is likely to have a high percentage of international and host individuals; in Beijing, it is mostly a Han Chinese mainstream audience who speak Chinese and have other sets of preferences and expectations. Every show is a potential challenge space for musicians’ communication competence: to say something quickly, and draw and hold the audience’s

attention. Every performance experience can be challenging; individuals can be discouraged by criticism or a lack of positive reaction.

To respond to the stress of responding to an audience's expectations, respondents mentioned knowledge and understanding, among other attributes. The pre-departure expectation is helpful for musicians to prepare their mind ready to adapt. Makoto and Ioannis, alike, reasoned that they felt their sojourn more manageable because their expectations about the host society were close to reality. Nonetheless, they underlined that this does not narrow down any technical gap between the local environment and personal competencies for mutual engagement; neither made their adaptation easier.

In summary

Boundary practice presents musicians with coordination and communication issues. Respondents faced three common challenges in developing and sustaining mutual engagement on musical and cultural boundaries: musical coordination, language proficiency, and personal communication. Developing and sustaining mutual engagement with musicians of unfamiliar musical and cultural backgrounds requires individuals to change their musical approach, language, and social mannerisms (e.g., Makoto to play a smaller taiko or pipers to adjust their steps). Interview data implied that participants felt initially pressurised to learn fast, and that it took years of interacting with international musicians and audiences on different occasions for them to feel more resourceful in responding to challenges in music, language, and personal communication. Full-time professionals particularly highlighted a considerable management workload and social communication, which is indispensable to their careers. Proactively arranging and contacting collaborations is vital for professionals determined to have projects cross the boundary in the long term.

6.1.2 Joint enterprise

Joint enterprise focuses on interpersonal relationships. It involves a complex negotiation of instrumental, personal, and interpersonal aspects in the process

of practice and experience (Wenger, 1998, p.78). It is a by-product when individuals come together for sustained participation. For instance, while passengers and a crew are all on the same ship, only the crew form a joint enterprise. Similarly, musicians only form a community of practice if they have been engaging in musical activities together.

The joint enterprise codes represent musicians' abilities to negotiate, agree, and create with each other in connections. It is akin to a tapestry: it requires not only individual threads, but also interweaving between threads. Joint enterprise describes how collaborating musicians hold together as one tapestry, despite difficulties and arguments. It takes time for a band to rehearse and work on pieces, get along, have run-ins and arguments, and deal with those conflicts. Customs and shared understandings are co-constructed in group meetings, where some people make important decisions, some make less, and some lighten the group atmosphere. Individuals then learn and develop manners, perspectives, and roles, which allow them to work better towards a common goal.

In their interviews, respondents described taking up three roles: competent leader, competent colleague, and quick-learning newcomer. Those who were leaders and core members of a boundary project talked about challenges in keeping a group from becoming dormant or disbanding. They managed to convince their members to take up their ideas on some occasions, and failed on others. Those accounts suggest their stress in negotiating for a leadership position and style within the group. Marcos leads a trio. The band's biography writes that they perform Brazilian and Afro-Cuban, among other Latin American folk, with a funk-jazz twist. The Brazilian musician described the group's rehearsal:

<Marcos>: Well, because at the moment we are three members in the band, so the three of us bring information to the band, so it's not, it's a bit try to be a bit democratic in a way like we began as [band name] [...] And so, well, when I go to practice, so I say, 'Well, guys, I want to learn, I want us to play that tune, 'cause it's nice, it would be nice to put it on our

repertoire, because I think people gonna accept this is nice.' Then the guitar player, he may say this: 'I'm doing that improvisation course, and I learnt this song, and I'd like to play this beautiful song.' And then I take it, and I'm able to read it, and then I go home, and I study it and I learn it. So that's, we have, we try to, I think it is quite helpful sometimes to say, 'Oh let's play some Cuban music', and we learn.

Marcos' account portrays how members decide day-to-day, in their communication, what to play. The description also shows an interlocking of interpersonal communication and personal sense-making, jumping between the group conversations and his inner dialogue began with, "I think". Reasons listed in convincing others imply the respondent's music priority in personal, and the audience's, enjoyment. "Democracy" seems to be another prioritised object. Marcos prefers members to suggest what the group play, and everyone decide whether they want to go along with the proposal. Both consensus and disagreements are brought to the table this way, requiring further discussion and meaning negotiations within the group.

<Marcos>: [...] The drummer is more interested in Brazilian music. The guitar player, he's more or less, he doesn't make much of concessions. He's basically a jazz guitar player. [...] And he plays standard guitar, and in a style that has much to do with the jazz style, but that's not a problem at all. Actually, it's quite nice, because it makes influence really nicely. But Brazilian, for example, bossa nova stuff, most is traditional way playing with an acoustic guitar? And nail on the strings, and you pick with your fingers. That's the most normal, the traditional way to play. So, but he doesn't use that technique, and he use a jazz technique. But that makes no... it doesn't make the music better or worse you know, it just, it brings different influence and we mix, and it sounds... The importance is we sound rather well, and the music makes sense. That's the main thing here. But it doesn't sound as a traditional Brazilian band, you know.

Opinions clash between members, which shape the group performance an audience sees. It was described as a discussion on musical ideas and techniques: the guitarist's decision not to switch to acoustic guitar; Marcos preferred otherwise but accepted that and, consequently, the group's bossa nova performance has a guitar input different from how a traditional band

would perform it. His guitarist and he having different preferences in specific techniques did not stop them from playing together. Their local interactions created their version for the song, demonstrating how band members are able to negotiate and shape the project's music.

Marcos' band is an intercultural joint enterprise. Marcos and his British members communicated with foci and interpretations in particular ways. Their past experiences encompass their musical negotiation and sense-making process, affecting how important they thought it was to adopt a traditional or new option for a bossa nova piece. However, the joy, argument, thinking of how to convince other members, making sense of other's logic, reflecting on discussion results, all allow Marcos, the British guitarist, and the drummer form a group. I asked how he felt about this incident directly afterwards:

<R>: But do you like the traditional Brazilian...

<Marcos>: I'd like it, I would rather he played with, when we play bossa nova, I would rather he plays with an acoustic nylon string {guitar}. But that's not my department. It's his department.

<R>: Yes?

<Marcos>: I'm the leader of the band, but I'm not a dictator. So, I have my department to play the right melody on the trumpet or sing, give the melody right, and do some solos here and there. His department is to do the guitar job, which is do the harmony? And do some solos here and there? The drummer is to keep the beat and the dynamics. So, and they choose what instrument they want to play, so that's their department, so I respect that.

Marcos used "democracy" and "department" concepts to explain how different opinions were dealt with in the group. This describes his ideal of members' having equal accountability for activities; everyone contributes to the group development by deciding how their instrument and part should sound. Conversations and interactions form a part of the musical context in which one agrees with colleagues, rejects their ideas, disagrees but complies with them, or finds an alternative solution, among other options. It is pivotal to feel competent in one's field and confident in members' expertise for group practice.

In a project that continued over several years, members' group roles and personal characteristics, such as a leader and contact person, developed and became more apparent, even when those are not always officially stated. Ioannis is the band's founding member and spokesperson de facto. While the Greek guitarist did not explicitly mention his role in the band, his description of how he handled arising issues with members suggests that he held the leading position:

<Ioannis>: Yeah. So, one day we might be like this, and the other day we might be different. Suddenly a problem comes up, which shouldn't be a problem, and you have to deal with it. Different musicians deal with stress in different ways. So, this is always an issue, the musicians and the relationship between musicians. But we, you know, once you have a clear deal with your friends, who are musicians. Then everyone takes their own role? And it's easier.

Handling the relationship and stress was mentioned as being challenging. Ioannis did not specify the stressors and musicians' mannerisms when they felt stressed, but implied that the project worked better when everyone was clear what their tasks were. He distinguished between friendship and professional relationship, saying that colleagues are expected to do their share of tasks and fulfil their roles to guarantee the success of group activities. Ioannis concluded that a straightforward communication helped him to solve those challenges. Marcos' and Ioannis' accounts show interpersonal challenges of leading and sustaining their groups in an intercultural context, which suggest their attempts to make sense of dissents and manage their respective groups well.

Interview data can demonstrate how discussions and arguments play a central role in how respondents' group members went about rehearsals and performances, implicitly negotiating their musical competence. Provided that individuals considered themselves having essential competencies, they were willing to talk about difficulties caused by lacking some desirable, but non-essential, skills. When interviews turned to respondents' collaborators of different cultural backgrounds, they anecdotally admitted their initial lack of

knowledge and confusion on other's instruments and musical cultures. The highlights are how specialised and competent other musicians are in their fields, and how that adds to an individual's improved abilities to collaborate with musicians of specific or diverse musical backgrounds. Cultural competence was not stressed unless the respondent is specialised in performing traditional music outside their home community. Respondents made efforts to prove their expertise where it matters, that they are an asset to colleagues, their bands, their communities, and their musical practice.

As part of intercultural music projects, musicians are challenged to learn from their diverse colleagues and develop better teamwork, at least musically. Quick learning is a desirable asset, suggesting a musician's comprehensive musical competence gained from previous communities, and commitment to the current community. For professional respondents who have a relatively short history in a group, learning to quickly fit in and coordinate with other musicians is vital. If there are issues that result in one learning slowly, they need to show that they are diligent and committed to learning.

Newcomers who want to proceed further into a professional community had to stick around and engage in the local scene, as interactions that matter to professional development can often occur outside the workplace. In Myra's reflection, not living all-year-round in Mumbai is one reason why it is hard to start her music career properly:

<R>: So, you need to spend more time with the people, so that you can become an insider within their group and...

<Myra>: Yeah, yeah, and then like eventually you start getting work, or you know, like, 'Oh, this one's project is about to take off. And he needs your kind of music.' And then you approach them, you know, that kind of stuff.

Myra implied professional and cultural boundaries during her endeavours to access, and make, a sustainable career. She reasoned that dividing her time between the USA and India rendered it impossible to remain around the locus of the Bollywood industry. Considerable communication and networking were

required at work, but also through other social occasions. Myra later moved to Chicago and identified her unique assets in Hindustani singing training, which put her in work with some professional jazz musicians in the city. She positioned herself, at various points, as an outsider in both the Indian Bollywood context and the American jazz context. Gaps were perceived in her work with those colleagues, and she mentioned a consequent pressure to learn jazz singing and conventions quickly, to enable her to perform better with them.

In summary

A joint enterprise encompasses all relations between individuals that keep them working together. Respondents' interviews exhibit the need to negotiate their contributions and relationships to the intercultural music projects, as a competent leader, competent colleague, and quick-learning newcomer. Those common challenges or stresses in meaning negotiation and personal relations exposed individuals to external musical and intercultural demands on what they should do, and how to communicate. Participants' careers on the boundary thereby involved convincing members from different communities with distinctive sets of musical and cultural views and criteria about good music and musicians. Certain aspects of contributions that individuals tried to emphasise also shaped how they narrated themselves as one or multiple of three roles.

6.1.3 Shared repertoire

Sustained participation endows participants with a shared repertoire between collaborators, including objects, routines, and history with which people grew familiar, allowing them to coordinate well. Participation challenges were perceived as one did not have personal contacts in a new cultural environment, nor experience working with specific or diverse cultural groups of musicians. In musical boundary practice, it could be slang, anecdotes, and musical concepts, upon which individuals can draw to negotiate new meanings. In intercultural activities, cultural-specific customs and routines are repertoires for

individuals to communicate well, and to develop new activities and meanings with people from their home community.

By playing music together, respondents develop resources of mutual engagement with their group members, including communication manners and routines. Ahmad mentioned how he had a way to “cheat” on the stage, to remind his non-Arab speaking members what was the next song to be performed:

<Ahmad>: Yes, exactly, when I play it. Even sometimes on the stage, when we have in this concert ten songs, I can't tell them the name of the song, because {even} if I tell, she doesn't understand which song is it. Chalabiya, Masmoooh, Noam, Bulbul. The names. If they are Arabic {people}, they would know. But because they don't know the language, so I have to cheat.

[...]

<Ahmad>: I just {say}, 'Okay, the next song is...' I talk to the people, 'The next song is Imsamhak.' 'Yeeeeeah' {audience clapping}. I play {humming the beginning part of Imsamhak}, she understands, and then (which song), then one, two, three, four, and they start to sing and play the song.

Ahmad and his members devised this communication to ensure mutual engagement. It works to his satisfaction because, despite the difficulty for other non-Arabic speakers to remember titles, he found a way to achieve the group aim of delivering a good performance on the stage. These tricks, routines, pieces, and stories of how the group came to do things in specific ways accumulate in individuals' experiences in different bands, and through performing to a diverse audience.

Individuals carry shared repertoire they developed in previous communities to new groups, which may become a useful resource to sustain their participation in intercultural music projects. Scottish pipers who collaborated with salsa percussionists turned to their major's steps for guidance. Makoto's conservatoire training helped him grasp, more quickly, what is taught in Japanese in the apprenticeship programme. Respondents could feel more at ease after years of performing with musicians as they know each other better.

Routines and common history are created in social interactions during musicians' mutual engagement. Respondents mentioned how it is fundamental to maintain strong connections with group members and other musicians. They developed common skills, knowledge, and aesthetics vital to boundary participation over years of music-professional activities with those same individuals.

An abundance of experience is valued, in the musical context, because it provides resources of mutual engagement and points of connection. One charm of boundary projects is the surprise of coordinating well with musicians from distinctive musical and cultural backgrounds. Interviewees recognised that playing with musicians of the home cultural and musical background requires less rehearsal time. However, they also emphasised their personal musical and cultural boundary-crossing experiences, which lent them and their collaborators a sense of shared experience. It is stressful not to know others' styles or be able to predict, adjust, and respond during performance. Furthermore, Makoto reasoned that perceiving a sense of experiences in common encourages a long-term collaboration between him and a Korean musician:

<R>: So, it started with both of you sharing a kind of common knowledge, being able to play improvisational...

<Makoto>: Yeah, I think the first, the way that, I mean, we are gonna connect musically is because she quit her job in a traditional music orchestra in Seoul, and she moved to Europe to play instrumental music. And so, the fact that she did that made me think, "Okay, we have very similar kind of feelings about the music and understandings about, you know, similar relationship with tradition and non-tradition, and improvisation, and even this desire to come out of a tradition and play something (else), but still having a similar flavour and..." You know, when she plays, it sounds like a Korean instrument, she can't get rid of that. So much of who she is and her musical language, so even when she's playing avant-garde, it's like, "Oh yeah." you can hear that's a Korean musician. So we were able to connect on many levels, but I think just seeing this desire to improvise, and who is (spending a lot time on it), and knows traditional music, even that fact is a point of connection between us.

One's past activities divulge their interests, priorities, and identities. In Makoto's recount, discovering that he and the other musician shared a pattern of diverting and crossing cultural boundaries for music contributed to their interests to collaborate. Every experience can serve as a connection between one and another. When musicians work with peers of diverse cultural backgrounds, they may be challenged to find a common approach, but, more importantly, an affinity to keep trying. Their past trajectories of crossing cultural boundaries can serve as a crucial point of connection. This sense of shared experience, once conceived, helps respondents build and feel the affinity, and continue working together.

In summary

Participation gap described respondents' challenges of working on the boundary, including acquiring musical and communication competence for mutual engagement, obtaining positive connections in the joint enterprise, and routines and empathy as shared repertoire. These are all consistent challenges in individuals' social processes of creating and performing music in intercultural projects. The musical aspect is essential. However, to make a sustainable career crossing the boundary, it is also crucial and stressful to find the "right" musicians and audience, and to communicate in the "right" way.

Mutual engagement is challenging because, to work in intercultural projects, respondents need to build up specific musical, linguistic, and communication skills, including understanding members' priorities and perspectives. Some diverted to play music differently and with culturally different musicians. Appropriately achieved communication work helps them to have some enjoyable moments during musical activities. In comparison, it is more trying to stay on the boundary when gap that stopped musicians from reaching their musical aims remain there. It might be because respondents could not, or did not, think it was right to adjust to certain external demands, yet those adjustments are vital for achieving their goals.

Pressure shows in respondents' negotiation for a competent musical identity concerning a joint enterprise, regardless of being a competent leader, colleague, or newcomer. Non-verbal communication is far from sufficient for a musician to fully display how their music works, when they do not have musicians and audiences from the same background. Thus, sustaining intercultural projects lead independent musicians to develop verbal and rhetoric skills. Through sustained social participation with well-experienced musicians and colleagues, respondents acquired know-how, experiences, and connections, forming their music-professional and cultural membership within new communities. The three codes under participation gap are essential dimensions of a community of practice, which demonstrate various difficulties faced by participants in intercultural projects, from a social learning perspective.

6.2 Reification gap

Reification gap focuses on interviewees' challenges in the realm of ideas, and their work on a competent musical and overall identity. These musicians could demonstrate their musical skills and exchange their ideas for one-off projects on a small scale. However, when working with, and/or performing to, individuals with different cultural experiences, knowledge, and musical views in the long term, respondents show a strong need to explain and define their music's meaning and criteria. These types of work involve challenges that differ from direct participation. Their long-term boundary work highlights reification gap that shows differences between conventional ways of thinking about music in communities, and the musicians' preferred approaches; moreover, how individuals interpret and change subsequent to perceiving such differences.

The interviewees' negotiation shows three distinct topics, including different tastes (interest gap), membership (membership gap), and preferred development of musical practice in response to a changing environment (reaction gap). They tried to make sense of complications brought by self-other differences, and to persuade others to take up their criteria regarding what

makes a competent musician, great music, and a proper musical approach. Findings concerning reification gap suggest that, whatever music individuals perform, they instinctively take some perspectives, and create their own, to support their boundary projects. They would also feel obliged to explain to people that they possess the “right” sets of musical skills, and the “right” identities, understandings, and experiences. The gist of this negotiation is that they contribute to the development of musical practice and communities at large.

Reification can make a person feel belonging to the same side, having a shared identity even with people they have never come across. Ethnic and national identities are typical examples of this. Musical identity can also bind respondents together with a sense of shared understanding, expressed previously through Japanese American musician Makoto’s, and his Korean colleague’s, collaboration. Musicians can enjoy an increased affinity by emphasising an imagination of shared reality and perspectives.

6.2.1 Interest gap

Interest gap includes differences described by interviewees between external preferences and what they would like to play personally. Problems derived from such require respondents to interpret why people are not interested in their boundary project, or why they give negative responses. They may also perceive that there exists a relatively small audience who favour their preferred intercultural music work. Even from a few individuals, the experience of social affirmation is a significant source of enjoyment and encouragement for musicians. Some described how they felt frustrated when few people came to their concerts. A lack of external interest is also often shown in the difficulty of gaining financial backing when few audience members or organisers support musicians.

For professionals, it then comes down to what they could do. It is difficult for respondents to dismiss other individuals’ interests when they care about

having a good relationship with colleagues and having enough people come to their concerts and performances, showing interest, enjoyment, and appreciation. Respondents needed to force themselves to reach out and bridge the interest gap in interactions. Ahmad had observed his local audiences, and summarised which songs get better reactions from the local audience in his host Scottish environment. Some songs he had performed did not evoke any reaction. He later reasoned that language, cultural understanding, and sentiment allow his Arabic audience to enjoy slow, sad, and sentimental songs better; though he first accounted for different reactions to different interests:

<Ahmad>: They enjoy it. They enjoy it because I know how to select the songs. I don't select some boring song.

<R>: What do you mean by boring song?

<Ahmad>: We have some songs, when you sing it in front of people, they feel bored. Very slow... or even the melodies are not nice. They don't enjoy it. But I play it fast and the melody's nice and easy for them to accept it, not complicated. Everybody enjoys the song. But if I sing something slowly... I can't sing this in front of Scottish people.

<R>: No?

<Ahmad>: Yeah, it's like they don't... It's complicated, it's very hard to accept it. But the first one {song}, they accept it very easily. Rhythm and melody, easy. They get it very, very easily.

<R>: So, these songs which seem to be boring to them, how do you think of these "boring" songs?

<Ahmad>: It's not boring for me. I understand it, and even sometimes very difficult music, I enjoy it. But when I sing it to somebody, they don't understand it. Maybe they feel bored. They get bored, and they just want me to finish the song.

[...]

<Ahmad>: [...] Now I sing for Israeli people, but almost all of them came from Iraq. When I sing for this kind of people, they feel the music, they feel the word, and they infuse. I mean, there is some infusing with the song, they feel it.

Ahmad simply described the audience's lack of interest as "they don't enjoy it" and they "feel bored". Other respondents also characterised such lack of enthusiasm, using terms like "bored" and "boring" when they explained their own disinterest in some music. The respondent reasoned that this happens because the local audience does not speak Arabic. "Maybe" is a hedge word

that suggests that he is not sure what are genuine reasons, but it did not stop him from being sure of locals' (lack of) reactions. In addition to language, shared sentiment appears as a deciding element when he talked about the reaction of the Iraqi Jewish audience, who were deported from Iraq to Israel. Ahmad's account of avoiding "slow songs" suggests the stress Ahmad previously experienced when perceiving the lack of appreciation. Caring about audience and practical aspects leads one to adapt more readily in those situations. Atpo's interview shows that he is particularly aware of his strengths and weaknesses in making music a career. He is an expert in performing folk music of Lisu, as well as of other minorities in his region. He altered from *lusheng* to *hulusi* (a more popular free-reed wind instrument) in most of his performance and teaching activities. In interviews, he repeatedly emphasised the great necessity to go close to the local audience's taste.

<Atpo>: [...] I need something popular to lead the way. If I only do lusheng, that is going to leave me starved, isn't it. {laugh}
You have to survive first, isn't it.

The pressure of musical livelihood was emphasised. Atpo concluded that it is impossible to play lusheng only, when performing in the Han Chinese community. He needs to add other instruments and music, which brings in more audience members, allowing him to earn a living and promote lusheng and Lisu music heritage in Beijing. Atpo claimed that reaching out and maintaining a good relationship with individuals in mainstream society is crucial for him to survive and develop outside his ethnic group, as well as to allow the Lisu music to survive and flourish outside as an ethnocultural tradition. He adjusted so by playing hulusi in his live concerts, but still added a few lusheng performances.

Atpo's attitude is representative of traditional and folk respondents who learned music without any formal education at institutions. There is a need to narrow down the interest gap, adjusting and moving closer to meet the mainstream audience's tastes, but it can be challenging to arrange a new non-acoustic piece accordingly. The respondent admitted that, despite his learned

basic music theories in singing lessons at a conservatoire, it was not enough to arrange his new piece *Caiyunlian* into a “proper work”. He was not interested to learn more musical theories himself, and eventually got around by collaborating with, and commissioning, other musicians. The stress generated by a perceived interest gap thereby drives musicians to work with people who have different musical competencies, to make up for their lack of expertise.

Musicians choose which changes they are willing to make and which they are not. As much as respondents enjoy musical activities and social appreciation, it is difficult for them to narrow down certain interest differences across musical and cultural communities by adjusting themselves when they had concrete ideas about the music. Their explanations regarding such struggles often involve reified ideas, such as originality, creativity, and expressiveness as meanings of music:

<Seo-yun>: Yeah, so when I went to another music performance, but they just {use} cover songs from other musicians? like the Beatles. Not the Beatles, but someone who passed away? Like Simon and Garfunkel, yeah. I went there, and they have a beautiful harmony and beautiful voice. But it just made me think about they didn’t make their own creative songs, right? So, they just cover their songs, right? And also, they did not hand out the promotion {flyers}? But many were sold out, because they are just borrowing their name. But for me, we made our song, and we made our creative songs, and we also paid for lots and lots of payment and overcharge and other stuff? We tried a lot and practiced a lot. And we have to {deliver} hand-outs, even though not many audiences came. Yeah, it’s hard. [...] Yeah, so after this show I feel bad {laugh}.

Seo-yun described frustration, for she could not find satisfying answers to bridge this taste difference. She asserted that the spirit for creation should be more valued, although tribute shows attracting more people suggest otherwise. Fusion music, as an experimental cross-fertilisation, could intrigue fan bases from multiple styles involved in it. However, unfamiliar combinations may also receive a lukewarm response, for people may be uncertain about, or not

interested in, fusion styles. Two Korean musicians in another South Korean fusion music group, made sense of the gap by addressing different tastes between the general audience and professional musicians.

<R>: And jazz music?

<Min-jun>: A few people only. {It's} not popular. Most people listen to K-pop. {There are} only a few jazz musicians and traditional musicians.

<Do-yun>: In Korea, world music, traditional music, jazz music listener is only a small market. Many people like K-pop.

<Min-jun>: Almost all Korean people like K-pop. But we Korean musicians like it {world music, traditional, and jazz music}.

Min-jun and Do-yun differentiated between an insider group of “Korean musicians” and a majority who listen to K-pop. Their differentiation demonstrates a vision that a group of professional musicians would understand and agree with, showing a sense of belonging to a broader community of “musicians”. Respondents used personal interests and priorities to explain differing preferences between them and others, concluding that clashing opinions come from differing relations and experiences with music.

In summary

Interest gap emerged as a challenge in respondents' negotiation. When both musical and cultural differences were present, they needed to explain why their performance did not attract as much attention and response as expected. Min-yun and Do-yun mentioned a professional divide between musicians and general audiences in the interview; Atpo and Ahmad remarked upon differing cultural competencies and experience; and Marcos talked about a universal need for diverse music. When respondents performed to culturally different audiences, the distinctive cultural experience became an apparent reason for their different musical views and tastes. However, a more prominent interest gap was marked between an imagined professional musician insider group and the general public. It suggests that participants still interpreted the lack of affirmation more as a challenge from different musical interests, than from cultural backgrounds. Accordingly, they argued that their intercultural music projects are good, but just do not always match others' interest.

6.2.2 Membership gap

Membership gap is a lack of understanding and social history that prohibits respondents from being treated as insiders. When learning a genre cross-culturally, those who want to progress to a more central, and perhaps accountable, position can perceive a bottleneck posed by criteria on their cultural competence and history. For sojourning individuals, most difficulties arise from understanding the intrinsic thinking, reasoning, feeling, and communication patterns of individuals of another cultural group, after acquiring explicit techniques such as languages (Kim, 2001). Aesthetic sensibilities, among other implicit cultural competencies, are included in the criteria and, therefore, the challenges for intercultural projects.

Respondents' stress is shown in rejections against their negotiation for music-professional identities. For professionals who perform traditional music of other cultures, audiences, musicians, and critics from those cultural communities can consider themselves qualified to question their musical approaches. Some criticisms stem from contexts of post-colonialism, critical studies, and identity politics, in which people focus on inequality of power between different genders, classes, societies, cultural communities, and other social categories. Many hold a growing interest in cultural awareness and representation, commenting on how certain music or cultural elements are taken from a specific cultural context, separated, appropriated, and misrepresented by musicians of other groups and mainstream cultures. Such dissents challenged participants to argue for their values and legitimacy in their cross-cultural performance.

It is an asset to have an extended history of actively participating in the musical and cultural community of interest. It suggests a person holds extensive skills, knows many people, and has various ideas that are significant to the groups. By the same token, respondents reported challenges in being treated as newcomers and outsiders, negotiating for their competence, and letting their

ideas be heard. One may quit and turn to another for various reasons. Some respondents' descriptions show paralleling and overlapping demands, presented by music and cultural membership, in their lives:

<Makoto>: I grew up like an American teenager. Like I didn't speak Japanese, I didn't know anything like Japanese Culture. I was very typically American, (when I was back in teens, in 80s). But I'm, (now) I know about Japanese culture, I know a lot about, you know, speak the language, identify as being Japanese. So, I have a totally diverge. Eh... Sense of identity, you know what I mean. In terms of how people treat me, I'm pretty confident. So, I know who I am, so I'm very confident. But again, it takes a lot of work and a lot of thinking, you know. Like even I was living in Japan, playing Japanese instruments in front of an audience. There were times I was, like, there were times when I felt like I was faking it? Like I was a faker, I was a fraud, playing Japanese instruments, like I didn't grow up in St. Louis, like not in America. We tour all around Japan, so it's like there is every night there is 2,000 people watching me play Japanese flute. And I know that a lot people obviously know way more about Japanese music than I do. So, it's very, it's kind of awkward, not awkward, but it creates a lot of (...). In terms of I create a sound, experience a sound, whereas, it made me really think about what is Japanese music, what am I learning and presenting, so that I wouldn't feel like I am faking it. I would make it feel authentic. These things are the things that I would say to spend ten years in Japan is really great.

Makoto's reflection focuses on a cultural self-awareness that he felt on the stage. When performing to a Japanese audience, and with traditional musicians around, he saw them as being more experienced, knowledgeable, and competent to make authoritative judgments and define quality and authentic performance. He improved his competencies through strenuous learning, but it was unclear whether he caught up with the community's long-standing professionals. Beforehand, he had sensed the African American community had a claim on jazz practice; subsequently, the Japanese on Japanese traditional music. His Japanese family background distinguishes him from jazz musicians with an African American background, while his youth and jazz learning in the United States differing from other Japanese musicians. It shows the stress to do identity work in the two musical communities and larger

society. Makoto summarised that what he did made the performance authentic and expressed what he felt as real. The two solutions were related to his purposes of making music.

Cultural appropriation is related to a popular argument that a musician cannot redefine music practice that historically developed in other cultural communities. When facing this topic, some interviewees responded with full explanations, reasoning why and how their music and intercultural practices could make a difference. Andrew and Karen adopted feasibility, flexibility, expressiveness, and internationalisation to argue against cultural appropriation ideas. They were also arguing against a conviction that they cannot be as competent, good, or authentic:

<Karen>: Anybody can play it, you know, like, a bit like anybody can play Beethoven. There is no... it doesn't matter where you are from. If you learn how to play Beethoven then you can, because it is accessible. And it's the same with klezmer. And there is no... if you are Jewish, it doesn't mean you can play klezmer. You're gonna have to study how to play klezmer just like me, so there is no... there is no em... there is no kind of limit on it, like or there is no... advantage let's say, necessarily. Like there is an advantage culturally, like if you are a Jewish, and then you know how it... like the traditions and the culture. And then you've got an advantage definitely, because you've already, without even thinking about it, know what em... what some of the traditions are. [...] there is something obviously, in every culture there is something. But from a musical point of view, I'm talking about, like you have to learn, you have to practice your instrument, and you have to use your ear to learn how to do those slides and bends in it, and how to understand the rhythm. And those things you don't, you can't learn to do these things just by being born into a family like that, certainly not now, because people don't play klezmer now in that situation.

Karen explained everyone can teach themselves technically, once they have access to listen to the music. The argument suggests she had pondered this gap between her musical and cultural identities, created by her playing klezmer music as a non-Jewish musician. Several time, Karen used the expression "There is no..." before she found a pair of expressions that she was looking

for - “limit” and “advantage”. The former refers to non-Jewish people learning and playing klezmer music like anyone can choose to play Beethoven’s music. Moreover, in the latter example, “there is no advantage, necessarily.” The rhetorical devices “necessarily” and “just” present the notion that a Jewish cultural membership is not a prerequisite for playing klezmer well, suggesting that the interviewee perceived that she could be accused of inauthenticity. She maintained that a musician’s core musical advantages could only be acquired through a strenuous musical learning and practising process. By attaching importance to significant time and effort spent in musical learning, Karen negotiated for her musical identity as an experienced and competent klezmer musician.

<Karen>: Funny, somebody else contacted me yesterday saying a similar thing in Finland, they are studying on the Folk Music course in Sibelius Academy, but they want to write a paper on cultural appropriation.

<R>: Cultural appropriation.

<Karen>: Yeah, it’s related to, you know, non-Jewish people playing Jewish music, basically. So, she wanted to ask me a few questions and yeah, that’s funny.

<R>: So, has it... like about cultural appropriation, have people come to you talk about it?

<Karen>: No, not normally. People don’t normally talk to me about it actually. No, but I mean the whole band, I mean lots of musicians I play with are from London, but all the music we play is from Europe, Eastern Europe. So, everyone is in London, most of them, they are not, their roots, their family roots are not from there either, so... I mean, in [band name], there are two people, the lead singer and accordion player, who’ve got their roots and they grew up in Turkey and Serbia. But that’s two out of seven of us.

Respondents had to counter and cope with such criticisms on their cultural membership, including them lacking in skills, understanding, and history. Cultural identity, when defined by early life, is turned into an ascribed membership as people cannot change it, no matter where they move to later. Growing up in a community influences a person: listening to how people talk in a specific language(s) and use certain music styles, individuals are enculturated to perceive, view, and even feel the world in different manners. Such opinion of cultural-specific feelings and views means an irreconcilable

membership gap for musicians who play traditional music from other cultures. Participants often combated those disaffirmations by suggesting that cultural identity was confused and directly related to musical competence, arguing for the value of their intercultural work in musical, expressive, and social rapport aspects.

Karen's responses displayed her knowledge of klezmer music and Jewish culture, and her appreciation of their sense of humour. Respondents, who have been playing their adopted genres for years, are knowledgeable of the culture relevant to that music. However, few identified with that cultural community because of that, nor did they claim such music as belonging to them. They face frequent questioning for the legitimacy of practice and rightfulness to be a good musician in performing music considered to originate from other cultures. This is the problem for individual musicians and their intercultural projects. Their music's authenticity might be questioned, as may the band's legitimacy to perform and present those styles. Their groups needed to be cautious with how they presented the music in their performance.

Comparatively, these criticisms are less of a concern for musicians who are considered as having the fitting cultural membership - competence and history - to make amendments. The cultural appropriation issue was not mentioned at all by Atpo. One reason for this might be that the concept derived from a concern over cultural diversity is still relatively foreign to Chinese society, in general. This topic did not play any role in Atpo's music practice when he performed other ethnic music with his ensemble, nor in any articles. However, cultural membership did have an impact on what music he avoided when performing. When Atpo mentioned one of his bands in which each member is from a different ethnic group, he noted that they did not include any popular songs in their performance:

<R>: So, it is mainly the traditional ones, songs from each of you.

<Atpo>: {It's} inherited and traditional songs, instead of popular music. When we sing a popular song, it would end up sounding quite ethnic. When we sing popular songs, it's all...(laugh). Yeah, with quite prominent ethnic features.

This illustrates how, as much as cultural identity is an advantage for musicians to go into certain performances, it is also a limit that discourages them from taking on others. Musical and cultural membership are bound deeply within a person. How people speak and sing give out clues to their cultural identities. Prominent ethnic features - such as accent - discouraged Atpo from adding popular elements to his musical repertoire. Those cultural identity markers are, therefore, only an asset when sojourning musicians perform music related to the home community.

The mainstream audience's reactions to ethnic-featured music affected whether respondents perceived their ethnic trait as a positive or negative asset to their performance. Atpo got the impression that people did not favour popular music performed by them. He explained that some basic music theory training helps him better transcribe Lisu repertoire, but he did not take further training. He reasoned that he stands out for his ethnocultural background and folk music skillsets, which is what he has to offer to mainstream society and bring to the table in collaborations.

In comparison, respondents who moved to another society have been performing their traditional music or a form of fusion. They highlighted more challenges in adapting to a new local audience and making a living. Few mentioned cultural appropriation as being a significant challenge. They might not have played traditional music seriously when they were in the home community. However, their cultural membership - growing up and decades of living in the ethnocultural community previously - lends them a sense of ownership to the music. The consistency between musical and cultural categorisation (e.g., klezmer-Jewish or Lisu-Lisu) bestows upon an individual a greater sense of accountability to develop the music. The new environment's demand and personal attachments to the home community seem to pull these individuals to perform traditional music.

In summary

The membership gap suggests that respondents were made aware that their specific musical, cultural, and family background can influence how their projects were received when performing certain types of music. Atpo's summary displays that, when individuals perceived a lack of appreciation, or even disapproval, in the local environment on the first few occasions, they were less likely to delve into further boundary-crossing activities in that direction. Over the years, respondents developed preferred ways of talking about the relationship between musical and cultural membership. They negotiated various (inter-)cultural meanings for their intercultural music projects, in reaction to their local audience. They often adjusted to obtain a competent musical identity in one musical and/or cultural group in the long-term, while putting themselves on the other community's periphery. Highlighting of cultural membership implications - cultural competencies and histories - in music activities presented a significant challenge to musicians' cross-cultural projects, shaping their developments on the boundary.

6.2.3 Reaction gap

Interest gap is explained from individual perspectives; different tastes and preferences. Membership gap traces back to controversial views of cultural identity, perceived by larger society and by respondents themselves, affecting what musicians chose to perform professionally. In contrast, reaction gap refers to people's different opinions on the ideal development of an individual, a musical practice, and community, in reaction to changed and changing environments. Despite sharing common interests, music, and cultural memberships, musicians may prioritise different ideas regarding a musical tradition and community's future. Sarah and Andrew described the criticism their band received from other musicians, which is typical for groups who mix traditional music with other musical genres. The remarks were made by individuals who prioritise protection of traditional music:

<Sarah>: Yeah, yes, actually that's probably a natural thing, isn't it
[...] When the folk try to identify with tradition, it kind of
pushes everything else out, 'cause sometimes you know, we

would get criticised because we messed around with traditional tunes, but also in a way, it's a way of protecting the tradition, but also generating a revenue for the people who do that music maybe even attracting more people to play it, but yeah, I suppose it can be quite dangerous in a sense.

<Andrew>: But it has always been, I mean, it has always changed, music is always responding to outside influences. You have the...there has been this kind of interchange between different people, going back from much longer than any one seems to realise, thousands of years of interchange, you know?

Sarah raised a means of considering on which grounds those criticisms about fusion music stand. In her opinion, dissents may come from a concern with the destructive effect on traditional music and conflicted economic interests between musicians. She acknowledged the potential danger of fusion music competing with traditional folk, and taking over an already niche market, showing an understanding of others' perspectives on why it is necessary to play music in its traditional fashion. It shows that one can be empathetic with opposing opinions while remaining in music projects of their interests. On the other hand, Andrew's argument for the mixture of Scottish and Brazilian music echoes Karen's for her klezmer band, although the latter performs mostly traditional pieces. The two are similar in how these musicians put music and people in a much broader framework, as well as the long history of musical interaction across cultural boundaries and the internationalisation of musical activities and exchanges.

The way "pushing everything else out" and "messaging around" is used is noteworthy. The protective reaction is advantageous in conserving traditions and deepening engagement. However, it is at risk of being so invested in established traditions that the practice and community become stale. This discourse implies that lines of demarcation were drawn regarding what is 'self' and what is 'others'. Furthermore, individuals who attempted to cross or blend with 'others' on musical and cultural boundaries may be described as "messaging around", which discredits them as not being deeply committed or

knowledgeable. In the context of jazz improvisation, Wilson and MacDonald (2012) also observed how a musician considered whether what other improvisers did could be construed as “messing around”. One tends to take a positive perspective towards hybridisation when prioritising change, adaptation, and creativity. However, when the general public in a musicians’ country of residence has a strong protective attitude, it becomes a more arduous task for musicians to keep up their intercultural projects, work across communities, and negotiate a competent identity.

In summary

Respondents’ activities required them to further justify what they did, relating intercultural and cross-cultural values to their music. They developed intercultural narratives that highlight the relationship between individuals from different cultures, and cross-cultural views that are concerned foremost with one cultural community’s development. From interest and membership, to reaction, reification gap suggests that respondents faced challenges outside their direct participation in negotiating competent, accountable, and “right” identities for their music, to keep up, and last, with a culturally different and diverse population, and even with themselves. A great overlap between musical and cultural membership was involved in their making sense, and conveying, of abstract ideas. Individuals’ explanations mark a new self-other grouping every time, with the primary aim of convincing others that they are competent musicians.

6.3 Summary: Linking themes of participation gap and reification gap

6.1 participation gap 6.1.1 mutual engagement <ul style="list-style-type: none">• musical coordination• language proficiency• personal communication 6.1.2 joint enterprise 6.1.3 shared repertoire	6.2 reification gap 6.2.1 interest gap 6.2.2 membership gap 6.2.3 reaction gap
6.3.1 Summary	
6.3.2 “Out of place” and “not my place”: Lack of shared history of learning	
6.3.3 Reification: From teamwork to sense of shared experience	

Figure 6.2 Linking themes of participation gap and reification gap

6.3.1 Summary

Participation gap introduces stress when one encounters teamwork issues and realises that there is a long way to go in order to overcome them. It is shown in how Myra mentioned that she felt an urgent need to quickly learn, and get better at, jazz singing. To perform and collaborate well with other professionals across communities requires significant time and effort to work and get to know each other. It applies pressure on participants to learn in aspects of music coordination, language proficiency, and personal communication competence. Reification gap presents three kinds of abstract and subjective challenges in response to which musicians need to interpret what they have experienced, and convince others of their musical decisions. One might react by arguing that their adventurous experiment, cautious reinventing, or historically authentic revival should be a priority for their musical and cultural communities.

For respondents, music rarely ceases to be a primary interest and an ultimate goal in itself. Interviewees adopt preoccupied musical interests to differentiate between musicians and non-musicians in dealing with challenges regarding interests and memberships. Sometimes, musical activities may become a means to achieve another end, such as individuals' social causes and practical concerns. Ideas concerning creativity and originality can also demarcate

musicians into smaller groups - such as original groups and tribute acts - endowing them with imagined belongingness with other musicians. Simultaneously, individuals' practical, affective, and aesthetic priorities may render them at odds with a musical and cultural community, confronted by disapprovals.

Participation gap suggests that learning to talk in a language that other members speak is indispensable for an intercultural project to exist for the long-term. Musical resourcefulness has a crucial advantage in helping musicians to bypass the language barrier and to obtain synchrony and enjoyment in the short-run. People may not need words to communicate in music. However, exchanges of words are required in their discussions about arrangements. Language learning is shown with respondents who sojourned or relocated - like Ahmad, Marcos, and Ioannis - or who were active in international collaborations and touring, like Seo-yun. In contrast, home-based musicians' common explanation is "I'm too lazy to...", when asked about their second language learning related to the musical culture. It appears that language learning tends to be prompted by urgent operational pressure and social circumstances foreseen in the long-term, hence the pressing necessity for learning perceived by individuals.

Reification gap brings musicians back to personal communication competence, and highlight it as essential to making music a career. It presents an unignorable amount of explanation, persuasion, and organisation work to achieve desired outcomes on the boundary. Communication competencies - saying and doing the right things in the right way and in the right person's presence - are viewed as being essential for a "good" musician to become "successful".

6.3.2 "Out of place" and "not my place": Lack of shared history of learning

It has been ascertained that cultural and musical newcomer interviewees share a feature of being cautious, and sometimes reluctant, in making

suggestions to behaviours and values of their current host community. Marcos said “this is not my place” to comment on how people in the UK should go about and view things. Similarly, non-Japanese taiko musicians draw a clear line between Japanese taiko repertoires and their pieces, emphasising that they do not intend to influence the development of the Japanese taiko community. These disclaimers suggest that the “newcomers” sensed that the accountability and authority rarely lie with them, even when they were involved, and invested their sense of self, in their current community of practice for decades. Compared to their British and American peers, individuals based in China seem to have yet to encounter the same level of membership criticisms and stress in playing fusion or traditional music of other communities.

Cultural membership, and definitions thereof, become relevant to musicians’ decision-making. Cultural insiders are often considered more accountable and suitable, in comparison to outsiders, when developing certain musical traditions. People can continue participating and learning in a musical and cultural community, from jazz to Japanese, while feeling that they are not to “own” it, nor define or change such practice in which they feel invested and belonged. It is stressful to perceive oneself as having little negotiability after being deeply committed to one musical genre for a long time.

Professional musicians’ cultural identity - their personal identification and external categorisation - are stressors that influence their career choice. It is challenging to negotiate for a musical identity when one is required to have an extended history in its relevant cultural community. Musicians’ internal identification of musical identity - including a band, genre, professional identification source - may lead them to feel, and assume, that it is possible to transcend cultural identity. Imaginations and affections can take central positions in musicians’ decisions and negotiation, and leave less space for other concerns. However, members across traditional music communities can still judge musicians’ credibility, based on their cultural categorisation and membership. Some interviewees changed to perform other music styles, and

some found a way to solve technical and communication issues. In either case, musicians who make and perform music across cultural communities must deal with cultural membership challenges.

6.3.3 Reification: From teamwork to sense of shared experience

Local interactions require individuals to make adjustments for reaching coordination, teamwork, shared understanding, and rapport. However, it is also found, across codes, that a sense of shared experience is critical. In respondents' interviews, shared experiences and views of boundary-crossing and learning encourage them to work collaboratively. Sense of shared experience is neither shared reality nor common understanding. Being in one room does not mean everyone in the room experiences the same as each other. For example, a champion and runner-up can have distinctive experiences in the same exact moment. It is likely for champions to find a sense of shared experience with each other, and runners-up to find it with those who won second place. This affinity shared between individuals might be a result of misunderstanding and imagination. Nevertheless, musical experience is capable of creating this imagination and affinity.

Musical standards are co-constructed in constant discussions and arguments between musicians, organisers, audience, and critics communities. Opinions are created based on individuals' personal histories with music, and subject to current re-interpretations and alterations. In musicians' descriptions, music is viewed as a practice in which they can reveal their soul and true-self, and reimagine the world. Those senses of fundamental experience can support individuals in attempting to work together.

In temporary projects, the primary goal is for everyone to coordinate in participation. This focuses the energy on behavioural alignment. Reification gap points to different aesthetic and change orientations. A preference for tradition and its revival, as well as for stability, can be criticised as the inertia of remaining with an item for the sense of familiarity, comfort, and confidence

it provides. It can also be praised as perseverance with, and continuation of, a practice and historical community. An affinity for hybridisation can be judged negatively as a compromise, a lack of commitment, poor knowledge, and focus, betraying and deserting a belief and community. Meanwhile, it can also be embraced as challenging oneself to open up, view, feel, create and develop differently, outside one's own stagnant thinking box.

The constant negotiation highlights that musicians' communication competence can have them successfully obtain their cultural membership and achieve their desired musical outcomes through interactions. Musicians' cultural categories affect their cultural and musical imaginations, as well as others' ideas about them. However, active social participation and communication in combination may bring changes over the years.

This chapter elaborated on identity challenges under the participation and reification gap. It is arguable that, by simply discerning such challenges, musicians change and learn. However, it takes years of social learning and interaction to improve their musical activities and negotiation, and to achieve a balanced state of wellbeing. To live on a boundary condition, and remain in a boundary practice, requires motivation. To persist and proceed, despite difficulties and stress, requires individuals to learn and to change. Do their learning and development share anything in common? The next data chapter, Learning, will reveal what common and distinct changes they experienced practically and psychologically.

Chapter 7 Learning: Bridging between Boundaries

Chapter 7, *Learning*, is the final results chapter. It summarises what respondents did and have been doing in bettering their practice and identity. Chapter 5, *Encounter*, showed how musical and (inter)cultural experiences and promise were closely related at the start of respondents' intercultural musical development. Chapter 6, *Stress*, illustrated how they shared an initial sense of music-professional and socio-cultural incompetence in their attempts to be self-efficacious and negotiate an overall competent identity across communities. The stress of learning seems to fade over the years of boundary practice, corresponding with Kim's description of diminishing stress-adaptation-growth fluctuation over time (see Figure 2.2). There remains, however, a pending question: what did individuals learn in order to see them through challenges and stresses when working in intercultural contexts for years? The previous two chapters support the view that it is useful to ask what communication mechanisms sustained musicians when they had disagreements (*alignment*); what they envisioned and told themselves to keep at it (*imagination*); and how they maintained interactions with others (*engagement*) (see Figure 7.1).

7.1 alignment	7.2 imagination	7.3 engagement
7.1.1 music competence	7.2.1 honesty	7.3.1 keep contact and ties
7.1.2 social communication	7.2.2 diversity	7.3.2 individualisation
	7.2.3 performance	7.3.3 universalisation

Figure 7.1 Learning themes and codes

7.1 Alignment

Alignment refers to how participants managed to stay in specific practice and keep running as a group with others, including what they did and said in interactions with their audience during live performances. It entails “coordinating our energy and activities in order to fit within broader structures and contribute to broader enterprises” (Wenger, 1998, p.174). An individual's ultimate goal is to improve their activities and obtain a competent identity within relevant communities. In intercultural musical practice, which crosses musical

and/or cultural groups, respondents need to firstly discover what competencies are required and valued in their new community and environment in order to fit in, work with local musicians and audiences, and earn a living. The learning promptly starts with observing and imitating experienced peers' behaviours and complying with local requirements; as in the axiom, "when in Rome, do as the Romans do". The main changes include respondents' musical competence and social communication skills. Such learning, taken in teamwork and activities, indicates individuals' common interests and their intercultural project's lifespan.

7.1.1 Music competence

Music competence is a prerequisite. Respondents began by acquiring any musical abilities and adjusting to enable them to coordinate in their group's performance. Respondents talked about how their members and they learnt, such as grasping the beats and improvisation rules and skills, which occurred in their group activities. The analysis does not divulge specific techniques for each musician's practice, as the main focus is the social mechanism in which learning demand for those techniques was created and negotiated.

Respondents' accounts suggest that musical competence and learning are always fundamental and central to their coordination in boundary projects. Most interviewees were already well-versed in at least one kind of musical practice involving an instrument, a genre, and a relevant musical community. The challenge was how they managed to move, then, from their previous group(s) to a vastly different musical and/or cultural community. Individuals noticed and interpreted intergroup differences when participating in a fusion group, another music scene, or cultural environment. They adjusted their behaviours and expectations accordingly. Some respondents, who performed traditional music of other cultures, highlighted how their learning abilities helped them catch up with others to reach musical coordination. What matters first is being familiar with, and able to play, musical repertoires. Additionally,

the ability to learn and play by ear was brought up as another aspect of quick-learning:

<Farhad>: [...] So, I played a lot Greek repertoire, I know almost every Greek song. I knew Persian and Kurdish music while I was in Iran. So, this added a new aspect to me, then ceilidh tunes, another aspect, and I was playing songs from different countries, even then when I was in Iran, but there is greater and strong repertoire from each.

<R>: Mm, so you learned a lot from... like you learned that music from your members in the group?

<Farhad>: Yes, well, whenever they are doing their songs, I learned... I can play almost anything immediately when I sit (with) my band, I can just follow the tunes and play at the same tempo that it is being played.

Farhad accounted for overcoming musical coordination challenges to his non-verbal musical experience and competence, rather than culture-specific competencies. He explained how being familiar with Persian and Kurdish music helped him in reacting promptly to the new material. Santur expertise is essential in playing with Greek, Persian, and Kurdish folk musicians, accompanying and following them when they are leading a piece. Farhad described learning every new piece of different traditions as having “added a new aspect” to him. The santur musician’s description suggests his perception of the potential of musical learning and development in those intercultural rehearsals. Meanwhile, for a long-standing fusion group, pipers and percussionists showed an improved understanding of each other’s systems relevant to their performance, following years of playing together. Sarah mentioned an argument between the two sides in a rehearsal:

<Andrew>: Still sometimes have trouble coming back in, sometimes we have, somebody has to rigidly...

<Sarah>: Yeah, but then I suppose that’s the same with, with every band. {laugh} There is always one or two don’t get it. {laugh} But I remember, in a rehearsal, having an argument about, kind of, who, what if it all went wrong, you know, went out of time, who was to shift, you know. And it was decided it was to be the drummers because it would be more difficult for the pipers to shift. But it was more likely that the pipers would go out of the time than the drummers. But we were to alter to them, because of the momentum they have with the

bagpipes, and everything else, they, they cannot really (switch).
<Andrew>: And, and I furiously disagreed though {laugh}.
<Sarah>: Yes! {laugh}
<Andrew>: {laugh} I'm right. We were right.

This argument happened on the musical boundary between British musicians of Scottish and Salsa musical backgrounds. Sarah described how a few pipers would lose the beats during performance. It resulted in the percussionists going along with the pipers. The reasoning was that the priority is to quickly retrieve synchronisation in performance, and percussionists can switch quicker. This recount illustrates how a coordination issue was noticed and solved, which suggests that verbal communication is necessary to elaborate on who is to adjust. While Andrew and Sarah complained about the decision, they told it with laughter, suggesting a fondness. They also made a point of stating that the mistake did not occur in their percussion department. They were competent colleagues in accomplishing their parts for the group.

Various factors affect what and how individuals learn musically in a group. If leaders have firm opinions and vision for an intercultural group, that could assert some influence. Ahmad started his band from teaching interested local musicians, both Scottish and international, Arabic repertoires. He mentioned that he had avoided quartertone pieces because, in his experience, few musicians get it right, not to mention the short rehearsal time his band had. Ahmad mostly discussed his experience from his host and home societies specifically, emphasising the cultural competencies required to work with(in) one particular cultural community. In comparison, others who actively collaborated with culturally diverse musicians in various international projects over the years, tend to talk about more individualised and trial-and-error approaches to music. Makoto highlighted as such in his composition and improvisation:

<Makoto>: {These are the} Things that I've been doing for 20 years nearly, actively trying different combinations and different sounds. So, here is the point now when I am composing a piece, I can really think that I want this thing and I need to

play that instrument. [...] Try it out, and if it didn't work, then I will try this. It's all trial and experimentation. But when you are improvising, you just have to go for it. I mean, I try this, I think it will work, because I've been doing it so long, I know if it doesn't sound good, I know how to get out of it. I will change it so that it works. I mean, that all works, being in an improvisation, you don't know what's gonna happen, so embracing that is also quite important in improvisation.

Musical expertise and learning are crucial throughout both short- and long-term engagement. The requirements vary from one role to another in a group, and from one band to another. Alignment efforts made in acquiring and improving new musical competencies suggest a person's commitment to music and to work with(in) a specific musical community. However, when it comes to long-term collaboration, respondents reflected that, aside from non-verbal musical coordination, non-musical learning is needed to develop better communication strategies and routines in interaction with interested parties, as section 7.1.2 outlines.

7.1.2 Social communication

Social communication refers to communication involved in individuals' social participation in communities. It considers what respondents highlighted in their interactions outside of playing music, including interpersonal communication and mass communication on social media (e.g., Facebook and Twitter). Improving social communication is challenging, partly because its effectiveness and appropriateness are much dependent on the interlocutors (e.g., colleagues, professionals, and audience) and the context in which it occurs. Those social occasions and learning are unavoidable to individuals who intend to stay and maintain a band over the long-term. Most commented that a professional is required to find their way to connect better with groups and audiences. Anna, the Chinese Scottish professional taiko player, commented that to plan for a tour and make a living as a group, 95% of the work is about preparation. This 95% is where individuals' social communication learning mostly comes about.

Codes include backstage communication, frontstage communication, and informal language learning. Backstage communication happens between professionals, as opposed to frontstage communication between professionals and laypersons. For example, Andrew's argument with pipers on music arrangement is considered backstage communication. It is a frontstage communication if they recount and stage the same discussion as a story for an audience. The two are not always differentiated because individuals can be misguided in their intentions and by intended interlocutors, and can be fluid and re-negotiate meanings to suit what they actually did.

Backstage communication: Everyone takes their role

Most respondents involved in traditional music recognised that it feels more manageable when rehearsing traditional pieces with their own ethnocultural musicians, because they share similar music repertoires and speak the same language. In addition to common musical repertoire and language, adjustments to a specific culture and cultural differences were highlighted as essential when individuals sojourn to a cultural community to learn its traditional music more thoroughly. There is much variability between people, more so in an international team. In a band that sustains itself over 17 years without an official manager, Karen summarised that its current members have good relationships partly because everyone takes on some responsibility for administrative work:

<R>: But is it really challenging to, I don't know, to keep a good relationship with the band or with people in the band?

<Karen>: It can be, it has been in the past. The line-up we've got at the moment is really nice actually. We get on very well. We've had a different bass player, we've had a different percussion player, we've had people in the past who haven't really wanted to commit themselves so much, and that's generally where it starts to get a bit resentment, you know, like, 'We're doing this, this, and this, and you are not doing anything.' You know, that kind of, that has to... people have to em...do something to try to help out? You know. It's like living in a house with seven other people, and they are all doing the washing-up and you've never done it. It's like that.

Commitment to the musical group was noted as a significant factor that affects members getting on well, regardless of their cultural backgrounds. Karen did not specify how workload was allocated. Tasks previously listed - “making movies, designing business cards, making flyers, sending more emails, doing the accounts” - were likened to washing-up when living in a shared house. Her simile encapsulates the humdrum experience of maintenance work in music-professional practice. Ioannis also commented about how clarifying tasks helped him manage the group:

<Ioannis>: [...] Then another challenge is to deal with musicians including myself, because we are a bit crazy.

<R>: Yes?

<Ioannis>: Yeah. So, one day we might be like this, and the other day we might be different. Suddenly a problem comes up, which shouldn't be a problem, and you have to deal with it. Different musicians deal with stress in different ways. So, this is always an issue, the musicians and the relationship between musicians. But we, you know, once you have a clear deal with your friends, who are musicians. Then everyone takes their own role? And it's easier.

The Greek guitarist is like Karen; neither specified the process, but both mentioned a few general situations in which problems occurred. Ioannis accounted internal reasons to them, such as musicians being “crazy”, situations where things did not work out, or socio-relational issues like working with friends. They suggested that it is constructive to ensure everyone knows what they are expected to do. Moreover, it implies that it may require great tact to convince members that workload splits are fair. Some respondents, like Marcos, displayed a preference for more direct communication. In their descriptions, open discussion in the group is more appropriate for dividing tasks, assigning roles, and developing arrangements and rules. No matter what communicative style respondents were in favour of, tactful or direct, the musical practice takes over as the top priority and focus of backstage communication, according to their interviews. Their emphases on everyone fulfilling and taking charge of their roles implies a process in which they learned to facilitate and negotiate for that to happen routinely within their group(s).

Frontstage communication: You have to respond

Frontstage communication refers to professional-layman interaction, particularly between musicians and audience. Musical and cultural newcomer respondents alike mentioned that they adjusted performance according to their audience's reactions, including arranging repertoires with a particular crowd's wants and preferences in mind. The adjustment and flexibility were taken as a basic aspect of the musician's frontstage communication. Learning happened during a live concert where musicians spontaneously interacted with people and across incidents of performance. Musicians applied what they had noticed, and considered previous concerts in relation to the next. Karen gave examples of how her band performed differently on two occasions, and when performing to a British audience:

<Karen>: [...] But there are two types of performance, concerts and weddings. And when you are playing at weddings, you are playing for dancing, and people need the rhythm, relentless rhythm, they don't want you to make an arrangement say the bass stops or the drums don't come in until like 20 minutes later, you know. [...] Whereas if you are playing in a concert people are, British audiences especially, expect something more interesting, something to listen to that is varied and has got dynamics, and where they all hear the guitar here, for a bit (...), they can really tune into what they are doing. So, there we make arrangements for concerts, just to present something that is more classy, more art. It's more like a piece of art music when you make an arrangement of it. And that's what, to be honest, that's what we enjoy, because if people are dancing, great, brilliant, let's just play non-stop. But if they are not, it's very, very weird to play non-stop as if they are dancing. It's like, 'What are we doing here, guys? Nobody is dancing. Let's just play something more mellow.' You have to really respond. It's a really interactive process.

"You have to really respond" summarises how frontstage communication is done out of great necessity. Respondents learned, through experiences and mistakes, to interact with people of diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Karen's description of "very, very weird" further indicates an uneasiness immediately experienced when people are not dancing or responding. The lack of interaction directly impacted the musicians' next move, changing to play more mellow music. Her double use of the word "really" at the

end, while stressing the importance of interaction, also emphasises the clarinettist's view that the duty of facilitating and maintaining communication falls to musicians. Similarly, in Ahmad's aforementioned accounts, audience's responses lead him to alternate musical repertoires, performing to English- and Arabic-speaking audiences. He also explained why he wears a gown in concerts in the UK, after some audience members suggested it to him:

<R>: These clothes...

<Ahmad>: We call it aba, Saudi call it bisht. It's like a gown.

<R>: And are you supposed to wear it when you play music or at every ceremony?

<Ahmad>: No, just want to show the people that it's Iraqi... something Arabic. So they feel... First of all, if you saw the video, the first party in Israel, I just wear normal, just jacket and... And ladies or people told me, 'Oh, it was nice if you are wearing the aba.'

<R>: Yeah, or the costume.

<Ahmad>: I say, 'Okay, next time I will wear this costume for you.'

"Next time" suggests a lasting relationship that Ahmad intended to build with his local Scottish audience. He told, almost matter-of-factly, of the different reactions of the local audience and his associated adjustments. The interviewee did not seem to be concerned about changing his costume as much as his repertoire arrangement for the audience in Scotland. Also mentioning the problem of people becoming bored with the performance, Marcos reasoned that it was natural for people to have enough of one style, and he addressed this by diversifying their group repertoire:

<Marcos>: [...] So it's nice if you have a range of different styles. So, you don't, if you start playing like for 40 minutes one, just one style, by the end, people get bored, unless if they are dancing, so then you become like a function band, but we are not function band, we go there to play like music and hope people enjoy these. So, it changes a lot. I love Reggae, I play it (regularly), I love funky, I love jazz, and Cuban music, all these which I try to incorporate as well.

The audience's reaction affected what Marcos' band performed. However, this also exhibits that the band picked the pieces and genres based on the three members' musical interests. The "function band" comment reveals a common sentiment that it is acceptable to play music for people to dance to, but that

this cannot be all that what the band does. Moreover, respondents' are conscious of, and constantly work on, balancing between perceived external expectations and their internal preferences.

One end of this spectrum has function bands with musicians ultimately developing according to the audience's need, while the other end has musicians playing music only to suit their own interests. Most respondents fit in the middle of this continuum. They improved frontstage communication by changing arrangements, repertoire, and costumes, while simultaneously finding ways to incorporate their goals and visions. There is often a wish - if not the primary one - to have positive impacts on the audience. It includes temporary enjoyments that let people forget their troubles, and long-lasting changes in positive thinking and wellbeing. Respondents held various opinions on who ought to adjust to whom. Meanwhile, it is shown that the socio-cultural environment plays a substantial role in determining their cultural and professional development. Atpo started naming his concert differently to combine his aim of promoting Lisu traditional music and the need for selling enough tickets to recover the cost:

<Atpo>: For example, I had a hulusi concert last year. It was actually a hulusi concert, but I named it Maniumugua – Sound from the Heartland of Lisu. Maniumugua is the lusheng. Then I subtitled it Atpo Beijing Hulusi Concert, because if you don't write down hulusi, no one is going to your concert, while I have a number of fans on hulusi.

Atpo talked about the efforts he made to let more people know about lusheng and Lisu music. He organised Hulusi-themed concerts, knowing that the local audience are more familiar with, and favour, the instrument. Meanwhile, he kept adding some traditional lusheng pieces and introducing Lisu culture in those events. In observation, respondents' one-way communication is often the primary interaction on stage, talking to the audience about cultural-specific information, aesthetic understandings, and emotional stories. Some, like Min-jun and Do-yun, did not utter a word to their audience. While some, such as Karen and Pedro, introduced the music's title, origin, and cultural meaning in

a few sentences. Still others, like Seo-yun and Anna, took time to elaborate on cultural stories, understandings, personal anecdotes, and thoughts on current events and affairs. Other interviewees spoke little about adjustments made to reach out to an audience, which is consistent with how they described music as an activity of individual and artistic expression, and how they expect people to prefer the same. Either way, respondents mentioned the same process of drawing lessons from past performances and experience, gradually developing and settling for their current strategies of attracting and communicating to audiences, aligning more or less with perceived expectations in the musical and wider cultural environments.

Informal language learning

Most social communication that respondents had with their colleagues and audiences occurred with them understanding what others were saying. Immigrant and sojourning musicians learnt the host language. Ahmad and Marcos could not speak English when they first came to the UK, but they became fluent after living in this host society for over a decade. Seo-yun learned how to speak English in South Korea, living close to an American neighbourhood. English tends to be the lingua franca in respondents' international collaborations and groups, and when they perform to international audiences. Language use pervades every aspect of life. It is impossible to separate the language learning between respondents' music practice and daily lives. However, there are counterexamples with native speakers of English recounting their learning other languages:

<Sarah>: Yes, yeah, one of the guys, Horatio, he's Argentinian, so he's Spanish element. John, John speaks Portuguese. Johnny, Johnny speaks a bit as well, did he?

<Andrew>: Johnny did a little bit, yeah.

<Sarah>: But, I'm, I'm, yeah, I'm lazy.

<Andrew>: She sings a bit in Portuguese.

<Sarah>: Yeah, yeah, I sang in the album, but yeah my language is... 'cause I have a problem with confidence. {laugh}

<Andrew>: French.

<Sarah>: French! Yeah, I can understand French. And I'll speak French that I will, I think that's because I learnt it at school. And I had to do it, you know, I had to speak it at school, but

I still can do that, but it's confidence thing. I will get there eventually maybe.

When asked about language, Andrew stated that Sarah can speak French and sing in Portuguese, to some extent. Sarah explained that she had to study French at school, and emphasised that she does not speak it well due to laziness and lack of confidence. Non-native English speakers, like Marcos and Ahmad, also stated that their English is still not good enough. According to them, they had English classes at school, but only learned to speak it well after living in the UK, where it became central to their daily lives. Rehearsals and performances with native and international English speakers present immediate learning requirements and opportunities to pick up English so as to coordinate the activities. Language learning indicates individuals' alignment with the local communication system.

In summary

Alignment codes show that respondents perceived external requirements of learning to coordinate with culturally different individuals, which were raised locally out of their social interaction in intercultural musical projects and daily activities. In music competence and social communication aspects, they learned and adjusted their socially observable behaviour and communication, in order to improve their collaboration with others in their targeted musical and cultural communities. Respondents may have different ideas and attitudes about such requirements; they may agree with them, dismiss them, or not have any formed opinions on them. When respondents began working with culturally different musicians and in a new cultural environment, it was more difficult to predict and make sense of people's reactions, behaviours, and reasonings. Whether musicians accounted for the less-than-ideal outcome to individual and/or cultural differences, they reacted to those musical, social, and linguistic demands and reasoned why they did so. Their efforts to catch up or coordinate better with others in intercultural musical activities seem to be pivotal in keeping them active in intercultural music practice, in the long-term.

7.2 Imagination

Imagination is “creating images of the world and seeing connections through time and space by extrapolating from our own experience” (Wenger, 1998, p.173). It refers to musicians’ inner activity behind musical pieces and performing on stage; how they view what they did in music, as well as life beyond. Affinity with a group of people is a mode of belonging different from alignment, which requires neither observable actions nor coordination. Instead, it happens at the back of one’s mind when one listens to music, watches the news and clips, reads a novel or newspaper, or overhears a broadcast. Imagination codes focus on respondents’ efforts to make sense of musical and cultural differences they have experienced, interpreting gap between personal and external preference mostly in professional activities, and create self-consistent views that help guide and justify their decisions.

A part of learning across communities is the significant amount of shifting and reorganising concepts due to challenging new perspectives. When individuals experience disagreements, confusion, criticisms, embarrassments, or rejections in their intercultural projects and activities, they develop specific perspectives to better explain to themselves, and convince others, what actions, opinions, and music ought to be valued. Some views keep individuals learning in bands, and interacting with communities, while others lead them to stop taking parts in practice. Three leading applications of imagination - honesty, diversity, and performance - were identified in how respondents described their experiences and explained their learning and perseverance over the years of professional practice on the boundary.

7.2.1 Honesty: Put yourself in that

Being honest in music appeared as a common theme of musicians’ interviews. Terms such as “genuine”, “natural”, “expressive”, “not fake”, and “soul” are associated with honesty. Respondents thereby drew a line with an honesty ideal between the self and insiders who value it, and others who do not understand or prioritise as such. In practice, it was linked to playing the music

pieces that they felt related, and not to play the ones to which were not. Marcos mentioned the lack of connection he felt with some music genres:

<R>: Yeah? So, you don't really like them [Bel Canto performers] singing in a similar way, and singing about the similar thing.

<Marcos>: Stuff. Yeah, yeah, it's all nothing to do with my reality. So, I don't connect with that, seems really further from where I came from? And nothing to do with what I want to become.

<R>: So, what do you want to become?

<Marcos>: I want to become more genuine, and genuine person, a better person if I can, but even when I'm bad, it's genuine! I'm not fake.

<R>: Is it... how, how do you show your genuineness, like, in your music?

<Marcos>: It's when I'm not worried to show off how good I am, but to show off what I really am.

This discloses an individual's process of interpreting his own musical experience with personal values. Genuineness was implied to mean playing music that one enjoys and cares about. Marcos highlighted the absence of individual expression and connection. Not intrigued by the Bel Canto music, nor feeling connected to it, resulted in his encounters ending at the casual listening experiences. He remained an outsider to that specific community. Respondents also mentioned that they disliked some musicians and acts for lack of genuine self-expression. The highlight of individual expression is reasonably common among musicians across different genres. However, it shows significant implications in intercultural projects and activities; individuals described how musical activities provided them with experiences of connection, and shared understanding with individuals of other cultures. Ioannis recalled a session in which he felt an affinity with a Ghanaian percussionist that he had just met and jammed with:

<Ioannis>: (There was a) weekend we jammed with an incredible percussionist from Ghana. It doesn't feel foreign at all, because he's a very good musician, so immediately he expose his soul, you know, he expose the depth of music.

The use of "expose" describes it as something other than behaviours, an experience in which he imagined the Ghanaian percussionist could feel the same for he belongs to a community of "good musicians". While they did not

mention “honesty” specifically, Marcos’ and Ioannis’ talk, among that of others, show how much they make sense of their experience with music viewed as an “honest signal” (Cross, 2009). When interviewees described music as an affective expression, they often associated it with the priority of being honest - authentic, loyal, and self-aware - to one’s own experience and that of others. Musicians used this constellation of ideas to explain some of their views and choices in music-professional development, supporting their belief that a deep understanding can be facilitated quickly through music, and through drawing the line beyond which they would not go in their adjustments to audiences. Sarah brought up an instance of a tribute act where she insisted on keeping her British accent when covering American songs, in order to show her British identity:

<Sarah>: [...] When you tribute, it’s all about sounding like that person, whereas the band that I’ve been singing in for the last five years, we do cover versions of songs, we copy the songs but this never for me anyway been an attempt to sound like the person who did it. But some people expect that. [...] I would use my accent, I don’t put on an American accent, and I pronounce vowels differently. It’s, you know, so it’s an interesting debate.

<R>: But you still prefer to do the cover version instead of completely coping it

<Sarah>: Yeah, yeah, ‘cause I think you need to add something.

<Andrew>: You have to.

<Sarah>: You have to add yourself. You have to put yourself in that, into the mix, otherwise... yeah.

Sarah and Andrew highly rated the notion to “add yourself”, describing this higher purpose that fulfils individuals in a long-lasting way. Honest expression were put as a meaningful pursuit, in addition to being a merely pleasant experience. “Have to add yourself in music” is an axiom for individuals whose music practice is a mixture of musical traditions originating from historically distant cultural communities, like Brazilian and Scottish elements that Andrew and Sarah incorporated into their music. They implied that combining diverse musical elements is honest self-expression, because their enjoyment in the music and creative imagination is a real experience. When they showed a dislike of popular music, it was for the same reason: they were sceptical about

the genuineness of songs produced like that. As how the Bel Canto community is to Marcos, “all these people” in the tribute acts community was posed as others who believe and behave differently, in interviewees’ views, for they did not perceive any signs of “add yourself” in their performances. Honesty principle is also consistent with interviewees’ reasons regarding why they began learning another musical style and joined a different music group: because their feelings, thoughts, interests, and goals changed over time. In particular, sojourning and living between two cultural communities showed as an important life event to develop different musical experiences and conceive differently about music, social interactions, and the relationship between music and social connections.

The honesty principle does not necessarily prevent musicians from collaborating and identifying with others. Atpo’s previous experience of meeting with international musicians left him with an impression that they cared more about individual expression, than about the audience’s reaction. He compared himself to them and separated himself from others in this aspect, because “every concert I do, I look to making an impact”. He explained that he could not afford not to pay attention to the audience. On the other hand, looking exhilarated, he also said, “Imagine what kind of music can be produced by his piano and my lusheng together! These two instruments have never shown up together before!” His curiosity and excitement in creating and experimenting with music connect him to a musician community, which co-exists with his prioritisation of audiences’ reactions and practicality. Recognising different foci adopted by others, Atpo made the following comment: “There are all different possibilities. I will just keep talking with those international musicians. We will try to play together and then see what can be done.”

In summary

Invoking honesty aided musicians in explaining their decisions made during intercultural activities. Treating music as an honest signal gave participants a peculiar feeling of affinity with people they just met. It endows meanings to

individuals' past, for what they did can be viewed as a natural outcome out of their experiences and habits cultivated in the specific cultural community(ies). Different systems of customs and perspectives, encountered in intercultural music activities, seem to make individual autonomy and uniqueness stand out even more. They require respondents to interpret different cultural perspectives independently, and to be convinced that they made decisions and behaved in the way that felt right in their own unique situations and characters. Sojourners discussed their work based on their personal experience and sentiments in the home and host cultures. A few respondents continued to engage in intercultural musical practice because they considered them a suitable style by which to express their mixed cultural experiences. Moreover, honesty views helped to argue that it is also meaningful for individuals to make and perform music based on their free-rein imagination about other cultures to which they were shortly exposed, through media and personal encounters. These ideals of honesty were invoked to explain which cultural sentiments and connections respondents believe they can feel and display in their performance, which maintains their engagement in intercultural projects in their particular manners.

7.2.2 Diversity: That's the strong point

Respondents' accounts portrayed the diversity of musical and cultural perspectives as a situation capable of improving their musical practice, and other practices beyond. Many considered flexibility and open-mindedness as important, even indispensable, qualities when working with collaborators' different opinions in intercultural activities. The contrary was pictured as those who did not listen or who believed that their music or views were superior. Moreover, interviewees arrived at the same endorsement of being open via different reasonings. Those who were leading and were active in fusion music projects particularly emphasised seeing other individuals' characteristics and ideas as a positive influence or learning potential. Being open was argued to be effective, and sometimes the only means of creating meaningful music:

<Sarah>: Yeah, and then of course, you know, you bring this thing to the band, and it turns into...

<Andrew>: It changes.

<Sarah>: Something else, because everyone whoever, you know whoever play a part brings whatever they have to it, and then when everyone is playing together, it changes again.

<R>: Yeah.

<Sarah>: So, mm, so it's good thing, so you have this idea thing in your head, and then what comes out is, is...

<Andrew>: Yeah, first through people learning it, and you know.

<Sarah>: Yeah, and it's come out, and it's suddenly from being a tune that was in my head, it becomes a [band name] tune.

<Andrew>: Yes, yes it becomes an identity of the...

<Sarah>: Of the band. Yeah, so I guess that's a good thing, it's positive.

<Andrew>: Some people actually get hung up for that thing, because you have an idea in your head, and you could think of some musicians I know who have an idea maybe even someone else's idea, and they want to reproduce it precisely, as it is, which is something you can do with classical musicians. Classical musicians, they play in a particular way. An orchestra will interpret music, but with our kind of music you can't afford to think that way. Either you have to accept that everybody plays, the actual characteristics of the music you produce is the characteristics of people round about you, you are working with, you know. And that's the strong point, not the weak point.

Sarah took a mild stance with the use of "I guess"; this cognitive verb is not as strong as "I think" or "I know" (Myers, 2010). It implies that she recognised the possibility that someone may disagree with her, nevertheless saw valuing other people's ideas in a positive light. In comparison, Andrew's comment shows a stronger stance concerning openness. His use of "can't afford to" and "have to" suggest that it is problematic if one keeps refusing other members' ideas in his personal experience of playing salsa and fusion music. Andrew's example of some classical musicians characterised a group of people who prioritise "precise reproduction", which is a contrasting view to that of his community. Marco also elaborated on the necessity to value members' opinions in his group practice:

<Marcos>: In a band, and they have different characters, different influences, and different goals, and then you have to be flexible about that. So, you understand, so that's the way I think music can't be done on your own. Music is a collective art, so our band is a trio. It's three artists to become... Then

if you have three artists you make music, if you have two artists, and one professional, then I don't think you will be able to make music. So, you have to allow all the members of your musical group to be artists.

A string of saying “you have to” shows the firm stance Marcos took. The same principle serves him in differentiating artists from professionals. When Marcos distanced himself from “professionals”, he may have a specific use of the term in mind. Andrew's and Marcos' alignment with being open to others involved in their specific music-professional practice involves viewing and framing diversity as an advantage. Certain classical and professional musicians who might prefer otherwise were used as counterexamples; in those “other” music practices and musicians' experiences, diversity and openness might not be seen as valuable or significant. Such difference did not seem to cause stress for respondents, as long as it was not judged against the specific musical practice or the immediate community in which they participated and lived.

<Ioannis>: [...] There is jazz (that) musicians of different jazz are not interested in at all. So, they have a very purist kind of autistic, in a good way, you know, approach to jazz or to classic music or whatever.

<R>: Is there a bad way to approach it?

<Ioannis>: A bad way to... Yeah, there are musicians who think their music that they play is the best, and there is no comparison to any other music, and that's the only good music in the world. But is that right to do so? To believe so?

Viewing diversity as inspiring justifies mixing music across cultures, as well as conserving and reinventing traditional music. Ioannis recognised that a “purist” musical approach is an option for a community to develop its practice, thus it is positive in some circumstances. The problem remains the mindset that may accompany this: the idea that playing traditional music does not in itself mean one has an ethnocentric tendency; playing fusion music is not enough to demonstrate one has ethnorelative understandings towards other music and culture. Respondents emphasised learning to be musically, and sometimes culturally, self-aware. Thereby, it implied their affinity with any musicians who experience and view diversity positively regardless of approaches. Makoto made similar comments to Ioannis; both picked up traditional music and were

active in intercultural practice, acknowledging that it is valuable and admirable when some musicians consistently focus on traditional music:

<Makoto>: There is also a lot of value in it. I have a lot of respect for people who just do traditional music as well. But yeah, personally, that's not what my goal, or it's not my (goal) right now. My goal is not to play traditional music and maintain or preserve the tradition, that's not my goal. Personally, my goal is to create more personal work, but, you know, I study traditional music.

Data shows that respondents did not exhibit internal conflicts between learning traditional music and performing original or fusion work. Individuals tried to portray clear intentions and meanings behind their music activities when different interpretations and criteria were put on their musical backgrounds, expertise, and preferences for their performances. They did not highlight members' cultural backgrounds or international experience, but it was implied that this contributes to musical diversity. The importance of cultural diversity shows when respondents shifted focus from what they do in bands, to what music and their projects mean in intergroup contacts. It seems that, when individuals conceived broader cultural and musical identities, it is easier for them to arrive at an ethnorelative view. Correspondingly, they emphasised experiences and perspectives in acquiring musical and cultural self-awareness over open-mindedness.

Atpo admitted that performing and preserving Lisu traditional folk was not his initial concern. He turned away from music for a few years and, during that time, realised how meaningful Lisu music was to him, and that it deserved to be passed on. Identifying with other ethnic traditional folk musicians, he attached values of "cultural heritage" to his work. Cultural heritage is associated closely with cultural diversity. During the last decade, there has been growing attention to music's role in intercultural activities (Howard, 2012). Such a trend is beneficial for traditional musicians, as musical traditions have started gaining more exposure and attention.

“Celebration” is another key image, related to diversity, shown in interviews and observed in respondents’ frontstage communication when introducing their work. The two images showed together as an ideal scenario in which it is meaningful to play music of others and/or one’s home community, collaborate interculturally, and tour around the world. When viewing diversity as a resource and an advantage to musical, individual, and societal development, “celebration” is a consistent reaction and narrative for multicultural music collaborations and events. The term connotes the social aspect that values collectiveness and togetherness.

<Makoto>: [...] And then there is the song that celebrates, it’s called ‘Bloodlines’, it celebrates us as a group of musicians from different cultural backgrounds, and how we all have our stories where our parents and our grandparents and our great-grandparents they came from somewhere else (and) somehow we all converged within Brooklyn, playing music together. How that’s such an amazing, miraculous thing that people all come together and make music together.

This illustrates how music can, itself, be a reification of what Makoto imagined about being a cultural stranger, and their common experience of moving away from a familiar environment and making a living in a new place. Moreover, the Japanese American musician positively pictured a family history that is shared by many others. A “we” was perceived here as “musicians from different cultural backgrounds”. It refers to those who grew up in the United States and have it as their home community. It implies a personal experience and identification different from musicians who grew up elsewhere and sojourned to the USA. The country’s everyday diversity and intercultural communication were described as advantages for its musicians of various descendants and cultures to engage in intercultural music activities, in the long-term.

In summary

Respondents portrayed diversity as being a remarkable and advantageous circumstance. Their positive views on distinctive musical and cultural ideas were illustrated with their musical experiences. It may also come from their personal life, where they lived between distinctive cultures, implying a feeling

of being “neither totally a part of nor totally apart from his or her culture; instead, he or she lives on the boundary.” (Adler, 1974, p.3). Working with culturally different individuals leads respondents to grow more experienced and knowledgeable about specific cultures. Nevertheless, understanding does not mean that individuals agreed with every perspective they encountered. They developed their priorities, beliefs, and preferences, along with musical projects. In addition to honesty, the value of diversity and its implications in how individuals deal with diverse musical and cultural opinions emerged in interviewees’ responses. They met, socialised, and collaborated with culturally diverse musicians, and worked together more because it was conceived as a meaningful experience. Those positive perceptions and recognition of diversity are a constant element that helps musicians remain active in long-term intercultural musical activities.

7.2.3 Performance: For and to others

A performance viewpoint dealt with meanings and feelings that participants attached to changes made for an audience to keep developing their musical activities to, and at, a professional level. It connotes musicians as a professional community who make some or all of their living from making music. Respondents had conflicted reasonings and mindsets when referring to their decisions in what, and how much, they would adjust their performance to suit external expectations and reactions. On the one hand, music was conceptualised as an individual expression for themselves. On the other hand, music was treated as a staged show/performance, in which musicians felt a compulsion to interact with an audience. Participants explained how they made efforts to elicit a response better, to facilitate interaction better, and to connect with people better at each concert. Seo-yun drew an analogy between “gift” and her adjustments in the repertoire, describing it as showing courtesy to the local audience:

<R>: How did you decide to play Viva la Vida, the song? I mean...
is it because you like that song?

<Seo-yun>: No, no. Especially, the completion of this song, it’s for
the Edinburgh audience. That’s it! {laugh}

<R>: So, you think Edinburgh audience will like these songs.

<Seo-yun>: Yeah, and Bohemian Rhapsody. They love these songs. But we don't want to play songs {all like that} for our show? But just as a gift, a special gift.

The first “but” shows a conflict commonly perceived between the audience’s and musicians’ preferences. The second “but” immediately argues why it is acceptable to add popular songs like Viva la Vida and Bohemian Rhapsody; Seo-yun predicted that the local audience would recognise these, and be pleasantly surprised. This illustrates how imagination works at different interests and cultural references, and how individuals adopt perspectives to negotiate a positive connotation for their adjustments. This gift narrative does not have to make sense for everyone. It helps participants persevere, as long as it allows one to feel more at peace with the idea of making changes for others:

<Marcos>: So, it’s important that you express yourself in a way like other people understand, and that demands a lot of meditation, and take things, take it easy, and cheer together that life. And from the other people, need as well to be open?

<R>: Yeah?

<Marcos>: But that’s the thing of. So that’s the two things, musicians need to be considering their audience? Without considering, just with yourself come in like {an illustration}. You just consider just yourself being very creative, but you have to connect to other people.

Interview data suggest that musicians in intercultural projects must first respond to inconsistency perceived or noted in behavioural, cognitive, and affective differences to be honest with themselves while synchronising with others. Interpreting what happened, and what the problem means for current and future decision-making, is an immediate instinct. Some respondents reified music primarily as individual expression, therefore talking less about their adjustments to audiences. Some incorporated other members’ and local audience’s participation and enjoyment into their music’s essence, and elaborated on their adaptations. Interviewees made distinctive interpretations, imaginations of what they were doing and not, what their music was about and not, who is a part of “we” and not. In summary, quotes and analysis above demonstrate how respondents created a self-other experience/view through

experiences and understandings of honesty, diversity, and performance. Those imaginations experienced and explained by participants are pivotal in how they dealt with music practice's relationship with self, with different opinions - including views from or shaped by unique cultural systems - and with the general public in larger society.

7.3 Engagement

Engagement is “active involvement in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning” (Wenger, 1998, p.173). This theme corresponds to instances where interviewees recounted how they actively participate and define competence, criteria, and value for their practice; it also observes their history and current participation. Data coded under this heading indicate the music, people, collaboration, and community that respondents identified with to define themselves, to keep improving themselves, and to try to make their opinions relevant to others.

Respondents created their version of the world based on their lived experience, which helps them explain what they went through, predict the future, and guide them to make decisions. Through those imaginations, individuals connected their music and themselves to multiple communities. They highlight a shared history, shared understanding, and sense of shared understanding with specific groups of people in negotiations to make their competence, opinion, and learning significant to those community members. Participants' activities established their reputation, credibility, and connection in specific fields, and gradually they began to convince others to view their musical and cultural practice differently.

7.3.1 Keep contact and ties: So that I don't lose that part of my identity

Aside from musical competence and coordination, the most explicit aspect of one's active meaning negotiation is their continuous work and performance, maintaining their networks and connections with people across musical and cultural communities. Spatial distance posed a challenge for keeping

intercultural and international collaborations together, and for maintaining rapport. Makoto mentioned how he consciously kept his contact with Japanese artists after returning to the United States:

<Makoto>: [...] And I was incorporating some of that stuff when I was in [band name] even, but you know, right now I am wholly embracing my entire background. And I knew going to Japan was a crucial part of that, and then leaving Japan was also as crucial of the move, a big step for me. So that's kind of where I am at right now. And then for me going back to Japan every year is very important and staying connected with Japanese musicians and artists is very important to me, you know, so that I don't lose that part of my identity as well.

The interviewee was based in Brooklyn, but made efforts to travel to Japan annually. It should be noted that, despite his Japanese ancestry, Makoto described the Japanese identity he acquired during his ten years in Japan as if he could lose it. It is implied that, presently, his established contact in Japan and, more importantly, sustained interaction with Japanese colleagues effectively maintains the cultural membership. Myra brought up the same realisation but responded differently. She reflected on her experience of travelling and living between two countries when she first attempted to be a composer in the Bollywood industry, during her twenties. The professional community demanded more from her to get started and proceed in such a career:

<Myra>: [...] Also like for Bollywood, I'm like an outsider, right? Like if I do a few films then I would start knowing people, and I would be part of the inner circle. And then it would be much easier to get work. It's kind of like a boomerang. But right now, since I'm an outsider, I do not permanently live there, you know. I don't hang out with these guys. So, it's much harder to know the right people, then who's doing a project when, and all the inside, yeah, information.

Despite having a childhood in India, her later life being in the USA, her previous career as a salaried employee and not being based in India permanently rendered her culturally, professionally, and socially an outsider to the Bollywood industry; therefore, it was difficult for her to get commissions and begin her work. Later, she moved to Chicago and was able to get into contact

with a local jazz band who were interested in working with her on Hindustani-jazz crossover music. It shows how professional collaboration requires a common interest and provides opportunities for people to grow a lasting relationship.

In observation, respondents retained varying levels of interaction with professionals and audience, from a close team to casual contacts through face-to-face communication and social media. Musicians did not say much about mass communication mediated through various channels, including social media like Facebook, video platforms like YouTube, or streaming platforms like Spotify. However, their ethnocultural social ties and attempts of engagement with specific cultural groups are shown in their choice of language(s), messaging, and social media platform(s), used and preferred by those communities.

Communities central to musicians' identification, communication, and engagement can be long-established and specific; Atpo, for example, engaged the most with Han Chinese musicians, audience, and students while identifying with his Lisu cultural community. Although he changed his lusheng performance by imitating a pan flautist's rhythm, he viewed it as learning that enriches Lisu music, rather than as fusion. Musicians can also be vested and engaging in music and communities that are relatively new and less clearly defined. It is common for respondents with a multicultural background to identify with more than one cultural group, and with a broader imagined group of international musicians and populations who are assumed to share such cultural boundary experience.

7.3.2 Individualisation: The wholeness of life

Individualisation refers to abilities to "act or react primarily based on information about particularities, rather than heavily relying on categorical and stereotype-based information" (Kim, 2015, p.31). Respondents' accounts showed a tendency to give prominence to complex and multiple aspects of

human experience that supposedly affect their interpretations, decisions, and negotiations in both their music practice and social interactions. This individualisation argument is first shown in context-dependent comments on what constitutes good music and musicians, and best communication and solutions.

<R>: You said that good music is the music that has soul in it. But what about... is there any music that really doesn't have a soul in it?

<Ioannis>: Yeah, but that's not quite as a genre. I think it's more like just the musicians who are making it. And maybe it still may have its soul, but maybe they are not able to understand it.

Ioannis' comment demonstrates the effort of being cautious not to over-generalise his previous musical experiences in different genres. Individualised communication and identity development manifest in the ideals described by respondents - how they better engaged in their practice and meaning negotiation with culturally different individuals and/or the larger host environment. Their accounts of intercultural projects underline the complexity of life and individual experience. Furthermore, they established this complexity as the reason they had to act on the basis that collaborators from another culture are individual people and not an entire culture embodied in one person. Working with culturally distinctive individuals challenges one's previous experience and assumptions of how to view and respond to different opinions held by other professionals and audience members. Interpreting differences as mostly individual rather than cultural differences helps participants endure the interpersonal adjustments demanded by playing long-term in a multicultural team.

Individualised identity development also shows as an identity strategy taken by participants who go backwards and forwards between two or more cultural communities. Interviews exhibit the respondents' resistance to identity politics - being pigeonholed musically and culturally - in favour of personality-based judgments. They tend to experience the group differences and collisions

extensively, frequently, and sometimes systematically on socio-cultural occasions, as reflected by Makoto:

<Makoto>: [...] So I feel very American, so then up until I was 22, I haven't been really associating too much with other Asian or Japanese Americans. And when I moved to Japan, and I was living in Japan, so it's like very extreme, you know. It wasn't until when I moved to Japan that I eventually married a woman who is Japanese American, and so then I really started to understand what it is like to be a Japanese American, just learning from her family, and her experience. So, in terms of identity, I'm embracing all of that, and not excluding anything. So, one reason I left Japan after being there for ten years, being in [band name of the Japanese Taiko group] for ten years, I was like, 'Okay, this is great. It is great for it is, but I am kind of abandoning my jazz and classical, you know, all that stuff.' So, I wanted to, again, embrace that as well.

This quote was analysed previously from the perspective of meaningful experience; however, it also shows a way of coping with group differences if Makoto's words are considered a learned way of responding to questions from distinctive communities with whom he tried to stay engaged. Mixed experience and personal identification were described: musically, this includes being a jazz musician, a flautist, a shinobue player, a taiko player, and a composer; culturally, this was firstly as an American and learning to understand and become Japanese later in adulthood. The boundary transformation shows as inextricable musical and cultural learning that permeates one's subtle attitudes and worldview. Individuals gradually found a growing affinity with multiple groups, recognising and relating parts of self in each community. This mixed personal experience draws attention to social history and rapport with the people they collaborated with, and befriended, in musical activities and intercultural communication. Meanwhile, individualistic interpretations endow music with a peculiar role of being the non-verbal vehicle to express and create unique personal feelings and thoughts.

Family life made a crucial impact of social identification and development. Makoto mentioned that, although he was born to Japanese parents in St. Louis,

he used to feel and behave primarily American. Nonetheless, family influences show in his sojourn to Japan and learning Japanese traditional music. His accounts also explicate how individuals broadly categorised as Japanese American differ within his home country. He did not feel connected to Japanese Americans who speak Japanese and uphold many cultural customs, but interacting with his partner's family led him to learn more about such a way of life. Family connections allow the participant to observe and compare his experiences with what it is like to be an American, a Japanese person, and a Japanese American. His musical and cultural boundary activities led him to identify with, yet distinguish himself from, all those groups, which resulted in the individualistic view of identity.

Arguably, one can only imagine others in the ways in which they imagine themselves (Jenkins, 2014). It is inferred that respondents who experienced clashing collective demands are more capable of imagining the complexity of others' experiences and decision-making dilemmas. Consequently, they tend to describe their behaviour and preference as a personal choice that can be enormously influenced by cultural experience, advocating and accepting others' personality-based practice.

Individualisation presents a compelling explanation of cultural, musical, and individual differences that have been adopted by participants in interviews and observations. Musicians tend to keep their claims specific and personal, in regard to their musical expertise and music. It was extended to their detailed descriptions of other members' uniqueness, specifying how others brought their expertise to the proverbial table. The courteous appreciation also contributes to creating a unique band identity by valuing its specific members, sounds, and team interactions. Explanations and arguments for such understanding of "the wholeness of life" suggest individualisation as being a helpful strategy that keeps respondents actively engaging in intercultural musical projects.

7.3.3 Universalisation: Music transcendentalism

Universalisation is “a consciousness born out of an awareness of the relative nature of values and of the universal aspect of human nature” (Yoshikawa, 1978). It considers what respondents perceived and imagined in their activities as being global and permanent connections across space and time, as contrasted with the particularities of individual life and experiences highlighted by individualisation. Universalisation shifts from observable and operational differences, to understandings and imaginations that persuasively motivate (and are possibly changed as well by) musicians’ intercultural practice and learning. When advocating music’s significance, respondents tended to contend that music transcends cultural differences. When individuals recognise cultural differences and their significance, yet think there are some overriding rules, Bennett (1993) has summarised two kinds of reasoning: physical universalism, based on shared biology; and transcendental universalism, based on psychological or sociological imperatives. Such arguments were often made based on substantial musical artefacts, experiences, and reflections:

<Andrew>: But it has always been, I mean, it has always changed, music is always responding to outside influences. You have the...there has been this kind of interchange between different people, going back from much longer than any one seems to realise, thousands of years of interchange.

<Karen>: And you know, when you hear it for the first time, you are just like ‘this is amazing!’. And then you just start to try and learn some of that, because that’s what we do. That’s what musicians historically always do.

<R>: What?

<Karen>: They always hear things, and want to learn how to do them. And that’s in a way a music like klezmer evolved in the first place, from adopting the modes of a region, you know, the scales of a region and combining it with the music that you knew already.

“Always” is the key word equating the international musical connections made by Andrew and Karen with a continuous mainstream of musical practice. It asserts that a large body of people including musicians would, in interviewees’ imagination, agree with, approve of, or appreciate what they do musically. It is

an incontestable view for them to engage with desired musical practice and people of various cultural communities. Words such as “always” are termed *extreme case formulations* (Pomerantz, 1986). She points out that usages like this are used by speakers to position something that might be contested, as incontestable. Universalism may be asserted to strengthen a speaker’s own position. Interviewees summarised musicians in universal images: despite their concern for livelihoods and pursuit of non-musical enjoyment and meaning, people care significantly about the acoustic and music experience.

The auditory focus can easily shift arguments to physical universalism, talking about common affective and aesthetic sentimentalities based on biopsychological experiences with music. Karen mentioned how, even though she dislikes “rubbish” pop music these days, she still finds enjoyment in hearing such songs from her childhood. She speculated that this might be due to the long-lasting music memory humans can have. Respondents first differentiated what individuals are on their side, in the past, present, and future - mostly local professional musicians and audience. Subsequently, they concluded what interactions they are willing to adopt, which allow them to not only coordinate with others, but to further define what is valuable and meaningful:

<Ioannis>: Well, it sounds a bit cliché, but you know, what everyone suggests, like love and respect to the other people, being calm, being positive, and smiling to people, and giving a good energy to people? These are the most important things in life. Being responsible, keeping your word if you can.

<Makoto>: If you start yelling back at them, they will be stronger in their conviction, you know. They will hate Asian people more. So, the (...) is cure them with kindness, be nice to them, and show them that, ‘No, we are good people.’ That’s all I would have, or developed to have this (awakening). This is really the only way. Yelling is never going to work.

Principles in musicians’ engagement involve all aspects, including human relationships with music, such as how people should approach music. However, interviewees often talked about how they developed to maintain desired practices and relationships with others, by convincing them through

actions and/or words. “Never” is the other side of the “always” coin, suggesting things to always avoid. Universalised communication and identity development manifest in respondents’ attempts to maintain and negotiate meanings for their international projects, by highlighting how their music, experience, and perspectives echo with a broader population across time and space. It serves to discover and explain commonalities. If one feels and imagines affinity with individuals of other musical and ethnocultural communities, it would make their social identification more inclusive. In terms of this, locality and individualisation are also universalised perspectives for explaining and giving meaning to differences perceived in others. Everyone, and their cultural and musical views, are different; however, it is common to have the urge to show and pursue unique individual developments.

Music transcendentalism arguments become a reification that enables individuals to feel connected with others in international collaboration, thereby allowing musicians to persevere in intercultural musical activities over the years. The perceived potential of connection adds another layer of meaning for working with new colleagues through trial and error, and bonding with old friends in long-running groups.

7.4 Linking musicians’ modes of belonging to musical and cultural groups

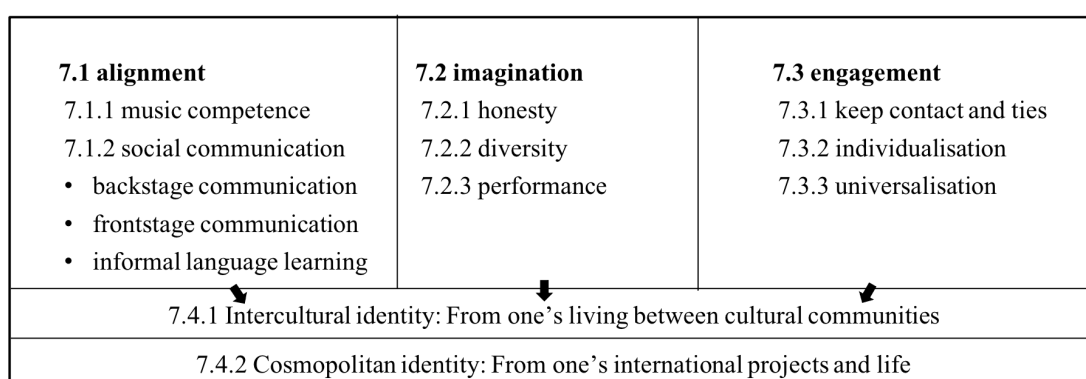


Figure 7.2 Linking musicians’ modes of belonging to musical and cultural groups

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that respondents highlighted cultural, but fundamentally interpersonal, competencies as being necessary learning to achieve what they valued in their music-professional pursuits and cultural identity, as part of their intercultural musical development. In interviews, music-professional pursuit mostly prevailed as the priority and focus. Belonging and learning in alignment, imagination, and engagement were discussed separately, but they normally occur in combination in practice. The mixture of alignment, imagination, and engagement pushes musicians to develop one or another intercultural identity strategy or narrative. Respondents showed awareness that one could not obtain a cultural identity based solely on musical activities. Two prominent types of intercultural identity were negotiated, based on different musical and cultural histories. Firstly, an intercultural identity was taken based on one's life in two or more specific cultural environments. Secondly, a cosmopolitan view and identity were taken, based on international projects and rapports. Both identities involve social experiences and learning encompassing musical practice.

7.4.1 Intercultural identity: From one's living between cultural communities

Intercultural identity is the special boundary identity that people gradually develop when they have been living in two and more cultural communities for a long time. The data show that respondents conceive musical, but also cultural, differences in their musical performance. Musical and intercultural communication overlaps again when individuals transfer their experiences of interpreting and dealing with music-professional problems, to how they ought to deal with cultural differences; and vice versa.

Those long-term sojourners present ambiguous feelings of belonging to their home and host societies. They had experiences of living in two environments over the years, and such experiences let them have subsequent changes in person. Their intercultural music practice is also part of individual adaptations and changes. Professional musicians must have developed a musical practice that has a local market or institutions to support their living there.

Alignment (including improved music coordination, language proficiency, and personal communication skills) tells how musicians learned to make do and live in a new host environment. Some did not speak the language, nor have any idea what to say upon arrival, when they moved to another cultural environment for the first time. However, through their continuous musical activities and performance in interaction with locals, they picked up the language and mannerisms considered appropriate by locals, summarised what worked and what did not, and continued to do so in future concerts. Their informal language learning suggests efforts in aligning and achieving verbal synergy with locals in communication. Over the years, musicians have established themselves and settled down in their respective host societies with various socioeconomic statuses. They adjusted their styles and performance to diversify to attract audiences, completing the local musical scene. It is surmised that they found their livelihood, which allowed them to stay and continue their intercultural musical collaborations.

Respondents described different reasonings and experiences for their adaptations. Imagination themes (including honesty, diversity, and performance) showed, in musicians' accounts, as being their focus in organising concepts into reasonable narratives, out of their tendencies to do things in specific ways. Experiences and principles are transferred between musical and other aspects of individual life. Sojourners suggested that they had a better understanding of their host culture's customs and mindsets, and developed new perspectives, themselves, when looking at home culture. Some positively described cultural diversity and adjustments to others, which was used to explain why they took international members' suggestions and adopted other musical decisions. Honesty and diversity could be the mythology of music. However, the ideas still provide irrefutable musical experiences, arguments, and meanings for respondents' long-term musical activities between specific cultural communities.

The sojourners then learned to perceive their strengths in bridging between their home and host communities. Their home cultural background would be viewed as advantageous in their performance for the host society, and learning of music and social communication aspects about the host society as a strength, compared to co-ethnic musicians based in the home community. Therefore, they were placed into a suitable position for mediating intergroup connections. In interviews, respondents often spoke of such a sense of purpose for their musical activities.

Participants' music professions, unlike many other professions or lifecourses that take individuals to other countries, require rehearsals with host musicians and performances to host audiences. Those activities and interactions subsequently become a history of active intercultural social participation for individuals, based on which they may renegotiate ethnocultural and intercultural meanings and identities. It should be noted that these participants tended not to attribute music's transcending effects across cultures to renegotiating their respective cultural identities. Instead, they mentioned everyday cultural differences that cannot be solved solely by music. Some upheld frequent social ties with musical and cultural communities in the long-term, and slowly acquired a more reputable intercultural identity.

7.4.2 Cosmopolitan identity: From one's international projects and life

A cosmopolitan identity is manifested by respondents' claims that, based on their international musical events and personal experiences, they think that music transcends cultural differences to some extent. Home-based individuals, who had ample international working and travelling experiences, tended to highlight universal experiences and ideas in alignment, imagination, and engagement. They participated in global collaborations in which musicians are from diverse countries, and sometimes have no clear cultural majority. In particular, they described musical connections conceived with individuals across cultures.

Stories were told by home-based respondents frequently involved in short-term intercultural and fusion projects. In such ventures, individuals did not mention the stress to align with one specific musical or cultural system in the long-term. Rather, there was often pressure for the group to find out a way to coordinate quickly within the limited rehearsal schedule. The time limit creates an appreciation for specific techniques and understanding. Their accounts focus on the importance of experiment, resourcefulness, creativity, and spontaneity, which implies that learning and responding to unfamiliar music quickly is greatly valued. A lingua franca, such as English, also helped them communicate and discuss the arrangement more efficiently. Atpo mentioned his collaboration with the Russian pianist, during which they communicated in Mandarin. However, in short-term projects, respondents could coordinate with other musicians without sharing deep understandings. They described smooth musical interaction and coordination with others in a way that suggests “mutuality of perceptions”.

Participants did not bring up their use of host and ethnocultural mass media for information. However, they exhibited an international orientation in their music listening habits, and extensive use of social media channels such as YouTube, Spotify, and Facebook. Those platforms have been utilised to reach out to, and communicate with, fans and potential audiences across countries. They serve as tangible and socially accessible records for an individual’s international activities and connections.

All respondents are involved in social processes through, and for, their music-professional practice. Musical practice, experience, and efficacy thereby become central to these individuals’ capacities to negotiate value for their competence, provide perspectives and interpretations, and integrate their cultural experience as newcomers to an unfamiliar society. Meanwhile, they experience the demand and stress with a performance-focus to make sense of music within distinctive systems, as well as different cultural habits, preferences, and mindsets of musicians and audience members.

A marked feature of cosmopolitan identity is highlighting music's expressiveness over its role in overcoming cultural differences. Additionally, sojourners immersed in another cultural environments asserted that "you have to change/adjust/adapt", which implies a contrasting experience that denotes music not being able to transcend all cultural differences. The latter recognised that one needs to adapt their music and communication mannerisms to keep interacting with locals. Admittedly, music transcendental universalism cannot address every cultural conflict, but musical activities provide a ubiquitous practice across cultural boundaries, and positive attitudes regarding differences (Hallam et al., 2014). These enable individuals to enjoy desired outcomes bypassing language barriers in the short-term, with some collaborations gradually transforming into one's lasting intercultural career. In the long-term, scholars across disciplines have highlighted the ability to keep recognising cultural differences, creatively developing multiple perspectives and consistent self-identification on boundaries, out of incongruent expectations from communities in which individuals feel invested and to which are held accountable (Berry 2005; Bhabha 2012; Hall 1989; Sparrow 2000; Ward 2001). In this regard, this chapter's themes are individuals' long-term growth from practising on boundaries on which they find something useful to deal with their local struggles.

Respondents were in a social mechanism in which certain behavioural and psychological learning demands were created and negotiated. Individuals who developed a bi-cultural or third-culture identity shared a primary concern for aligning with the immediate cultural environment. In comparison, those who developed cosmopolitan identification talked about experiences rooted in music transcendentalism. This is not to say that the two identity profiles are entirely separated from each other, nor that a person can only negotiate for one out of the two. The two types of identity essentially demonstrate what musicians consider as the meaningful association and identity they could make out of their real-life experience from intercultural musical practice. The

preconditional musical competence, alongside a shared history and social ties individuals kept, are indispensable.

On the other hand, learning findings suggest that being eloquent and convincing people to take on board one's principles are crucial to respondents' negotiating meanings and claiming ownership for what they played, did, and said. It greatly assists them in persevering in intercultural music practice in the long-term. Feelings are famously abstract and fluid. It is possible to change minds, switching and mixing between the two identity narratives. Nonetheless, participants in this study took up broker roles through their constant social learning and individual development. Improving and advocating for their music-professional and/or cultural boundary practice, they simultaneously bridged gap between cultural communities.

Chapter 8 Answers to the Research Questions

This study investigated diverse experiences of individuals who take part in intercultural music projects, by looking at their specific boundary-crossing situations, their intercultural projects, and their experiences. Three research questions were answered correspondingly in Chapter 5, 6, and 7:

Research Questions	Answers to the Research Questions
1) What aspects of intercultural communication and identity processes are significant to musicians when they begin intercultural music practice?	8.1 Encounter: Enjoyments and promising identities on the boundary (Chapter 5)
2) What challenges do musicians report during intercultural music projects?	8.2 Stress: A lack of coordination and social affirmation when crossing the boundary (Chapter 6)
3) What keeps them engaged in intercultural music practice in the long term?	8.3 Learning: Intercultural history and rapport in bridging the boundary (Chapter 7)

Figure 8.1 Research questions and answers

8.1 Encounter: Enjoyments and promising identities on the boundary

Encounter findings in Chapter 5 suggest that enjoyable and inspiring experiences of musical and cultural differences lead individuals to embark upon intercultural musical practice. What participants encountered was determined predominantly by how they came into contact with unfamiliar musical and/or cultural group(s). Boundary encounter themes (immersion, one-on-one, and delegations) illustrate that different social dynamics on the boundary influenced how individuals conceived musical and cultural differences. Motivation themes (hedonistic, eudaimonic, and practical motivation) show that individuals kept taking part in boundary activities because they had somewhat enjoyed the first taste of such experience, and imagined they might obtain a promising identity.

Two foci were shown in participants' narratives about their initial participation, differentiated by whether or not they lived outside their home communities for years. Long-term cultural immersion has a notable impact on the start of intercultural music practice. Some respondents initially crossed a cultural boundary for non-musical reasons, moving to another cultural environment to study, work, or when migrating with family when they were a child. They were immersed in an unfamiliar culture, subsequently crossing a musical boundary, surrounded by local musicians and music prevalent to the host society.

Sustained communication, with host individuals of unfamiliar cultural backgrounds, seems to orientate these respondents to emphasise cultural differences over musical differences, and a consequent necessity to adapt in both life and music.

The enjoyment of social participation, and connection mediated through musical activities, stands out amongst sojourners' rationales for commencing intercultural projects. Soon after arriving in the UK, they join local musical events, groups, and networks, performing with British and international musicians based in the country. Some could not yet speak English, and music is a non-verbal activity that facilitates interaction with local musicians among others who were interested in their music. It was implied that, because ethnocultural friends were back home, music became a significant element of those individuals' social participation, meeting new people and forming new connections through musical events in the local communities.

Other participants started intercultural music practice with international collaborations in their home communities, and/or through short-term trips outside without settling down in another cultural community. This includes musicians who were professionally trained and based at home, but who travelled extensively to perform and work with international artists. Except for long-term cultural immersion, they mentioned all manner of musical and cultural boundary encounters: those in which they worked with a person or a musical group of another style and culture; and those in which their group played with bands of different musical traditions. Those individuals crossed the musical boundary before the cultural boundary. Interests in unfamiliar musical practice(s) then led them to cultural encounters, working with musicians of different cultures at home, as well as taking short trips to another place to learn and perform music. They sensed musical and cultural differences in interactions, with musical coordination being the focus.

Home-based respondents' recounts of motivations tend to centre on enjoyment of music as an artistic and individual expression. International trips and sojourning transpired to be a serendipitous discovery of a musical tradition, which inspired, and is crucial to, individuals' current musical activities. Karen described how she was charmed by klezmer music through her Hungarian teacher when she went to Hungary to study clarinet. Makoto grew up in the USA with Japanese parents, went first to a conservatoire to learn jazz, and later sojourned to Japan to join an apprentice programme at a renowned taiko troupe to learn Japanese traditional music. He lived there for ten years and toured with the group before returning to the USA. Music, as a profession, gave respondents an impetus to initiate such intercultural interactions, often without expecting to settle down in those societies for the long-term.

No matter how respondents described those initial moments and decisions, other words from them imply that occurrences of intercultural communication depend on how essential it is to their livelihood and musical interests. One can hardly avoid intercultural contact if they wish to continue to perform music in a new society and on international stages. Ahmad mentioned that he mostly spent time with families and Arabic-speaking friends. However, although the Arabic Iraqi musician did not emphasise so, he had frequent intercultural interaction in his musical activities. He rehearsed with international and host musicians in Scotland because, he could not locate other Arabic musicians nearby; and he performed and talked to a local English-speaking audience.

Narratives have attention orientated towards acculturation and musical coordination aspects. Individuals may identify the encounter as intercultural, musical, or a mixture of the two, whichever concerned them more in real-life experience. Findings show that music provides technical platforms and impetus for respondents to cross musical and cultural boundaries. Those who deviated to learn another musical tradition came into contact with new groups of musicians. Decisions regarding picking up new genres and working with new people suggest that musicians perceived the potential of becoming a

better musician and person by doing so, even if they foresaw and experienced various difficulties. In other words, their experiences let them imagine promising images and identities, which attracted them to intercultural music projects.

Musical enjoyment and identity pursuit blended tightly with intercultural communication, in respondents' descriptions. Decisions need not be always purposeful and strategic; they could, instead, start or join an intercultural collaboration, for it was fun. While it is costly and sometimes difficult for individuals to move to another country, most were still at liberty to stop playing in a particular music scene. Either being a sojourner or home-based, respondents ventured into intercultural projects and continued taking part, for those musical activities could potentially bring them enjoyment, meaning, and identities. Intercultural music activities started when musicians of different cultures crossed one another's path in their personal life and music-making trajectories; they were taken further when they saw the promise of desirable and meaningful identities in those initial experiences on the boundary. Therefore, encounter themes find that certain musical enjoyments, and identity potential available upon crossing cultural boundaries, are significant to individuals when they begin intercultural musical practice.

8.2 Stress: A lack of coordination and social affirmation when crossing the boundary

Participation and reification are two dimensions of challenge for participants to maintain intercultural musical projects. Participation gap themes (mutual engagement, joint enterprise, shared repertoire) outline their stress of responding to cultural and musical differences to create joint actions and relationships between musicians, in achieving desired musical outcomes. Interviewees showed the need to demonstrate their competencies and convince their colleagues first. The need was shown in accounts of professional interactions, in which they portrayed themselves in one (or more) of three images (a good leader, colleague, or quick-learning newcomer) in

relation to the band. There are reification challenges in interpreting and convincing people across communities about one's own musical choices, from collaborating musicians to individuals outside who have vested interests in the negotiation. Reification gap themes (interest gap, membership gap, and reaction gap) focused on different perspectives and identities perceived and created by participants in their view and negotiation. Playing with people who have unfamiliar cultural backgrounds and musical approaches required greater communication efforts, both within and outside the collaboration, which can be very stressful, yet rewarding.

Sojourner respondents discussed their acculturation to synchronise and fit in with local musicians through rehearsals and performances. Cultural differences, and adapting to the host communities' customs and musical taste, are shown as challenges to these individuals' intercultural music projects. Descriptions underscored the inconvenience of being immersed in an unfamiliar environment, not speaking a common language, and not knowing their way around the unfamiliar host community, its local music scene, or anyone in the new place. Subsequently, there was pressure to learn to coordinate with local musicians, gain their interest in more extended collaboration, communicate in the host language, and enable locals to see how their music contributes to the local communities.

The need for persuasion pushes sojourning participants to make sense of locals' incongruent and challenging behaviours, preferences, and ideas, and recognise and position their own assumptions and contradictions in the new light. However, it is strenuous to reflect on others' disagreements and lack of interests. Interpreting intangible and abstract perspectives and aesthetics is made more perplexing for participants when cultural differences can account for the dissent, in addition to musical and individual differences. The primary concern was working, and maintaining connections with, host individuals, finding and adjusting their position, including musical styles they could play, and being valued by host musical communities and society. These musicians'

participation and reification challenges were focused on the pressure to adjust to work, socialise, and negotiate with locals in the long-term.

Speaking from fusion and extensive international collaboration experiences, home-based musicians reported primarily music-professional challenges in experimenting with new arrangements to incorporate music from other cultural communities and playing with musicians of unfamiliar backgrounds. During short-term projects and programmes, they met, communicated, worked, and performed with musicians of another or multiple cultures. They had to rapidly create a teamwork and performance routine that assisted them in coordinating when they did not have years to rehearse and get to know each other. In other cases, respondents had long-running groups in musical styles related to another cultural identity. Convincing others that they are specialised in their music sometimes demanded them to argue that they are culturally competent, or that musical competencies differ from cultural competencies. It is surmised that a lack of relevant cultural identity could deter musicians from certain professional developments, for they experienced or expected dismissal of their music and professionalism.

It is stressful to perceive irreconcilable conflicts between what respondents could, or were willing to, do and what they imagined host and professional communities expected from them in their intercultural musical practice. Those delineated participation and reification gap - customs, habits, interests, memberships, and reactions - are where individuals worked on bringing together their musical and cultural identities into a self-consistent personal identity. Respondents with years of cultural immersion experience in one society, focused on the home-host cultural differences that emerged as challenges for them to work with local musicians and members in the long-term, maintaining their intercultural music activities while living in the host society. In comparison, home-based participants' interviews implied their need to demonstrate their competencies and reflexivity; their particular pressure was

in responding to probable professional criticisms and scepticism towards their musical competence concerning cultural membership.

Both sojourning and home-based participants emphasised interpersonal communication as a significant challenge in transforming intercultural music practice into a part of a viable career. Non-verbal musical communication was characterised as an effective means to communicate affections, emotions, and something ineffable. Individuals parted ways if they did not believe the musical outcome was satisfactory. Nevertheless, findings suggest that verbal communication, from language to rhetoric skills, play a crucial role in maintaining intercultural bands and projects. How well a musician can express their ideas in inspiring manners affects discussions, decisions, and relationships within collaborations, as well as their chances of sustaining musical projects and groups. Thus, individuals felt pressured to elaborate and connect to other musicians, and to tell compelling stories to an audience regarding what their music is about and how it is related to their past and their identity.

Interviewees regularly used conflicting musical interests, criteria, and opinions as illustrations of what music-cultural interests and perspectives they aligned or not. Compliments and criticisms from professionals, critics, and audiences all affected individuals' intercultural performance and development. However, rapports and what they finally perform remain between collaborating musicians. There is a peculiar stress in participation, anticipating for a probable unsatisfactory outcome when working with musicians of unfamiliar musical and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, crossing cultural and/or musical boundaries brings more people of different interests and unfamiliar ideas together, creating tension in redefining what meaningful music is, and what capable musicians are. Sojourners were stressed by a lack of interest and recognition from the host communities; home-based ones from the professional communities. Those acculturative and professional challenges, language proficiency and communication workload, were highlighted in

experiences of working in multicultural groups, on fusion music, and to an international audience. They were suggested as specific impeding and discouraging factors to musicians' continuation of intercultural musical activities and negotiation for a potential music-professional identity across cultures.

8.3 Learning: Intercultural history and rapport in bridging the boundary

The last question asks what allowed respondents to persist in their specific intercultural music activities, in the long-term. Findings show that, firstly, certain musical and cultural communities grew to hold more significance in individuals conducting their musical activities, and in their meaning and identity negotiation. Such intercultural history and rapport, forged over the years, are their assets in organising and defining their intercultural music practice. The changes are viewed in terms of three modes of belonging (alignment, imagination, and engagement). For respondents who moved to another cultural environment, local musicians and audiences surrounding them became important to their lives and music. For those who primarily performed music related to other cultural communities and identities, relevant professional communities were central to their career development and negotiation. For those who worked extensively in intercultural collaborations, connections with international musicians and individuals who shared similar interests were essential. Participants learned and grew, through their collaboration and relationships with those individuals and groups.

Teamwork on musical and cultural boundaries requires more effort in social communication and interpretation. Informal language learning occurred when participants attempted to explain their complex arrangements, concepts, and ideas in rehearsals, to musicians who spoke different languages and may have had distinctive affective and thinking orientations. Full-time professionals were required to interact and negotiate meanings with professionals and interested parties worldwide. They learned to create a positive experience for individuals of vastly different cultural, and thus musical, backgrounds. Furthermore, they

acquired understanding of how to find sponsors and event organisers who have ethnocultural and intercultural aims, and to persuade them that they are a qualified candidate. Their time and energy were reallocated: being active in some groups and communities as a core member and leader, while remaining on the periphery in others as a guest, follower, supporter, and broker. In either case, they maintained rapports in their musical activities with individuals from different cultural communities.

In intercultural musical practice, respondents had to cope with the peculiar stress of still being treated as outsiders or newcomers by cultural and/or musical communities they participated in, even after years of such participation. Imagination themes suggest that honesty, diversity, and performance concepts effectively help them convince others, and even themselves, to persist in their musical and intercultural activities, which is vital to their learning. Respondents' interpretations of others' minds are a work of imagination. They imagined some musicians and people sharing their musical and intercultural understandings, belonging to their side. Though they may still need to convince people with different opinions to agree with their views on music and culture, or to change their own viewpoints and frames of reference. They adapted in mannerisms and views to justify so, based on their distinctive social experience of living between cultural communities or extensive intercultural projects. Musical imagination and intercultural development thereby converge at social communication.

Respondents told anecdotes about cultural differences perceived from working with culturally diverse colleagues, intercultural projects, and international tours. Individuals who lived outside of the home culture for years were inclined to underscore the necessary efforts to adjust to local work culture and social scenes. Home-based musicians tended to focus on musical expressiveness and defending their unconventional musical activities against professional criticisms, connecting their choices to a broad musician community across time and countries. In either case, respondents voiced their understandings about

music-professional and cultural differences in a highly transferrable manner. What they considered acceptable to adjust in professional interaction with colleagues and audiences were often the same, regarding their cultural adjustments. Musical practice, experience, and reasoning provide them specific orientation in viewing and responding to acculturative dilemmas. Vice versa, musicians' intercultural experience and feelings also acted as inspiration and guides for their musical projects and adjustments. Findings show that individuals' musical and cultural perspectives converge in their narratives.

Finally, respondents used their intercultural history and rapports to support their musical choices in meaning negotiation. Atpo told of how he came to see the meaning of preserving and promoting Lisu traditional music during his sojourn in Beijing. Makoto's musical and cultural journey comprises his childhood in St. Louis as a Japanese American; jazz flute learning; sojourn years to Japan to learn taiko and shinobue; learning to speak Japanese; performing Japanese traditional music to a predominantly Japanese audience; working with Japanese musicians; marrying a Japanese American partner; going back to Brooklyn; and collaborating with musicians of all kinds. Along with his musical pursuit, he learned to work with Japanese musicians and their language. During subsequent years, he was careful to maintain and nurture rapport with them. This sustained interpersonal contact across cultures is a critical element of musicians' success in accomplishing their intercultural musical projects.

Every respondent's complex and multi-faceted real-life experiences are essential in illustrating how they reached their current musical approach and understanding. Their cases portray the variety of individual experiences in which intercultural communication blended, increasingly close, with music-professional and personal development. Sojourners obtained intercultural identities partly through their musical alignment, imagination, and engagement with host communities. They became experienced, skilled, and musically and

culturally resourceful to coordinate for collaborations and performances in the host environment. Home-based musicians developed cosmopolitan identities in mostly short-term music projects, and occasionally in long-running international bands. Working in the same musical project - capable of enjoying music and collaborating non-verbally - created openings for lasting friendship, bonding, and learning, as well as a shared history of learning and a shared identity with individuals in their host environments and/or across countries. Musical collaboration, contacts, and ties are essential to respondents achieving the desired outcomes for their intercultural musical activities and negotiation, which serve as bridges between communities.

8.4 Linking across finding chapters: Bringing the world together – which world?

Musical and intercultural communication intersect within respondents' descriptions. In the course of musical activities, they learned how to communicate with people across cultures. This includes dealing with criticisms of their cultural competence and identity (e.g., cultural appropriation). They developed narratives that articulate their music's meaning in an intercultural context (e.g., a bridge between communities). "Bringing the world together one note at a time" can be shown first in respondents' participation and reification realms in this study:

1. *Music brings musicians and individuals across the world together via their musical activities:* Respondents take part in a common activity with people of different cultural groups. Music is the shared activity that brings together musicians across cultural communities, in the short-term.
2. *Musicians bring together their own musical and cultural identities in convincing manners:* Respondents face local intercultural communication barriers in negotiating an overall competent identity for cross-cultural musical projects and life, in the long-term. They are

stressed to bring together musical and cultural experiences of their life into a recognized, or at least incontestable, identity narrative.

In the participation dimension, music makes it feasible and enjoyable for respondents to produce and perform music across various musical and cultural differences. Participants told stories of how musical enjoyments and ideals led them to start, and continue, working with musicians of distinctive cultures and styles. Musical competence, perspectives, and platforms enable them to work in international teams without speaking each other's language, which is typically a prominent barrier in intercultural communication that is not based around music. This is an important finding that intercultural communication is different where music is concerned. Subsequent to musicians overcoming technical challenges where musical projects' accomplishment came to the forefront, they could probably enjoy the fruits of teamwork relatively soon. Music, as a boundary object, allows musicians of diverse backgrounds to collaborate and make music in the short-term.

In the reification dimension, musicians develop intercultural narratives for their musical activities, which bring together their musical and cultural experiences, communities, and identities. Respondents are distinguished from others because their musical activities involve negotiating meanings for cultural differences. It is shown that musical competence is essential, though often insufficient, to keep individuals engaged in intercultural musical activities and sustain their projects over extended periods. They need to deal with challenges brought by different tastes, membership and preferred group developments (see section 6.2). Respondents mentioned communication workload, during which a significant amount of sense-making took place. Incontestable interpretations of experiences help them make peace with external requirements and to be at peace with those perspectives at heart. Respondents created their narratives to bring their musical and cultural worlds together, paralleling their musical participation. Identity work is a crucial mechanism through which music collaborations are sustained across cultures.

The two layers of bringing-together emerged through this study's findings chapters, highlighting the importance of intercultural collaboration, rapport, and meaning negotiation for musicians' long-term success. Sustained intercultural interaction is observed to be a differentiating experience for a career in music. An intercultural friendship seems to be one of the most influential sources of experience to respondents' boundary identity development. Respondents often described initial challenges in performing music with, and to, various people and responses (e.g., a language barrier and lack of response to their performance) when they had just arrived in another society. To make their music a viable career in the long-term, sojourners had to react to those acculturative needs in their musical activities and beyond. It often begins with behavioural aspects that are easy to notice and involve meaning negotiation when musicians reflect on the merits behind why and what they should change. Most projects initially have the premise that musicians can afford to attend regular rehearsals. When there are immediate rewards in the form of enjoyment or fulfilment, a boundary project is more likely to keep performing together.

No matter what individuals did, they unanimously elevated their music and experience to a "meaningful life" beyond personal interests. Music's meanings changed for respondents throughout the years. Playing music can still induce a state of pleasure, but that instant joy has become a smaller aspect. A professional career allocates music practical functions. Intercultural projects are often negotiated as alternative solutions to, or at least mitigation of, societal problems (see section 7.3.3). However, music-professional motivations continued to be one of, if not the only, top priorities for respondents. To keep playing music, respondents learned to interact and cope with musicians, audience, and critics of different cultures. They were challenged to revise their worldview, often summarising that one has to be open to changing behaviours and amending one's view of cultural differences. These unobservable psychological adaptations are implied in respondents' emphases on what are universal principles. Those individual changes, prompted by sustained

intercultural interaction, show as a common thread in interviewees' narratives. It is common to see people utilise their intercultural experiences and history to make their projects work, and to negotiate for an overall competent identity.

The participation and reification layers of bringing-together, shown in respondents' stories, demonstrate the necessity to simultaneously consider musicians' professional and intercultural experiences. Respondents are a nexus of music-professional and cultural being; they carry their musical and cultural experiences, feelings, thoughts, and skills across community boundaries. They constantly shift between different foci and identities: professionally, as a musician, an engineer, or a researcher; socially, as a daughter, a partner, or a parent; culturally, as British, a Japanese American, Greek, a Lisu Chinese, or an Iranian. The findings bring attention to the social and intercultural learning mechanism that encompasses individuals' musical activities.

From an individual perspective, music is negotiated as a viable bridge when one is required to adapt culturally and develop across communities. What world musicians imagine their musical activities are bringing together remains open to their meaning negotiation and re-negotiation with others and the larger society. The findings suggest two musician profiles and featured narratives. Firstly, respondents who have long-term sojourns outside their home cultural community told their stories focusing on acculturative challenges. Secondly, those who are based at home described their experiences with music-focused cosmopolitan ideals and attitudes. Long-term sojourners often portray selective immersion, talking about their interaction primarily with local artistic groups. Music had elevated their acculturative stresses for its uses to socialise and negotiate a positive image, both for individuals and for their home community. Their intercultural identity is culture-specific, containing their home and host communities (e.g., being a Greek person who lives in the UK, being a Japanese American who lives in Japan, or being a Lisu person and living in Beijing). Home-based musicians active in international projects developed

culture-general mannerisms with culturally diverse musicians and audiences, maintaining personal contacts despite geographical distance. Cultural competencies and identities attached to their music are often a professional stressor. Their cosmopolitan identity tends to be founded on a global imagination that music can transcend culture, which frames and is supported by their musical experiences with international musicians and audiences.

Respondents' accounts differ regarding adjustments to external environments. In the recollections of culturally immersed interviewees, they show relatively amicable attitudes towards adjusting music according to local musicians' and audiences' interests and tastes. They discussed musical activity as being a platform to socialise, putting them in touch with the local community. Music-professional motivation is essential to maintaining these local contacts in the long-term. Respondents highlighted momentary joy and continuous interests in listening, playing, and performing music. These intrinsic motivations - playing music for music's sake - differ from extrinsic causes, such as making a living from music and enhancing their career. Musical incentives and inspirations could be influenced by culture-specific sentiments and notions regarding what makes great musicians and what constitutes professionalism. However, wherever respondents are from or relocated to, their expertise and desire to play and perform music put them in communication with diverse local musicians, if not the general public.

In comparison, others' accounts commented more on the expressiveness of music, and less about challenges in adapting to one specific host community (e.g., the stress of learning a language). Some interviewees worked extensively with international musicians for short-term projects. Their primary experiences, challenges, and foci were to create coordination and synergy for performance at concerts and festivals, within a limited timeframe. They described a cosmopolitanism aspiration to learn to work with diverse individuals on cultural boundaries, while keeping as many personal ideas as was possible.

In both narratives, music put respondents in social contact, performing with and to individuals of different cultures. Their performing activities facilitated particular interactions with musicians in host and international communities, that may be unlike the interactions other types of professional can access. Rehearsals and performances created their personal history with other musicians, staff, and organisers directly involved. Even if the collaborators were only a small group of people, these connections to society were the basis for respondents, with either profile, to define and display their value. Individuals aimed to bring together their changes and rapports on the boundary into consistent narratives, which allowed them to negotiate value for intercultural musical practice with the larger society. The third layer of bringing-together thereby emerged:

3. *Musicians' intercultural music practice brings together communities in the larger society:* Respondents' work on intercultural experience and musical projects gradually develop into unique sets of boundary lifestyle, worldview, and narrative. They initiate broader social participation and meaning negotiation by demonstrating the new possibilities for collaborating with, and relating to, local and international individuals.

Sustained communication on cultural boundaries is a potential space for musicians' professional development. Intercultural discovery, interests, and skills are related to unconventional music-professional decisions for the mainstream. Learning does not necessarily need to be voluntary. Some changes were made to ensure a project's viability and to make it agreeable to different musicians and audiences. New musical practice, thinking, and mannerisms of communication and organisation also emerged, in a bottom-up fashion, out of individuals' attempts to make peace between those outside influences and their own desired outcomes. They are different from cultural strangers of other professions because their musical practice is performative;

they have to present themselves doing what they do in front of large groups of host people.

The value of cross-cultural experiences and identities attached to musical performance has met mixed enthusiasm. Some respondents' narratives brought musical and cultural realms closer, giving their music the purpose of expressing their intercultural experiences and mediating between cultural groups. Others cautiously suggested that the priority of musical activities should be music, and that this should not be confused with cultural dimensions. In either case, respondents' accounts show that they made sense of the relationship between music and intercultural experiences to strengthen their respective positions.

This section links findings across the Encounter, Stress, and Learning chapters. Living in a world with increased intercultural contact, individuals enjoy abundant choice concerning their musical and personal development. Real-life intercultural challenges and stress direct individuals' focus in their behavioural adaptations and narratives. The three layers of bringing-together, their intercultural projects in actions, cross-cultural identities in narratives, and the wider social impact of their intercultural musical practice, distinguish respondents' practice and identity development from that of other musicians.

Chapter 9 Discussion & Conclusion

This study aimed to explore overlooked communication mechanisms and identity development in intercultural musical projects where musicians' experiences of different cultures intertwine with music-professional activities. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 have demonstrated that intercultural communication theory can valuably inform our understanding of international musical collaborations, but also that music-making is a field that can offer new theoretical insights on intercultural behaviours. After reviewing three research questions, Chapter 8 has summarised the finding chapters to answer them:

Research Questions	Answers to the Research Questions
1) What aspects of intercultural communication and identity processes are significant to musicians when they begin intercultural music practice?	8.1 Encounter: Enjoyments and promising identities on the boundary (Chapter 5)
2) What challenges do musicians report during intercultural music projects?	8.2 Stress: A lack of coordination and social affirmation when crossing the boundary (Chapter 6)
3) What keeps them engaged in intercultural music practice in the long term?	8.3 Learning: Intercultural history and rapport in bridging the boundary (Chapter 7)

Figure 8.1 Research questions and answers

Respondents learned to speak and communicate in a second language, at least to some extent, in their years of living abroad, sustaining long-term international projects. In the short-term, music, as a shared activity and goal, effectively put respondents into social contact with people who spoke different languages. Musicians who had just met may spontaneously find synchrony through music, without being able to have a conversation. Constraints have been observed in increased intercultural contacts, reinforcing cultural barriers and stopping intergroup friendship and rapports from forming (Windzio & Bicer, 2013 ; Smith et al., 2016). Music offers an alternative activity and context for socialising and making friends, in an intercultural context. This final chapter will situate the findings in relation to other research and knowledge on this subject, and draw out implications for future practice and research.

9.1 Discussion: Musical priority and intercultural adaptation mixed in life

Some features in participants' statements are both compatible with, and distinct from, previous intercultural research and studies concerning musicians. Previous intercultural communication research investigated a wide range of

accounts from immigrants and sojourners. Sustained intercultural communication often results in individual learning and adaptation. Common challenges include: being self-sufficient in a new environment; adjusting to local work culture; rebuilding reputation, network, and social supports; and making sense out of one's observations on locals' behaviours, reasoning, and sentiments (Bennett, 2004; Kim, 2001; Ward, 2001). The three bringing-together layers are the main thread for discussing inter-influence between intercultural communication and music (see Figure 9.1), against previous studies.

Research questions	Key elements of theories (see Chapter 2)	Main findings (see Chapter 5 – 8)	Bringing-together (see Chapter 8)	Discussion (see Chapter 9)
1) What aspects of intercultural communication and identity processes are significant to musicians when they begin intercultural music practice?	boundary concept: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> boundary practice (delegations; one-on-one; immersion) boundary condition boundary object motivations (hedonic enjoyment, eudaimonic living, extrinsic motivation) 	Chapter 5 Encounter: On the boundary <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Short- and long-term relocation has different impacts on respondents' musical adaptation Non-verbal musical working arrangement made it easier for musicians to work across cultures. 	8.1 Encounter: Enjoyments and promising identities on the boundary <p>Music brings together musicians and individuals across the world via their musical activities in the short term with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sojourning musicians' social-centred narratives; home-based musicians' music-centred narratives. 	9.1.1 Bringing-together through encounters: Music coordination and selective immersion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Short-term collaboration and selective immersion through music Influence of language and (inter-)cultural experiences on musicians, in the long-term
2) What challenges do musicians report during intercultural music projects?	subjective experiences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> psychological wellbeing dialogicality of identification (mutual engagement; joint enterprise; shared repertoire) participation reification 	Chapter 6 Stress: Crossing the Boundaries <p>Professionals need to constantly cope with a lack of affirmation for their musical competence and ideas with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sojourning musicians highlighting acculturative stress; home-based musicians highlighting professional stress. 	8.2 Stress: A lack of coordination (unsatisfactory musical outcome) and social affirmation when crossing the boundary <p>Musicians bring together their own musical and cultural identities in convincing manners in the long term.</p>	9.1.2 Bringing-together musical and cultural identities: Acculturative and professional stress <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Music elevates acculturative stress for sojourners Music-orientated stress for professionals
3) What keeps them engaged in intercultural music practice in the long term?	sustained social communication: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> stress-adaptation-growth dynamic negotiability social communication (backstage communication; frontstage communication) modes of belonging (alignment; imagination; engagement) 	Chapter 7 Learning: Bridging between Boundaries <p>Language learning and cultural adaptations often took place when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> musicians lived in another culture for years; they organise complex projects and negotiate more nuanced meanings across cultures. <p>Their work on intercultural experience and musical projects gradually develop into unique sets of boundary lifestyle, worldview, and narrative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sojourning musicians shape a culture-specific identity based on their home and host cultural community; home-based musicians develop a culture-general cosmopolitan identity supported by global imagination experienced in musical activities. 	8.3 Learning: Intercultural history and rapport in bridging the boundary <p>Musicians' intercultural music practice brings together communities in the larger society.</p> <p>Their musical career involves and initiates broader social participation and meaning negotiation, demonstrating possibilities for collaborating with, and relating to, culturally different individuals.</p>	9.1.3 Bringing-together in long-term engagement: Bicultural and cosmopolitan identity negotiated for music <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intercultural communication is a means to an end for professionals to enhance their musical activities and negotiation. Prioritising immediate musical coordination leaves room for intercultural miscommunication and conflicts.

Figure 9.1 Research questions, answers, and discussions

9.1.1 Bringing-together through encounters: Music coordination and selective immersion

Short-term collaboration and selective immersion through music

Previous research observed, through surveys and interviews, that some international students and employees find it difficult and discouraging to communicate and make friends with local people. Language proficiency is a primary reason, but cultural and personal values incompatible with local socialising customs also constrain sojourners from taking part and making adjustments (Robinson et al., 2020). Findings show that musicians can often coordinate without speaking the same language or sharing understanding. As

a boundary object, music-making provides an impetus and an alternative non-verbal way for individuals to meet across cultural groups. In other words, “you cannot talk with all of the strangers in a pub” (Schartner, 2015, p.231), but you can play music with many strangers, if not them all. This supports Harvey’s (2001) conclusion, in which it was stated that a lack of common interest is why communication does not occur.

Musical activities give respondents a practical focus and need for social interaction. The social participation necessary to perform music distinguishes it from other professions; international workers may behave like “beavers”, using their jobs as an excuse for not participating in host socialisation (Anderson, 1994, p.317). Broader professional engagement does not always lead to social participation; however, a cross-cultural musical career that involves stage performance does.

Functional fitness, “fitting in”, shows on the most detectable level as “the suitability of strangers’ internal capabilities to meet the external challenges of the environment” (Kim, 2001, p.185). This implies that psychological learning occurs for behavioural coordination and teamwork. Only when a person refines their perception and anticipates what host individuals experience, feel, and behave, can they react more effectively and appropriately in interactions (Kim, 1979). However, interviews with musician respondents suggest a different picture of intercultural communication. Makoto commented on how he learned to play taiko first through non-verbal clues when he did not speak Japanese. Ioannis mentioned a jamming session he had with a Ghanaian percussionist. Myra described a synergy developed between her and a collaborating guitarist. It seems that well-coordinated moves signify shared understandings. Musical collaborations were described in a way that suggests “mutuality of perceptions”. Music shows an ice-breaking effect in facilitating short-term international interactions in temporary partnerships, where psychological adaptation is conditional.

In the long-term, respondents adjust and integrate primarily within artistic “bubbles” in the host environment. This feature is shown more prominently in sojourning individuals; local friends and individuals they mentioned were usually musicians and professionals relevant to their musical activities. When Ahmad settled down in Edinburgh, individuals with whom he continued interacting were interested in playing and learning Arabic music. His network is culturally diverse, including Arabic musicians in London, as well as local and international musicians in Scotland. Meanwhile, those new contacts’ interests and occupations are limited to the musical and artistic milieu. Respondents moved and built their social rapports from scratch with a new local society. Thus, music circumscribes their social life.

Musicians selectively integrate into local societies, mostly by working and spending time with its musicians. This selective immersion echoes Becker’s observation. In his study on jazz musicians, Becker (2008) concludes that “musicians” were labelled as a deviant group of individuals, and musicians took on that label, further deviating from larger society. This explains the existence of international musical bubbles in local societies. Both host and home society-based respondents’ interviews involved rapports with musician friends. For example, a musician may go to Japan to live there and mainly interact with Japanese musicians and artists in a musical and professional context. In comparison to sojourners, home-based musicians have a broader network in their own country, including families, friends, and schoolmates who are involved in a wide range of professions outside of music. Nevertheless, their words show that music-professional activities define their network, giving them opportunity to meet musicians of different cultures.

Influence of language and (inter-)cultural experiences on musicians, in the long-term

Although musicians may have a unique advantage in being able to interact through music from their initial encounters, their language proficiency and intercultural experiences influence how they conducted intercultural musical

activities. Non-verbal musical competencies and music-making processes have been the focus of musicians and studies on their career development (Rösler, 2015; Schiavio & Høffding, 2015). However, this study concluded that verbal communication is crucial for respondents who move to another society, in order to work and live more successfully and sustainedly. They are fluent in their host society's language, which supports previous observations that language is a critical component and indicator of a sojourner's social integration into the host society (Anderson, 1994; Byram, 1997; van Niejenhuis et al., 2018).

Verbal articulacy affects musicians' more advanced meaning negotiation in musical activities. Although respondents commonly mentioned the stress of musical learning and adjustment, language is vital in their interaction with band members. Language proficiency is related to the formation of new and lasting professional rapports across cultures. Musical activities provide a de facto cushioning stage for individuals to play together, with colleagues of different cultures. They learn the language and social etiquettes of the host society in the group. Language shows its importance in respondents' meaning and identity negotiation, in which they introduce their music, explain their reasonings, tell their life stories, and ultimately picture a competent self. Sojourner respondents could, at least, describe, in another language, their music, feelings, and how they think individuals have to be flexible and creative in balancing between incompatible conventions and expectations.

Language training is often overlooked in music career development, but it is vital to my respondents who have to live cross-culturally or are required to frequent international projects. Individuals face a significant challenge in articulating their ideas as desired in the public, when doing so outside of their native language. The second language anxiety is not discussed, but is shown, in respondents' admission of not speaking the host language well, even if they had already lived in the host society for over a decade.

It is speculated that language is overlooked partly because of the outstanding value of non-verbal communication in the music scene. The value put on emotional and abstract communication seems to allow its professionals to operate in the cross-cultural context. This is consistent with an international study's observation of more than 300 arts managers, which finds that more international employees have leading positions in music- and dance-related work than in other performing arts (Henze et al., 2018, p.45). Those employees may have already learned the language spoken at their workplace, but it should still be difficult to compete with native-speaking candidates. One explanation is that international background and professional competence are valued in their line of work, more so than verbal skills are.

Respondents commented on manners they considered appropriate for composing, arranging, rehearsing, communicating, and organising musical projects. Their musical adjustments echo "blending" and "alternating" identity strategies, summarised by Ward based on previous cross-cultural psychological studies on third culture kids (Ward, 2013). Using projective identity mapping, interviews, a focus group, and an open-ended survey, Stuart and Ward (2011) observed that Muslim youth participants in New Zealand adopted one or another of the two strategies to balance between their cultural identities. Some behaved consistently across context, reasoning that it is valuable to pick and mix advantages they perceived from two cultural groups (blending). Others behaved differently, highlighting different aspects of their identities based on the cultural group of the moment (alternating).

Despite the fact that respondents are adult professionals who moved to the USA and the UK instead of New Zealand, full-time musicians outside home environments showed similar identity strategies when having audiences from different cultural communities. Some enriched their knowledge and skills by learning and playing a wider variety of musical genres. Others explained how they chose specific arrangements and highlighted a particular aspect of their cultural identities, expecting it to be what their local audience liked.

Respondents' adjustments to their band members and audiences suggest a basic level of psychological adaptation, which is to gain familiarity with transactional and routine musical and social customs. For instance, during a person's first visit to the takeaway sandwich chain Subway, they might need to double-check the staff's questions in order to provide suitable answers. However, after going to the place several times, they will anticipate and have a "script" developed for the transaction. Similarly, when respondents recently arrive in another cultural environment for the first time, they may not speak the local language and might have no clue what to play or say in interaction with host musicians and internationals who are not native to the society either. However, through frequent communication and performance, individuals summarised what worked and what did not, both musically and socially; this allowed them to become more prepared for future rehearsals. They adjusted anticipations, behaviours, and narratives to participate in musical activities and earn enough to live on, in the current environment. Respondents developed different musical projects out of their intercultural experiences.

In Van Der Zee and Van Oudenhoven's (2000) Multicultural Personality Questionnaire, *social initiative* is positively related to sojourner's cross-cultural integration, which refers to "actively approaching social situations and demonstrating initiative in these interactions" (van Nijenhuis et al., 2018). Anderson (1994) observed, in her aforementioned study on international employees, that there is a "beaver" reaction: individuals bury themselves in work when sent abroad, and use this as an excuse for avoiding socialising with local people.

Interviews with respondents show that a career in performance involves musicians' active communication and organisation for public events. The desire to perform music for a career renders socialisation a necessary professional activity for individuals. For musicians to be invested in their work, they would have social participation. Their other professions and family may

help them sustain musical activities; nevertheless, performances make it more difficult to avoid interacting with locals. Thus, respondents may score highly in the social initiative dimension, but due to their profession rather than their personality traits. As a professional community, musicians displayed intercultural communication characteristics different from what other professional groups reported. Social aspects were emphasised (see sections 7.1.2 and 7.3.3 for examples).

Musicians are portrayed as a separate community with shared activities and values, such as internationalism. In her ethnomusicological study of an intercultural musical group, Världens Band, Balosso-Bardin's (2018) investigated how musicians came together and developed a sustained democratic musical project, despite being spread across continents for most of the time. She partook as a band member and interviewed musicians in the group over the years. However, the study unexpectedly shows how Swedish musicians with cosmopolitan perspectives can still result in having similar leading styles appreciated by their home community. Erik and Arvid Rask, Swedish brothers and musicians, explained that they established the group intending to have equal participation between members. Their goals concerning democracy were gradually developed together by international members, and described by another Swedish member, Malmström, as "democratic and rotational leadership system" to go about composition and arrangements within the group (Balosso-Bardin, 2018, p.100):

"Sabou," for instance, was composed and brought to the band by Cissokho in Autumn 2015. Under his artistic leadership, the tune was arranged collectively and features, amongst other things, a riff invented by Gray, a Norwegian influenced melody brought by Möller, and an improvised raga by Hariharan complete with a jazzy response by Foley (see https://youtu.be/jk_M7F1bdLE). Cissokho's compositions encourages other band members to bring their own compositions the following year.

This description of how Världens Band understood democratic value, and translated it into their intercultural collaboration, curiously corresponds to

Lewis's (2010) summary of Swedish leadership style in a business management context:

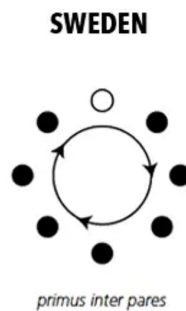


Figure 9.2 Illustration of Swedish leadership style (Lewis,2010, p.108)

The similarity suggests that the enculturation may still have a persuasive influence over what musicians consider as proper means of leading an intercultural project. It could be a coincidence that Världens Band's rotational leading system happens to correspond with Lewis' summary about Swedish leadership style. Findings in this study give an explanation: specific intercultural problems encountered shape what musicians put as ideal dynamics in their musical groups. After immersion in local musicians and audiences over decades, sojourner-respondents were more conscious of cultural differences and pressure to adapt directed by their host society's preferences. In comparison, the Rask brothers' stories are similar to home-based respondents, who developed cosmopolitan mannerisms without substantial acculturative stress, because they are host individuals or the music project has no clear cultural majority. In the Rasks' case, organising Världens Band and working with international musicians in Sweden means that the Swedish environment surrounding the band will likely permeate the group's decisions. It remains a question of to what extent a home-based musician would behave and think differently from their co-nationals.

In either case, findings suggest that professional musical activities initiate and sustain musicians' social contacts across cultural groups, which had not been investigated in previous intercultural studies. Intercultural groups like Världens

Band encouraged intercultural communication between musicians. As long as these intercultural musical activities continue, nuanced meaning negotiation regarding musical and cultural differences can occur between individual members, on each occasion of their interaction.

9.1.2 Bringing-together musical and cultural identities: Acculturative and professional stress

Music elevated stress for sojourners and aggravated it for full-time musicians in their negotiation for a competent identity. Themes and codes in the Stress chapter show that respondents made efforts to display the best from their musical and cultural competencies and identities in an intergroup context. Some highlighted music's expressiveness over its role in overcoming cultural differences. Others told of a contrasting experience, finding that music could not transcend all cultural differences. Sojourners shared acculturative stress for having to learn and get used to all aspects of new life. Interest, membership, and reaction gap shown in respondents' meaning negotiation suggest that individuals amend their music and narratives, playing specific identities to achieve better interaction with locals. Those behaviours and words in the public become aspects of their image.

Music elevates acculturative stress for sojourners

Music has been suggested to be an effective activity for reducing intergroup stress, as it can facilitate social bonding experience through shared activities (MacDonald et al., 2012), common topics (Miell et al., 2005), and biopsychological-based bonding (Huron, 2001). It was also observed that individuals use music in their private time as cathartic therapy (Lamont et al., 2011). However, those studies were conducted mostly with students and amateur musicians, without investigating their long-term cross-cultural adaptation. This study shows that music elevates acculturative stress for sojourners. Those respondents highlighted a primary concern in making a living and fitting in with the new host environment. Some musical activities provide a musical and social context in which they felt that locals appreciated

them for maintaining some ethnocultural community traditions and customs. Those musicians could rely on musical identities to negotiate for a better ethnocultural and personal image in their host environment.

Acculturative stress is reduced when mainstream host musical communities value cultural diversity and music. Sojourners' ethnocultural competence and membership transformed into positive resources for identity negotiation. Local demand for culturally diverse music and musicians made it possible for sojourners to possess a music career and identity negotiation. Musicians were able to give a positive narrative concerning their music, home culture, and role in the current host society. Ioannis and Marcos mentioned that they felt their traditional music is more well-received in the UK than it is in their respective home countries, which encouraged them to be more specialised and active in those genres. Their narratives focus on positive comments and responses they received, as well as positive feelings towards the host society. Ahmad had a British and Iraqi audience react differently to the same song. He used cultural backgrounds to account for the differences in feedback. Cultural diversity ideas thereby showed in participants' musical narratives. Nevertheless, being able to adopt an existing meaning framework that adds value to (inter)cultural music projects reduces sojourners' stress. Taking up the music related to one's home community is currently an effective behavioural and psychological adaptation for respondents.

This change of thinking and attitudes in narratives corresponds with studies in which professionals of international and multicultural backgrounds discussed their music and intercultural experiences. It was pointed out that personal narrative may be an act that conforms to the mainstream ideal and discourse (Jenkins, 2014; Langellier, 1999), in this case, concerning music's role in intercultural communication. Nevertheless, those narratives are useful for musicians to explain how they changed their perspectives and behaviours, and how they found new meanings for engaging in their music projects and intercultural communication.

Aside from the identity aspect, rapports with musicians in host environments have shown social benefits that moderate stress. Holliday's (1999) "small culture" noted the same observation. The linguist summarised that individuals often only need to interact and negotiate with the same groups of people (e.g., colleagues, friends, or families) in their daily lives. In respondents' cases, music-professional activities necessitate social communication and make them social beings. Music becomes a primary context for individuals to prove their competence, negotiating for their general efficacy and identity. When social interaction is heavily incorporated into the trade, this social necessity can be challenging and a stressor when individuals do not want to socialise. Nonetheless, connections cultivated out of it could be beneficial for sojourners' integration into their host environment over the years.

Psychological health, the second dimension of Kim's intercultural transformation, highlighted individuals' work on integrating controversial behaviours, ideas, attitudes, and experiences into a somewhat consistent worldview on cultural boundaries, thereby having their stress reduced. She described an ideal scenario: one managed to obtain and maintain positive attitudes towards locals and themselves.

Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) scrutinised 83 studies in their meta-analysis on bicultural individuals, which involves 23,197 bicultural participants. They concluded that integration positively associates with psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Furthermore, this association is stronger than integration's relationship with individuals' behavioural adaptation and their value in keeping the heritage of the (ethnocultural and home) community or connections with the majority. The current study suggests that musical activities can reduce acculturative stress, partly because the host environment endorses musicians' specific performance and narratives. Moreover, host individuals continue to interact with musicians for their musical interests, be it in the form of delegation, one-on-one, or immersion. Their stress was relieved

by having a consistent musical narrative that contains positive evaluation on the external environment and oneself (psychological adaptation), and rapports with locals (sociocultural adaptation). They convince themselves to make behavioural and psychological changes. It is surmised that respondents' positive attitudes towards hosts and themselves are derived from positive experiences in musical activities with local people.

Music-orientated stress for professionals

Taylor (2007) pointed out that musical focus may lead musicians to overlook the hidden asymmetric meaning negotiation dynamic between cultural communities, when organising intercultural projects. Scholars also argued for the positive quality and influence of musicians' global imagination that is embodied in music (Cook, 1992) and musical communication (Clayton, 2016). This study suggests that overlooking the intercultural dynamics has its disadvantages, yet also provides considerable advantages. Music-professional negotiation is the focus and acute stress for full-time professional respondents. Their career initiates and necessitates intercultural communication; music is central to social participation and identity negotiation. However, the same musical preoccupation and stress can result in respondents taking and developing positive intercultural views and narratives.

Non-traditional participants often strongly identify with music-professional identity. They distinguished self-other groups by musical, more often than cultural, differences. In interviews, musical practice, experience, and efficacy become central to their capacity to negotiate value for general effectiveness and identity. It is consistent with Lehmann, Sloboda, and Woody's (2007) observation of how musicians have, and manage, performance anxiety. Participants described challenges and solutions with an expressive, rather than intercultural, focus. Despite acknowledging cultural differences, they focus on how to continue musical activities as a career.

However, those musical group participations and reifications involve what are categorised as intercultural challenges. Intercultural skills, knowledge, understandings, and identity affect those respondents' negotiation for musical identity. Some told of an implied expectation that musicians need to immerse themselves culturally to improve their music; others mentioned some comments that see their intercultural fusion projects as threats to traditional folk. The stress can also come from within individuals. Makoto brought up a feeling that resembles imposter syndrome when he performed in front of a Japanese audience, while thinking of himself as a Japanese American. He did not mention that the audience gave out any sign that suggested they regarded him as an imposter. Those explanations show that individuals felt compelled to argue for their work and themselves, against cultural concerns and perspectives different from theirs. Intercultural projects are more stressful for being more vulnerable to criticism. Involving musical elements from multiple cultures means people of those cultural communities may feel responsible for speaking out about how they think it is and should be. Those attempts make extra stress for full-time respondents to negotiate for their professional identity.

Musical preoccupation is useful in intercultural communication. Based on interviews, this study concluded that positive intercultural narratives are compatible with participants' musical activities and perspectives. Choosing to emigrate for music and professional development is a difficult decision. An intercultural sojourn may appear less relevant to someone's personal musical goals. Except for sojourning to learn music, professionals can use intercultural rapports with musicians of relevant cultural backgrounds and cosmopolitan narratives to negotiate for their music-professional identity.

Imagination codes (honesty, diversity, and performance), discussed in the Learning chapter, also illustrated participants' attempts at organising concepts to make reasonable identity narratives. Their accounts balance between being oneself and adjusting to others and the external environment; often by relating music to something more significant, such as social diversity and intergroup

mediation. Respondents centred on affective (almost impulsive) traits of being a musician. Findings show that music and cultural context are two different props on which respondents rely. When feeling stressed in the participation and meaning negotiation, one may seek comfort and support in other activities and communities. This mechanism is shown in recurring descriptions, along the lines that music offers an “escape” from the local environment. It provides a platform to express and embrace their full experience and identities. The weight-shifting also shows where respondents used their intercultural experiences and rapports with culturally different individuals, in order to back up their music under criticism. This shifting strategy in narratives helps to reduce stress.

Participation and reification gap illustrated how respondents had to respond to dissent and lack of interest in their intercultural projects. Cultural differences and identities are caught in the middle; sometimes seen as personal history and identification, sometimes as an imposed label and external requirement. Incidents were recounted in defence for their work and projects, and negativity thereby channelled hostility towards specific musical perspectives and self-doubt. Meanwhile, individuals brought up positive words from audiences as a testimony and encouragement, motivating them to keep working on intercultural projects. Myra mentioned how she felt supported to take her Hindustani jazz crossover project further with her audience’s messages. Stressors in a musical career do not directly solve any intercultural problems, nor do they reduce relevant stress, but respondents’ attention and interpretation are diverted to the success and failure of achieving their musical goals. Positive intercultural narratives tend to be compatible with musical activities and objectives, which helps reduce negotiation stress. Intercultural rapport is a by-product of music-making, but further reduces stress, in the long-term, brought about by international musical projects.

9.1.3 Bringing-together in long-term engagement: Bicultural and cosmopolitan identity negotiated for music

Kim (2001, p.191) referred intercultural identity to “an acquired identity constructed after the early childhood enculturation process through the individual’s communicative interactions with a new cultural environment”. Social communication with host individuals created social history from which a bicultural identity can gradually emerge. She mentioned Tan Dun (a Chinese composer) as an example of how individuals can creatively and resourcefully adapt and participate within the deep aesthetic, intellectual, and emotional experience of others, upon crossing cultural boundaries (Kim, 2015). His music and understanding illustrate the ideal “both-and” identity that can be borne of living between communities with distinctive musical and cultural traditions. She also points out that there is a stress for individuals to go beyond the boundary of their home culture, and of the “either-or” characterisation. Tan’s case was not taken further in analysing intercultural personhood of musicians.

This study finds that respondents negotiate for two kinds of intercultural identity, as appropriate with their international music projects. Sojourners developed a bicultural identity in their host cultural environments. Others shaped a cosmopolitan imagination and identity with years of working with international musicians. This culture-general intercultural identity often transpires from delegation and one-on-one cultural encounters, where there is no long-term acculturative stress. Respondents’ words focused on playing and learning music with individuals of diverse cultural backgrounds. An in-the-moment experience was particularly highlighted, where imagination and creation take place in interactions, consistent with Csikszentmihalyi’s (1988) concept of *flow*.

In either case, individuals tried to negotiate a positive intercultural experience and identity with larger society for music. Respondents present various “both-and” mixture of modes of belonging with their musical and cultural groups. They became familiar with the language, customs, and understandings established in different musical and cultural communities; they imagined that

some musicians, among individuals across cultural groups, would understand the meaning of their music and perspectives; they were engaged in affective, intellectual, and fundamentally social experience with individuals of different cultural backgrounds in their music and acquisition of intercultural identity.

Participants put learning as a critical means of understanding and sustaining their intercultural musical activities within the wider society. Behavioural adjustments initially occurred upon the boundary, such as improving fundamental musical competence and language proficiency. Interviews demonstrated that being eloquent and convincing helps respondents in negotiating values for their music and identity. In intercultural projects, they changed their musical and communication approaches, while noting that cultural differences brought by colleagues made their groupwork novel and unique. Their imagination of what honesty, diversity, and staging performance mean in musical activities locate themselves into a large and international group of strangers. Although individualistic values were shown, participants highlighted the importance of listening closely, adjusting, and connecting to others for better work. Makoto stressed that social history and ties, with his colleagues, maintain his Japanese identity and thereby an intercultural identity between American and Japanese communities.

Musical activities and networks affect their cultural alignment, imagination, and identity negotiation. In interviews, respondents highlighted individual imagination, affection, and expression in understanding self-other musical differences. Some mentioned viewing a person and a musical piece as a unique being, rather than pre-judging them based on their cultural and musical categories. The perspective echoes Kim's individualisation of identity, and has the same effect for respondents not to view culturally different individuals solely based on their cultural backgrounds. However, participants cast a different light on how people make sense of cultural unfamiliarity in a music-professional context. Their talk about musical experiences and interpretation of cultural differences shows individualisation and universalisation characters.

A recent study also observed a strong positive association between perceived cultural novelty and Positive Attitude (PA), through regression-based analysis on 297 expatriates of different professional backgrounds in Denmark (Stoermer et al., 2020). Intercultural views and identity strategies aligned with individuals' experiences of dealing with musical conflicts between what one wishes to play and external expectations.

Universalisation codes report that believing that music can transcend and bridge cultures cannot help participants address some intercultural dilemmas. Sojourning respondents talked about principles they found reliable to live by in music and life. However, they cautiously added that those principles might only be personal truths, implying that personal and communal experiences are relative and local. Musicians are aware that they need long-term social engagement in a host community in order to negotiate and claim for a bi-cultural identity. Further, intercultural music projects ask them to discuss other individuals as multi-faceted and complex, like how they see themselves. Individualisation and universalisation of music reflect respondents' attempts to discern suitable interpretations to deal with local problems and sustain their intercultural projects, when being torn between incompatible musical preferences. Nevertheless, music makes it feasible for people to first coordinate, despite different languages and cultural backgrounds (Hallam et al., 2014).

Cultural history and rapports influence respondents' musical identity negotiation. Those who are based in the UK and the USA are inclined to underscore individual expression. In countries that have a high percentage of immigrants (e.g., Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Netherlands, UK, USA, etc.), individuals who have frequent intercultural contacts tend to appreciate personality-based development and dialogue-learning narrative (Van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013). It is speculated that musicians may adopt cultural pluralist ideals in their musical experience, living in a country with diversity climates and mainstream cultural diversity discourses. There are other such

societies: United Arab Emirates with an international population representing 88% of their total; and Singapore, with 37.5% of their populace being migrants in 2019 (McAuliffe et al., 2019). This study focused on the UK and the USA because most of my respondents live in the two countries. The mainstream appreciation for personality- and diversity-based development could be why respondents claimed that it is a quintessential meaning of music to express personal thoughts and imagination while recognising their connection with ethnocultural groups, instead of avoiding talking about it.

Cross-cultural adaptation and cosmopolitanism both support musicians in negotiating for respective intercultural identities. Kim's intercultural identity highlights that one gradually develops after living in two or more cultural communities for years. Individualistic and universalistic interpretations of identity were used for behavioural and psychological adaptations. Participants rehearsed with host musicians and performed to host audiences. They can renegotiate for ethnocultural and intercultural identities through, and based upon, social participation. Some detailed how their musical activities introduced an ethnocultural musical tradition to individuals of other cultural backgrounds. Others described how their music acts as a space for people of diverse cultural groups to connect. Thus, the current study's findings add to Kim's (2001) theory. Music work represents a hothouse for cultivating the type of communication and cross-cultural adaptation process she described.

Interviews report that respondents who frequently work with international musicians attempt to negotiate a broader intercultural identity. They pictured their performance in a global imagination of what constantly happens, which is experienced worldwide. The focus is on a common "humanity" past, present, and future, rather than on rapports between specific communities. In either case, social ties nurtured with several cultural communities shape a boundary identity. Musicians with intercultural musical projects take on a broker role through their social interaction and personal development. They advocate for

their music-professional practice, bridging between cultural communities at the same time.

Imagination and emotional consonance are not conventional cultural learning strategies; with knowledge and reflexivity being more often highlighted in intercultural training (Sparrow, 2000). Yet, respondents tend to value affective aspects more in intercultural communication to coordinate, feel connected, and reflect on an unfamiliar culture. Farhad mentioned his attempts to imagine himself being a Greek person, immersed in their experiences and feelings when playing Greek traditional music led by Greek members in his group. Those imaginations can be far removed from reality. Thus, world music scholars viewed it as a worrying exotification created based on insufficient and incorrect knowledge, albeit benign intentions (Taylor, 1997; White, 2012). However, attaining aesthetic and affective synchrony suggests that respondents tried to think of culturally different individuals not as oversimplified symbols, but as multi-faceted living and feeling beings. This “aesthetic/emotional co-orientation” among other affective components is considered a crucial intercultural competency (Kim, 2001, p.113; Monsell, 1981). The current study identifies a professional community who may access such competency more readily because they are engaged in creative group work; however, the same group may perceive resistance to their intercultural creation because it is seen as infringing on an aesthetic tradition.

In respondents’ accounts, intrinsic musical goals take precedence over intercultural rapports, which is partly why musical activities can better facilitate and mediate communication across cultures. Music is used for intergroup and political ideals. Daniel Barenboim co-founded West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. Gilberto Gil, a Brazilian musician, had made a political career as Brazil’s Minister of Culture. They are among well-known examples of successful musicians who employ musical activities to achieve non-musical ideals.

Diplomatic uses of music have been explored to question to what extent such musical projects achieved their claimed purposes, with no common agreements achieved (Aussems, 2018; Riiser, 2010). This study reports that respondents make efforts to ascertain intercultural and ethnocultural purposes for music, which is affected by their personal intercultural experience, and permeated by the mainstream discourse on cultural matters in their host and home community. Some individuals talked about a lack of understanding between cultural groups as being an urgent social issue. Others, who find themselves relating to the minor and endangered status of ethnocultural groups and music, embarked upon fieldtrips to collect folksongs and to sort, perform, and reinvent traditional pieces.

Paradoxically, prioritising immediate musical coordination leaves room for intercultural miscommunication and conflicts. It gives a concrete focus on which people can participate and coordinate their energy. The preoccupation is to combine and rehearse for an act, and attention is mediated to practical challenges and opposing artistic ideas in music. Communication will continue to some extent, despite intergroup wariness and conflicts. This study concluded that intercultural encounters and living influence how individuals organise and promote their musical projects internationally, and inform how we can understand musical collaboration across cultures. Meanwhile, musical activities orientate them to take affection- and aesthetic-based interpretations of cultural differences.

9.2 Limitations and reflexive considerations

9.2.1 Data collection

Some limitations were encountered in gathering data. Language proficiency influenced the selection of participants and how interviews were conducted. Respondents are musicians who were born in, or moved to, the UK and the USA. Sampling aimed to include a diversity of musicians from distinctive cultural and music-professional backgrounds. Sojourning respondents include individuals who: 1) moved to another country during their teenage years or

adulthood; and 2) have multicultural upbringing as third culture kids. They are mostly British and American residents. This study cannot represent an overall experience for musicians in other countries involved in intercultural projects and contacts. It would be useful for future research to identify the experiences of musicians who are based somewhere else, such as Australia, France, or Spain. For instance, Australia may attract more musicians from the region of Asia and Oceania (Duffy, 2005). France and Spain have colonial histories and associated connections distinct from the UK, which may facilitate projects with Francophone African countries or South American countries, respectively. Nonetheless, a diversity of independent international musicians and intercultural musical projects is active and based in the UK or the USA. Therefore, the differences between the respondents that this study gathered are rich and have allowed the author to develop a substantial understanding of how musicians' boundary-crossing and -learning experiences can vary.

The primary data comes from first-hand interviews, and supplementary data includes observations from concerts and various documents available from online sources. During the data collection, and prior to interviews being conducted with individuals, six respondents organised public concerts with intercultural themes. I attended those events to observe their interaction with an audience. The six concerts observed cover three typical intercultural music scenes in the UK:

- British musicians' klezmer and taiko performances to a British home audience;
- sojourning (Iranian) musician's concert; and
- performances from two South Korean groups who visited an international festival for a tour of international audiences.

These one-off observations may not represent how musicians communicated to audiences on other occasions. Neither was the object to ascertain representative picture of the musician's overall concert practice. They had previously done, and may have more, distinctive intercultural musical

performances. The observations were to gain a detailed understanding of one example of musicians' mannerisms, and to set against interview data. Field notes collected capture a natural interaction that took place between respondents and an audience. It affords this study another perspective, through which to reflect on the understandings from interviews.

The author of this study speaks two languages: Mandarin as a native speaker, and English at a proficient level. All respondents speak some level of English, except for one musician; Atpo, who speaks Lisu and Mandarin, and was interviewed in Mandarin. Like his American and British counterparts, his interview suggests that the host environment's language and discourse greatly influence him. He learned to speak standard Chinese fluently. His "cultural heritage" narrative for music differs from that of others, being popular in Chinese mainstream media in recent years. However, it fundamentally demonstrates how popular ideas (e.g., cultural diversity) permeated musicians' living and were adopted to sustain intercultural music activities in their respective host societies.

During the interviews, it was noted that English native speakers would check that I understood some words they used, and sometimes opted for more common vocabulary instead. For instance, when Karen mentioned she like Bulgarian music, she used "hectic" to describe it, then shortly she added "like really busy in the music" to explain the word. This check and explanation behaviour is a useful communication strategy (Wooldridge, 2001), and a telling intercultural competence (Spencer-Oatey & Stadler, 2009). Although respondents cannot make their arguments as fluently as desired, it may have also led to fuller explanation by them in many respects since they will assume less shared knowledge or understanding.

The background and research context of the author may have affected how respondents answered. They were told, in the first place, that the interview was about their music projects and intercultural experiences. The way I talked and

behaved could have prompted them to focus on, or speak of, specific aspects, such as music's intercultural advantages. Although both intercultural and music-professional experiences are aims of data collection, the researcher is not a professional musician. There are certain aspects respondents would consider inappropriate to discuss in the interview. Musicians' positions were pre-determined by the non-professional status and research topic, to some extent. Nonetheless, viewing me as an outsider means respondents would answer and tell things that they considered proper anywhere else, which should be consistent with their other public interviews and talk. This consistency means that the interview data can provide new insights into individuals' musical and cultural identity negotiation.

Musicians are experienced in interviewing, but not everything is rehearsed. The interview content results from interactions between interviewees and interviewer. New information and meanings may emerge as a result of the context of the interview. Atpo mentioned how he went into the jewellery business for a while, before turning back to a musical career, while talking about how he started considering preserving and re-discovering Lisu music traditions. During the interview, respondents may restate and re-shape what their participation meant. The experiences and examples described by them may be different in other interviews and contexts. For instance, after learning of the Chinese background of the researcher, participants would bring up Chinese instruments and musicians they knew, or relevant events and trips they had taken in the past. It is surmised that individuals would attempt to negotiate for positive music-professional and cultural identities. However, their explanations and arguments can show what they find challenging and stressful, and what they expect to be appropriate and respectable reasonings.

9.2.2 Balancing the focus and assessing perspectives

Between music-professional and intercultural focus

This study's challenge has been to maintain a balanced focus on both music-professional and intercultural interests throughout the literature review,

research design, data collection, and analysis. Pragmatism allows the research to focus on what is feasible and what individuals consider viable thinking and strategies for sustaining their intercultural musical activities. Conceptual model and analysis adopted Wenger's boundary and social learning concepts. As respondents mainly focused on musical aspects in their answers, Kim's theory works as a remedy, enriching theoretical accounts on individuals' intercultural experiences.

The bricolage method has been utilised to put together concepts from two theories to frame the analysis on respondents' perspectives. Literature outside the two theories was also brought in where necessary (Kincheloe, 2011). Methodological limitations were discussed in section 4.3, including my reflections on the particular contexts of intercultural communication, music studies, and my philosophical stances. When considering how and why respondents started their intercultural projects, the researcher found emerging common threads of immediate pleasure, practical concerns for making ends meet, and responsibilities described towards certain communities. New conceptual themes were brought in (e.g., eudaimonic living), akin to how a handyperson finds sensible tools in their toolbox. Analytic insights were thereby added to enrich understanding of musicians' intercultural experiences with their musical activities. Bricolage allowed this study to make a novel consideration of how the separate spheres of music and international communication can inform each other, making use of existing theoretical concepts and research findings across disciplines. The conceptual model was customised to the boundary conditions and context faced by musicians with intercultural musical activities.

Some were concerned that the use of bricolage could result in superficiality, for it risks bringing in too many disciplines (McLeod 2000, as cited in Kincheloe, 2001, p.681). Regarding methodological consistency challenges, there was clarification regarding different foci, purposes, and technical terms employed by theories, and reconciliation between those ideas was made. This study's

focus and premises on communication are consistent: communication, even if only on a minimal level, initiates learning. Contact with an international and host audience challenge individuals to adapt culturally.

Between subjective and reflexive perspective-making

Researchers' stances and perspectives play a crucial role throughout qualitative research design, data collection, and analysis (Creswell, 2013). There is a standing caution that one cannot perceive and identify all of their bias. This researcher self-blindness can be fatal in qualitative research. It is unavoidable that findings are shaped by context, and by who researchers are. Nonetheless, it is necessary to seek to understand and describe such bias as fully as is possible.

Subjectivity is abstract and fluid. It is impossible to reach a full understanding of oneself and others. I attempted to address bias by deliberating on the influence of my previous experience concerning this research, musicians' position-taking in interviews, and changes in my perspectives throughout the study. Concerns with the relationship between intercultural communication and music projects were greatly stimulated by reading Wenger's and Kim's work, and by applying their theories to explain musicians' experiences in intercultural contexts.

The study extended over two years, from encounters and interviews with respondents to analysing transcriptions and fieldnotes. In efforts to make sense of musicians' intercultural projects and experiences, some ideas gradually came into shape. I now see how the boundary encounter and social learning explain musicians' accounts and actions. Through trial and error in interaction with people over the years, those individuals developed musical skills, social histories, and professional reputations. In and for musical activities, they also acquired intercultural skills (e.g., language fluency and communication strategies) and a record of active participation in their local communities and social affairs. That history came into sight whenever

respondents explained how they now feel they belong, and are committed, to certain communities, and that they are standing with it in a shared future. In the same way, they talked about a need to make suggestions to better a musical practice and community in which they invest their sense of self, be it a musical or cultural self.

In retrospect, boundary crossing and learning explain the researcher's own cultural experience and views. Born and raised in Beijing, as a Han Chinese person (the majority group in mainland China), I came across around a dozen ethnic Chinese and a few South Korean students, and three or four English native speaker teachers from Canada, the UK, and the USA. Those were all the personal contacts that the author had with culturally different individuals in Beijing. I was less familiar with the language and culture of those ethnic Chinese than what I had learned about the cultures of countries such as Japan, mostly through mass media such as music, novels, and films. In short, the researcher never crossed cultural boundaries nor experienced acculturative issues and stress at that point in real life.

During one year of studying Intercultural Communication for a Masters' studies in England, the researcher gradually learned, through classes and experience in daily life, how different society can be, and how it feels to be a minority. I discovered Wenger's theory and boundary concept. It was new to feel like a stranger and newcomer who does not know their way around, and to feel incompetent. I felt a sense of uncertainty that I would never know the place well, in the way I felt when walking in Beijing's neighbourhoods. At the time, intellectual understanding of international communication motivated me to make social contact and reach out. Some of those initial crossing-the-line feelings gradually faded away, while studying and communicating with friends, professors, and fellow PhD students in England and Scotland. Other such feelings did not, which brings back the sense of boundary.

It has been suggested that knowing where to look, what to do, and what to say is the most noticeable change during a sojourn (Berry, 2005). It is difficult to pin down any exact event and moment, any exact time and place, where views and feelings dramatically changed. There may have been times when I realised that I had made technical mistakes and social faux pas, and remembered not to do the same again. Those experiences and introspections resulted in a unique perspective for this study. I treated respondents as those who tried to live heuristically with their specific sources of happiness, fulfilment, boredom, confusion, annoyance, impatience, frustration, and stress in musical and cultural experiences.

9.3 Practical implications

Intercultural projects occur, and last, where it is feasible and desirable for musicians to play together. Findings in this study suggest that the feasibility of participation, and desirability of identity negotiation, support intercultural musical projects. Individuals' musical approaches and views concur and collide. As musicians come from majority backgrounds or ethnocultural groups, grew up as third culture kids, or moved across cultures in their teenage years or adulthood, they have different customs and ideas of how to play music and perform for events. Negotiation happens between musicians who work side by side in intercultural projects.

To be self-efficacious in a music career involves an exhaustive list of skills (Swanwick, 2011; Welch et al., 2004). The findings suggest that respondents who started or joined intercultural music projects adapted their mannerisms and narratives in interaction with culturally different colleagues and people outside. Practical implications of this for individual life, institutional support, and educational design are discussed in the subsequent two sections. Intercultural musical projects and experiences were described from the musicians' perspectives. Nevertheless, they inform how institutions (e.g., international arts managers and educators) can achieve specific intercultural goals in designing and planning for programmes.

9.3.1 Individual boundary project and negotiation

Findings show that short- and long-term intercultural experiences require different conditions and music-professional motivation. Language proficiency is not a major concern if two musicians who speak different languages meet at a festival and spontaneously decide to play and improvise together. In contrast, the language barrier would concern people more if their music involved moving to and living in another society, or playing mainly in international ensembles for years. Individual aspirations might be to live on music, perform, improve musical skills, reach out to an international community, work with culturally different musicians, socialise and get into contact with local people, or utilise music in community projects. Those priorities need to be in equilibrium. A collaboration may, therefore, remain active for years, or finish early.

The line between the two is blurred. With appropriate conditions, a short-run experiment can turn into a long-lived project. Respondents recounted where one-off collaboration turned into a band, or a short visit became years of staying. On the other hand, respondents' experiences explain that there exists no single successful formula for every musical collaboration. Ascertaining and solving those specific problems needs to be viewed as part of the excitement and fulfilment. A three-year project can end early, and a group disband. Nevertheless, viewing the communication process as finite or infinite gives people different attitudes (e.g., a tourist or an immigrant). Hence, short- and long-term implications will be discussed as if they were separate.

Musical and professional adjustments on the boundary

Coordination is the priority in the short-term. When musicians commence multicultural projects and international tours, the primary goal is to make the performance work. They expect it to be a visit to a different world. This expectation brings a distinctive mindset and prioritises coordination, to make things work best within a limited timeframe. Short-term coordination requires musicians to communicate for detailed arrangements with culturally different

professionals from their pre-gig contact, through rehearsals, and to the end of a performance. Many independent musicians are their own managers, handling sales, funding applications, or crowdfunding. Intercultural communication tasks in international touring include completing visa applications, promoting, contacting individuals and organisations of interest, and interacting with the audience.

Small efforts in improving communication can lead to more effective musical participation and coordination. It is necessary to find suitable tools and routines of communication. Tools narrowly refer to advanced technological communication devices that enable people to stay in contact conveniently, such as computers, email, and smartphones. In the broader sense, tools refer to personal platforms to access sources of music knowledge (e.g., open educational resources and masterclasses), professionals (e.g., professional network), funding (e.g., inside information), and promoting and outreaching to an audience (e.g., streaming websites). These infrastructures and accumulated experiences reduce the cost for musicians to maintain communication and projects. Routines refer to communication habits and implicit agreements. For example, it includes a clear division of duty within groups; members' knowledge on who is good and weak at which tasks; who makes the call; or de facto contact for the group.

For the short-term, individuals can adopt diversification and alternation strategies. Respondents mentioned their efforts of diversification, arranging multiple genres and styles in case the audience were to become bored. Alternation is another popular decision: individuals can switch their repertoire depending on cultural groups in interaction. In Ahmad's case, he alternated between lyrics- and rhythm-focused music pieces for Arabic-speaking and English-speaking audiences. A culture-specific tutorial can help identify communication conventions and preferences of specific cultures. It also prepares musicians to different expectations and responses from unfamiliar crowds, when performing in another country.

Language is among the first techniques acquired when respondents settled longer in a culturally different environment, or worked longer in international teams. It is critical for advancing in a musical career because it allows them to have more profound and extensive discussions with interested individuals, beyond the initial experience of novelty. Band members sometimes have conflicting opinions and approaches, and verbal communication is basic in reaching explicit and implicit understandings of common goals, shared problems, and solutions to remain as a group. Established routines on the boundary are shown in respondents' long-lived intercultural groups (e.g., for more well-known examples: Salsa Celtica, Afro-Celt Sound System, and Silkroad Ensemble). A sign of established boundary practice is that the group developed its unique identity overall, and remained a joint work between musicians from two or more communities, even with individual members going in and out.

Find the right informant and community

Findings suggest that, in the long-term, individuals are stressed to interpret responses of local musicians, audiences, and themselves. It takes more than diversification and alternation strategies to find an answer for how others' practice can be translated and absorbed into one's traditional music performance, and for how they can better translate and explain their music and its cultural context. Reputation becomes desirable in terms of how much a competent identity was negotiated with others. There is no shortcut in acquiring reputation and rapports; rather, it is achieved through sustained participation and social interaction.

The implication is to find informants who can explain insider rules and perspectives. Observation and learning provided in one-on-ones, delegations, and immersion with informant(s) do not have intrinsic superiority. Musicians must have an idea of what they wanted to achieve. For a musical project focused on specific culture(s), individuals can be an apprentice or work closely

with experienced musicians from certain cultural backgrounds, and immerse themselves in that cultural environment. Cultural informants can be friends who originate from that culture. They may not know much about music, nevertheless, those individuals can share their enculturated perspectives, which indirectly help musicians make sense of the “soul” of a culture embodied and appreciated in its music, on nuanced musical sentimentalities and cultural mindsets.

On the other hand, for cosmopolitanism-aspired projects, which have no single cultural community to claim for established musical customs, musicians have to learn by experiment and develop their own approaches. Musicians in certain musical communities, such as Western classical and jazz, have developed interests and created many crossover works. Those works can serve as a reference. Musicians who are experienced in those types of collaboration can be a professional informant and mentor. There are degrees, such as Global Music offered by Sibelius Academy at the University of the Arts Helsinki, and workshops, such as Global Musician Workshop by Silkroad Ensemble, which have a highly cosmopolitan focus. Independent home-based musicians can also work with international musicians who are living in the same country, or find an accessible international platform online to reach out to international colleagues who are interested in collaborating remotely.

Respondents started, and continued, their intercultural projects when they found positive and meaningful experiences. Music was played and performed with various experiences and envisioned identities. Some were set with an experimental tone; a valuable process of trial and error, during which they attempt work with specific musical elements and musicians. Some were described as an opportunity to connect with international musicians and to learn. Individuals can also be passive and reluctant in work and learning.

One needs to assess what changes inside and outside music they can make to achieve a desired outcome (Dalagna et al., 2020); be it to reinvent the music,

to cross-fertilise, to explore a tradition, or to test how far one can stretch the rules. There is no detailed or obligatory demand for reflections, commitments, or rapports. Individuals do not have to change the way they work and communicate. Nonetheless, respondents gave purposes and meanings to their long-term activities and experiences, for the peace of mind. They tried to express those ideas in more digestible talk. It motivates individuals to persist when they can positively frame, experience, and describe their intercultural musical projects.

By cultivating the ability to see trade-offs and take others' perspectives, people can set their stances, goals, approaches, and what changes they can make more realistically, yet creatively. This brings individuals a hope of obtaining a desirable identity: a great, successful, creative, or authentic musician. It can be a sense of responsibility felt to preserve the musical heritage of one's own community and others. It can be about being a more successful and better person. It can be a belonging that extends towards individuals of the same community, families and friends, and strangers on the other side of the world. Any incontestable positive view and narrative, that an individual finds convincing, can help them stay active in a career in music.

Music-professional motivations prompted individuals to enhance their bicultural and cosmopolitan identities, taking a cultural ambassador, informant, and educator role. For instance, Makoto and Ioannis highlighted that they found it necessary to inform their audience of the complex cultural and personal context behind the music they performed. This becomes an integral aspect of their performance. It suggests that it is important for musicians with intercultural music projects to find a narrative style (e.g., storytelling), and to incorporate cultural knowledge to their performance as a part of meaningful experience. The goal is to allow the audience to go into the experience and become intrigued to find out more.

The most effective participation is to keep a tight-knit relationship with musicians and professionals with common interests. The group can be small, but long history and rapports help musicians better negotiate meanings across cultures and for an intercultural identity. Individuals moved across cultures for various reasons. Social connections and support need to be nurtured from nothing in the new environment. This requires considerable time, effort, patience, and perseverance, but in the long-term is a wise investment for musical participation and identity negotiation. With sufficient musical competence and motivation, individuals who are willing to reach out to, interact with, and adjust to people of different backgrounds often managed to keep engaging in some intercultural musical projects.

9.3.2 For agenda of organisations and education

Organisations and educational institutions have practical and learning agendas. In comparison to individuals, institutions often have an inter-community level focus, advocating for intercultural contacts and rapports. Their aims include: to preserve and promote a specific community's musical traditions; to encourage intergroup dialogue and learning in the larger society; to support performance-focused musicianship and a participatory/community programmes; and to nurture critical and reflexive perspectives in participants. In practice, conservation and archiving projects were organised to support and teach traditional and/or ethnic musicians to pass down their performance and promote it to a new audience. There are apprenticeship programmes that encourage inter-generational knowledge transfer between experienced and young musicians. Also, festival and event organisers intentionally facilitated collaborations between musicians from different cultural backgrounds.

Aims of organisations, when translated into actions, include making the change self-sustainable and giving participants sets of understandable instructions. Whatever activity or perspectives organisers and educationists want to encourage and nurture in individuals, a long-term impact is hoped for. To achieve that, it means they should design activities and narratives that are

feasible and desirable in the long run. In other words, individuals can find the musical participation and identities offered helpful for them to make ends meet, and to obtain outcomes and identities that they like. Changes and adaptations stick when they become intrinsic to how people can better achieve their interests. In terms of identity, facilitators need to offer meaningful experiences to convey their ultimate aspiration and turn it into sought-after identities.

Language training is often overlooked in intercultural music programmes. It is made too well-known that language does not play an irreplaceable role at the beginning stage for musicians (Rösler, 2015). However, findings suggest that speaking a local language(s) is a critical skill that both home and sojourning musicians find essential, in order for them to have direct and close communication with international musicians and audiences. Language training seems less relevant in the short-term, which side-tracks musicians from their improvement of artistic and professional competencies. However, if for example a funder's goal is to encourage long-term intercultural dialogue between two communities who do not share a language, it would be effective to provide musicians with systematic language training alongside an artistic project (e.g., as part of a residency programme), so that they can communicate their ideas more accurately when necessary. Verbal expressiveness further paves the way for them to participate in another society. They can engage more actively in meaning negotiations, in at least two communities, to define what constitutes good music, musicians, and positive perspectives on cultural differences and intercultural relations.

Many existing programmes are conducted based on a precondition that musicians can speak a common language sufficiently, and the verbal barrier is not of highest concern. In intercultural training (Cortes, 2004) and intergroup mediation through music (Gilboa, 2016), participants' English is already good enough to communicate their ideas, so that the trainers can use music-listening, imagination, and discussion methods in their sessions. Findings suggest that organisational support is useful when it values shared

participation, but also verbal meaning negotiation process. The challenges international musicians met in their projects are sometimes logistic issues, but they were no less important. Logistics - such as language training - is where organisational support makes it more accessible in future for musicians to maintain contact with their host and international collaborators, and even begin their own intercultural projects with more musicians who speak that specific language.

Freelance respondents have relatively high individual autonomy. Their projects ordinarily emerge from a diversity of their experiences and local practice. Various cultural experiences (e.g., imagination, novelty, cultural shock, or stress) have inspired and been incorporated into their musical activities, and sharing the experience with an audience. Therefore, organisations may reflect on what they define as positive changes, and on how those changes can happen in musicians' activities, foci, and intercultural contacts and rapports with minimal top-down pressure. Improvisation-centred group design could be explored (MacDonald & Wilson, 2020).

In actions, organisations can provide professionals an intercultural or global identity through cultural training, in addition to artistic programmes. Pre-departure intercultural coaching sessions can prepare individuals with more realistic expectations. They serve the practicable aspect to know what to expect in the local music scene and public life. They also inform musicians' multiple perspectives on making sense of cultural differences. In its ideal scenario, individuals who have undertaken training are better equipped to be aware of their cultural bias, and to interpret unfamiliar behaviours and reasoning. Hence, trainees would be less likely to feel discouraged by cultural misunderstandings, remaining positive in initiating new intercultural communication in the future.

When targeted at general students who do not play music, nor have a strong music-professional motivation, music-related materials can also offer

participants an engaging experience. Traditional music activities available in immersive school for second-generation immigrant children and third culture kids (e.g., taiko lessons supported by Japanese cultural funding), cultivate a cultural identification and sense of familiarity with the musical tradition in its students. This arrangement makes for potential intercultural musical development when these students grow and feel motivated to integrate those traditional elements, learned during childhood, into their modern composition and performance. Its educational design potential should be further explored.

In summary, sustained interpersonal contact and positive rapports are essential to change individuals' attitudes and imagination, and to undo cognitive habits like categorisation and stereotyping, and overcome the kinds of demoralising stress that respondents identified in Chapter 5. World music, taught within a limited time in class, may only be taken as a further stereotype material, such as a superficial multicultural teaching design on "sari, samosa, steel pan" (Troyna, 1993) when students do not have any close ethnocultural friends outside the classroom (Hess, 2013). Facilitating long-term interaction is critical to letting individuals experience and view culturally different others as complex and unique beings, rather than strangers with a number of convenient labels based on cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.

9.4 Conclusion

9.4.1 Contributions

This study is the first one to combine Kim's communication and cross-cultural adaptation theory with Wenger's communities of practice, applying their concepts to investigate musicians who are in intercultural contact and communication. It includes being exposed to other cultures' music, making a living in foreign communities, playing in international teams, and performing to a global audience. Musicians' accounts, in turn, enriched both theories with their professional and highly emotional perspectives.

The findings contribute to existing research by focusing on professional musicians' intercultural projects, and overlaps between their music-professional and cultural communication. Vocational experience and motivation are predominant in interviews. However, respondents' intercultural experiences as immigrants, refugees, or third culture kids, as a minority or majority in society, significantly shaped their musical narratives and imperatives. The findings also illuminate music's role in mediating non-verbal coordination and synchrony in the short-term, and in providing a positive and personal imagination on another culture, in facilitating long-term intercultural contacts.

This research does not intend to develop moral judgments in music and intercultural domains. It is to serve explorative and informative purposes. Communication and social learning focus on looking at how musical and intercultural experiences can enhance musicians' projects and living across cultures. It reveals what musicians thought they were expected to do, good-enough strategies employed, and how they preferred to define good music and musicians when in contact with other cultures.

Findings highlight the communicative and adaptive challenges respondents met, which allow them to play with culturally different musicians and negotiate competent identities on the boundaries of at least two communities. They live and/or conduct their projects between groups with different customs and ideals, trying to adjust and actively participate in their musical activities. Approaches and perspectives useful in respondents' adaptations may not be universally generalisable. However, because this study's sample is diverse in characteristics and experience, and its data are rich, the insights gained are expected to be widely applicable. Communication skills learned from working for a common goal, alongside performance experiences in public, provide strong evidence as a primary aspect of personal identity. Furthermore, they are invaluable material for people to negotiate an (inter-)cultural identity.

Musicians establish rapports through musical collaboration and imagination (Clayton et al., 2012). Music may limit individuals' learning of coordination, instead of gradually leading them to understand other's reasonings and to check and negotiate for shared meanings. It is consistent with an observation on jazz musicians, that members in improvisation might not share understandings on the same act (Wilson & MacDonald, 2012). Addressing the trade-offs of music in intercultural communication helps make better educational and training design in developing feasible and inspirational activities and competencies.

More musicians are going to experience a globalised world, day-to-day. Migration and high mobility that enables intentional touring and travel means musicians can more readily meet and work with people from previously unfamiliar cultures. In popular sojourning and immigration destinations, local musicians and audiences are more likely to come across and work with internationals, even at home. Even when professionals stay at home, mass media exposes many to a musical world outside. Respondents were knowledgeable of other cultures' instruments, musicians, and music. They played music while imagining across time, considering that this is what musicians do in the past, present, and future. They envisioned it happening across space in Brazil, China, Japan, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Scotland, South Korea, and the USA. The social and musical landscapes are becoming more global in many musicians' experiences and imaginations. Intercultural communication and global vision thereby affect their decisions in life and in music.

Proactive learning and changes may be stressful at the time, but they remain the best strategy for long-term development. Many changes and reflections took place, prompted by practical and technical challenges. Musicians mentioned problems in tunings and acoustics, but more often in finding musicians to form a band, timing and venue of rehearsals, arrangement of acts, allocation of business tasks, keeping ends meeting, and holding people

together as a band. It is not viable for a professional to separate themselves from a continuously evolving and developing world. A self-initiated separation means an individual will stop learning from, and about, culturally different others. In the worst case, when individuals and communities in separation are no longer able to sustain themselves in the face of fluctuating economic and political climates, they will be forced to change with less time, resources, and thus liberty at their disposal.

This study investigates music professionals who have intercultural social experiences. They developed specific routines, mindsets, and modes of living and thinking. Informed by theories and individuals' lived experience and accounts, these findings contribute to understanding how these musicians became who they are with what they did. Their efforts to become a better musician and an Arab/British/Chinese/Greek/Iranian/Iraqi/Scot is an individual decision. They made choices to make the best out of their musical and cultural competencies. They made efforts mainly to better achieve their aims and make sense of the world, so that an up-to-date worldview can guide what they do, interpret, and say. The resulting intercultural music projects and bands serve as an intergroup bridge. Firstly, they connect musicians of different cultural communities, bringing them together across the world. A performance-based career makes musicians particularly active social participants, advocates, and brokers between cultural groups. Secondly, musicians' work in an attempt to express and negotiate a wholesome identity, then to offer a local and global audience a live experience, into an imagined but no less real world of music and culture (Clayton, 2016; Wenger-Trayner et al., 2014).

9.4.2 Future recommendations

More empirical studies and accounts can usefully extend the understandings and terms on musicians' intercultural experiences and communication beyond what was practical to encompass in this PhD project. This explorative study has included a diverse range of musicians. They are from various cultural and musical backgrounds, playing music as semi- and full-time professionals. The

study provides a map on the overlap between music and intercultural communication experience, notwithstanding a fuzzy one. It is observed that mutual contacts and communication across cultural boundaries are essential experiences for musicians' behavioural and psychological changes. Bicultural or multicultural, online or offline, monthly or annually, contact can make a vast difference. Hence, multiple case studies on one specific kind of intercultural project would be useful. A year-long ethnographic study would be ideal, in which researchers can follow and observe behaviours and conversations more closely in group rehearsals and performances. Such a study would also supports research that looks more closely at the experience of host musicians. Countries that are less experienced in hosting intercultural musical projects might benefit from learning how their musicians can be supported to organise such collaborations.

I experienced limited capacity to participate, alternate between perspectives, and be well-studied in two separate disciplines across social science and humanities. Thus, another direction of future research is to have intercultural communication researchers, music researchers, and professional musicians work collaboratively. Such a team would be equipped to shed more music-professional insights on music's role in intercultural communication, and contribute further to the development of new intercultural theory. Vice versa, the interdisciplinary study could inform and inspire music projects. If a researcher were also a professional musician, they may adopt methods like participant observation and action research. A combination of researcher and musician perspectives would give rise to a boundary experience and view that is different from discoveries from full-time musicians and full-time academics.

9.4.3 COVID-19: Unexpected circumstance on performing arts

COVID-19 broke out during the final stage of this study, after all data had been gathered. It pressed a pause button on face-to-face communications that comprised the primary interaction investigated in this research. The unforeseeable pandemic demonstrated, in real-time, how individuals and

communities are pushed to change their lifestyle and ways of working. With lockdown, quarantine, and travel bans, many professional communities adapted swiftly by switching to remote work. For an uncertain future, few individuals can travel internationally or perform in large venues. Musicians' activities - including rehearsals, concerts, and meeting up with friends or other musicians - were interrupted. Being forced to give up offline activities, professionals, who had the necessary economic resources and infrastructure, turned towards mass communication, experimenting with rehearsing, performing, streaming, and teaching on virtual platforms (Vance et al., 2021). Thus far, musicians have shown high resilience by streaming their performances from home and continuing to perform activities in one way or another (e.g., *Pop Up Pipa* project by Wu Man; *Voices of Hope* festival held by Carnegie Hall; and Tusk Festival 2020, which streamed sets from musicians across at least 4 continents: <https://tuskfestival.com/past-festivals/tusk-virtual-2020/>).

The pandemic rendered many in-person practical implications of this study out of context. It presented musicians and their intercultural projects different sets of challenges. Musicians' swift adoption of streaming tools gives hope. Meanwhile, computer-based communication largely replacing face-to-face communication for rehearsals and performances, brings new challenges and questions. For instance, how may professionals sustain intercultural groups and projects with members being in different countries? How do they keep meeting up and maintaining contact with new musicians worldwide? And what are other implications of using virtual communication on individuals' music-professional activities and intercultural communication? There may be limitations to the musical practice that can be achieved across the internet. It is unclear as well how much reach musicians have to wider audiences. The audience could be anyone in the world; but in practice, they may be smaller than a live gig. There are still significant technical barriers to many musical interactions. However, the surge in online communication on various platforms may facilitate the extra-musical processes of intercultural music projects that

the current study has shown the importance of, with more musicians using digital platforms to keep in touch. The insights of the study could be extended when these novel intercultural musical interactions are explored by future research.

At the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a more sedentary lifestyle, and virtual communication and events went mainstream. Communities of Practice concepts have been adopted in studying online music communities and identity, on Irish traditional music (Waldron & Veblen, 2008), old-time music (Waldron, 2009), and various digital musical platforms (Partti, 2012). Virtual communities of practice and identity for musical professionals could be the trend for future research.

Although this study focused on a face-to-face communication context, it mentioned briefly how musicians' virtual contact and mass communication influence their musical and cultural learning. Respondents did not bring up their use of host and ethnocultural mass media for information. However, they exhibited an international orientation in their music listening habits and extensive use of various platforms, such as YouTube, Spotify, and Facebook. Those platforms have been utilised to reach out to, and communicate with, fans and potential audiences across countries. They serve as tangible and, more importantly, socially accessible evidence for an individual's international connections and activities. Musicians' choices of language and messaging and social media platform(s) used by specific cultural groups show their ethnocultural social ties.

Individuals will adapt and find their ways to work and network in global virtual communities. Nevertheless, some challenges do not disappear; for instance, language barriers, technical and financial feasibility for collaboration, making sense of cultural and individual differences, and finding effective and sustainable communication styles in work and in life. Individuals will still come across these challenges on their way to becoming a better musician, in a world

with growing intercultural contacts, both in person and on the internet. The most formidable challenge is to ascertain meanings and self-narratives to convince oneself to keep actively participating in intercultural musical projects and working at negotiating meanings, values, and purposes for it, in spite of dissents, criticisms, vacillation, and self-doubt.

In 2019, 40-year-old well-known magazine *fRoots* announced, on its official website, that it had to suspend future issues due to a lack of funding support (<https://frootsmag.com/froots-magazine-statement-2nd-july-2019>). Despite the fact that it is different from what musician respondents do, this nonetheless reflects monetary and practical hurdles those professionals also have to jump over to come together across the world, and to maintain their intercultural musical activities.

In summary, it is as Yo-Yo Ma put it: bringing the world together one note at a time. Firstly, music activities bring musicians across the world into one room and onto one stage. They reach out to each other in participation because of music. Secondly, their individual developments reinvigorate and create new music and meanings, reifying an entirety of their musical and cultural worlds. Intercultural communication can result in incidents of misunderstandings, stereotypes, discriminations, and conflicts. Musicians are not in a cultural vacuum, and are always under the influence of contacts across cultural boundaries. Countries such as the UK and USA have long identified migration, acculturation, and intergroup relations as their domestic issues. Long-term intercultural contacts resulted in various local circumstances: optimistic mutual accommodation in one place, and grave social fragmentation in another. It also resulted in concepts such as multiculturalism, identity politics, and intercultural dialogue. Such intercultural concepts and identities overflow to musical communities, defining and affecting individuals' musical development. However, their music and talk convey positive experiences and understandings regarding cultural differences and adaptations. It adds the third and final layer of bringing-together in terms of social development. Music,

actions, and words from respondents, among other musicians, keep reminding the larger society that there are reasons to believe that, when the world is brought together, mutual and creative adaptation is the right thing to do.

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Appendix A. Interview Questions

B) = Question on behavioural aspect

P) = Question on psychological aspect

Musical attitudes and practice

B) Can you tell me about the music you play now? Is this group your main ensemble?

What music tradition does your music draw on? How?

How did you come to play the music you are playing now?

Is the music you are playing now the style you play quite often?

How did you get into this field? This band?

Through which kind of opportunity or event?

Was there someone who introduced you to this?

How long have you been playing with the people in your group?

B) Could you tell me about your primary instrument and how you learnt it?

What was the first style of music you played, and why?

When did you start to learn it?

Was it at home or school?

What did other people (family, friends, teachers, etc.) think about you learning that instrument?

B) What music do you like to listen to now?

What have you listened to in the past?

How has what you listen to shaped the music you play?

B) Do you play in any other groups that are important to you?

How did the band come about?

Who else plays in it?

Who are your audience?

P) Does it feel different, playing in different groups?

B) Which other styles of music you are playing or have played?

Why did you choose to play these styles?

How and why you have tried to combine styles?

B) Can you tell me about any people that have particularly influenced how and what you play?

B) How, if at all, do you think your own music style has changed through the years?

B) Is there anything that put you off?

A genre of music? Some instruments? Being a professional?

P) How do you think of the state of your music in your country? (Or here? if the respondent is a local)

Did it change a lot during the last decades? How? Why?

Ask about their student's thoughts, if they have any

If they've never been to abroad, how they come into contact? How they learn those music?

Cultural attitudes and practice

P) Have you spent time abroad? Tell me about that

Which country/countries did you go to?

How is that country and its music different from where you are from?

How do you think of the country? Musically? Culturally?

B) Is it easy to learn their language? And to make friends there?

B) How much have you worked with musicians from other countries?

Which kinds of music do they play?

How did that come about?

What was it like?

B) Could you give me any examples of important things that you have learnt from musicians in other traditions?

B) How have you managed to get other musicians to combine the styles that you have?

P) Do you think it is possible to play your traditional music on instruments from other countries? Or the other way around – playing other styles of music on some traditional instruments of yours?

P) How about popular music or classical music? Do you sometimes play them with your instrument?

P) Some people may refer your music as world music. How do you think about it?

P) Any advice to young musicians who are interested in playing the music you are playing now, what would it be?

P) Is there any musical traditions that you plan to learn and play in future?

B) What are you planning for this group next year or maybe even next five years?

Appendix B. Transcription conventions

(hello) Transcriber's best guess at unclear utterance

{it was} Words added to help comprehension

? Rising or questioning intonation

[...] Section of transcript omitted

The transcription conventions are adapted from Schnurr, S. (2012). *Exploring professional communication: Language in action*. Routledge.

Appendix C. Edinburgh College of Art Research Ethics Policy and Procedures

Edinburgh College of Art attaches great importance to the ethical implications of all research activities carried out by its staff and students.

The Ethics Sub-Committee is responsible for ensuring the adoption, implementation and review of ethics procedures, as well as raising awareness of ethical issues in research.

All research carried out by members of the School, including that for undergraduate and postgraduate dissertations and postgraduate projects will be subject to some form of ethical review. The policies and procedures detailed below, developed by the Committee, therefore apply to all teaching and research staff, undergraduate and postgraduate students, honorary fellows, and other affiliates.

These procedures have been developed in line with recommendations from the College of Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Working Party and Research Ethics Framework, and are undertaken in connection with any considerations that may be required by external collaborators, funders, or other external bodies. Ethical approval for collaborations outside of the University are subject to the policies and procedures of the Principal Investigator.

ECA has therefore developed a three-tiered system for its ethical review of research activities which is designed to be simple to use, and also to ensure that any complex cases can be given the attention and consideration required of the Committee.

All researchers, undergraduate and postgraduate students deemed to be undertaking a research project must start at Level 1 by completing a self-audit check-list through the online submission system. If any issues are identified, applicants are then prompted to proceed through the levels of assessment as detailed below to submit their application for ethical approval at either Level 2 or Level 3. An outline of the process is also available as a flowchart.

Level 1

All staff and students must complete the initial self-assessment checklist, available through the online submission system. Students completing the checklist should do so under the guidance of their project supervisor/course organiser.

Once completed, and if no risks are identified, applicants are asked to email to confirm that "... I have carried out the School Ethics self-audit in relation to my proposed research project [insert name and funding body (as appropriate)]/[insert name and programme (as appropriate)] and that no reasonably foreseeable ethical risks have been identified."

Academic staff should email to the RKEO office as prompted. For UG and PG students, these should be submitted as requested to appropriate PG and UGTO email addresses

This process must be completed prior to the submission of research grant applications/project proposals, and before any work is undertaken on the project. Administrative staff will keep a copy of the checklist and email on file.

It is assumed that most research undertaken in ECA will fall under the Level 1 category.

If any potential risks are identified through the initial self-assessment process, applicants must proceed to Level 2 as directed through the online submission form to apply for ethical approval.

Level 2

If the completion of the Level 1 self-audit checklist identifies the need to move to Level 2, applicants must answer a series of questions providing more detailed information for consideration. Again, students should complete this under the guidance of their supervisor/course organiser.

Full assessment at Level 2 is always indicated when the research involves participants deemed vulnerable (young people, adults with mental impairment etc). As such, most research that involves an empirical element e.g. questions of consent, data storage will require Level 2

Proposers may also need to supplement this checklist with any requirements of a governing body or sponsor.

On completion of the Level 2 questionnaire, colleagues are then asked to email the appropriate contacts as prompted to advise of submission. A copy of any project proposal documentation is also requested.

If the application is classed as Level 2, it will be scrutinised by the following as appropriate: ECA Director and Deputy Director of Research and KE; Director of UG Studies; Director and Deputy Director of PG Studies; Head of

ECA RKEO Office. Responses are then made to the applicant. Cases that cannot be satisfactorily resolved or approved at this level from actions from Directors and the Applicant are referred to Level 3

Level Three

Full assessment at Level 3 is always indicated where there is the potential for psychological, emotional or physical risk to respondents or researchers, where there is the possibility for reputation damage, or if a particular aspect of research design, e.g. covert research, requires particular justification.

No further forms require to be completed at this stage.

If an application is deemed to be Level 3, the completed submission and the research proposal are circulated to the ECA Research and KE Committee and discussed in full.

Comments are noted and a decision is passed on if the project can proceed. If a decision is not reached, the Committee can seek external advice from College and lay representatives. All Level 3 applications are also reported to the College Ethics Committee.

L Fleming, 03.03.15

Appendix D. Verbal Consent Script

I am Qinhan (Cate) Chen, a PhD researcher at the University of Edinburgh, and I am now studying world music musician's experience and practice.

To explore these I would like to have a recorded interview with you, in which I would ask questions about your musical activities, experience, and thoughts on them.

If you choose so, the recordings and recording-transcripts will be kept anonymous, without any reference to your identity, and your identity will be concealed in any reports written from the interviews.

Please feel free to say as much or as little as you want. You can decide not to answer any question, or to stop the interview any time you want. Only you, the researcher and my supervisors will have access to the recorded material, which will be transcribed anonymously for analysis. The research results will be reported in a non-judgemental way. There are no known risks associated with participation in the study.

Appendix E. Detailed Examples of Theory-Led Thematic Analysis on Interview, Observation, and Supplementary Documents

Interview

Makoto is a second generation Japanese American. He was born and brought up in St. Louis in the US, which is a city with few Japanese population. He started learning classical flute in his teenage, and his flute teacher introduced him jazz flute. Later on he went to college to study jazz flute in New York. In his late 20s, he went to Japan to study with and join a top-class taiko group. After staying in Japan for ten years, learning and touring with the group, he then moved back to the US and is now based in Brooklyn.

When the researcher asked why him joint a taiko group in Japan, the respondent mentioned his first search for his “root”. It happened after his realisation that African American musicians have a deep connection with jazz music, which he does not have. This music-cultural relationship between “jazz” and “African American” is important because it is particularly emphasised as a start for his music-cultural identity reflection.

<R>: So your background is in classical and jazz kind of background, so how and why, what lead you to go to Japan to learn taiko in the very first place?

<Makoto>: Basically I play {taiko} when I was young. I started like, when I was like 11 years' old in my hometown, but it was very recreational. I wasn't, it wasn't a serious practice for me. But then yes, getting into classical music and jazz music, I went to a conservatoire for jazz, like school for music, and I realised that I didn't have a cultural relationship with jazz music, you know, in the way like, for example, black friends of mine did. Their connection with their heritage and music was so strong that I started to think “okay, well, where is that for me.” And that really kind of help me to wanna study Japanese music. And so long story short, I saw [band name] performance at Carnegie Hall, and heard about the apprenticeship where you study Noh and Kyogen, and various dances, Japanese folk dances, and classical music, you know, Japanese classical performing arts. That whole kind of holistic training ravished me, is first thing actually, then also the idea of performing with them that really attracted me, so that's how I ended up in Japan.

The respondent mentioned that this prescribed identity does enable him to feel a level of affinity and self-efficacy, making it is easier for him to imagine becoming a recognised member of their root cultural community through learning. Makoto reflected on his witnessing the music-cultural connection

much appreciated by American society between being musical and ethnocultural identity. This pushed him to turn a focus to his own root identity and related music, and eventually lead to his learning of Japanese traditional music, instead of music of other cultures like Indian classical music.

Makoto did not mention anything like a lack of jazz musical competence felt because of such identity gap, but it was apparent that he realised African American is perceived as having more comparative advantage in playing jazz. If he wants to find his counterpart, it would be some music genres of Japanese tradition. Those paragraphs were thus coded under Encounter (motivation) and Stress (reification gap).

Observation

In Min-jun and Do-yun's concert at Fringe Festival, the introduction on the performance was printed on the group's concert flyers, and there was no verbal introduction during their live concerts. In Karen's performance in Milton Keynes, musicians took turn to give a brief introduction of each piece's background before starting their performance. There was an intention shown from musicians to interact with audience, and the musicians invited people to stand up and dance near the end of their performance.

The communicative choice of not having spoken introduction can be made deliberately, considering specific artistic or generic features (like some contemporary performance); or it can be affected by musician's language proficiency and personality where they feel nervous to talk with audience on the stage; it might be unintended where musicians would in fact like to get audience familiar with the different traditional Korean music elements in their creation. In any cases, most behaviours observed from live performance are considered an accumulative adaptation result from musicians on what they learnt (not) to change over time, thus sorted under Learning (alignment; imagination).

Supplementary documents

Yerko Fuenzalida Lorca, a kora and lyre musician who was born in Peru, identifies with a Spanish social identity, and is currently living and performing in Taiwan, was invited by a local television programme to talk and perform in 2016. The programme was uploaded by the channel to YouTube. There is a conversation in the comments below the line between a commenter and him:

[*YouTube commenter*]

Nice try pal, you obviously need more practice with the "Kalefa Ba".

Yerko Fuenzalida Lorca

Dear Paa, I take my time to respond to your participation. I think, you did not see the interview or you do not understand anything about the video. It is very clear that your comment is out of place. Because if after watching the video, you say those words, and besides you have nothing more to contribute, obviously you know absolutely nothing in relation to "Kelefa Ba" and the culture of Jaliyaa. Obviously your attitude is not like a specialist in kora and music. Only a person who has studied the discipline of "Jaliyaa" and "Kora" can really understand the technical and interpretive difficulty this means. And feel humility and respect for the work of another artist. I've had an interest in knowing your channel, For I know your great level in the song "Kelefa Ba"! But I was surprised, because I could not see anything, because you do not have any video in your channel! Reality? Nothing to share, just comment? Obviously you are afraid... Many musicians, do not dare to upload their music on the internet, for comments like the one you have exposed. I support all criticisms, only if they have a constructive intention. If you have something really timely, and interesting to contribute, I hope to read your words. Thanks for your time.

[*YouTube commenter*]

You are very gracious in your response to my observation. It is true that I do not have anything on my channel, but that is how I would like to keep it for the mean time. I'm actually a great fan of the kora players Balleke Sissoko, Toumani Diabate, Seikou Keita, Sona Jorbarteh, Tunde Jegede, Wali Cham and many others who are less famous. I have almost all their works and have become very familiar with the repertoire of their homeland. I am actually West African but not from the Mandé areas but that doesn't mean there is no interaction with the other parts of the West African subregion. I have frequent contact with people from all over this subregion, and I know the "feel" and the language tonation of the people. The music we make is expressed the same way. That is how I knew your "Kelefa ba" didn't sound "right", to be honest with you it sounded very different for me. I have heard this musical piece being played by Balleke since childhood. It sounded like you were speaking the Language with a very heavy accent. That is what I meant to convey... You obviously need more practice with it for it to sound "right".

This written interaction illustrates one of the stress faced particularly by musicians who plays traditional music of other cultural traditions. In Lorca's

response, he questioned commenter's musical competence including knowledge and attitude. Lorca described a musician in kora and jaliyaa (kora storytelling) as someone who understands the technical and interpretative difficulties in learning them, having a learnt attitude of 'humility and respect'. It is implied he identify with and consider himself belonging to that group of musician, behaving and thinking in the way he appreciated, while the commenter does not. Meanwhile, he recognises there were difficulties in mastering the techniques and understanding in the process of music learning, constructing his kora and jaliyaa musician identity.

"Many musicians, do not dare to upload their music on the Internet, for comments like the one you have exposed." suggests Lorca also considers negative comments as a stressor, but by uploading his music online he belongs to the group of musicians who overcome such fear and 'dare' to put his music under judgment. To counter Lorca's argument, commenter firstly proved his musical identity as a kora fan by listing a number of kora musicians, arguing that to make a fair judgment, one needs not to be someone is experienced in playing kora. What makes this argument interesting is that the commenter then brought up a West African cultural identity to show they learnt how a kora music should "feel" and sound like from their longer experience of contact and interaction with the people, familiar with their language intonation and music.

The contrast between musicians' focus on musical competence and commenter's negotiation for their credibility in music by cultural identity, experience, and understanding, bring forwards again the gap between musician's cultural and musical membership into attention.

This written communication among others illustrates the stress faced especially by musicians who perform music of other cultures. Lorca in this case has learnt to set higher criteria for commenters, where he would accept constructive comments from kora musicians of professional community. While saying that, it is noted Lorca's long reply also shows he was still stressed by the comment so that he felt the need to reply and justify for his kora performance. Consequently, this written communication from the musician in response to criticisms supported my coding in the Stress (participation gap; reification gap).