

# “Get Up, Stand Up, Stand Up for Your Rights!” The Jamaicanization of Youth Across 11 Countries Through Reggae Music?

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## Abstract

We investigated whether Reggae preferences are associated with similar values across cultures compared with its culture of origin—Jamaica. Remote acculturation predicts that Reggae listeners across countries will share similar cultural values with Reggae listeners in Jamaica regardless of their cultural or geographical distance from the Caribbean island. We analyzed the correlations between preferences for Reggae music and Schwartz’s 10 value types in university student samples from Jamaica and 11 other societies in Europe, South America, Africa, and Asia (total  $N = 2,561$ ). In Jamaica, preferences for Reggae music were most strongly correlated with

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openness to change values and self-enhancement values. Across the other cultures, openness to change was the value dimension most strongly correlated with Reggae preference. Results also indicate some variations in Reggae's value associations and its similarity to the culture of origin. Reggae's value associations were more similar to Jamaica's in samples that are closer culturally in terms of Individualism/Collectivism scores, and closer geographically in terms of kilometers. In sum, results provide some support for remote value acculturation via Reggae listening across countries (i.e., "Jamaicanization") moderated by cultural and geographical proximity.

### Keywords

remote acculturation, music preferences, media, Reggae, Jamaica, individualism, emerging adults

"Get Up, Stand Up, Stand up for Your Rights!" So begins the world-famous Reggae song by Bob Marley recorded in 1973 (Marley, 1973; see appendix). Not only is the tune unmistakable from the opening melodic progression of *B-C D-E*, but its message of empowerment toward social change is equally iconic. Reggae music, birthed in Jamaica in the 1960s, has since that time communicated these key cultural values of Jamaicans to Reggae fans across the globe. The music of this relatively small island has made a big political impact in other nations during periods of internal social unrest (e.g., Marley's 1979 song "Zimbabwe" chanted "we're gonna fight, fight for our rights . . . Africans a liberate Zimbabwe" one year before the nation gained independence from the United Kingdom). However, it is not known whether the message of Jamaican Reggae music is represented at the individual level of Jamaicans' cultural values and whether Reggae listeners outside of Jamaica acculturate remotely to the cultural values of Jamaica through this music. The purpose of this article is to explore the values associated with preferences for Reggae music in a cross-cultural sample of young adults in Jamaica compared with youth in 11 other countries. In line with remote acculturation theory (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015), listening to music from a specific culture might be one way of acculturating to the values of that culture.

This study, therefore, investigates whether Reggae listeners outside Jamaica will share similar values with Reggae listeners in Jamaica. Furthermore, we address whether geographical or cultural distance from the Caribbean island facilitates this value similarity in other cultures. Reggae has been included in prior studies on the structure of music preferences (e.g., Colley, 2008; Schaefer & Sedlmeier, 2009), but this is the first study to investigate Reggae in relation to personal values or remote acculturation across cultures. It is important to investigate the influence of media, such as music, on values and their transmission due to music's ubiquity in everyday life, especially for youth and young adults, and the cross-cultural fluency of culturally diverse music styles. The current study adds to a growing remote acculturation literature: Prior studies have included a few specific family values such as family obligations (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015), but this is the first study to use a comprehensive set of personal values and focus exclusively on remote values acculturation in greater depth.

### Music and Values of Young Adults

Music is a cultural form; therefore, music is embedded within culture and culture within music. Cross-cultural research shows that music preferences of young adults are related to their personal and cultural values (Boer, 2009). For example, in a sample of nearly 1,000 young adults in Brazil, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Germany, Boer (2009) found that those who liked Rock genres (e.g., metal) tended to reject conservatism and tradition values, whereas Pop genre lovers (e.g., rap) valued openness to change and self-enhancement values, and Classic genre lovers (e.g., classical) tended to be more self-transcendent and appreciative of beauty.

Several theories explain these associations between music and personal values. Music can be considered both a socialization agent (social learning theory: Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963) and a self-socialization agent (interactionist perspective: Swann, Rentfrow, & Guinn, 2003; uses and gratifications theory: E. Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974). Coyne, Padilla-Walker, and Howard's (2013) review of media use among 21st century emerging adults integrates these perspectives—both socialization processes may work in tandem. Indeed, Bardi, Buchanan, Goodwin, Slabu, and Robinson's (2014) recent longitudinal studies show clear evidence of the combined effects of self-selection and socialization of values following a self-directed life transition. In particular, these researchers found significant increases in openness to change values over a year and a half among recent Polish migrants to Britain, providing strong support for the socialization hypothesis (i.e., experiences → value change) during the acculturation process following migration (Bardi et al., 2014). Taken together, young people likely choose to listen to certain music to meet self-development needs including identity formation, and this music then influences them as they interact with it and apply its messages to their values, attitudes, and behaviors (see North & Hargreaves, 1999).

This is consistent with Boer's (2009) integration of uses and gratification theory with attitude function theory (e.g., Herek, 1987) and expectancy-value theory (Eccles et al., 1983) as applied to music preferences and their associations to personal values. Music preferences can serve the function of expressing the attitude holder's values (value-expressive function; D. Katz, 1960) and also serve young people's values and identity development (cf. Boer et al., 2013). Boer argued that although music preferences are motivated and depend partly on the fit between one's values and those in the music, they also reinforce and shape personal values and actions. In line with this, experimental studies show that music has the power to motivate behavior because listening to certain types of music activates particular value mind-sets and hence value-associated behavior is more likely to be shown. A number of studies have shown, for instance, that lyrics in music can enhance prosocial behaviors and reduce misogynist attitudes (Greitemeyer, 2009; Greitemeyer, Hollingdale, & Traut-Mattausch, 2015). Boer, Fischer, and Hanke (2014) found evidence that the prosocial values inferred from music lyrics can facilitate the prosociality effects of music. In sum, music transmits value messages, and this results in value-expressive functions of music preferences as well as value-motivating effects of music reception.

## Music as a Potential Vehicle of Remote Values Acculturation

Psychological acculturation refers to the changes in behavior, values, or identity following intercultural contact (Sam & Berry, 2006; S. J. Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Remote acculturation holds that nonmigrant individuals can become acculturated to the culture of a geographically and historically separate place through indirect and/or intermittent contact with that culture (G. M. Ferguson, 2013). Remote acculturation expands the traditional understanding of acculturation proposed in 1936, which required direct and continuous contact between culturally different individuals/groups for acculturation to occur (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Remote acculturation is a modern phenomenon precipitated by globalization forces, including media, which bring once distant cultures into contact without permanent migration. Remote acculturation aligns with the new paradigm of polycultural psychology, which argues that individuals dynamically construct their individual culture by adopting "partial and plural cultural affiliations" and intermittently engaging with "some elements of their primary culture and some elements of other cultures" (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015, pp. 634-635). This perspective—that whole cultures are not adopted in their entirety (not even one's original culture), rather parts of cultures are adopted (e.g., some values)—is particularly apt for remote acculturation through music and other media because these avenues of cultural transmission can only realistically communicate parts of a culture. This article focuses on remote *values* acculturation specifically,

whereas prior articles have highlighted remote behavioral acculturation (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015) and remote identity acculturation (Y. L. Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2015).

Following cross-sectional immigrant acculturation work (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2011), much cross-sectional remote acculturation research (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012) has focused on measuring acculturation indicators/outcomes such as hypothesized differences in values, practices, or identity between the acculturating group and comparison group(s). G. M. Ferguson and Bornstein's (2012) empirical findings among 245 Jamaican adolescents (and mothers) living on the island demonstrated a significant orientation toward European American culture among one in three youth (and one in 10 mothers). Compared with culturally traditional peers, these "Americanized Jamaican" adolescents, as they were termed, reported relatively high European American orientation despite never having lived in the United States, in addition to lower traditional family values, and higher intergenerational discrepancies regarding family values. In terms of family values and European American orientation, Americanized Jamaicans bore a closer resemblance to comparison samples of Jamaican immigrant adolescents and European American youth living in the United States than to culturally traditional peers on the island (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Remote acculturation was replicated in a second cohort of 222 Jamaican adolescents (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015).

Media has been the chief vehicle of remote intercultural contact in recent studies. U.S. television (TV) consumption is a principal correlate of higher odds of Americanization among Jamaican adolescent girls (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015) and among South African university students (G. M. Ferguson & Adams, 2016). Music has not yet been explored as a vehicle of remote acculturation but stands as a powerful possibility given its ubiquity and fundamental role in human culture and experience. Adolescence through young adulthood is likely to be a sensitive period for remote acculturation via music. Young people are generally highly committed to music and have greater access and openness to external cultural influences, which informs their ongoing cultural and ethnic identity development (Arnett, 2002; Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011; Phinney, 1990). There is evidence that music styles can be used to construct cultural identity. In a cross-cultural sample of young people in six countries, preferences for indigenous traditional music with deep cultural and historical roots were positively associated with national identity (Boer et al., 2013). Moreover, data supported an identity construction hypothesis whereby music preferences predicted cultural identity, over the opposing identity expression model. If indigenous music of one's country can promote national identity specific to that culture, then it is plausible that listeners in other countries can become involved with the specific cultural values transmitted through the music via remote values acculturation.

Fans of a particular genre of music affiliate with each other and are likely to socialize each other into the values embedded within the music through their social interactions. In a series of experimental and field studies with young adults in Germany and Hong Kong, Boer and colleagues (2011) demonstrated that young adults with similar musical preferences also share a similar value orientation which fosters social bonds between them. Shared value orientations of individuals who are committed to the same music has led us to the prediction that values of Reggae listeners around the globe are likely to be similar as they acculturate remotely to Jamaican Reggae value associations, which are described next.

## **Jamaican Culture and Reggae Music**

Jamaica is an island located in the Caribbean Sea between North and South America, measuring approximately 50 by 150 miles. With less than three million residents, it is the third largest Caribbean island and largest English-speaking Caribbean country. Jamaica's population is primarily Black (>85%, CARICOM Capacity Development Programme, 2001) descending from West African slaves whose transport to the island began in the 1500s.

## *The Culture*

African cultures have been a particularly influential force in shaping the culture of Jamaica as the majority of the populace shares this ancestry, probably originating in West Africa including Ghana. This is evidenced by Jamaica's score of 39 on Hofstede's (2001) Individualism/Collectivism Index (range = 6-91; lower numbers = more collectivistic; Ghana = 15). More importantly, Jamaican culture tolerates ambiguity and change extremely well, as evidenced by a very low score of 13 on Hofstede's Uncertainty Avoidance Index (range = 8-112; lower numbers = less avoidant; Ghana = 46). Deviating from the norm is generally allowed in Jamaica, as is innovation, and rules are observed only if they seem to work well. Jamaica's high uncertainty tolerance may be influenced by its climatoeconomic context as a hot tropical island with an unpredictable 6-month hurricane season, and being a developing country with an unstable and devaluing currency (Kong, 2012). In the face of change, a characteristic Jamaican response is "no problem, man." Jamaica's culture also has a distinct quality of resilience, resistance, and revolt against oppression. An early example comes from the Jamaican Maroons, a famed group of ex-slaves in West rural Jamaica who escaped into the mountains in the late 1600s, established free communities, and signed peace treaties with the English colonizers (Tortello, n.d.). This cultural value of self-empowerment to resist oppression has been transmitted across generations as recent qualitative interviews with Jamaican adolescents show that they describe their culture using themes of toughness and resilience (G. M. Ferguson & Iturbide, 2013).

## *The Indigenous Religion*

Rastafarianism is an Afrocentric religion birthed in Jamaica, which reveres late Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie as God (Ahkell, 1999) and holds central values of Black Nationalism and Black rights (and supremacy even). Rastafarianism began among poor Black Jamaicans and was, at first, rejected by middle and upper class Jamaican society due to unorthodox practices in terms of grooming (i.e., dreadlocks), marijuana use (i.e., for religious rituals), diet (i.e., vegetarian, salt-free), worship (i.e., deification of Haile Selassie), and eschewing of government and commerce (Ahkell, 1999; White, 2006). However, Rastafarian tenets of brotherhood and rejection of oppression were embraced in Jamaica as indigenous antidotes to the political violence in the 1970s. This unique cultural form has not escaped the notice of cross-cultural psychologists. Berry (2008) described Rastafarianism as an example of cultural "revitalization" (i.e., deepening engagement with Jamaican culture) in the face of global culture (i.e., European colonialism). The 2001 Jamaica Census records approximately 24,000 self-identifying Rastafarians, though this is likely an underestimate.

## *The Indigenous Music*

Rastafarianism was the lifeblood of early Reggae music. Many founding Reggae musicians were Rastas and the tenets of Rastafarianism have inspired Reggae lyrics since its inception. Influenced by U.S. R&B, jazz, and blues music, and local music forms having roots in Africa, Jamaican musicians in the 1950s birthed "Ska." Ska was a forerunner to the more uptempo style called "Rocksteady," which was an early form of Reggae music (White, 2006). Reggae evolved in the period immediately following Jamaica's independence from England in 1962. National jollity gave way to uncertainty and social strife as the poor nation faced its problems, and Reggae music became an important medium for communicating calls for unity, level-headedness, and social progress (White, 2006). Thus, Reggae is distinctive because it delivers empowering messages of social change as a response to the poverty and societal inequalities of ghetto life. See Table 1 for examples of Reggae songs from prominent Jamaican Reggae artists whose lyrics embody these central themes.

**Table 1.** Sampling of Reggae Songs From Jamaican and Non-Jamaican Artists Communicating Themes of Empowerment and Change.

Songwriter	Year	Song	Excerpt from lyrics	Themes
<b>Jamaican artists</b>				
Delroy Wilson and Bunny Lee	1971	Better Must Come	. . . I've been trying a long, long time still I didn't make it, Everything I try to do seems to go wrong, It seems I have done something wrong But they're trying to keep me down, Who God bless, no one curse . . . Better must come one day, Better must come, they can't conquer me. . .	Empowerment, hope, change
Jimmy Cliff	1972	The Harder They Come	. . . As sure as the sun will shine, I'm gonna get my share now, what's mine And then the harder they come, The harder they fall, one and all . . . Well, the oppressors are trying to keep me down, Trying to drive me underground, And they think that they have got the battle won . . . And I keep on fighting for the things I want, though I know that when you're dead you can't, But I'd rather be a free man in my grave, than living as a puppet or a slave	Empowerment, resilience, dominance
Jimmy Cliff	1972	You Can Get it if You Really Want	. . . You can get it if you really want, But you must try, try and try, try and try You'll succeed at last Persecution, you must bear, Win or lose, you got to get your share Got your mind set on a dream, You can get it though hard it may seem now . . . Opposition will come your way but the hotter the battle you see, It's the sweeter the victory . . .	Empowerment, perseverance, dominance
Bob Marley	1973	Get Up, Stand Up	. . . Get up, stand up: stand up for your rights! Get up, stand up: don't give up the fight! . . . Most people think, Great God will come from the skies, Take away everything, And make everybody feel high. But if you know what life is worth, You will look for yours on earth: And now you see the light, You stand up for your rights. Jah! . . .	Empowerment, resistance, freedom of thought and religion
Vincent Ford and Bob Marley	1974	No Woman, No Cry	. . . Say I remember when we used to sit in a government yard in Trench Town Good friends we have, Oh, good friends we lost along the way In this great future, You can't forget your past, So dry your tears, I say No woman, no cry, No woman, no cry, Little darling, don't shed no tears . . . Then we would cook cornmeal porridge, Of which I'll share with you My feet is my only carriage, And so I've got to push on through . . .	Empowerment, comfort, solidarity

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Songwriter	Year	Song	Excerpt from lyrics	Themes
Peter Tosh	1977	Equal Rights	. . . Everyone is crying out for peace, yes, None is crying out for justice I don't want no peace, I need equal rights and justice Just give me my share, equal rights and justice . . . And there will be no crime, equal rights and justice . . . Palestinians are fighting for equal rights and justice Down in Angola, equal rights and justice, Down in Botswana, equal rights and justice . . .	Common struggle for equality and justice, empowerment, change
Bob Marley and Lee Perry	1977	Exodus	. . . Men and people will fight ya down when ya see Jah light . . . So we gonna walk - all right - through de roads of creation We the generation trod through great tribulation Exodus, all right! Movement of Jah people! . . . Move! Move! Move! Move! Move! Jah come to break downpression, rule equality, wipe away transgression, set the captives free . . .	Empowerment, progress toward change, freedom
Dennis Brown	1978	Equal Rights	. . . Every man has an equal right to live and be free, no matter what colour, class or race he may be Treat him right, Lord and oh, treat him good, take a tip from me, don't hang him on a tree . . . Remember how we're all of flesh and blood, lift your brother up, don't push him in the mud You should never give against another man . . .	Equality, brotherhood, freedom
Burning Spear	1991	Come, Come	. . . Oh, Jah Rastafari help us one and all, Come mek we say what we have to say Come along, come mek we do what we have to do, Need more strength to fight this struggle . . . To fight this struggle, you got to be brave . . .	Empowerment for change
<b>Non-Jamaican artists</b>				
Lucky Dube (South Africa)	1988	Together As One	Too many people hate apartheid, Why do you like it? Hey you Rasta man, Hey European, Indian man We've got to come together as one, Not forgetting the Japanese The cats and the dogs, Have forgiven each other, What is wrong with us All those years, Fighting each other, But no solution	Change, reconciliation
Los Fabulosos Cadillacs (Argentina)	1989	El Sonido Joven De America	Ya está por explotar el sonido joven de América una ola de calor que se siente venir y que vas a estallar tenés que confiar, el alma sos vos, no puedo parar, ya no vas a parar. Hey, yo soy como vos, que somos lo malo de la generación nada está por terminar, es solo vivir esta ola de calor	Change, empowerment, progress

(continued)



**Table 1. (continued)**

Songwriter	Year	Song	Excerpt from lyrics	Themes
Gentleman (Germany)	1999	A Who Dem Want Blame	A who dem want blame, get up, stand up, cause people, it's a shame Dem say dem share your pain, a when you check it out you stand alone ina the rain . . . When me see a dem flex, politricks in dis ya time, dem haffi be a hypocrite fi get di next dime Segregation, injustice and crime . . . It's a hard road to travel and a mighty long way to go with positive movements, a so we a grow outta the bottomless pit, where did we rise up now . . . Dem a warmonger, try fi bun peace Babylon always try fi abuse, but we nuh go step in a wicked man shoes	Empowerment, inequality, political corruption, growth and change
Sister Kaya (Japan)	2003	Woman Souljah	It's Jah Jah Vibration It's Jah Jah Vibration We no want no more war, Let's get to Zion	Change
Gentleman (Germany)	2010	Nothin'a Change	Nothing a change, Everything remain the same 'Cuz the ghetto youths dem still a suffer, No food fi days Instead a life get easy it only get tougher and tougher Mama bawl out and she call out - call out pon Jah Say she pray every day fi the pain go away, All now she can't get better . . . While the system designed to hurt your chances . . . just the under privileged a get disadvantage . . .	Desperation, social inequality, hope for change

Reggae has always had great international appeal and Reggae festivals have been launched all across the world (Cooper, 2012). Bob Marley, in particular, rose to cult status globally with his 1976 Rolling Stone award for Album of the Year (Rastaman Vibration by Bob Marley and the Wailers), 1978 UN Peace Medal of the Third World, and in 1999 the naming of "Exodus" (1977) as Album of the Century by Time Magazine. Reggae Festival Guide (<http://Reggaefestivalguide.com/>) lists 134 international Reggae festivals in 2015, including Rototom Sunsplash, the largest European Reggae festival (250,000 attendees from 73 different countries in 2015: <http://www.rototomsunsplash.com/>). In addition, there are now popular local Reggae artists in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere, whose music promulgates the values embedded in Reggae (see Table 1).

## The Current Study

Music has the potential to express, transmit, and strengthen values and this may provide a vehicle for remote value acculturation through Reggae music. Do Reggae listeners across the globe align their values to Jamaican Reggae listeners' values, which would be an indication of remote value acculturation via Reggae music? And does the geographical and cultural distance to Jamaica mitigate remote values acculturation? The purpose of this article is to investigate the individual values associated with Reggae music preference and the possibility of remote values



acculturation of Reggae music listeners in other countries. We operationalize personal values according to S. H. Schwartz's (1992) value taxonomy entailing 10 value types clustered into four higher order values: openness to change (stimulation, self-direction, hedonism), self-enhancement (power, achievement), self-transcendence (universalism, benevolence), and conservation (tradition, conformity, security). According to the remote acculturation hypothesis, we expect that individuals with high preferences for Reggae music will share similar values across countries (i.e., similar correlations between personal values and Reggae preferences). Due to the recurring themes in Reggae music of (a) empowerment toward social change and (b) a hope for power and achievement (see above and Table 1), we predict that preference for Reggae music will be particularly related to openness to change and self-enhancement values. In line with other remote acculturation studies, we measure values as acculturation indicators rather than investigating the process of remote acculturation.

Remote value acculturation might be facilitated by overall shared cultural values as these shared cultural understandings enable the perception and sensitivity toward value messages in Reggae music. That is, individuals from culturally similar contexts are socialized to be receptive to similar value messages, which are then more easily implemented into the personal value profile (cf. Boer & Fischer, 2013). In turn, listeners from culturally dissimilar contexts are socialized via diverse values messages; therefore, they may not be as receptive to value messages from a dissimilar culture. Hence, cultural similarity may facilitate (and cultural distance hinder) value acculturation leading to accentuated (and reduced) similarity with Jamaican value associations of Reggae preferences.

Besides cultural similarity/distance, greater intercultural contact might enhance a similar understanding of value messages in Reggae music. Contact between groups—even indirect contact (extended contact; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997)—improves intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954) because of enhanced empathy and knowledge about the other group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). One mechanism by which contact operates is the inclusion of the out-group into the self (Wright et al., 1997), which could include cultural values transmitted by Reggae music. Being located nearer to Jamaica enhances the likelihood of direct intermittent contact (as visitor or visited) or indirect extended contact (e.g., phone/internet communication, Shenkar, 2001). There may also be higher migration rates (e.g., to the USA or Brazil). Therefore, we predict that geographically distant Reggae listeners will hold less similar values than geographically close listeners.

## Method

### *Data Collection and Participants*

Cross-sectional survey data were collected from student samples in Jamaica and in 11 other countries as part of a larger research project on the functions of music listening (RESPECT-Music Project; see, for instance, Boer et al., 2013; Boer et al., 2012). We focus on student populations to enhance the comparability of samples with regard to education, age, and social economic status. The country-specific sample descriptions are summarized in Table 2. Student data were collected at universities and colleges. The total sample consisted of 2,561 participants (60% female,  $M_{\text{age}} = 21.04$  years); the country-specific sample sizes ranged between  $n = 80$  in Jamaica and  $n = 403$  in Brazil.

### *Measures*

*Personal values.* Values were assessed using one of two different measures: Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-40; S. H. Schwartz et al., 2001) or an adapted version of the Short Schwartz

**Table 2.** Sample Description Including Cultural and Geographical Distance to Jamaica.

Country	Value measure	n	Sample description				Geographical and cultural distance to Jamaica				
			M age	Females (%)	Reggae preference <sup>a</sup>	Familiar with Reggae (%)	km	Individualism dist.	Power distance	Masculinity dist.	Uncertainty avoidance dist.
Jamaica	PVQ, SSVS	80	22.79	66	5.34	100	—	—	—	—	
Belgium	SSVS	201	23.08	59	4.17	99	7,927	36	20	14	81
Brazil	PVQ	403	24.50	54	3.98	93	4,546	1	24	19	63
France	SSVS	216	22.37	78	4.26	99	7,769	32	23	25	73
Germany	PVQ	297	22.98	51	4.47	96	8,295	28	10	2	52
Hong Kong	SSVS	88	20.52	29	3.19	30	15,343	14	23	11	16
Mexico	PVQ	93	21.69	70	4.77	98	2,691	9	36	1	69
New Zealand	PVQ	358	19.97	65	4.60	95	12,792	40	23	10	36
Philippines	SSVS	199	17.05	59	5.07	94	15,983	7	49	4	31
South Africa	SSVS	178	20.40	60	3.61	96	11,971	26	4	5	36
Taiwan	PVQ	202	20.77	51	3.78	78	14,961	22	13	23	56
Turkey	SSVS	246	20.71	73	3.48	31	10,567	2	21	23	72

Note. PVQ = Portrait Value Questionnaire; SSVS = Short Schwartz Value Survey; km = kilometers; Dist. = Absolute difference.

<sup>a</sup>Preference ratings provided on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = I don't like it at all; 7 = I like it very much).

Value Survey (SSVS; Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005; for an application of the adapted version, see also Boer et al., 2011). In some countries, long surveys were not feasible, hence a short form of the values measure was used; however, Lindeman and Verkasalo (2005) reported sufficient construct validity of SSVS with the PVQ-40. PVQ-40 assesses Schwartz's 10 value types using similarity ratings toward 40 short descriptions of persons who hold certain values (e.g., "Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him/her. He/she likes to do things in his/her own original way") on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = *not like me at all*, 6 = *very much like me*). The 10 value types were measured with internal consistencies ranging between .51 (tradition) and .75 (achievement). In the Jamaican data, we excluded one tradition value item ("He/she thinks it's important not to ask for more than what you have. He/she believes that people should be satisfied with what they have") due to its low corrected inter-item correlation ( $r = .009$ ). The SSVS assesses personal values on 10 single value items derived from the definition of the 10 original values types (S. H. Schwartz, 1992). Participants rate the personal importance of these 10 values on a scale from 1 (*not important at all*) to 6 (*extremely important*).

PVQ-40 was used in five countries; SSVS was used in six countries (see Table 3). In Jamaica, we assessed both value scales to (a) cross-validate the value associations of Reggae music preferences in its culture of origin and (b) use the appropriate scale for comparison with the other cultures' results. The correlations across value measures in the Jamaican sample indicate satisfactory construct validity: Nine out of 10 values and all four higher order value types measured by PVQ-40 showed strongest intercorrelations with the corresponding value measured by SSVS (average correlation for nine values:  $r = .34, p < .01$ ; average correlation for four higher order value types:  $r = .43, p < .001$ ). The security values, however, did not correspond across values measures ( $r = .02, p > .05$ ). Lindeman and Verkasalo (2005) reported sufficient construct validity of SSVS with two value measures (PVQ-40, S. H. Schwartz et al., 2001; SVS, S. H. Schwartz, 1992;); hence, the lack of construct validity of the SSVS item "security values" in the Jamaican sample was surprising. In addition to the analysis using all 10 value types, we reanalyzed the data without security values to accommodate the questionable construct validity.<sup>1</sup> The results remained virtually unchanged suggesting that the questionable comparability of security values across measures does not diminish the confidence in our results and their interpretation. Thus, we have retained security values in the results we present below.

**Reggae preferences.** Participants rated their like or dislike for "Reggae and Ska," as Ska is a closely affiliated predecessor of Reggae that is well known. Participants rated their preferences on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *I don't like it at all*; 7 = *I like it very much*) as part of a longer list of international (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003) and culture-specific (Boer et al., 2013) music genres. Participants were also given the opportunity to indicate whether they did not know this music style. Table 2 shows that Reggae music was a well-known music style in most samples (average = 83%), with the exception for Turkey and Hong Kong, where only 30% and 31% of the participants, respectively, knew Reggae music. We, therefore, control our cross-cultural analyses for the sample percentage of participants knowing Reggae music. As expected, the average preference for Reggae music was highest in Jamaica ( $M = 5.34$ ; Table 2), and in the other countries, it ranged between 3.19 (Hong Kong) and 5.07 (Philippines).

**Cultural and geographical distance to Jamaica.** Cultural distance was calculated via the Euclidean distances/absolute differences (square root of the squared difference between each country's score and the Jamaican score) in Hofstede's Individualism/Collectivism, Power Distance, Masculinity, and Uncertainty Avoidance. Euclidean distance/absolute difference is the most commonly used measures for cultural distance, despite some limitations (Tihanyi, Griffith, & Russell, 2005). Hofstede's country scores were taken from Hofstede (2001) given the presence of scores for Jamaica. A distance score for each cultural dimension was calculated to investigate which

**Table 3.** Value Associations of Reggae Preferences and Value Similarity With Jamaican Value Associations.

Values association	Jamaica (PVQ/SSVS)	Belgium	Brazil	France	Germany	Hong Kong	Mexico	New Zealand	Philippines	South Africa	Taiwan	Turkey
Openness to change <sup>a</sup>	0.32/0.44	0.19	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.07	0.18	0.16	0.13	0.09	0.02	0.14
Stimulation	0.25/0.37	0.23	0.22	0.17	0.17	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.21	0.11	-0.06	0.25
Self-direction	0.23/0.32	0.19	0.11	0.12	0.05	0.15	0.13	0.09	0.05	0.10	0.05	0.04
Hedonism	0.29/0.29	0.04	0.16	0.15	0.25	-0.12	0.14	0.10	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04
Self-transcendence <sup>a</sup>	0.03/0.06	0.24	0.10	0.24	0.14	-0.12	-0.03	0.16	0.10	-0.05	-0.15	0.08
Universalism	-0.01/-0.04	0.22	0.12	0.24	0.08	-0.23	0.02	0.18	0.04	-0.05	-0.05	0.11
Benevolence	0.05/0.16	0.22	0.05	0.18	0.15	0.00	-0.07	0.11	0.16	-0.03	-0.24	0.03
Conservation <sup>a</sup>	0.14/0.19	0.19	-0.03	-0.08	-0.11	0.01	-0.17	-0.06	0.16	0.01	-0.30	-0.03
Tradition	0.16/0.16	-0.03	-0.05	-0.10	-0.04	0.05	0.01	0.03	0.25	-0.06	-0.31	0.04
Conformity	0.09/0.08	0.06	-0.02	-0.04	-0.11	0.13	-0.27	-0.13	0.00	0.03	-0.21	-0.04
Security	0.06/0.21	-0.07	0.01	-0.04	-0.12	-0.15	-0.10	-0.05	0.17	0.07	-0.22	-0.07
Self-enhancement <sup>a</sup>	0.27/0.13	-0.04	0.05	-0.11	-0.14	-0.05	-0.14	-0.07	0.15	0.18	0.03	0.01
Power	0.22/0.02	-0.13	0.03	-0.10	-0.16	-0.06	-0.13	-0.08	0.17	0.22	0.04	0.03
Achievement	0.26/0.23	0.09	0.05	-0.09	-0.07	-0.03	-0.11	-0.06	0.08	0.06	0.01	-0.02
Value similarity <sup>b</sup>	—	0.28	0.40	0.19	0.18	0.49	0.44	-0.01	0.15	0.16	0.20	0.22

Note: PVQ = Portrait Value Questionnaire; SSVS = Short Schwartz Value Survey.

<sup>a</sup>Higher order value types encompassing the personal values listed below.

<sup>b</sup>Profile correlation of Reggae value associations with the Jamaican value associations (based on 10 personal values).

cultural dimensions may provide most facilitation for value association similarity. Geographical distance was measured using the linear distance (km) from each country's center to the center in Jamaica (calculated in Google Maps).

### *Analytical Strategy*

*Value associations of preferences for Reggae music.* We first assessed zero-order correlations between both the 10 personal values and four higher order value types with preferences for Reggae music.<sup>2</sup> These correlations provide the primary value associations of Reggae music preferences in its culture of origin, Jamaica, and in 11 other cultural contexts. We interpret zero-order correlations based on effect sizes (small = .10, medium = .30, large = .50; Cohen, 1992), not based on significance (cf. Cumming, 2014).

*Cross-cultural similarity to Jamaican value associations.* For comparing these value associations with the value associations from Reggae's cultural origin, we calculated the similarity using profile correlations (Cohen, 1969): We correlated the value correlation profile (of 10 values) found in the Jamaican sample with the value correlation profile of each other cultural sample. Profile correlations have a hypothetical range from -1 to +1 just like conventional sample-based correlations (Cohen, 1969). High positive profile correlations indicate high similarity with Reggae's value associations in Jamaica.

We do not presume that the values of Reggae listeners in the Jamaican sample exactly represent the values of Reggae music; however, we argue that they provide a contemporary proxy that can be used for assessing the alignment of Reggae's value associations across cultures. To conduct a validity check, two Jamaican coders who were unfamiliar with the present research question were asked to indicate the degree to which they associate Schwartz's 10 values (measured by SSVS) with the lyrics of the top 20 most influential Jamaican songs recorded from 1957 to 2007 (Troeder, 2010). These top 20 Jamaican songs were selected by an expert group of academics and music industry leaders convened by the University of the West Indies, Mona campus, Jamaica, in 2009, and all songs fell within the Reggae/Ska genre. The averaged value associations of these 20 Jamaican Reggae songs were then correlated with the average values of this study's Jamaican sample: The correlation of .41 indicates that the values of our Jamaican sample corresponded fairly well with values attributed to representative Jamaican Reggae songs. This suggests at least moderate validity of the assessment of values associations in this study.

*Moderators of similarity in value associations.* To explore systematic sources for variability in Reggae value similarity, we conducted a moderator analysis using a meta-analytical procedure (meta-regression; Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). This analysis assesses whether the moderators cultural distance (for each cultural dimension) and geographical distance contributed to explaining variability in value association similarity across the 11 cultural samples. The analysis was controlled for familiarity with Reggae music in the respective samples. We used meta-regression instead of conventional regression analysis because it corrects for varying sample sizes (effect sizes are weighted by sample size, see Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). Multilevel analysis cannot be used for the purpose of this moderator analysis because similarity of value associations is calculated for each cultural sample and not for each individual (as correlations are sample-based effects sizes).

## **Results**

### *Value Associations of Preferences for Reggae Music*

In Jamaica, preferences for Reggae music were most strongly correlated with openness to change values (openness to change higher order value:  $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .32/.44$ ; hedonism  $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .29/.29$ ,

stimulation  $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .25/.37$ , self-direction  $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .23/.32$ ) and self-enhancement values (self-enhancement higher order value:  $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .27/.13$ ; achievement  $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .26/.23$ , power  $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .22/.02$ ). In addition, there was a smaller but consistent correlation with tradition values ( $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .16/.16$ ) and the higher order conservation values ( $r_{PVQ/SSVS} = .14/.19$ ).

In most other countries, the openness to change correlations of Reggae preferences were confirmed (with at least small effect sizes  $r \geq .10$ ), particularly for stimulation values (see Table 3). However, outside of Jamaica, Reggae preferences were neither associated with self-enhancement values (only in the two samples from the Philippines and South Africa) nor with tradition values (except in the Philippines). Interestingly, in half of the samples, preferences for Reggae music were associated with self-transcendence values (higher order as well as benevolence and universalism; see Table 3). The value associations of Reggae preferences in the 11 countries are hence partly overlapping with the Jamaican value associations. This indicates that the value association of Reggae in Jamaica adheres to openness to change values, which is cross-culturally applicable. At the same time, additional value associations are quite different in the 11 countries indicating that differential value meanings of this music style occur outside of Jamaica, which may reflect some variability in the functions of Reggae music between its culture of origin and other receiving cultures. Furthermore, the value similarity with the Jamaican value associations seems to vary across the 11 cultures and we further investigate possible sources of this variability.

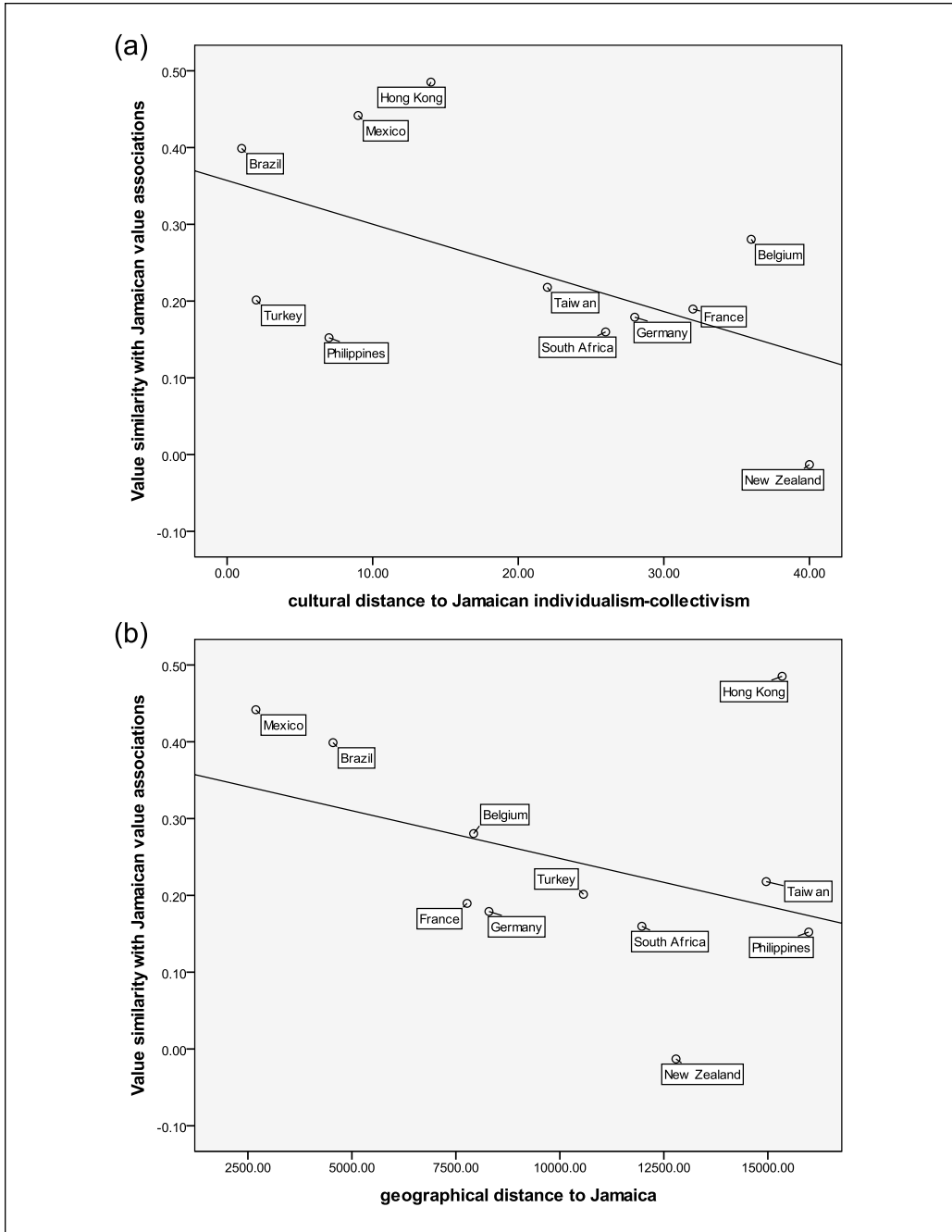
### *Cross-Cultural Similarity With Jamaican Value Associations of Reggae Music*

We assessed the cross-cultural similarity with Jamaican value associations of Reggae music using profile correlations (for conciseness hereby called *value similarity*). Value similarity ranged between  $-0.01$  in New Zealand and  $0.49$  in Hong Kong (see Table 3). The high value similarity in Hong Kong is somewhat surprising considering that only 30% of the participants in this sample knew Reggae as a music style; however, we can speculate that those few music listeners who are familiar with Reggae are also familiar with its value associations in Jamaica. On the contrary, Hong Kong is culturally relatively similar to Jamaica based on its Individualism score compared with New Zealand which is culturally rather dissimilar on this dimension; hence, cultural distance may facilitate dissimilar value associations of Reggae. Value similarity was also high in the Mexican ( $r = .44$ ) and Brazilian ( $r = .40$ ) samples. Both contexts are geographically and culturally relatively close to Jamaica which suggests that geographical in addition to cultural distance might foster value similarity.

### *Moderators of Similarity in Value Associations*

To explore systematic sources for variability in the similarity of Reggae preferences' value associations, we assessed whether value associations would be more similar in more culturally similar and geographically closer contexts. Meta-regression using random effects models revealed that Reggae value associations were more similar to its culture of origin's value associations in samples from similarly individualistic/collectivistic cultures (indicated by a negative coefficient using cultural distance measure:  $\beta = -.58, p < .05$ ; see Figure 1a). Cultural distance in the other cultural dimensions did not contribute to explaining variability in value similarity (cultural distance in power distance:  $\beta = .15, p = .61$ ; cultural distance in masculinity:  $\beta = -.04, p = .90$ ; cultural distance in uncertainty avoidance:  $\beta = .23, p = .41$ ). Furthermore, geographical distance was also a significant predictor of value similarity ( $\beta = -.61, p < .05$ ; see Figure 1b).

To investigate the unique contribution of cultural distance in individualism and geographical distance, we entered both as predictors in the regression analysis.<sup>3</sup> Results revealed that both distance measures contribute uniquely to explaining cross-cultural differences in Reggae value similarity (cultural distance in individualism:  $\beta = -.52, p < .01$ ; geographical distance:  $\beta = -.41, p < .05$ ).



**Figure 1.** (a) Cultural distance and (b) geographical distance as predictors of values similarity with Jamaican Reggae value associations.

These results suggest that Reggae music is associated with more similar values in cultures that are geographically closer and more similar to Jamaica with regard to individualism-collectivism, whereas Reggae music has more dissimilar value associations in cultures which are geographically and culturally more distant from Jamaica.



## Discussion

What happens when music from one culture is enjoyed by people in other cultures? Can young people become remotely acculturated toward the values of a distant culture by listening to its music? The purpose of this article was to explore the possibility of remote values acculturation of young people across 11 cultures toward the values of Jamaica, by investigating whether the value preferences of Reggae listeners apply across cultures. Results revealed that in Jamaica and other countries, preferences for Reggae music were most strongly correlated with openness to change values—cherishing independent and self-directed thoughts and decisions, as well as stimulating and joyful experiences. Although the main value associations of Reggae were quite consistent across cultures, results also indicate significant variations in Reggae's value associations and its similarity to the culture of origin. Reggae's value associations were more similar to Jamaica's in samples from cultures with similar Individualism scores and cultures that were geographically closer to Jamaica. Main findings and implications are discussed in turn below.

### *Values Associated With Reggae: Universals, Culture-Specifics, and Moderators*

*Openness to change is universal.* “Better must come one day, Better must come” by Jamaican artists Delroy Wilson and Bunny Lee (1971) is an example of classic Reggae lyrics communicating the value of openness to change. Non-Jamaican Reggae listeners also value openness to change, and this value is similarly evident in Reggae music originating outside of Jamaica. For example, German Reggae artist, Gentleman, lamented the lack of change in social inequalities in his 2010 song “Nothin’ a change”: “Nothing a change, everything remain the same cause the ghetto youths dem still a suffer . . .” (see Table 1). That Jamaican Reggae listeners associate their national music with openness to change seems consistent with Jamaica's high tolerance for uncertainty (score of 13 on Hofstede's Uncertainty Avoidance Index ranging from 8 to 112). The country's climatoeconomic context as a hot tropical developing country may help to explain its comfort with ambiguity and also its striving for societal change (Kong, 2012), which becomes reflected in musical themes. These themes dominate the value messages in Reggae music and this value message seems to connect Reggae listeners' preference with the music across cultures.

*Self-enhancement, self-transcendence, and tradition are more culture-specific.* Reggae listeners in Jamaica, South Africa, and the Philippines also associated Reggae with self-enhancement values. Jamaican culture has a unique quality of self-empowerment, honed through the struggle against colonization toward independence. The experiences of poor Jamaicans, including early Reggae musicians like Bob Marley, was necessarily marked by an extra degree of resilience and self-enhancement to survive poverty and social inequalities in urban ghettos (White, 2006). Reggae lyrics such as Marley and Perry's (1977) “Exodus, all right, movement of Jah people! . . . Jah come to break downpression, set the captives free” communicate this personal value of self-enhancement and power over circumstances. In addition to fighting for equality, this self-enhancement may also take the form of fighting oppression to dominate as is suggested by Jimmy Cliff's (1972) lyrics “Opposition will come your way, but the hotter the battle, the sweeter the victory.” South Africa and the Philippines were the two countries in the sample which have experienced significant internal civil strife in recent history due to Apartheid and political corruption, respectively. Young adults in these two countries may be particularly receptive to Reggae's remote value messages regarding self-enhancement due to the experiences of subjugation and oppression in their local societies. For example, South African Reggae artist, Lucky Dube, delivered empowering lyrics regarding improving racial harmony in his 1988 song “Together as one”: “Too many people hate Apartheid, why you like it? Hey you Rasta man, Hey

European, Indian man, we've got to come together as one . . . The cats and the dogs have forgiven each other, what is wrong with us?" (see Table 1).

Reggae listeners in Jamaica and in the Philippines also associated the music with tradition values. This may reflect the influence of the Rastafarian religion, which has inspired much Reggae music. For example, Jimmy Cliff's (1972) lyrics for the song "The harder they come" illustrate a determined adherence to religious traditions as a form of resilience: "Well, the oppressors are trying to keep me down, Trying to drive me underground . . . I say forgive them Lord, they know not what they've done . . ." Religious themes and overtones are also present in Reggae originating from Asia. Consider the 2003 lyrics of the song "Woman Souljah" by Sister Kaya in Japan: "It's Jah Jah vibration . . . we no want no more war, let's get to Zion," in which the terms "Jah" and "Zion" and the idea of repatriation stem directly from traditional Rastafarianism.

Self-transcendence values were also associated with Reggae in approximately half of the samples outside of Jamaica (although not within Jamaica) including several European countries and New Zealand. Based on the economic and higher development status of these countries, young adults are likely to have very different needs and music may function differently in their lives. For instance, Europeans and majority New Zealanders experience relatively little civil oppression and have no need to seek empowerment, although indigenous New Zealanders are a likely exception. Youth in these countries may instead be concerned with striving to realize higher level social ideals such as brotherhood, social justice, and equality and may selectively attend to consonant value messages in Reggae. That is, the social functions of music preferences that seem to bring people together may be important to these Reggae fans; particularly prosocial people in the West may seem to use Reggae music to create bonds with other Reggae fans.

### *Cultural and Geographical Proximity to Jamaica May Facilitate Values Similarity*

Both cultural distance (specifically in regard to individualism) and geographical distance predicted values similarity. In this cross-cultural sample, the empowering Reggae message to "stand up for your rights" seems most attractive to those in moderately collectivistic cultures like Jamaica, who need some encouragement to challenge the status quo (unlike in individualistic cultures) but will not be harshly punished for doing so (unlike in highly collectivistic cultures). That is, having shared cultural experience and understandings of individualism with Jamaicans may facilitate non-Jamaican young adults' perception of and sensitivity toward value messages in Reggae music, making it easier to incorporate these values into their personal values profiles. These results are in line with Boer and Fischer's (2013) findings that cultural collectivism facilitates individuals' conservation value to be expressed in attitudes, whereas individualism enhanced the associations between personal self-transcendence values and social attitudes.

We could speculate three possible reasons that the other cultural distance dimensions besides individualism-collectivism did not predict Reggae values similarity. The first possibility is that the countries sampled may not represent the different value dimensions well enough to allow sufficient variability in scores for small effects to become statistically meaningful. The second possibility alludes to the apparent dominance of individualism-collectivism in cross-cultural research. By and large, this cultural dimension explains the largest share of cross-cultural variance in a variety of psychological phenomena (Boer & Hanke, 2013); hence, there is persuasive evidence that individualism-collectivism (and its variants including independence-interdependence) play as major role in shaping psychological mechanisms and responses, including the reception of music. A third possibility is that Reggae's individualistic messages regarding openness to change, which are countercultural to the collectivistic norms of Jamaica and similar societies, are most directly relevant to the individualism-collectivism cultural dimension. Given that

hedonism was the strongest value association of Reggae in Jamaica and stimulation was third strongest, another function of Reggae besides empowerment may be hedonistic escape—for some level of enjoyment, fun, and stimulation in a deprived context. Collectivism in oppressed contexts, such as the Kingston ghettos where Reggae originated, can be a restrictive form of group orientation because individuals have little choice but to rely on traditional cleavages to deal with the dire living conditions. This fun/hedonistic individualistic element of Reggae may allow Reggae values to travel easily to other contexts with a similarly collectivist group orientation underpinned by deprivation and oppression. This could explain why there were associations with individualism-collectivism but not masculinity or uncertainty avoidance. The lack of association with power distance may be more complex than our country ample size or analyses could capture (e.g., curvilinear rather than linear).

Based on extended contact and intergroup contact models (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Wright et al., 1997), geographical proximity may foster empathy toward and knowledge about Jamaicans, which may in turn promote more similar understanding of value messages in Jamaican Reggae music. This may help to explain why Mexico and Brazil, the two geographically closest countries to Jamaica in this sample, had the #2 and #3 highest value similarity.

Testing alternative explanations is essential for unraveling macro-level influences on complex psychological associations such as value associations. Our findings for geographic and cultural distance might be contradicting for some countries; however, this is not surprising because the distance measures do not correlate with each other,  $\rho(11) = .03, p > .05$ . Hence, it can be expected that for some data points, the regression equation will not provide a perfect fit. In the special case of Hong Kong, low cultural distance in Individualism (rather than geographical distance) may facilitate its close value similarity. This is in line with anthropological work in Asia showing that for some, there is a deep engagement with Jamaican culture and Rastafarianism (Sterling, 2010).

### *Is Reggae Music Jamaicanizing Young Adults Across the World?*

Listening to Reggae music may bring about changes in young adults' personal values over time. It is also possible that individuals whose personal values are already similar to those communicated in Jamaica's Reggae music, become fans of Reggae music. These options are not mutually exclusive, as both directions of effect are plausible. Bardi and colleagues' (2014) longitudinal studies of values among individuals making self-chosen life transitions show clear evidence of the combined effects of self-selection (values  $\rightarrow$  settings) and socialization (settings  $\rightarrow$  values). Of particular relevance, in one study reported in their 2014 article, Bardi and colleagues found increases in Openness to Change values among young adults following migration from Poland to Britain, supporting the socialization hypothesis of value change resulting from acculturation-related socialization. Thus, even for young people who are attracted to Reggae music because of their own preexisting values of anticapitalism and quest for change (Walters, 2011), it is likely that Reggae's lyrics strengthen those openness to change values through interaction with other Reggae listeners, and enactment of the values from the lyrics in their daily lives.

Music preferences serve multiple functions in expressing values (D. Katz, 1960), creating social bonds (Boer et al., 2011), providing references for identity development (North & Hargreaves, 1999); hence, by means of these multiple functions operating in concert, Reggae music is likely to strengthen particular values via remote values acculturation. Reggae music is one specific, self-selected socialization agent of values, which receives its "remote acculturation" status via the cultural specificity of Reggae music with explicit and implicit reference to Jamaican culture and its values (see Table 1). Our findings that cultural similarity promotes similar value associations while cultural distance may enhance the likelihood of new value contents

being associated with Reggae music underlines our value acculturation argument due to acculturation involving both cultures (sending and receiving cultures) as active agents (Berry, 2008). This means that in more dissimilar cultures, new value contents prevalent in the given context may enter the interpretation of remote value messages. For example, Reggae was associated with self-transcendence values in Europe and New Zealand, contexts which place particularly high value on self-transcendence.

That there was selective remote acculturation largely into the value of openness to change supports the new paradigm of polycultural psychology, which holds that individuals acquire many partial cultural affiliations (Morris et al., 2015). This perspective on cultural affiliations is particularly true for 21st century remote acculturation wherein parts of cultures are adopted (vs. whole cultures) and combined with parts of other cultures in an *à la carte* fashion according to Morris and colleagues. Thus, that Reggae listeners outside Jamaica were selectively acculturated primarily to Openness to Change indicates that this is the select portion of Jamaican culture (among what we measured) to which young adults are acculturating. Openness to change may be a primary value transmitted remotely because it is one of the most prominent values present in classical reggae lyrics.

### *Limitations and Future Directions*

Like much cross-cultural research, this study was cross-sectional and nonexperimental. Thus, we cannot determine the direction of effects, but as discussed earlier, both directions are theoretically possible. Future research can use experimental studies to assess the degree to which exposure to Reggae music outside of Jamaica causes an increase in openness to change values or actions. That said, even experiments may not fully unravel this issue, because the association between music and values is a bidirectional or possibly circular process being driven both by self-selection and socialization (i.e., I am drawn to Reggae music because of certain values and these values are reinforced and strengthened by this music—this includes processes of self-selection and value acculturation/socialization; see Bardi et al., 2014). This potential bidirectionality/circularity aligns with the Coyne and colleagues' discussion after reviewing media use among 21st century emerging adults (Coyne et al., 2013).

The use of university student samples may not represent entire populations, but a young sample was selected to ensure high general commitment to music, and it ensured comparability of socioeconomic characteristics across the 12 samples. The Jamaican sample size was modest and these participants may not represent the entire population. Replication with a larger and older sample of Jamaicans (who experienced firsthand the birth of classic Reggae) may reveal additional value associations including self-transcendence, which was only found outside of Jamaica in the current study. The effective sample size of the Hong Kong sample is particularly small and the surprising results in Hong Kong therefore may not be very reliable. A reanalysis excluding the Hong Kong sample from the meta-regressions, however, suggests robustness of our results.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, differential reliability or measurement errors may also account for the differential value associations across the samples, especially in self-enhancement, self-transcendence, and tradition values. Future qualitative research investigating the process of remote acculturation via music would also be valuable.

Finally, activation experiments could also explore whether listening to Reggae music has consequences for intergroup relations. Experimental studies on the effects of other genres of music show that individuals primed with violent and misogynistic rap music show less favorable attitudes toward Blacks than Whites relative to control participants (Rudman & Lee, 2002), and that listening to pro-integration lyrics reduces prejudice and aggression while increasing helping behaviors toward the out-group (Greitemeyer & Schwab, 2014). Likewise, Reggae music may activate openness to change values and, in turn, prompt more favorable attitudes or more engaged

behaviors toward out-group members. For example, Maio, Pakizesh, Cheung, and Rees (2009) found that relative to control participants, individuals primed with self-direction values in a word task demonstrated greater curiosity to learn new things afterwards.

## Conclusion

This study provides cross-cultural evidence interpretable as remote values acculturation among young adults around the globe by way of listening to music from a distant culture. Jamaican culture as embodied by Reggae's value messages may sink down into the personal values of young adults across countries, resonating more broadly today than it did half century ago when Bob Marley first sang "Get up, Stand up, Stand up for Your Rights!" (Marley, 1973). By promoting openness to change among all listeners, and self-enhancement or self-transcendence among some listeners depending on their context-specific needs, Reggae music may have potential to be a positive force in the adaptation of young adults in our rapidly changing world.

## Appendix

### Full References for Songs Cited.

Song	Reference
Better Must Come	Wilson, D., & Lee, B. (1971). Better must come [Recorded by Delroy Wilson]. On <i>Better must come</i> [CD]. Kingston, Jamaica: Dynamic Sounds.
The Harder They Come	Cliff, J. (1972). The harder they come. On <i>The harder they come/ Trapped</i> [CD]. United Kingdom: Island Records.
You Can Get it if You Really Want	Cliff, J. (1972). You can get it if you really want. On <i>The harder they come/Trapped</i> [CD]. United Kingdom: Island Records.
Get Up, Stand Up	Marley, B. (1973). Get up, stand up [Recorded by Bob Marley and the Wailers]. On <i>Burnin</i> [CD]. Kingston, Jamaica: Tuff Gong, Island Records.
No Woman, No Cry	Marley, B. (1974). No woman no cry. On <i>Single</i> [CD]. United Kingdom: Island Records.
Equal Rights	Tosh, P. (1977). Equal rights. On <i>Equal rights</i> [CD]. New York, NY: Columbia Records.
Exodus	Marley, B. & Perry, L. (1977). Exodus [Recorded by Bob Marley and the Wailers]. On <i>Exodus</i> [CD]. Kingston, Jamaica: Tuff Gong.
Equal Rights	Brown, D. (1978). Equal rights. On <i>Equal rights</i> [CD]. United Kingdom: Lightning Records.
Zimbabwe	Marley, B. (1979). Zimbabwe. On <i>Survival</i> [CD]. Kingston, Jamaica: Tuff Gong.
Come, Come	Spear, B. (1991). Come, Come. On <i>Jah kingdom</i> [CD]. London, England: Mango Records.
Together As One	Dube, L. (1988). Together as one. On <i>Together as one</i> [CD]. Johannesburg, South Africa: Gallo.
El Sonido Joven De America	Los Fabulosos Cadillac. (1989). El sonido joven de America. On <i>El Satánico Dr. Cadillac</i> [CD]. Argentina: CBS.
A Who Dem Want Blame	Gentleman. (1999). A who dem want blame. On <i>Trodin on</i> [CD]. Berlin, Germany: Four Music.
Woman Souljah	Sister Kaya. (2003). Woman souljah. On <i>Woman souljah</i> [CD]. Tokyo Japan: Sisteren.
Nothin'a Change	Gentleman. (2010). Nothin'a change. On <i>Diversity</i> [CD]. United Kingdom: Universal.

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## Notes

1. One may argue that the inclusion of security values in this analysis might be disputable due to the lack of conceptual correlation between the two value measures. Nevertheless, we found that (a) the value association profiles of Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) and Short Schwartz Value Survey (SSVS) in the Jamaican sample were sizable when security values are included,  $r(10) = .65$ ; and (b) only increased marginally when security values were excluded,  $r(9) = .70$ . Furthermore, the similarity indicators of the 11 countries' value associations with the Jamaican value associations were closely aligned when comparing the value profiles based on 10 and nine values,  $r(11) = .93$ .
2. Some values researchers favor the use of ipsatized scores in correlational analyses of personal values, that is, controlling for the average rating across all values, based on the assumption that elevated mean scores across all values assemble response biases rather than substantive meanings. The ipsatization practice has, however, been questioned because elevated mean values could indeed signal stronger proclivity to strive and act according to one's values (Fischer, 2004). A recent study showed that the average mean scores across all values are accurately perceived by close others resulting in a substantive self–other correlation (Dobewall, Aavik, Konstabel, Schwartz, & Realo, 2014). This indicates the significance of absolute value ratings as motivational forces, which should not be eliminated in the analysis of value correlations. Therefore, we base our correlations on raw scores rather than ipsatized scores. Furthermore, moderation results remain largely unchanged when using ipsatized correlations and the value similarity based on raw scores correlates substantially with the value similarity based on ipsatized scores.
3. In this analysis, we refrain from controlling for familiarity with Reggae music because (a) this variable was not a significant predictor in the previous analyses and (b) inclusion would further reduce the degrees of freedom.
4. To ensure that our results are not distorted by the somewhat surprising high value similarity in the small Hong Kong sample, we reanalyzed the data under exclusion of this sample. The results remain robust and the effects of cultural and geographical distance as moderators were equally strong or even stronger (predictors entered separately: cultural distance in individualism,  $\beta = -.81$ ,  $p < .01$ ; geographical distance,  $\beta = -.75$ ,  $p < .001$ ; predictors entered together: cultural distance in individualism,  $\beta = -.49$ ,  $p < .01$ ; geographical distance:  $\beta = -.60$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

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