The significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India

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PhD

University of York

Music

September 2017

Abstract

This thesis explores the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. Western art music has had a presence in India in some form since at least the sixteenth century enduring seismic economic, cultural, political, technological, ideological, musical and social change. In recent years, interest in Western art music has grown in India's metropolitan cities, raising questions about its significance in these settings. Through case studies I show the ways in which broader economic, cultural, political, technological, ideological, musical and social factors are entwined, (re)interpreted and articulated in the narratives and experiences of individuals, groups and institutions involved with Western art music. I draw on a relational theoretical framework to theorise the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India; its significance is shaped by the sets of relations and interactions that surround it, as well as through lived experience. Through the empirical data, Western art music is shown to be uniquely positioned in contemporary, metropolitan India, encouraging those involved to engage with diverse sets of relations and interactions in order to understand, engage with and mobilise this music. Little has been written on this topic; this thesis serves to redress this lacuna and contributes to ethnomusicological understandings of Western art music in the specific context of India as well as more generally.

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Acknowledgments

I owe a debt of gratitude to the participants who have contributed to this study and given so generously of their time.

Thanks are extended to my supervisor, Dr Jonathan Eato, and Dr Neil Sorrell, Dr Áine Sheil, Prof Tim Howell, and Dr Liz Haddon for their support.

And, finally, to my parents and three older brothers.

Author’s declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this or any other university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Rupert Avis

1. Introduction

This thesis explores the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. Western art music has had a presence in India in some form since at least the sixteenth century and has endured seismic economic, cultural, political, technological, ideological, musical and social change. In recent years, interest in Western art music has grown in India's metropolitan cities, raising questions about its significance in these settings. Through case studies I show the ways in which broader economic, cultural, political, technological, ideological, musical and social factors are entwined, (re)interpreted and articulated in the narratives and experiences of individuals, groups and institutions involved with Western art music. To theorise this, I draw on a reading of Andrew Abbott's (2016) concept 'linked ecologies' to understand the multiple relations and interactions that surround Western art music. These 'linked ecologies' include economic, political, technological, ideological, and musical relations and interactions. In addition, I draw inspiration from Edward Said (1994) as well as Boaventura de Sousa Santos' (2007; 2012; 2018) concept 'abyssal thinking' to understand the more 'problematic' connotations of Western art music's significance. These include broader discourses associated with colonialism, Orientalism, and neoliberalism as well as 'binary thinking' more generally. Finally, I draw on Nicholas Cook's concept (2013) 'transcultural sense-making' and his notion of 'scripts' to understand the more 'local' interactions, relations and interpretations that take place between individuals, groups and institutions. Drawing the work of these theorists together, I show that the significance of Western art music is shaped by the sets of relations and interactions that surround it, through social and lived experience of it and the subsequent interpretations generated through engagement with it. Little has been written on this topic; this thesis serves to redress this lacuna and contributes to ethnomusicological understandings of Western art music in the specific context of India as well as more generally.

Research questions

The aim of this thesis is to begin to understand the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. The primary research question is:

What is the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India?

In order to unpack this question, I ask four subsidiary questions:

- How do individuals articulate their relationship with Western art music?
- In what ways does Western art music function as a site around which individuals and groups coalesce and express shared values and identities?
- How is Western art music mobilised by institutions?
- How is Western art music education and performance experienced and negotiated?

In addition, I introduce six interlinked themes that are presented here as dichotomies; binary constructions that are used as springboards to explore the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India:

- **Old and new:** exploring the contingent and dialogic relationship between conceptualisations of 'old' and 'new' sets of relations, narratives, meanings and experiences. This also encompasses engagement with notions of past and present and continuity and change.
- **Tradition and modernity:** exploring the relationship between conceptualisations of tradition and modernity and the significance of Western art music in metropolitan India.
- **Local and global:** exploring the relationship between conceptualisations of local and global discourses, networks and factors in relation to the significance of Western art music in metropolitan India.
- **Rich and Poor:** exploring the situational significance of Western art music for economically affluent and less affluent individuals and groups, as well as its mobilisation as an expression of affluence and social mobility.
- **India and the West:** exploring conceptualisations of India and the West and how these inform views about Western art music in metropolitan India.
- **Self and Other:** exploring the relationship between notions of 'self' and 'other' in the significance of Western art music in metropolitan India.

As will be seen, Western art music's significance is mobilised in ways that signify interpretations of these binaries that at times reaffirm differences whilst at others blur the boundaries between them in complex and subtle ways. I define these themes through the literature explored in Chapters 2 and 3, as well as the empirical data in the subsequent chapters.

The theoretical framework, research questions and themes accommodate the coexistence of complementary, conflicting and contradictory sets of relations and interactions, encouraging complex understandings of the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. These were developed in dialogue with extant literature on Western music in India, the empirical data collected during this research, my theoretical framework, my methodological approach, and my experiences as a music teacher, performer and researcher in India and the UK.

'Western art music'

The term 'Western art music' has been problematised for encompassing an increasingly diverse set of musical practices that are historically and geographically disparate (Sorrell, 1980; Stokes, 2008; Nooshin, 2011). Such problems are compounded by the term 'Western classical music' and its association with European art music from the Classical period (c. 1750-1830), and 'Western music' which is so broad in its scope that it becomes meaningless. The use of the term 'Western' in locations outside the West is particularly problematic; Martin Stokes (2008) argues that 'Western' implies a relationship between Western art music and normative ideas of 'Europeaness', or the idea of a Western musical identity hermetically sealed from influences of the 'East'. These issues are especially pertinent in India given the interconnected histories of the Western and Indian classical traditions as well as Western art music's influence on Indian film music (see Weidman, 2006; Subramanian, 2008; Morcom, 2017), the potential reaffirmation of Orientalist discourses through notions of essentialised difference (see Said, 1978), as well as the hegemonic positioning of Western culture and thought globally (see de Sousa Santos, 2018).

Many of my respondents used the terms 'Western art music', 'Western classical music' and 'Western music' interchangeably. In this thesis, I use the term Western art music as an umbrella term to describe practices, education and performances referred to by my participants that reflect conventional descriptions of Western art music/Western classical music, including: a focus on concert culture; institutionalised music education; a focus on musical scores; the use of instruments such as pianos, the violin family, woodwind and brass; a focus on ensembles such as symphony orchestras, string quartets and so on; and an emphasis on the Western canon. This description of Western art music is, of course, reductive, indicating the continuing influence of 'nineteenth century museum culture' (Taylor, 2016), and does not illustrate the diversity of practices associated with the term. However, in its crudity, the term Western art

music is valuable for this thesis; given the inherent issues identified with the term, it provides a springboard to encourage dialogue about the more problematic discourses associated with this music and its mobilisation in contemporary, metropolitan India. I go beyond this definition in Chapter 7 where I explore contemporary art music education and composition at KM Music Conservatory, including free improvisation, sound art and electronic music. I use the term 'Western art music' because, whilst problematic, it provides more flexibility than 'Western classical music' whilst also providing clearer boundaries than 'Western music'.

Ethnographic approach

Whilst I draw on historical material to contextualise the research, the focus of this thesis is on empirical data gathered in India between 2007 and 2016. I utilise ethnographic research methods including participant-observation, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis including digital media. Detailed ethnographic research has been conducted in Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), Chennai (formerly Madras), and Bengaluru (formerly Bangalore), but I also reference experiences and research undertaken in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) and Delhi. The study focuses primarily on music schools, a music conservatory, outreach programmes, and the individuals involved in these institutions, including students, parents, teachers, founders and administrators. The study institutions were identified and selected on the basis of their involvement in the dissemination of Western art music. A diverse range of agents have been engaged with to provide nuanced and comparative insights into the significance of Western art music in contemporary India. I explore case studies related to: mission and philanthropic work; the narratives employed by affluent middle-class parents; and the narratives and lived experiences of students and teachers at a higher education institution. The diverse material is drawn together through an overarching theorisation that emphasises the relational and multidimensional significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. I do not see the diversity of material as a weakness – rather, it is necessary to explore Western art music from multiple perspectives in order to illustrate its significance in nuanced, multi-layered and relational ways.

The thesis has its roots in my training and work as a teacher, performer, and researcher of Western art music in India and the UK over the past ten years. I first travelled to India in 2007 to work at Mathieson's School of Music in Kolkata – a Christian charitable organisation educating 'economically underprivileged' children in

Western art music and general education.[1] This was followed in 2011 by five months in Mumbai, during which I performed with the Bombay Chamber Orchestra and taught at the Melhi Mehta Music Foundation – a music school founded in 1995 by the internationally renowned Parsi conductor, Zubin Mehta. Between 2015 and 2016, I conducted three research trips to Chennai, Bengaluru, Kolkata, Mumbai and Delhi, during which I was hosted by various institutions including KM Music Conservatory, Sunshine Orchestra, Bangalore School of Music, Harmony, Calcutta School of Music, and the Oxford Mission, Behala. During this time, I immersed myself in the musical life of the above institutions and cities, attending performances, lectures and seminars, teaching and performing as well as engaging socially with participants. The experiences these trips afforded me have been invaluable to my understanding of Western art music in India, revealing its relational, multidimensional, and ambivalent significance as well as the ambiguities of my own positionality. I argue that theory and method are symbiotically related, and are indicative of relational theoretical framework draw on throughout the thesis: the boundaries between the participants and me are simultaneously established and blurred in the course of the research, and we are united by a similar process of engagement with the significance of Western art music.

Study sites

The thesis focuses on particular case studies related to individuals, groups and institutions involved with Western art music in the metropolitan cities of Chennai, Kolkata and Bengaluru. Whilst these are geographically and culturally diverse locations with unique histories and cultures, these cities share a rapidly expanding economy and metropolitan middle-class. In many ways, the individuals, groups and institutions I engage with share far more commonalities with each other than they do with surrounding rural villages, especially in terms of material wealth. Other areas of interest that are beyond the scope of this thesis is the significant history of Western art music in Goa and for the Portuguese-Goan community. Similarly, Lahore – the capital of Punjab before partition and now Pakistan's cultural capital – has a long history of Western art music and its significance there would provide a rich comparative case study. Furthermore, detailed case studies of orchestras, performances, or the involvement of communities such as the Parsis would, *perhaps*, have produced a different thesis.

[1] See https://www.mathiesonmusicschool.org/.

Chapter summaries

Chapter 2 through a review of literature, aural histories, and non-academic articles, I explore the history of Western art music in India through the following themes: trade, markets and technology; community involvement; philanthropy and missionary projects; and musical encounters. Throughout I signpost the symbiotic relationship of Western art music with economic, political, cultural, musical, ideological, technological and social relationships and interactions. Through this, the themes I have identified above are shown to be both reaffirmed and blurred. This chapter provides the reader with the contextual information needed to engage with the empirical data presented in Chapters 4-7.

In **Chapter 3.1**, I review the salient literature on the ethnographic study of Western art music, locating the thesis in the field of ethnomusicology. Building on this literature and drawing inspiration from Cook (2010, 2013) and others, I develop a relational and dialogic theoretical framework based primarily on readings of Abbott's concept 'linked ecologies', de Sousa Santos' 'abyssal thinking', and Cook's 'transcultural sense-making'. Drawing these theories together, I develop a relational theoretical framework that is useful in understanding the significance of Western art music in contemporary India.

In **Chapter 3.2** I build on this theoretical foundation, exploring positionality and the complex relationship between researcher, topic and respondents. I go on to discuss the main research methods used including multi-sited ethnography, participant observation, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis that enabled a relational and dialogic engagement with the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India.

Chapter 4 explores the mobilisation of Western art music in philanthropic educational projects focusing on two case studies – the Oxford Mission, Behala in Kolkata (OMB) and the Sunshine Orchestra in Chennai. I compare the ways in which Western art music is mobilised by these institutions as well as the experiences and narratives articulated by those involved. I explore various themes to unpack the complex ways the significance of Western art music is adapted to, (re)framed and made sense of in contemporary metropolitan India. Such projects are shown to be inherently dialogic, ambiguous, situational and relational, drawing on a complex assemblage of motives, meanings and influences.

Chapter 5 explores the biographies and narratives of affluent parents of music students enrolled at Bangalore School of Music, Bengaluru. Most of the parents I interviewed came from a Hindu background and were the first in their family to be involved with Western art music, indicative of the expansion of interest in Western art music in contemporary India. A small number were Christian and/or had some family history or experience of Western art music. I explore parental motivations and experience of Western art music through multi-dimensional themes that indicate the complex nexus of motives, meanings and influence that parents draw upon to make sense of their and their children's involvement with Western art music.

Chapter 6 examines the biographies and narratives of students at KM Music Conservatory (KM), Chennai. I explore the motivations and understandings students articulate about their education and decision to study music in relation to wider societal attitudes as well as broader socioeconomic, ideological, political, musical, and technological factors. I show that students make sense of their involvement with music education through various lenses, including affluence, global orientation, rebellion, changing attitudes to music education and the music profession, entrepreneurship, changes in consumer taste, and changing job markets.

Chapter 7 explores the ways in which teachers and students at KM make sense of their experiences of Western art music and Hindustani classical music in the context of KM's 'bi-musical' curriculum. I consider the negotiation of musical boundaries, teacher-student relationships, epistemology, as well as the perceived relevance, applicability, and significance of these traditions in metropolitan Indian settings. Western art music is shown to be placed in dialogue with other musical traditions as well as broader socioeconomic, cultural, political and ideological factors. Such experiences highlight the ambiguity surrounding Western art music's positioning within a bi-musical setting and India more broadly, and suggest that the narratives drawn upon in the previous chapters are not only reflective of broader structural changes but actually generated through musical and educational experiences.

In **Chapter 8** I make the argument for the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. In the previous chapters I have shown that Western art music exists in a complex nexus of relations with multiple economic, political, technological, historical, musical, ideological, cultural and social factors. Competing, contradicting, and complementary relations, discourses, and meanings simultaneously coexist and interact within the narratives, meanings and experiences mobilised by

individuals, groups and institutions. Returning to my theoretical framework, I argue that Western art music's significance lies in its unique positioning in contemporary metropolitan India, simultaneously reaffirming and blurring the boundaries between old and new, tradition and modernity, local and global, rich and poor, India and the West, and self and other. The complex set of relations that surround Western art music in metropolitan India provide a unique lens through which we can engage with and make sense of diverse and complex negotiations and interactions. At every level – from its relationship with more abstract structures and discourses to the musical experiences of those involved – Western art music's significance is shown to bring into dialogue diverse issues that are pertinent in developing understandings of contemporary, metropolitan India.

2. Western art music and India

Western art music, and Western music more generally, has a long and well-established history in India's metropolitan cities from at least the sixteenth century. Trade, Christianity, colonialism and military presence have resulted in an enduring engagement with Western art music that continues to the present day. This chapter explores the history of Western art music in India thematically, focusing on the development of trade, markets and technology, the involvement of affluent communities, its mobilisation in missionary and philanthropic endeavours, and its significance in musical encounters.[2] Through these themes, a review of the extant literature, and ethnographic and archival research, I illustrate the ways in which diverse relations and interactions have shaped the history and significance of Western art music in India. These include socioeconomic, cultural, political, technological, ideological, and musical relations and interactions as well as those that take place between individuals, groups and institutions. It will be useful for the reader to keep in mind the complex ways the six themes identified in the introduction are established, problematised and become blurred in the material covered in this chapter.

2.1 Trade, markets and technology

From the sixteenth century, European powers, including the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British, set up trading posts in various locations in India. The British East India Company, formed in 1600, established trading posts in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay (see Travers, 2007 for a history of the British East India Company). Company personnel brought with them cultural and religious practices, including music and Christianity (Woodfield, 2000: 1). Western music played a significant role in interaction and diplomatic relations between Europeans and Indians - the Company, for example, sent consorts of musicians and keyboard instruments such as harpsichords to aid diplomatic missions (Ibid.). Subsequently, Western music became popular amongst the Indian courtly elite whose interest was indicative of its importance in negotiating Indigenous-European relations, as well as its use as an expression of social status and wealth (Taylor, 2016: 89). Indian courts would become patrons of Western art music in India, patronising musicians and performances until their dissolution post-independence (Ibid.).

[2] In many ways, such a separation is crude; the themes I deal with are mutually constitutive. However, it is necessary to deal with them separately for the sake of clarity.

As the British East India Company expanded its trading interests during the eighteenth-century, it required increasing numbers of personnel, resulting in the expansion and growing affluence of European communities in India (Woodfield 2000). Head (1985; 1986) and Woodfield (2000) have shown how versions of British concert life were propagated by elite European communities in cities like Calcutta during the eighteenth century, albeit adapted to local contexts and conditions. Subsequently, there was a growing market for music education and performance with 'fashionable goods' including musical instruments and sheet music transported by East India Company ships from Europe to India (Woodfield, 2000: 3). The introduction of upright pianos in the eighteenth-century increased accessibility to Western music-making for India's urban middle-classes as these pianos were easier and safer to transport and maintain than harpsichords (Head, 1985: 550). Pianofortes were introduced to Calcutta in the late 18th century, organs imported from Britain and France, and orchestral ensembles and bands were established and began to perform regularly (Ibid.; Woodfield, 2000: 1-3). As a result, international trade in musical instruments and printed music flourished.

A market for second-hand instruments also developed, as well as a demand for tradespeople to repair and maintain these due to the effects of the Indian climate (Woodfield, 2000). Several music retailers were established in cities such as Calcutta and Bombay, where there was an expanding market for new imported instruments (often sold at inflated prices) as well as for the repair and maintenance of instruments already in India (Head, 1985: 551). Moreover, there was demand amongst European communities for public and private music performances. This stimulated an influx of European musicians who saw the fashion for Western music in India as an entrepreneurial opportunity; Western music education during this time was mostly undertaken by European musicians who had come to India to tap into this growing market, advertising their services through music societies and performances (Woodfield, 2000). There were also several attempts to establish regular concerts and music ensembles in Calcutta – musical clubs, societies and festivals sprung up such as the Calcutta Catch Club that provided opportunities for social interaction that could lead to courtship and marriage (Ibid.). Thus Western music in India at this time functioned as a signifier of economic, political as well as social relations.

With the accession of The East India Company to the British government in 1857, European powers had firmly established communities and cultural practices in India. By the mid-nineteenth century, regular performances of Western art music took place in

India's cities and had moved beyond the church, military[3] and private settings to include public performances (Woodfield, 2000) in theatres and opera houses such as the Museum Theatre in Madras and the Royal Opera House in Bombay. India's major cities became a touring destination for many of the world's orchestras and opera companies such as Pollard's Lulliputian Opera Company in the late-nineteenth century (see Arrighi, 2017). Numerous music retailers were established in major cities to cater for the demands of both European and non-European community interests in Western art music. In Calcutta, Hobbs and Co. (1893), Reynolds (1908) and Braganzas (1942) were established; in Madras, Misquith and Co. (1842, now Musée Musical); and in Bombay, Furtardo's (1865). These retailers engaged in the international trade for musical instruments, gramophone recordings, radios and sheet music, catering for the demands of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Christians and other wealthy communities such as the Parsis. Improvements in printing technology during the nineteenth century resulted in increased accessibility to scores, with large amounts of 'uncomplicated' music produced for the amateur market (Ibid.). The development of radio and gramophone recordings at the turn of the twentieth century also facilitated access to and promoted this music; the establishment of All-India Radio in 1936 promoted both Western and Indian music to India's middle-classes, drawing on 'internationalist', 'nationalist' and 'elitist' sentiments (Lelyveld, 1994: 50-52). Bespoke music schools were also established to satisfy demand for Western art music education such as the Calcutta School of Music, established in 1900 by Phillipe Sandre – a French violinist and conductor. Moreover, international examination boards such as Trinity College of Music established links with music schools, with a view to expanding their international market. Since 1906, Musée Musical has been a centre for Trinity examinations in South India, and other music schools followed suit.

The establishment of these music schools reflected the growing institutionalisation of Western art music education in Europe during the nineteenth century.[4] However, many of these music retailers and schools had an international and transcultural orientation, as indicated by the history of Musée Musical. According to their website,[5] Misquith, the original owner, fell into debt and sold the shop to Edgar Prudhome who developed a business relationship with Amy de Rozario, a British-Spanish music teacher. At this point Misquith & Co was renamed Musée Musical. In 1920, Gridhar Das, a Hindu, was

[3] See Booth (2005) for a history of brass bands in India.
[4] Such institutions, according to Van der Linden (2013), were a beacon of Western cultural hegemony and had an impact on Indian classical music traditions leading to the institutionalisation of Indian classical music education.
[5] See https://www.museemusical.in/.

appointed director, and in 1942 took over the company from Amy de Rozario when she left India for England.[6] This brief history charts Musée Musical's European beginnings to its Indian ownership in 1942, and in many ways represents a microcosm of socio-political developments in the city i.e. the exodus of the British from Madras and the gradual handover of business to local, Indian entrepreneurs. It also indicates the long history of international institutions seeking to exploit the Indian market, a phenomenon that has continued into the twenty-first century and is reflected in the increasing resources the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM),[7] for example, and Western higher education institutions are investing in India to secure a foothold in the market for music education.

A number of music societies also emerged during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to promote the performance of Western art music. For example, the Madras Musical Association (MMA) was founded as an all-European organisation in 1893 in association with St Andrews' Church with the aim of promoting Western choral music. The MMA's repertoire soon expanded to include secular Western music. A selection of programme notes held in the MMA archives details concerts performed at the Museum Theatre from the 1920s-40s, predominantly comprising string quartets of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Again, this organisation symbolises the transformation of what was an exclusively European society to one with an all-Indian membership post-1947.[8] Other orchestras and societies were transnational from their inception. The Bombay Chamber Society was established in 1937 by Walter Kaufmann – a German musician and the director of All-India Radio – and performed weekly at the Willingdon Gymkhana Club (Fernandes, 2014). Local orchestras also sprung up in these cities such as the Calcutta Symphony Orchestra and the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, both of which were established during the 1920s. These orchestras comprised a transnational and transreligious membership (although all members came from affluent backgrounds), including Europeans, Baghdadi Jews, Anglo-Indians, Parsis, Portuguese-Goans as well as Hindus, and were open to both men and women: Marsden notes that in comparison with European orchestras, these Indian orchestras would have been progressive (Marsden, 2016), although their 'progressiveness' was borne out of a dearth of musicians rather than necessarily progressive values. Archival newspaper articles about these orchestras suggest they were seen as symbols of modernity,

[6] This history of Musée Musical is drawn from their official website, a published interview with its current director, and several interviews conducted during fieldwork.
[7] As an example, the ABRSM ran conferences in Kolkata, Bengaluru, and Mumbai in 2016. See https://serenademagazine.com/news/abrsm-presents-hallmarks-distinction-2016/.
[8] The Madras Musical Association admitted their first Indian member, Handel Manuel, in 1942.

progressiveness and of a global orientation (Ibid.), playing into established tropes that resonated with colonial ideology.

Independence: 1947-1991

Following Independence in 1947, Western art music institutions had to contend with seismic economic and political changes. Whilst Indian nationalists were concerned with the proliferation of Western culture, their efforts were mainly directed at removing the British from power and improving economic conditions. British products were boycotted in an attempt to revive domestic production in what became known as the *Swadeshi* movement – an economic strategy based on economic self-sufficiency characterised by M. K. Gandhi's slogan 'made in India' (Bohle, 2000: 5. Also see Joshi, 2017). The drive to establish *Purna Swaraj*, or complete independence, was made explicit by Jawaharlal Nehru[9] in the Independence Day Resolution of 1930. He stated:

> The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence (National Archives UK).

Policies implemented post-1947 included heavy duties and taxes on foreign imports. This would become known as the 'licence-permit raj', which limited international and inter-state trade and continued the principles of the *swadeshi* movement (see Guha, 2007 for a history of the *swadeshi* movement). However, a total severance with the 'British connection' remained an aspiration as the socioeconomic, political, technological and cultural factors that accompanied colonialism were embedded in Indian society and continued to shape post-Independence India.

Various economic and political policies such as the Luxury Tax[10] implemented at this time affected the importation of musical instruments and scores, as well as the financial viability of a Western art music scene. As a result, several companies and orchestras ceased to exist such as Hobbs and Co. and the Calcutta Symphony Orchestra. Similarly, as Kathakali Chanda (2014) notes, 'the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act in 1974 dried up international transactions; fewer foreign artistes came to India, and it

[9] Nehru would become Independent India's first Prime Minister.
[10] See https://cleartax.in/s/luxury-tax-in-india.

cost a fortune to import the best instruments'. The Foreign Exchange Regulations Act imposed strict regulations on foreign exchange dealings, having a direct impact on currency transactions. As most instruments were imported and there were significant taxes placed on paying foreign musicians, this had implications for retailers, music schools and concert promoters. According to Kishor Das, current director of Musée Musical, a 330% duty was levied on the import of pianos during the 1940s, making involvement with Western art music extremely expensive (Parthasarathy, 2011). In addition to the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act was the Entertainment Tax on 'leisure' activities such as cinema, theatre, and musical performance that taxed profits from commercial musical performance, and still exists in many states today. Such policies had a debilitating effect on the dissemination of Western art music: music retailers struggled to remain in business let alone expand, and a viable market for a Western art music scene was, for many, unrealistic.

Government policies also had a direct effect on patrons of Western art music. The dissolution of the princely states removed power from the princes who had historically been patrons of both Indian and Western musicians. At the time of the British withdrawal in 1947, 565 princely states were officially recognised. Yaqoob Khan Bangash (2015) suggests that by 1950, almost all the princely states had acceded to either India or Pakistan. According to Somjit Dasgupta, a historian of musical life in West Bengal, Western art music and the Indian classical music traditions both struggled post-independence as a result of socioeconomic changes and the demise of private patrons (Dasgupta, 2016: personal communication). In addition, the exodus of European communities as well Anglo-Indians meant that a substantial proportion of the market for Western art music simply ceased to exist; there was not as yet a significant interest in Western art music amongst India's middle classes.

However, whilst it is undeniable that the policies implemented post-independence had a detrimental effect on Western art music, some industries flourished during this period. Given the restrictions on the importation of instruments, those interested in Western art music had to make do with instruments already in India, all of which needed constant attention. As a result, instrument repairers and piano tuners flourished in cities like Calcutta. During fieldwork in Kolkata, I stumbled across a piano shop on Mirza Ghalib Street just down the road from the famous Braganzas – Kolkata's celebrated instrument retailer. Four pianos lined the walls of the shop. The owner, a piano tuner, informed me that the shop was established by his father about 90 years ago and had been part of a vibrant community of music retailers and repairers in the area:

> After independence imports were stopped. So most pianos were left from before independence […] so we used to repair these pianos, get it tuned also. So that's how these shops opened up […] Lot of people used to hire pianos […] but now this hire has gone down because people are finding it better or cheaper to go in for synthesisers.

Relatedly, retailers like Braganzas in Calcutta developed a trade in Indian-made Western musical instruments to meet the demand for music-making more broadly, both in the film music industry as well as for Western music. These examples resonate with the self-sufficiency themes of the *swadeshi* movement that characterised the post-independence era, as well as with the entrepreneurial spirit of contemporary metropolitan India. Both the piano tuner trade and Braganzas indicate businesses and trades managed to find a niche in post-independence India, and arguably benefitted from the quasi-socialist policies that created a space in which these trades could flourish. Moreover, many Western art music institutions continued to function during this period. Institutions such as the Oxford Mission and Musée Musical have unbroken histories since their establishment during the nineteenth century. A few institutions were also established in the post-independence era. The Bombay Chamber Orchestra, for example, was formed in 1962. Jini Dinshaw, a Parsi and founder of the Orchestra, had studied music in London and, upon her return to Bombay, found there was no local orchestra, subsequently establishing the Bombay Chamber Orchestra to fill this vacuum. According to Hannah Marsden (2016), Bombay has been without an orchestra for only twelve years since 1920, indicating an enduring interest in Western orchestras in the city.

Economic liberalisation: 1991-present

During the 1970s India experienced a series of financial crises causing economic and social unrest and leading to calls for economic reform. Over a 21-month period from 1975 to 1977 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency. This period became known as the Emergency (see Dhar, 2000 for a detailed discussion of the Emergency). The Emergency encouraged reformist drives during the 80s that led to what became known as Economic Liberalisation (Pederson, 2000). Economic Liberalisation was officially implemented in 1991 and entailed an opening up of India's economy to foreign investment, free market capitalism, and a service-oriented economy (see Pederson, 2000 for a history of Economic Liberalisation in India). This

has contributed to India's emergence as a global super power; media outlets reported India's economic growth in 2016 at 7.6%, '[retaining] its place as the world's fastest-growing major economy' (BBC News, 2016).

As a result of Economic Liberalisation, the landscape of music institutions in India has changed dramatically, symptomatic of resurgence of interest in Western art music. In addition to institutions established during colonial rule and still operating today, (e.g. Musée Musical, the Oxford Mission and Furtardos) are many newer institutions that have found a space and market to disseminate and promote Western art music. These include music schools and higher education institutions such as the Melhi Mehta Music Foundation (1995), Bangalore School of Music (1985), Harmony (2008), the Academy of Western Music (2012), Pavo School of Music (2013), and KM Music Conservatory (2008). Orchestras, too, have sprung up in all the major cities since independence, and include the Bombay Chamber Orchestra (1962), Calcutta Chamber Orchestra (2005), Madras Chamber Orchestra (1975), India's first professional orchestra – the Symphony Orchestra of India (SOI, 2006), as well as its first national youth orchestra – the Indian National Youth Orchestra and Choir (2012). In addition, new performance spaces have opened – the National Centre for Performing Arts in Mumbai (established by the Tata family in 1986) functions as a cinema, theatre, and concert venue for multiple genres of music as well as hosting the SOI. The Sir Murtha Venkatasubba Rao concert hall in Chennai, the C. D. Deshmukh Auditorium in Delhi, and the Kala Mandir Auditorium in Kolkata are other newly established venues that host transcultural and transnational events. These share the performance landscape with colonial buildings still used today including the Museum Theatre in Chennai and the newly refurbished Royal Opera House in Mumbai, both of which hold Government of India 'heritage' status. Many of these schools, orchestras and performance venues are not exclusively dedicated to Western art music, representing a transcultural musical space in which multiple genres are performed and taught.

In addition, various European cultural centres including the Goethe Insitut, Alliance Française, Gorky Bavan, and the British Council promote Western art music to the urban middle-classes, as well as mobilising European culture more generally as a form of what Taylor has described as 'soft power' (Taylor, 2016: 127). 'Soft power' is described by the *OED* (2018) as 'a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence' (Nye, 2003). The way European culture is promoted by these European institutions is not dissimilar to the mobilisation of music as form a diplomacy by the British East India Company during the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, adhering to a 'soft power' argument too closely could serve to underplay the socioeconomic conditions that shape these institutions in contemporary, metropolitan India. There is a danger that the cultural aspects of European institutions are foregrounded at the expense of an understanding of the interweaving of economic, political and other factors in their significance.

A good example of the changing landscape of music schools in India can be found in Chennai. Musée Musical – Chennai's oldest music retailer and music school – now has branches in Pondicherry and Hyderabad, and shares the market with other institutions including Pavo School of Music (2006) and the Academy of Western Music (2012). These latter institutions, whilst recently established, share the same aims, objectives, and markets as Musée Musical: they teach Western art music and popular music through international examination boards (primarily Trinity College, but also ABRSM and London College of Music) and cater for a client-base made up largely of affluent, middle-class Indians. According to Pavo School of Music's website, the school has grown from six students in 2006 to 500 students studying at three separate branches in Chennai. The Academy of Western Music charges INR 2,250 per month, a significant amount of money when compared with the average monthly income of c. INR 8,000 per Indian family.[11] According to Trinity College of Music's official website, 'around 100,000 candidates appear for Trinity assessments […] from over 100 centres spread across India'.[12] In addition, with the establishment of KM Music Conservatory (KM), Chennai now hosts the first higher education institution in India to offer qualifications in Western art music internationally accredited by Middlesex University, UK. The Conservatory employs a number of international staff commanding a state prescribed salary of c. £20,000 per annum (c. INR 175 lakh), and charges students annual fees of c. INR 6 lakh (c. £5,300).[13] Again, such fees restrict this education to a very small and affluent section of Indian society.[14]

In response to the changing economic conditions noted earlier, these institutions have adapted the education they offer to include a wide range of musical styles, reflecting changing consumer tastes and markets. Throughout its history, Musée Musical has responded to changing local contexts and markets, reframing and repositioning itself to accommodate such changes. It has transitioned from catering predominantly for

[11] See https://tradingeconomics.com/india/wages.
[12] See https://www.trinitycollege.com/site/?id=616.
[13] 1 lakh = 100,000. I crore = 10 million.
[14] See https://cmie.com/kommon/bin/sr.php?kall=warticle&dt=2016-07-04%2013:45:29&msec=170.

Europeans and Anglo-Indians during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to catering for a largely Indian market, adapting the education it offers to accommodate complex and shifting musical landscapes and consumer tastes. As well as selling western instruments such as pianos, violins and guitars, Musée Musical also stocks veenas, sitars and harmoniums. In addition to Western art music tuition, they also teach Hindustani and Carnatic music as well as Western popular music through Trinity's Rock and Pop syllabus. As a marketing strategy, Musée Musical draws on its illustrious alumni, including A. R. Rahman, the film composer and founder of KM Music Conservatory, and Dr Lakshminarayana Subramanian, the fusion violinist.[15] As such, they tap into local consumer tastes, especially film music, to market Western art music education to new and young audiences. Indeed, Kishor Das notes that Western art music education is popular because of its links to film music and consumer tastes, and, as a result, it is perceived as providing a valuable foundation for those who want to enter the Indian music industry (Sardana, 2017; also see Morcom, 2017). In these examples, local music institutions have adapted Western art music education to meet the needs of contemporary contexts by adopting a marketing strategy that promotes its relevance to local musical forms, industries and consumer tastes.

Such educational contexts are also symptomatic of the interconnectedness of the global market place. India as a market for Western art music education is well documented. Historically, Trinity College of Music has dominated the market, establishing examination centres in India in the early-twentieth century.[16] A surge in interest in ABRSM examinations in recent years has challenged Trinity's position, as has interest in Rock School and London College of Music examinations. Furthermore, internationalist agendas of UK higher education and performance institutions are also evidence of growing interest in India as a market. The undergraduate music course at KM is accredited by Middlesex University, and institutions such as Berklee College of Music in the US and the Royal Scottish Conservatoire of Music and Drama have shown interest in forging links with Indian institutions. As Taylor notes: 'Western universities are falling over themselves to establish formal links with institutions in emerging nations, in order to fulfil the corporate agenda of the former and the capacity and accreditation challenges of the latter' (Taylor, 2016: 88). Thus, as Taylor notes, Middlesex University gains lucrative international fees, KM gains international recognition, and students have the opportunity to attain an internationally recognised

[15] See http://www.Muséemusical.in.
[16] Trinity recently held a pan-Indian tour promoting Western art music alongside popular music examinations (https://serenademagazine.com/news/trinity-fest-2018/).

degree. For Taylor, such internationalism is replete with contradiction and ambiguity: 'What appears on the surface as an egalitarian ideology often serves as a mechanism for maintaining unequal power relations between the West and the rest: thinking and acting globally relies on wielding the economic power to impose your ideas onto others' (Ibid.). For Taylor, Western art music education is located in a complex nexus of international relations that are deeply ambiguous. Taylor goes on to argue that a too easy bifurcation of the 'West and the rest' that could underplay the ways that Western art music education is also located in local musical, cultural and historic relations. The educative, cultural and economic systems of the 'West' and India are so entangled that it is difficult to separate the two in any meaningful way, and Indian elites have also been guilty of manipulating economic power to impose their ideological position (including Orientalist discourse) onto impoverished 'others'.

Nevertheless, the establishment of KM[17] must be located within broader policies related to Economic Liberalisation. In 1994, India signed the World Trade Organisation Act which supported the privatisation of education, culminating in the Private Universities Act (1995) and, what Sivadasan describes as, the 'commercialisation' of education (see Sivadasan, 2015). KM can be seen as symptomatic of what Sivadasan (2015) identifies as the 'neoliberal turn' in Indian higher education policies that is inherently tied to 'economic liberalisation, free markets and private enterprise' (2015: 4). For Goswami (2013: 34) such neoliberal paradigms have displaced 'egalitarian commitments to education' and have embraced educational goals based on the 'pursuit of profit and preparation of a cheap and compliant workforce'. Goswami suggests Indian higher education institutions are shaped by neoliberal market forces rather than the constitutional principles of the Independence movement that promoted 'equality and social justice'. Following this argument, the Western music institutions established in India's major cities can be seen to propagate problematic neoliberal and internationalist discourses, although this should be nuanced with an acknowledgement of the embeddedness of these institutions in the fabric of India's musical history. Moreover, whether the egalitarian commitments to education that Goswami and Sivadasan refer to were ever achieved is questionable and both authors appear to draw a too easy distinction between the past and present. Simple dichotomies between notions of international and national, East and West, and neoliberalism and socialism

[17] KM is now establishing a campus in Mumbai, and a former lecturer from Trinity College of Music, London – Karl Lutchmayer – hopes to establish a music conservatory in Chennai.

are too vague to uncover the nuances of the positioning of music institutions in contemporary, metropolitan India.

An expanding interest in Western art music is also linked to changing job markets. According to Ovichegan, the arts, humanities and social science degrees are considered of less value than professional degrees such as medicine, engineering, and computer science in terms of social capital as well as 'power and prestige' (2015: 24). Professional degrees are seen as providing the opportunity for social mobility and improved economic and social status (Ibid.). However, the preoccupation with professional and technical degrees has led to the oversaturation of certain fields. According to a report published by *The Times of India*, 60% of Engineering graduates remain unemployed (Gohain, 2017). The professional degree boom has arguably peaked as evidenced by the closure of many engineering institutions and a corresponding growth of interest in the creative industries. This raises questions about the changing status of musicians and the music profession as a viable career path, and subsequently the significance of Western art music. Indeed, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) estimates that the value of the performing arts industry in India was INR 236 billion in 2012 and was estimated to reach INR 275 billion by 2018 (FICCI, 2016: 6). This has been paralleled by what has been described as an 'entrepreneurial spirit' amongst the Indian middle classes reflected in a sharp increase in the establishment of start-ups in metropolitan centres (see Dossani and Kenney, 2002: 230). This 'entrepreneurial spirit' is also evidenced in the establishment of a plethora of music institutions in recent years.

The opening-up of the economy has also encouraged foreign musicians to undertake Indian tours. A tour by the violinist Nicola Benedetti and the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra (SSO) in 2014 provides a high-profile example. Benedetti and SSO performed in four Indian cities and conducted outreach projects at local schools. An accompanying documentary (BBC Arts, 2015) follows Benedetti's experiences and thoughts of the tour and India. The experience led Benedetti to reflect on Western art music's position in India: 'India has its own popular music and its own classical music. We are not bringing something that they need. We are bringing them something else that is great, to approach it any other way is patronising and ridiculous' (BBC Arts, 2015). Whilst her account of the tour and transcultural exchange should not be discounted and indicates the ways in which Benedetti attempted to make sense of her experiences, we must not ignore the less benign agenda that institutions such as the SSO have, not least the imperative to expand their markets beyond the West.

Benedetti's observations abstract the tour from the complex set of economic, historic, political and social relations in which such endeavours are embedded, and thus glosses over the less benign implications of such projects.

The lifting of import duties on sheet music and Western instruments has enabled international companies like Yamaha that sell acoustic and electronic instruments to establish a foothold in the Indian market. The maintenance issues that faced harpsichordists such as Margaret Fowlkes in the eighteenth century (Woodfield, 2000: 22) have been made more manageable as a result of the introduction of electronic alternatives. This has had a knock-on effect on trades such as piano tuning and instrument maintenance, with a decline in demand for these skills.[18] Similar issues can be found in the film music industry. Morcom (2017), Beaster-Jones (2016) and Booth (2008) have noted a decrease in the use of string players in the film music industry since the introduction of digital instruments and synthesised sounds. As elsewhere, the transformational effects of sound engineering and electronic music have also permeated and influenced the education and performance of Western art music and related musical traditions and job markets in India, leading to developments in musical style and changing consumer tastes.

The internet has also had a transformational effect. As Singhi *et al.* (2017) state: 'Internet penetration in India has risen from an estimated 8% in 2010 to almost 25% in 2016 and is forecast to grow to 55% or more by 2025, when the number of users is predicted to reach approximately 850 million' (Singhi *et al*, 2017). Chanda (2014) discusses the impact of the internet and social media on the dissemination of Western art music, noting expansion in its reach and accessibility:

> There's a before-and-after-YouTube story in the history of Western classical music in India. I know of people in small towns who watch videos of the masters at play and find online tutorials. I have picked up lessons on YouTube and taken classes on Skype.

The internet provides a space through which musicians and audiences can interact.[19] YouTube allows access to online tutorials, publicises musicians, as well as facilitates rehearsals across geographic spaces. For example, during fieldwork in Chennai, I

[18] Interestingly, India's national heritage scheme is investing in the restoration and maintenance of India's church organs. See https://telanganatoday.com/109-years-on-this-pipe-organ-stands-tall-in-hyderabads-st-jhons-church.
[19] Indeed, the YouTube Symphony Orchestra has had several Indian members. See https://www.youtube.com/user/symphony.

attended a digital broadcast of a performance by the Berliner Philharmonker at the Goethe Institut, streamed live from Berlin. Sites such as Wikipedia, the International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP) and the Creative Commons have democratised access to unprecedented amounts of information such as musical scores and books that would have previously been difficult to get hold of and beyond the financial reach of many Indians. The difficulties of accessing musical scores experienced by musicians such as Margaret Fowlkes in the eighteenth century are no longer the barrier they once were. The internet has also seen the emergence of a plethora of blogs and media sites such as Serenade[20] and Sahapedia[21] which disseminate articles about the history of Western art music in India. Such sites provide information about the involvement of communities such as the Baghdadi Jews[22] and Parsis[23] with Western art music as well as information about musical ensembles, institutions and events both past and present.[24]

The contemporary economic landscape of India is complicated by the recent rise of Hindu nationalism. Current manifestations of Hindu nationalism resonate with many of the issues and tensions that characterised Indian nationalism pre-Independence. These include the resonance between current political slogans such as Nerandra Modi's (India's current Prime Minister and leader of the BJP) 'make in India' and Gandhi's 'made in India'. Modi and the BJP's 'Make in India' echoes the *Swadeshi* movement and was launched by the Government in 2014 to encourage domestic manufacture and investment. An example of the effects this can have on Western art music can be seen in the Goods and Services Tax (GST) that was implemented in 2017. This is a 28% tax levied on instruments that are not 'handmade or considered 'indigenous', including many instruments used in Western, Indian classical and film music such as the violin, guitar, piano and so on; Srivinivasen states that 134 instruments are categorised as Indian or indigenous and are exempt from this tax, many of which are 'obscure and rarely played today' (Srinivasen, 2017). Anil Srinivasen rightly notes this categorisation is problematic as 'Indian' music has taken musical influences from around the world and 'differentiating between the purely Indian and purely Western' is all but impossible (Ibid.). Thus the dichotomy between East and West is both redrawn and destabilised through the implementation of this tax.

[20] See https://serenademagazine.com/.
[21] See https://www.sahapedia.org/.
[22] See https://cafedissensus.com/2014/12/31/the-baghdadi-jews-in-india/.
[23] See https://parsi-times.com/2017/08/parsi-affinity-western-classical-music/.
[24] See for example, an interview with Murali Haricharan Das on the history of Musée Musical: https://serenademagazine.com/interviews/murali-haricharan-das-chairman-and-managing-director-musee-musical/.

According to Srinivasen, music retailers forecast a decline in instrument sales of between 12% and 20% per year. Moreover, some students and parents may be deterred from taking music lessons as the price of Western instruments has risen steeply. As a result, enrolment in Western music education has reportedly fallen by 15% (Ibid.). However, as has been noted, Western art music has endured and adapted through seismic changes in India's history, and is so embedded in the musicscapes of metropolitan cities that the impact of this tax remains unclear. Indeed, the GST may have a limited effect as the disposable income needed for involvement in Western art music already puts it beyond the reach of most, and only reaffirms that this music is predominantly the preserve of the very wealthy.

2.2 Western art music, ideology and community involvement

The previous section has dealt primarily with Western music's relationship with broader political and economic factors. In this section, I discuss the social significance of Western art music for individuals and groups in India as well as the ideologies that surround it. Again, this history draws on a complex configuration of influences including economic, ideological, cultural, technological, and social relationships.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, music played an important social role for European communities in terms of religious worship, identity formation, social relations, marriage as well as serving as a reminder of home (Woodfield, 2000). Shope (2008) and Leppert (1987) have suggested that Western art music became imbued with colonial ideology, signifying elitism, modernity as well as reflecting derogatory attitudes towards Indian music and culture. For example, Shope has argued that accomplishment in Western art music symbolised the conquering and control of a hostile environment that was seen as wild and barbarous, resonating with the 'civilising mission' of colonial ideology (2008: 3). And for Leppert, Western art music became a signifier for 'cultural and social chauvinism, affirming political and economic policies[,] the politics of imperialistic aggrandisement and suppression of human rights' (1987: 102). Engagement with Western art music, therefore, became imbued with narratives of modernity and civilisation, and its significance resided in its positioning as superior to the 'Other' i.e. Indian society, culture and so on. However, as these studies show, this can gloss over the human interactions that take place around music-making which I return to later, as well as proffering a mono-dimensional appraisal of the significance of Western art music in India at this time. Within this understanding, Western art music becomes reified and its significance abstracted from more localised social interactions

– a stance that, whilst holding some credence, plays into reductive metanarratives of how Western music functioned socially in India at the time and its significance today.

Indeed, through cultural, economic and religious exchanges, Western musical practices became important for minority communities including the Anglo-Indians,[25] Parsis, Portuguese-Goans, and Baghdadi Jews. These communities used Western art music to express and delineate community identity, religious orientation, as a means of allying themselves with the British and other European powers, as well as a mode of socialising in India's metropolitan centres. The Parsi[26] community in Bombay, for example, embraced European culture, education and music, and mobilised this as a way to ally themselves with British business interests as well as to present themselves as a transnational, modern elite (Palsetia, 2001: 60). Parsis accounted for significant numbers of classically-trained musicians, forming the backbone of local orchestras and ensembles in cities such as Bombay (Marsden, 2016; Dadabhoy, 2017). Moreover, the wealth and international business connections of the Parsi community also meant that they were instrumental in arranging Indian tours for international artists. Members of the Tata family – owners of the multinational manufacturing company – and other Parsis such as Homi Mody financed concert tours during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Dadabhoy, 2017 for a history of Parsi involvement with Western art music in India). In contemporary India, the Parsis continue to have a significant presence in the Western art music scene in Mumbai (Ibid.). As with European communities, Western art music served important social functions for these communities, signifying wealth, modernity and social status, as well as a way to negotiate and distinguish minority identity in an India increasingly governed by identity politics.[27]

Western music more generally was also significant for the Anglo-Indian community. Lionel Caplan (2001) has explored themes related to identity formation amongst the Anglo-Indian communities in Madras and Lucknow, highlighting their embrace of Western culture and the desire to ally themselves with European powers, adopting Western dress, food, music and dance as social and cultural signifiers. Caplan also

[25] Those of mixed Indian and British heritage.
[26] Followers of the Zoroastrian religion had emigrated to India from Persia to escape religious persecution between the eighth and tenth centuries.
[27] Another community heavily involved with Western art music were the Baghdadi Jews of Calcutta and Bombay. As with the Parsi community, the Baghdadi Jews were heavily involved with commerce, business and the arts including Western and Indian music. However, their involvement should also be located within a broader understanding of the community's involvement with arts patronage.

notes the complex and liminal social status of this community in colonial and post-colonial India, being marginalised both by the British (although given preferential treatment) and Indian nationalists – an indication of the complex positioning of minority communities in colonial India. Shope's studies (2004; 2007; 2008; 2018) have explored how, in response to the influx of 'minstrels', vaudeville and jazz performers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Western popular music became significant for the Anglo-Indian[28] community in Lucknow. This was accompanied by advances in broadcast technology, availability of instruments and sheet music via the railway system,[29] as well as the proliferation of music education in convent schools (Shope, 2004: 180). This music and its associated activities, Shope suggests, was a 'way of establishing a relationship between the British and Anglos', and a means of 'promoting respectability and recognition within the socio-political system of the early-twentieth century' (Ibid.). Shope suggests Anglo-Indian interest in Western music and ballroom dancing was also an attempt to distinguish their community from other South Asian groups (Ibid.: 167). Shope usefully highlights the multiple influences, motives and meanings that shaped this group's involvement with Western music and its importance as a site of intercultural dialogue i.e. a way of negotiating and interacting with the British as well as establishing a social position in the cultural and political milieu of colonial India. However, whilst these broader factors are important in understanding Anglo-Indian involvement with Western music, again we must not overlook the more localised and personal interactions that this music facilitated.

Similarly, through Christianity, Western art music became significant for the Portuguese-Goans. As early as the sixteenth century, Christian converts in Goa were noted for their proficiency in Western choral singing, introduced by Portuguese traders (Menezes, 2017). This long history of involvement with liturgical music led to engagement with secular forms of Western music-making with numerous orchestras and music societies established in Goa. Due to their proficiency in Western music, Portuguese-Goan musicians had a significant presence in the orchestras used by India's film industry (see Booth, 2008; Morcom, 2013). In a similar way to the Anglo-Indians, Western music became embedded in a nexus of influences including religion, identity and broader economic factors, as well as providing these communities with employment. Zoe Sherinian (Wolf and Sherinian 2000; Sherinian 2008, 2014) has

[28] The Anglo-Indians Shope is referring to are of mixed British and Indian heritage and were associated closely with the British during colonial rule.
[29] Shope (2004) identified Railway Clubs as significant for Anglo-Indians because they provided spaces for social interaction.

explored the ways in which middle-class Christian communities in Tamil Nadu mobilised English-language hymns as a signifier of 'social status and mobility as well as offering identification with Britain, America, capitalism and modernity' (Wolf and Sherinian, 2000: 948). Again, music considered European became embedded in a complex set of relations encompassing religion, economic factors, ideology and identity, and served to distinguish these Tamil Christians from other communities.

Such ideologies were found in broader discourses that an expanding colonial Indian middle-class adopted, and here I want to move slightly away from a discussion of music. During the nineteenth century, the effects of increasing trade and urbanisation in India's metropolitan centres led to an increase in the concentration of affluent Indian middle-classes in urban centres. This accompanied a mobilisation by the British and other European powers of Western culture and education as a form of control, subjugation and a way of undermining indigenous forms of knowledge and culture. MacAulay's infamous 'Minute on Education' (1835) urged the use of Western education to develop 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect' (Seth, 2007: 2). Such policies resonated with broader ideological shifts in the nineteenth century that promoted Western civilisation, modernity, a linear view of history and Western culture in opposition to an 'Eastern' other (see de Sousa Santos, 2012: 52-55). Said (1978) has described this as the ideological creation of a dichotomy between the 'Occident' (West) and the 'Orient' (East), in which the Orient was at one and the same time romanticised as well as dismissed as 'backward' and 'ignorant'. However, as with music (see Farrell, 1997 and Cook, 2007a), the human experience of colonial policies in India was not mono-dimensional and illustrated complex intercultural encounters. For example, Sanjay Seth (2007) usefully problematises the introduction of Western education to India post-1835, illustrating how Western-style critical thinking resulted in an existential crisis amongst Indian students, who 'bent' and adapted Western epistemology to methods of learning more akin to those they were familiar with. As a result, the education of indigenous populations did not map out in the way colonial educators anticipated, leading to intercultural dialogue – however conflicting – across epistemologies and between teachers and students. Western educational forms and culture were understood in a relational and dialogic way and were anything but a simple transplantation of abstract Western ideology to an Indian context.

However, the introduction of Western education to India and the increase of Indians educated abroad had a transformative effect on the Indian middle-classes, the ideology

they adopted and their cultural orientation. Joshi (2017: 3) notes that this middle-class distanced themselves from the 'decadence of older Indian elites' as well as the 'uncleanliness' and 'ignorance' of communities considered of lower social status – attitudes influenced by time in European countries as well as exposure to Western education. However, Joshi also notes that in the development of this colonial middle class was a complex configuration of ideas about modernity and tradition, the past and present, and India and the West. For example, the Indian middle-classes self-consciously portrayed themselves as modern whilst also promoting 'Indian' traditions through narratives drawn from Orientalist texts (Ibid.: 6).[30] The contingent relationship between notions of modernity and tradition were important components of the 'middle-class psyche' and had a formative impact in shaping the political and cultural milieu of modern India.

Technological and epistemological developments also influenced the composition of this middle-class. The middle-class invested in the printed word, adopted 'clock-time' with an emphasis on punctuality, created 'civic and political associations', 'published and debated their ideological positions', and adopted new ways of doing business related to changing economic conditions (Ibid.: 4). According to Joshi (Ibid.: 3), the Indian middle class expressed and delineated identity through these activities and control of the public sphere; control of the public sphere enabled the middle class to shape the dominant social, political and cultural norms of society in colonial India and served to distinguish them from the upper and lower classes of society, 'positing a moral superiority over both' (Ibid.). Whilst Joshi notes that education and literary accomplishment had been valued prior to British rule, 'what made the middle-class of the nineteenth century different was the initiation of new cultural politics that allowed them to articulate a new set of beliefs, values, and modes of politics, distinguishing them from other social groups' (Ibid.: 13). According to Sreejith (2013), this led to the adoption of notions of self-sufficiency:

> The concept of self was to develop during the late colonial period. The growing feeling was that one should try to stand on one's own feet. Self-made men became the role models and living off one's inheritance was looked down upon (39).

[30] For example, towards the end of the nineteenth century the growth and popularity of the *Arya Samaj* – an Indian Hindu reform movement promoting values and practices based on the infallibility of the Vedas (Joshi 2017).

Whilst this may seem peripheral to a discussion of Western art music in India, the above illustrates the way the Indian middle-classes positioned themselves in relation not only to the British but also to other communities, epistemologies, philosophies, ideologies and traditions. However, this was not only influenced by changing economic conditions but also by 'pre-existing systems of social stratification' such as the caste system (Joshi, 2017: 13). The diverse, ambiguous and often contradictory sets of narratives the middle classes drew upon resonates with the multiple ways in which Western art music has been mobilised throughout its history in India as well as the ways it connects with broader discourses the economic elites of the colonial era engaged with.

Nationalist politics and Independence

The middle-classes were integral to the independence movement. In addition to the more secular attitudes of prominent figures such as Gandhi, Ambedkar, and Nehru, were those who embraced a more nationalist rhetoric such as Bose and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Narratives that drew on Orientalist notions of a Hindu nation became more prevalent amongst the Hindu middle-classes during the late nineteenth-century (Joshi, 2017: 10). Some of the prominent figures in the Independence movement embody the complex ways in which middle-class, Western educated men simultaneously mobilised the cachet of Western education alongside nationalist ideologies, Orientalism, and secularism in their pursuit of Indian Independence.

As has been noted, India adopted a quasi-socialist path following independence in 1947. The economic policies mobilised and implemented post-independence had a transformative effect on ideology, consumer tastes, values and aspirations of the Indian middle classes. Joshi notes that the middle classes subsequently embraced a secular, insular and left-leaning ideology (2017: 13). According to Brosius (2010), these ideological changes led to a suspicion of Western cultural forms and a more insular and nationalist consciousness along with the adoption and promotion of Indian music and dress. Members of the Anglo-Indian community, for example, almost exclusively wore Western-style dress before independence; post-independence, members of this community began adopting local dress and cultural forms (Brosius, 2010). The Parsis occupied important roles in government as a result of their status as a highly educated and affluent community, indicating their adaption to new socio-political contexts (see Palsetia, 2005). During this time, Indian classical music became emblematic of Indian national identity, and was embraced by the middle-classes rather than Western art

music. Whilst Western art music was not subject to the same derogatory treatment as Western popular music, the exodus of European and Anglo-Indian communities post-Independence led to dwindling numbers involved with Western art music in India, and it was not supported by the Indian state or the middle-classes (Morcom, 2017: 209). Ideology and the changing economic climate had implications for the significance of Western art music in India; whilst not disparaged, it held an increasingly marginal position in India's metropolitan cities. This contrasted to what was seen in other Asian countries such as Japan that actively embraced Western art music during the twentieth-century (Morcom, 2017: 210). Nonetheless, the mobilisation of Indian classical music during the twentieth-century had resonance with the way in which Western art music was mobilised by European communities in India during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. For example, just as Western art music was used to enhance the marriage prospects of European women in Calcutta during the eighteenth-century, middle-class Indian girls were encouraged to learn Indian classical music and dance to enhance their marriage prospects during the twentieth-century (Bakhle, 2005: 4). Whilst Western art music may not have been popular post-Independence, the ways in which it was mobilised did have resonance with the mobilisation of Indian classical music during the twentieth century.

However, many of the music practices introduced during the colonial period were adapted to changing socioeconomic conditions. Booth (1990, 2005, 2008) has explored the history of brass bands, showing the ways in which musicians adapted practices in relation to changing urban, socioeconomic and political conditions. He highlights the significance of this brass band tradition for wedding ceremonies that continues to the present-day. He also notes the relatively low social status of these musicians, indicating the complex and liminal status they occupy. What is useful about Booth's studies is that he highlights the influence of various factors on the ways in which colonial legacies and practices were adapted and shaped by local contexts. Many classically trained musicians also found work in India's expanding film and music industries with string orchestras providing the dominant sound of Indian film until the 1980s, employing large numbers of Portuguese-Goan musicians who had been introduced to Western music during colonialism (Booth, 2008: 124). Through these musical practices, Western art music is shown to have become embedded in Indian musical and cultural life. Morcom (2017) argues Western art music and the orchestral sound formed an important part of Indian cultural modernity, propagated indirectly through the Indian film orchestra (Ibid: 222). As with the middle-classes and their embrace of both secularism and Hindu nationalism, Western modernity was embedded

within India's musical landscape and continued to be mobilised indirectly through these traditions. Morcom's argument encourages us to look beyond the musical and consider the ways in which music practices, education and ideology introduced to India during colonialism were embedded in music often considered 'Indian'. According to Morcom, this is one of the reasons for Western art music's popularity in recent years (2017: 210), resonating with comments made by Das cited earlier; rather than only influenced by broader international discourses, Western art music's popularity is just as readily shaped by local music histories, consumer tastes and trends.

India's 'newly' affluent middle-classes

It has been argued that the Emergency (1975-1977) was a 'watershed moment' in the development of the contemporary Indian middle classes (Joshi, 2017: 14). According to Joshi, the focus of the middle class shifted from the economy, 'nation building' and a 'left-liberal consensus' to 'cultural politics', 'rampant consumerism' and a 'shift to the political right' (Ibid.). During the 1980s, this was reflected in increased consumerism and the adoption of a global orientation (Ibid.). Economic Liberalisation in 1991 led to rapid urbanisation and expansion of the middle-classes (Dreze and Sen, 1999). In addition to Economic Liberalisation, Joshi highlights the Mandal Commission (1990) and the destruction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya (1992) by Hindu nationalists (Joshi 2017: 13) as the events that marked a transformation from an 'old' middle-class to a 'new', characterised by a 'decisive rightward shift to a capitalist dream world dressed up in a Hindu cultural nationalism that the aspiring middle-class roots for' (Ibid.). Joshi continues to explain that as a result of foreign capital and outsourced labour, 'salaries rose, as did levels of conspicuous consumption. […] Higher salaries and closer ties to global capital created a more transnational middle class, moving between India and various other global metropolitan locations' (Ibid.: 16). The World Economic Forum (2015) notes that 'the Indian middle class has doubled in size over an eight-year period from 300 million in 2004 to 600 million in 2012', and that this group will continue to grow significantly. According to Banerjee and Duflo (2008), the middle-classes in India can be defined as those that spend between $2 and $10 per capita per day ($3,650 per annum), and whilst this income is insufficient to fund Western art music lessons, (most music schools charge around INR 3,000 or c. $44 per month) there has been an increase in the number of households with significantly higher incomes. However, the World Economic Forum (2015) notes that 'the number of households with a disposable income of more than $10,000 per annum has leapt from around 2.5 million in 1990 to

nearly 50 million in 2015'. This means that more people have disposable income to engage with activities such as Western art music.

As is clear from the opening paragraph of this section, it is difficult to define such a heterogeneous and expansive group, and there are competing definitions of the Indian middle-class. Brosius writes that this 'new' middle-class is 'a large and heterogeneous middle-class that is distinctly different from the "old" middle-class' (2010: 2), distinguishing it from older economic elites of the post-independence era who were more inward-looking and held a nationalist as opposed to a global orientation. Derné (2014), however, distinguishes between a local and transnational middle-class, highlighting the wide differences in disposable income and the resultant cultural and ideological orientations of these groups. Derné argues that the transnational middle-classes embrace cosmopolitan fashion to identify with elites in affluent countries and engage with a global market of jobs and consumer goods. Conversely, the local middle-class do not have the requisite English language skills to engage with global and transnational networks (2014: 15; 21). Here, economic stratification is highlighted in the education and networks available to the transnational and local middle-classes. Indeed, the change in ideology noted by Brosius and Joshi is reflected in the educational choices of India's middle-classes, with increased enrolment in international schools and Western art music education. Gilbertson (2014), for example, has noted the proliferation of international schools arguing they are popular because they develop communication skills, 'open-mindedness' and provide an exposure to global cultural trends, all of which are seen to develop cultural capital and enhance employment prospects. By implication, these are not seen to be provided by the Indian education system, highlighting again the complex relationship between local and global discourses and how they might perpetuate hegemonic narratives that privilege ideas of the 'West'. The affluent middle-class with their growing disposable income provide a 'market-base and cultural universe for global capital to operate and expand in India' (Jodhka & Prakash, 2011). However, rigid distinctions between 'old' and 'new', 'local and transnational' can overlook the confluence and blurring of these categories in the shaping of the Indian middle class.

A blossoming interest in Western art music accompanied economic liberalisation in the latter part of the twentieth century. Within the space of Western art music, a growing and affluent urban middle-class rubs shoulders with communities with longer histories of engagement such as the Portuguese-Goans, Parsis and Anglo-Indians. Western art music provides a space in which past and present narratives coexist and interact. The

conception of Western art music as a global cultural form and its association with social status and affluence, as well as its historic links with economic elites, suggests there is a close fit between the narratives that surround its dissemination and the ideology of a transnational Indian middle-class. Indeed, it is of little surprise that interest in Western art music has expanded exponentially in recent years; the narratives that surround Western art music fit with the global orientation of this group. Fernandes notes that the affluent middle-classes play a pivotal role in developing the 'central patterns of symbolic politics that shape dominant cultural narratives of national identity' (2006: 33). Similarly, Morcom notes that 'India's booming economy and the beneficiaries of that, will produce new fashions and trends for those who wish to follow them' (2014: 9).[31] Whilst this is undoubtedly true, it is important to remember there is a dialogic exchange between the affluent and less affluent in the generation of new cultural trends, and the latter will mobilise a degree of agency in the development of 'new fashions and trends'. This is especially true in the case of missionary and philanthropic projects that are explored in the following section.

The internet also serves an ideological function in the transmission and exchange of values in much the same way as the printing press and radio did during colonialism. The internet can be a means through which elite ideologies and values are disseminated and acquire hegemonic credence in discourse. Whilst the internet has had some democratising effects, it is certainly not benign and is extremely problematic. Derné has noted that during the 1990s, the privileged classes' perception of themselves as middle-class was fuelled by cable and print advertising which promoted elite lifestyles (2014: 14). Similarly, Rachna Sharma (2015), in her study of social media and youth culture, has commented on the importance of the internet in promulgating middle-class values. Alongside this, access to and use of the internet and mobile telephones has introduced and 'normalised' ideas about a transnational elite and their value systems. Indeed, it is possible to argue that India's affluent middle-classes are more connected to notions of 'globalised cosmopolitanism' than local culture, finding resonance with other transnational economic elites and buying into the latest global trends.

Moreover, as in the colonial era, the position of the middle class in contemporary India is complicated by the resurgence of Hindu nationalism. In 2014, Narendra Modi of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) defeated Congress Party in a landslide victory, promising

[31] Beaster-Jones (2016) has explored the changing tastes of these metropolitan elites in relation to 'music stores'.

Achhey din (better days), economic development along with a Hindu nationalist agenda. The BJP is a conservative, right-wing party drawing electoral support from what is known as the Hindu Belt (North India) and has close ideological links to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a right-wing, Hindu nationalist, paramilitary organisation that subscribes to *Hindutva* – a Hindu nationalist ideology, advocating social conservatism and nationalist principles that promote a self-Orientalising version of Hindu culture and tradition (Flaten, 2012: 625). Anand describes the objectives of Hindutva as 'transforming the Indian state and controlling the Muslim and Christian minorities' (2005: 204). Indeed, recent years have seen a rise in aggression and intolerance towards communities and initiatives whose actions, ideology or rhetoric do not sit well with the BJP's. There have been moves to ban Christian holidays,[32] violence against Muslim and Dalit communities, and an increasingly hostile stance towards European culture and ideology. A recent and prominent example of the BJP's Hindu nationalist agenda is the 'stripping' of 4 million Assamese of Indian citizenship, the majority of whom are Muslim.[33] However, this Hindu nationalist agenda with its aggressive stance towards European culture also seeks to turn India into a global superpower through an enthusiastic embrace of globalised capitalism and foreign investment. This could be seen as a paradox, leading to increasing cosmopolitanism and transnationalism in India's metropolitan centres, and growing interest in Western art music and other European cultural forms amongst the affluent urban middle-classes, many of whom are Hindu. However, even here we must not forget that interest in Western art music also has its roots in Indian film music, complicating this interest's relationship with globalisation.

Moreover, as Joshi notes, the rise of Hindu nationalism has historically gone hand-in-hand with economic expansion and a global orientation. He notes: 'even amidst breakneck modernisation [the Indian middle classes] seek to reaffirm their identity as authentic, even traditional, Indians' (Joshi, 2017: 25), often leading to the adoption of reductive and dangerous ideological positions. This can be seen in the desire to reproduce 'traditional' family values alongside a global, transnational orientation (Ibid.).[34] In this way, this middle-class is perhaps not so different from older economic elites, both re-establishing and blurring the dichotomies between old and new, the

[32] See https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/24/christmas-violence-and-arrests-shake-indian-christians.
[33] See https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-45002549.
[34] The increasing presence of retro cafes and folk music revival projects in contemporary, metropolitan India is a development that touches on issues of Orientalism, paternalism, revivalism, and nostalgia, and warrants detailed research.

‘traditional’ and ‘modern’, and India and the West. Such a view also suggests that the narratives that characterised the colonial middle-class – Orientalism, modernity, tradition, nationalism and internationalism – are reframed by this middle-class in a contemporary context. Joshi usefully contends that ‘there is no moment when the middle-class is finally made’ (2017: 17); rather, the middle-class represents a complex configuration of diverse and at times contradictory influences, meanings and motives, and Western art music can be seen to play a significant role in negotiating (or encouraging) dialogue between these.

2.3 Western art music, Christian missions and philanthropy

Missionary and philanthropic projects involving Western art music have long histories in India, encompassing a diverse range of motives, meanings and influences. Those involved have included Christians, Parsis, Baghdadi Jews, Western musicians, as well as iconic figures such as the film composer AR Rahman. Before starting this section, it will be useful to define what is meant by missionary and philanthropic projects; whilst there are clear overlaps between the two, they are often mobilised in different ways. The *OED* defines missionary as ‘a person sent on a religious mission, especially one sent to promote Christianity in a foreign country’ or as ‘relating to or characteristic of a missionary or a religious mission’, emphasising the religious goals of such activities. Philanthropy has been described by the *OED* as ‘the desire to promote the welfare of others, expressed especially by the generous donation of money to good causes’, emphasising its more secular focus. Whilst these definitions are important to note, it should not be forgotten that the boundaries between philanthropy and Christian missionary projects are opaque; Christian missions will have influenced philanthropists and vice versa.

It will be useful to begin by looking at Christian missionary projects. Western art music played an important role in Christian missionary activities in India. However, such activities are shown to be far more complicated than a simple transplantation of Western music, religion and values to Indian contexts. Judith Becker (2015) notes that the Church Missionary Society (established in 1799) first sent German missionaries to India in 1813. As in other colonised countries, missionary activities in India increased throughout the nineteenth century, reflecting Victorian attitudes towards evangelism, the deserving poor, proselytising and moral development as well as colonial discourses surrounding civilising missions, progress and development. In 1813, a missionary charter was granted by the British government that allowed British Christian missions to

establish schools across India (Copland, 2006: 1025). As a result, various missionary projects were undertaken across India. Critics of Christian missionary projects included M. K. Gandhi who claimed such endeavours diluted the Indian voice and subjugated the populace in a similar way to Western education (Schlesinger Jr., 1974: 366-7), locating these activities in relation to broader ideological and political issues. However, Gandhi's comments could be interpreted as encouraging a reification of the 'Indian voice' which was and is far from homogenous. Given the entanglement of the Indian and British education systems as well as the ideologies mobilised through these projects, such a bifurcation is difficult to sustain. Music was an integral part of Christian worship and became a central component of the educational work of these missionary organisations. It was mobilised to complement the salvific and civilising narratives of these missions and colonial ideology more generally (see McGuire, 2009 and Seth, 2007). Institutions such as the Oxford Mission were established in 1880 and Western art music was as a key educational tool in developing moral values as well as vocational skills for the 'economically underprivileged' of Bengal. Whilst Western art music was not propagated directly as part of the colonial project in India, many of the narratives associated with it resonate with colonial discourse i.e. its mobilisation as an exemplar of civilisation, universalism and modernity, as well as its use as a proselytising tool. Because of this association, the use of Western art music in missionary projects has been problematic.

However, a mono-dimensional view of the mobilisation of this music negates a more nuanced understanding. Sherinian identifies social mobility as a motivator for the Dalit communities' engagement with European religious music during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the present, signifying the influence of 'Western education and Victorian puritanism brought about through missionisation in order to raise themselves from their former status' (2000: 948). For these communities, then, Western music was mobilised almost as a form of resistance and escape from caste discrimination, contrasting with Gandhi's argument that missionary work 'diluted the Indian voice'. Moreover, as with Western education more broadly (see Seth 2007), music and the narratives and values that surrounded it were adapted and shaped by the Indian context, becoming entangled in more localised social issues rather than only reflecting broader structural relations. Many missionary projects utilised regional instruments as well as folk and Carnatic styles as a way to connect with indigenous communities, especially Brahmins (see Sherinian, 2000). However, as with other uses of Indian cultural signifiers, these were sometimes mobilised as a means to manipulate power

and to render missionary activities and the colonial project more palatable to local communities.[35]

In the mid-twentieth century, attempts were made to 'indigenise' Christian musical practices amongst missionary groups who felt that presenting Christian values and meanings through local idioms would be a more effective way of proselytising (Wolf and Sherinian, 2000). Dalits comprise the majority of India's Christian population and are attracted to Christianity[36] because of its professed egalitarian values that are felt to stand in opposition to the hierarchical oppressions of the caste system (Zavos, 2001). Dalit Christian congregations draw on folk music and rural cultural forms as a means to express identity and resist European and Brahmin theological hegemony.[37] However, Dalit Christians still face discrimination associated with caste; the music and dance that accompanies their worship is sometimes considered 'unclean' and denigrated by Brahmin Christian communities. This again shows the intermingling of Christian and indigenous thought in missionisation and amongst Christian communities in India. Because of the discrimination Dalit communities often face, folk music and dance has become a site of resistance and struggle (see Sherinian 2005; 2007; 2014; 2016). However, the issue here is that the mobilisation of a distinct Dalit identity separate from other caste identities could serve to feed into ideologies of essentialised difference that encourage and maintain social stratification. Nonetheless, it is clear that Western musical and missionary practices were adapted to indigenous cultural contexts and often generated musically and ideologically syncretic outputs. At one and the same time, the use of Western music in missionary projects can be interpreted as illustrating Western cultural hegemony, resistance against the perceived hierarchical structure of caste, as well as an example of intercultural encounters and exchange. The position of Western music in missionary projects is shown to be contingent and highly relational, interacting with and being positioned in relation to other musical traditions and ideologies in a dialogic and often ambiguous way.

It was not only European and Christian communities who were involved with missionary and philanthropic work. Both the Parsis and Baghdadi Jews have long

[35] See Sam Dalrymple's (2018) article on the Victoria Memorial (http://cherwell.org/2018/05/27/the-insidious-power-of-borrowing/).
[36] As well as Islam.
[37] A key figure in this movement was Reverend J. Theophilus Appavoo (1940-2005) a presbyter of the CSI Madras Diocese and a member of the Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary in Madurai. See Sherinian's documentaries *This is a music: reclaiming an untouchable drum* (2011) on the social status of Dalit drummers and *Sakthi Vibrations* (2018) on the transformative effects of Tamil folk art in developing self-esteem in Dalit women. Trailers can be found on Sherinian's profile: http://www.ou.edu/finearts/music/faculty-staff/zoe-sherinian.

histories of philanthropic engagement. Parsi philanthropy during the eighteenth century has been explored by White (1991) who notes the impact of the British East India Company on the Rustum Manock family's[38] philanthropic endeavours, and how philanthropy – or 'gifting' as White terms it – helped to define community identity and develop institutional structures developed around philanthropy. Moreover, White notes that regular 'gifting' helped maintain the wealth of Parsis as it usually took place within the community and also provided employment for priests and others involved (318). Although the British influenced Parsi philanthropy, the philanthropic endeavours engaged with by Parsi communities showed an awareness and astuteness of its benefits to community identity and wealth. Similarly, Palsetia (2005) has studied the charitable work of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, an eighteenth century Parsi merchant, who used public philanthropy to contest and negotiate a significant place within the social milieu of colonial India. The Tata family similarly mobilised philanthropy as a way to secure their position and prestige as a prominent business family in nineteenth century Bombay, something that continues to the present day (Palsetia, 2005: 43). Joan Roland (1998) has explored the involvement of the Baghdadi-Jewish community in philanthropic activity during the nineteenth century. She illustrates the complex range of influences that shaped this involvement, including broader socioeconomic factors and the influence of Western-style educational institutions such as engineering colleges. Both Parsis and Bagdhadi Jews provide examples of how minority communities with economic capital, close ties with the British, an awareness of the social milieus of Indian cities, and exposure to western education mobilised philanthropy to delineate identity as well as generate status and wealth.

Arun Kumar (2017), writing on the Tata family's involvement with philanthropy during the twentieth century, problematises reductive characterisations that suggest the Tatas were either overly influenced by imperialism or by Indian traditions of philanthropy. Rather, he argues that Parsi philanthropic pursuits encompassed various influences including British, American and Indian traditions of philanthropy. He suggests that we should 'rephrase our understanding of philanthropy beyond expected and simplified binaries – good vs malignant, scientific vs disorganised charity, or Western vs 'traditional', etc. – and beyond the search for singular, unifying narratives' (2012: 2). Rather, Indian philanthropy – through the specific example of the Parsis – 'ought to be understood as an assemblage of meaning, motive and influences, even if sometimes contradictory' (2012: 4). What is useful about Kumar's argument is that he encourages

[38] A prominent Parsi family involved in commercial enterprise in the early years of the eighteenth century (White, 1991: 303).

a relational and multidimensional understanding of these philanthropic pursuits that acknowledges the complexity of such endeavours. A similarly nuanced stance should be applied to philanthropic projects that mobilise Western art music in order to understand the confluence of motive, influence and meaning generated through them.

As elsewhere, economic liberalisation and globalised capitalism have shaped philanthropy in India. According to Godfrey, Branigan and Khan (2016), 'Corporate philanthropy in India is burgeoning due to a fast-growing economy, rise in the number of billionaires, and the recent introduction of legislation that mandates spending 2% of company profits on corporate social responsibility'.[39] Bishop and Green (2008) describe this as 'philanthrocapitalism', a term that links philanthropy to economic reform and globalised capitalism in India. Figures show that India's embrace of globalised capitalism has dramatically shaped philanthropic endeavours. According to Bhagwati et al. (2018), philanthropic funding from private individuals has grown from INR 6,000 crores in 2011 to INR. 36,000 crores in 2016, and funding from individual philanthropists is reportedly beginning to outpace contributions from foreign sources and companies. As Dungarpur (2011) notes:

> Indian philanthropy has been a traditional phenomenon, deep-rooted in pan-religious beliefs of welfare-giving, primarily within one's community […] What we are now witnessing is the beginning of what might be termed a philanthro-capital movement, as corporate wealth in the country grows.

However, the danger with a fixation on the influence of globalised capitalism on philanthropic pursuits has the potential to underestimate the influence of historic forms of philanthropy in contemporary contexts. Indeed, Godfrey, Branigan and Khan (2016) argue that Mughal, Hindu, Gandhian, British and American approaches to philanthropy are synthesised with contemporary global business and economic practices to create a 'distinct form of Indian corporate philanthropy' (672). In resonance with the themes of this thesis, this philanthropy is both 'old' and 'new', as it embraces long established socio-cultural norms in Indian religious and charitable giving and more recent globalised and corporate notions of social responsibility. This is further complicated by the ambivalent relationship of philanthropy – especially that considered 'Western' – with the currents of Hindu nationalism. Over the past 2 years, 11,000 foreign NGOs

[39] See https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/apr/05/india-csr-law-requires-companies-profits-to-charity-is-it-working.

have been banned from India and labelled 'anti-Indian'.[40] Again, there is a tension between the inherently syncretic nature of philanthropy in India and attempts by Hindu nationalists to demarcate what is considered 'Indian'.

In tandem with the expansion of Western art music education in recent years, there has also been an increase in the number of music outreach programmes in India. This indicates a reframing and revival of the values and narratives mobilised about Western art music by older institutions. Newer and secular outreach organisations sit alongside older Christian institutions such as the Oxford Mission and include the World Appreciation of Music Foundation (2005), Rhapsody Music Education (2012), the Sunshine Orchestra (2008), as well as numerous outreach projects run by music schools. There are also examples of Parsi organisations mobilising Western art music in philanthropic projects. In a recent interview Mehroo Jeejeebhoy (the Parsi founder of the MMMF) comments on the benefits of outreach programmes, including progress in English, improved self-esteem, and better discipline. She also describes music as 'a place for these students to forget the harsh realities of their personal lives and experience the delights that only music can bring' (Sardana, 2017b). Not only is music education seen to inculcate a disciplined work ethic and behaviour, but it also provides an escape from the 'harshness' of everyday life. Jeejeebhoy's quote also emphasises the link between Western art music and proficiency in English that provides access to global networks, resonating with Derné's comments on the continued importance of Western education for social mobility. Such narratives resonate with nineteenth-century Parsi philanthropy as well as colonial narratives that suggest music education contains salvific and civilising qualities. A reductive appraisal of these philanthropic endeavours might suggest they perpetuate colonial discourses in the privileging of western values and culture. Whilst there is a clear basis for such a view, overarching narratives can overlook the agency of those who benefit from such projects and the ways in which they make sense of their experiences. Again, a configuration of old and new, India and the West, tradition and modernity, and the local and global coexists in the mobilisation of Western art music as a form of philanthropy and its significance in the context of contemporary, metropolitan India.

Whilst working at the MMMF in 2011, I was tasked with setting up a cello group for local children from 'underprivileged backgrounds'. This was partly to develop cellists for orchestral playing (there was a dearth of cellists in Mumbai at the time) but was also to 'transform' the lives of these children. The project was presented as one of

[40] See https://nonprofitquarterly.org/2017/03/09/banned-india-ngos-find-list-undesirables/.

empowerment. The children's parents were described as uneducated bus and taxi drivers. Learning about Western art music and how to play the cello, it was felt, would aid them with academic studies and develop self-respect and esteem. The Director of Education at the MMMF described the difference in attitude between these students and 'richer' children, describing the politeness and dedication these children would bring to the project when compared with richer peers. Such outreach projects fit in with longer histories of charitable work conducted by the Parsi community that are seemingly reframed in contemporary contexts. Moreover, there is a resonance in the aims and objectives of the MMMF's outreach programmes with those of older missionary and outreach projects along with archetypical mobilisations of the salvific qualities of Western art music in general.

Such narratives are also drawn upon by international musicians who have run projects in India, as well as resonating with musical outreach worldwide (see Baker 2014, 2016; Beckles Willson, 2013). Duncan Ward, a young conductor from the UK, set up the World Appreciation of Music Foundation, a charity 'dedicated to the promotion of musical exchange between India and the UK' (WAM Foundation, 2015). Ward describes his motivation for setting up this charity as his experience of teaching music in Kerala, noting both the preoccupation amongst students and teachers with music examinations at the expense of enjoyment as well as a shortage of experienced teachers in India.[41] Such experiences of Western art music education in India resonate closely with experiences of music educators in the early twentieth century who also noted the focus on examinations by Indian music teachers (see Shope, 2004: 275). Such comments touch on continuities and resonances between past and present lived experiences and narratives. They also raise problematic epistemological implications in relation to rote learning, creativity and the importance of examinations in music education; Seth (2007) has noted that colonial educators were dismissive of their Indian colleagues and the pedagogic methods they employed. The mobilisation of Western art music in philanthropic projects raises important epistemological issues – such as the tension between systematic and unsystematic pedagogy – that are often overlooked by partisan and heavy-handed appraisals of such projects.

In a recent interview, Ward has described his experience of working with children from a Mumbai slum, and states 'It was a deeply moving experience and a strong reminder of the universal relevance and power of our art form' (Amati Q&A, 2015). The interviewer asks Ward whether he thinks Western art music needs saving, to which he

[41] See http://www.wamfoundation.org.uk/vision.php.

replies: ‘If anything, it’s saving us’ (2015), again drawing on the salvific qualities and universal values often associated with Western art music. Whilst undoubtedly many of the children would have gained something from the educational project, there are issues that complicate and problematise Ward’s endeavours. Ward is a conductor from the West who seeks to transform the lives of slum-children through the salvific qualities of Western art music. More cynically, such educational endeavours could be seen as enhancing his status and further establishing himself in the field of international music-making – not dissimilar to some of the Parsi initiatives cited above. Furthermore, the image of a white, blonde-haired, blue-eyed, male musician claiming to be sharing the salvific qualities of Western art music with ‘slum kids’ resonates with the power dynamics that imbued colonial education projects. To paraphrase Taylor (2016: 88), it is those with economic and cultural capital who claim they have the power to transform the lives of those perceived as lacking such capital. No matter what his intentions, Ward cannot extricate himself from the complex set of relations that encompass social projects such as these. However, the discrimination and lack of opportunity those from slum communities face means that most would be appreciative of the opportunity to engage with a project involving Western art music, regardless of the thorny issues that surround it.

The relationship between missionary activities, philanthropy, Western art music and India is relational and ambiguous. This relationship complicates the dichotomies often mobilised about India and the West, old and new, tradition and modernity, as well as the local and global. It is also shown to relate to diverse socioeconomic, political and ideological factors, whether in complementary, conflicting or contradictory ways. Moreover, it is clear that missionary projects, philanthropy and Western art music have a symbiotic relationship with indigenous musics, ideologies and philosophies. Western music and its role in missionary and philanthropic endeavours has not just been transplanted from European contexts to the Indian but has been adapted and shaped to this environment through the interaction of a range of factors. In short, the mobilisation of Western art music in missionary activities and philanthropy is never frictionless but always ambiguous.

2.4 Musical encounters

In this section, I explore transcultural musical encounters that provide insights into the discourses, representations and narratives that surround Western art music and its relationship with ‘Indian’ musical traditions.

In addition to the musically syncretic practices that characterised the missionary projects described above, Western music was also adapted and shaped to local environments in India. Indian rulers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries adopted and adapted western instruments and orchestras for their courts, such as Prince Sarabhoji II (Thanjavour) who employed a private orchestra that included Western and Indian instruments, and who annotated scores using Carnatic *saregama* (see Seetha, 1981; Weidman, 2006; Soneji, 2012; Taylor, 2015; 2016). Examples such as the musical activities of Sarabhoji illustrate the adaptation of Western art music to local contexts and musical knowledge. Similarly, although European communities in eighteenth-century Calcutta emulated tastes and fashions from London, their experience of Western art music was also shaped by the environments in which they lived (Woodfield, 2000: 8). Some Europeans – for example Sophia Plowden, a resident of Calcutta and Lucknow in the late-eighteenth century – developed an interest in Indian music and engaged in musical activities with Indian musicians. As Butler Schofield (2018) explains, *nautch* were musical parties during which European communities were entertained by Indian courtesans. As a result of these encounters, Plowden transcribed in staff notation the songs she heard which were then harmonised and arranged for harpsichord by William Hamilton Bird in 1789 (Ibid.). The resultant pieces became known as 'Hindustani Airs' and were popular across the British Empire (see Woodfield, 2000: 149-153). According to Nicholas Cook (2010), Sophia Plowden's harpsichord transcriptions and Bird's arrangements were adapted and shaped by a Western epistemological framework of notation and Common Practice Style (CPS)[42] that rendered the original music 'virtually unrecognisable'.

For Kalra (2015), the 'Hindustani Airs' and such encounters are symptomatic of hegemonic relations as Indian musicians were forced to adapt to European whims and Indian ragas were transcribed to Western notation. Kalra argues that in ignoring the hegemonic positioning inherent in such encounters, there is a danger of continuing the 'epistemological dominance of a liberal Western perspective' (Kalra, 2015: 31). Such a view is certainly important in the context of this thesis, and can be expanded to consider the broader socioeconomic and political contexts that I note above. For Kalra, it is the 'erasure' of the native informant from the history of these transcultural exchanges and the shaping of music into a liberal, innocent act that is of significance. However, this overly suspicious appraisal of such encounters overlooks their multidimensional and nuanced nature, drawing on simplistic binaries. Butler Schofield

[42] CPS typically refers to Western art music of the period from c.1600-1910.

explores how these encounters were experienced from the perspective of Indian musicians, suggesting that they were more 'complex, mutually enjoyable from both sides and less morally certain' (Butler Schofield, 2018). Butler Schofield (Ibid.) acknowledges that those involved were pursuing colonial interests and that their positions were marked by ambiguity. Whilst the broader issues Kalra notes should not be forgotten, what is useful about Butler Schofield's argument is that she does not lose sight of the more localised social interactions that took place around these musical encounters. She writes that the Hindustani airs represented an 'open exploration of affinities and possibilities through trained bodily proficiencies, rather than a closing of ears to offensive differences' (Ibid.). Similarly, Cook has argued that the Hindustani airs were encounters that led to a transformation and reconstruction of CPS – what he describes as 'a redefinition of the self through encounters with the 'other'. He states:

> to our ears these [the Hindustani airs] represent an image of Indian music detectable less through its positive properties than through the disruption of Western tonal idioms, yet to those involved they seem to have sounded more real than the real thing. They are neither Indian music nor Western music, but the traces of a sincerely attempted if ultimately unproductive transaction between the two (2010: 2).

Cook speaks of 'the significance of music as a means of transcending linguistic, cultural, and (in the context of British India) racial barriers' (2007: 37). More recently, he has described such encounters as 'transcultural sense-making' – the negotiation and adaptions of musical practice on both sides that is inherently relational and dialogic, leading to self-reflection and transformation – even if these may have been unproductive and misrepresentative. What is useful about Cook and Butler Schofield's position is that they go beyond simple dichotomies, avoiding overarching narratives and engage with the more local negotiations and implications of such encounters.

Whilst these musically syncretic practices blurred simple dichotomies between Western and Indian music, by the mid-nineteenth century the boundaries between the West and India were being redrawn. Writing in the early twentieth century, Rabindranath Tagore, the renowned Bengali poet, highlights some of the issues that surround transcultural musical encounters:

> To my mind, the daytime world is like European music – consonant and dissonant bits and pieces are combined to produce

> an overall harmony. And the night-time world is like our Indian music – a pure, poignant, solemn, unmixed raga. We are stirred and moved by both, yet they are opposed to each other. […] Our melodies are lonely and single; Europe's music is social and communal (Tagore, 1901. Cited in Radice, 2005: 48).

Tagore's comments fit with archetypal conceptions of the essentialised differences often perceived to exist between Indian and Western music: lack of harmony in Indian music; the association of large-scale ensembles with the Western tradition; the meditative, solitary and spiritual nature of Indian music contrasted with the human, social and material world of Western music. One could add to this the association of Indian music with aural transmission and Western music with text and notation. Whilst the bifurcation of these traditions is reductive, Orientalist representations abound in the history of encounters between Western and Indian music. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Indian music was sometimes described as wild, feminine and barbarous and compared unfavourably with Western art music which was considered controlled, masculine and rational (see Shope, 2008; and Leppert, 1987). These discourses are reflected in the crystallisation of practices that became associated with Western art music in the nineteenth century including concert culture, the work-concept, the prevalence of the musical score, institutionalised music education, tonality, and narratives imbued with its universal and civilising properties. Moreover, the narratives that came to characterise Western and Indian musical traditions resonate with the increasing prevalence (although often nuanced and far from universal) of derogatory attitudes towards Indian culture as European powers (especially the British) consolidated power in India during the nineteenth century.

However, a simple bifurcation of Indian and Western musical traditions ignores their entangled histories. The values and ideas associated with Western musical forms became embedded, at least to some extent, in the musical practices and ideologies of Indian classical music in the nineteenth century. Attempts to define Indian classical music in relation to Western classical music became a driving force for modernisers who sought to elevate its status to that of the Western tradition and to distinguish it from 'other' musics (Clayton, 2007: 72). This led to the adoption of notions of the autonomous musical work and formal concert performance,[43] Western-influenced

[43] This has had an ongoing influence on Indian classical music, including performance length and the amount of time students are willing to devote to education. Several studies have identified the decline in audience attendance at various Indian classical concerts (see Vlaeva, 2015).

approaches such as the use of staff notation, and the establishment of Indian classical music institutions, all undertaken with the desire to 'modernise' Indian classical music (see Weidman, 2006; Bhakle, 2005; Subramanian, 2008; van der Linden, 2013). In addition, Western instruments including the violin and harmonium became integral to the Indian classical traditions (see Weidman 2006; Sorrell, 2009). This complicates a simple bifurcation of the two traditions, illustrated in Tagore's quote above, given the entangled history of the practices they draw on. Moreover, Subramanian (2007) has suggested Orientalist thought played a fundamental role in the discourses of modernisers of Carnatic classical music, who developed a self-Orientalising discourse that fetishized the spiritual and transcendental qualities of the art. Similarly, van der Linden has argued that the mobilisation of an essentialised difference between Indian and Western art music played into colonial ideology through 'self-orientalising' narratives (2013: 25).[44] The impact of a 'self-orientalising' ideology is still pertinent today. For example, Booth (2007) has shown that Orientalist clichés such as 'gapped scales and parallel fifths' were drawn upon in Indian film music to establish dominant and subordinate positions between 'self' and 'other'. As Booth states: 'even Orientals can be Orientalist' (2007: 320). Broader discourses and musical encounters clearly had an effect on the modernisation of the Indian classical traditions. The arguments these authors present complicates the exclusive association of Orientalism with the West, showing the ways in which Indian elites mobilised these discourses for their own means. Indeed, we should not forget that such narratives also encompass longer histories of social stratification such as the caste system. Moreover, there is a danger that these arguments privilege colonial ideology ahead of other factors such as the socioeconomic, political and technological.

Indeed, Butler Schofield (2016) argues that far more significant than colonial discourses on music was the impact of 'European notions of the proper uses of space, time, and resources; ways of doing business; employment of musical labour; interference in older economic modes; civic regulations and jurisprudence; [and] new technologies' (2016: 2). This returns us to the constitutive relationship between socioeconomic, political, ideological and cultural influences on musical traditions. For example, the Indian *gharana* system – a group of musicians bound together by lineage, discipleship and musical style – was not considered compatible with the socioeconomic conditions of India's new urban centres during the nineteenth century, and it was these

[44] Also see Farrell (1997) on the ways in which Indian music has been (mis)represented through popular music by Western musicians.

urban centres and markets that Indian musicians increasingly sought to exploit. Bakhle has shown how these changing contexts served to challenge 'traditional' ways of teaching such as the *ustad* and *gharana* systems (2005: 8). Bhatkhande – a prominent Hindustani moderniser of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century – was dismissive of what he felt was the secrecy of hereditary Muslim musicians and the 'unsystematic pedagogy' they used, and advocated the establishment of institutions akin to those found in Europe.[45] Hindustani classical music thus became mobilised as emblematic of India's Hindu elites.[46] As Clayton explains, musical traditions that had sustained by families of musicians and courtesans were 'recast' into a professed Hindu and nationalised classical music (2007: 71). Indeed, the name 'Hindustani' can be seen to be symptomatic of this. Classicised traditions became imbued with nationalist ideology and influenced by Western epistemology. Moreover, this modernisation project was also influenced by already existing tensions between Hindu and Muslim communities. Modernisers of Hindustani classical music also drew on notions of modernity, organisation and ontological and epistemological values influenced by broader socioeconomic, political, and technological developments as well as discourses associated with the 'West'.[47]

However, again a simple bifurcation between the 'old' and 'new' and 'India' and the 'West' in the modernisation project is further complicated by the continuity and adaptation of Indian intellectual lineages in the history of these encounters. Butler Schofield (2014) has argued against the totalising effect of Western musical practices on the classicisation of Indian music. She argues against the notion of a break between understandings of Indian music in the Mughal and colonial eras that over-emphasises the impact of colonialism. She challenges the notion that 'art music' did not exist in precolonial India, noting that the Mughal distinction between *margi* and *desi* served similar purposes in classifying music. Indeed, the *margi*/*desi* distinction perhaps remains important to the contemporary dissemination of Western art music in India. Makarand Paranjape argues that *margi* and *desi* are not fixed but contingent and

[45] Various music institutions were established as a result, including the Madras Music Academy in the 1920s (see https://musicacademymadras.in/). In addition, as van der Linden notes, the importance of the *gharana* system exists to this day and produces India's leading performers (2013: 13). Also see Qureshi's (2007) study on hereditary sarangi musicians.
[46] The dance of *devadasis*, subsequently labelled 'temple prostitutes,' was incorporated into *Bhratanatyam* (India's Dance).
[47] This finds resonance today; several educational endeavours aim to develop and adapt Indian classical music education to modern contexts such as the Sangeet4All project that markets itself as the first Indian classical programme for young children and is run by Saskia and Shubhendra Rao (see http://www.sangeet4all.com/). Such projects in themselves deserve analysis through the themes explored in this thesis.

relational concepts that describe high and low music or art, but can also be attached to distinctions between rural-urban, regional-national, and national-international (2018: 78-79). This has clear resonance with narratives often mobilised about Western art music i.e. its urban and international associations.

Moreover, the influence between Western and Indian music was far from unidirectional. Martin Clayton and Bennet Zon have argued for:

> continued ideological critique of musical Orientalism and for renewed emphasis on encounter and mutual influence of East and West […] from ambivalent and creative moments of encounter to systems of representation that render their objects unrecognisable (and thus say far more about the West than they do the East) (2007: 1).

Clayton and Zon take issue with a rigid adherence to a Saidian analysis of musical encounters that they argue is self-defeating, 'hermetically sealing' the West from the 'contaminating' effects of the East. Clayton (2007) has outlined the influence of nationalist and evolutionist ideologies on both the English musical renaissance and the modernisation of Indian classical music between 1874 and 1914.[48] He argues, 'imitation, appropriation and rhetorical distancing [and] collusion between the two country's elites […] had the effects of marginalising those who could not fit easily into the 'reborn' music traditions [for example, hereditary Muslim musicians]' (2007: 4). Clayton suggests that paradoxically this collusion was denied 'in favour of an ideology of essential difference' (2007: 4). Similarly, writing on the parallels and relational nature of musical life in Britain and India, van der Linden (2013) has argued that 'musical parallels, networks, and interactions within 'webs of empire' […] were interdependent and mutually constitutive in metropolis and colony' (2013: 1), underlining the importance of the Imperial encounter to both the classicisation of Indian music as well as musical life in Britain. Thus, the classicisation of both traditions drew on a complex combination of Orientalism, modernisation, colonial ideology, Hindu nationalism and the hegemonic positioning of these traditions in relation to 'other' musical traditions such as popular and folk musics.

[48] This was known as the English Musical Renaissance - a musical movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries characterised by notions of national identity (see Hughes, 2017).

Similarly, Nalini Ghuman (2014) has explored British musicians' engagement with Indian music during the English musical renaissance. Of particular interest are her case studies of: Maud MacCarthy – a violinist and theosophist who spent considerable time learning about and promoting Indian musical traditions during the early twentieth century; John Foulds – MacCarthy's husband and Director of All-India Radio in Delhi from 1935-9; and Amy Woodforde-Finden – composer of *Four Indian Love Lyrics* (1902). Ghuman uses these case studies to illustrate the ways in which musicians engaged in intercultural musical encounters that, whilst marked by ambiguity, she considers genuine attempts to engage with Indian music and musicians. For example, she argues that the bi-musical experiences of Maud MacCarthy provide an example of early ethnomusicological research as well as meaningful engagement with Indian classical music (also see Sorrell, 2009). However, it should also be noted that MacCarthy adopted Orientalist discourses in her later life, including what Ghuman describes as 'a pervasive strand of contemporary Anglo-Indian discourse [within which] Indian music was romanticised as mantramistic and trance-inducing' (2014: 34). MacCarthy's musical activities influenced John Foulds'; he travelled to India in 1935 where he collected folk music, became Director of European Music for All-India Radio in Delhi, and established an ensemble consisting of Indian instruments to perform music that 'synthesised' Indian and Western musical idioms. This led him to observe:

> And the longer I study, the more deeply am I convinced of one thing: that the great gulf which many people imagine to exist between Eastern and Western music is not a reality… real music is not national – not even international – but supranational (Ghuman, 2014: 301. Ellipses in original).

Similar examples of attempts to cross cultural boundaries through music can be found in the musical activities of Walter Kaufmann – a German-Jewish immigrant to Bombay who was the Director of Music at All-India Radio (AIR) from 1937-1946. He composed AIR's theme tune which is still broadcast today, utilising Western classical techniques alongside Hindustani ragas. Similarly, discussing Woodforde-Finden's *Four Indian Love Lyrics*, Ghuman writes:

> 'Kashmiri Song' is thus not only a document of its historical moment but also, in its own whimsical way, refracted through myriad interpretations, a musical space within which the marginalised voices – of Muslims, exiles, women, lesbians – of

Indo-British colonial history can be heard (2014: 206).

However, there exists in these examples tensions that complicate the transcultural and transnational narratives presented by those involved, as well as the myriad issues related to the socioeconomic and political conditions that enabled such musical encounters to occur in the first place. In short, these encounters were intercultural, ambiguous and relational, and of course were implicated in power dynamics, but also indicated genuine attempts at intercultural understandings and encounters with 'marginalised voices'. Linked to this, van der Linden (2008) has argued that engagement with theosophical spirituality, Indian musical exoticism, and modernist aesthetics led musicians such as MacCarthy to adopt what he describes as an 'alternative ideological cluster'. These positions resonated with anti-imperial nationalism but were also influenced by Orientalist thought. Again, a complex combination of intercultural encounters, broader ideological and economic positioning, and Orientalism characterised these musical activities.[49]

Further examples of intercultural exchange and syncretic musical practices have been highlighted by Shope who has explored the Anglo-Indian experience of Western music in twentieth century India. He notes that Anglo-Indian musicians incorporated local performance techniques and idiosyncrasies influenced by North Indian classical music in their engagement with Western music (2004: 168). He has also shown that the gramophone was formative in the development of local musical styles and techniques (2008: 170). Shope's studies (2004; 2008) of Anglo-Indian and Portuguese-Goan involvement in ballroom and jazz scenes during the twentieth century has also shown how the gramophone and printing technologies were utilised to facilitate social and musical interaction. Shope states: 'Influenced by sound and broadcast technology, sheet music, instrument availability, the railway system, and convent schools teaching music, an appreciation for these styles of music was found in other communities [including the Anglo-Indians and Portuguese Goans]' (2004: 167). In short, and symptomatic of my broader argument, there were multiple influences that shaped the dissemination and adaptation of this music by the Anglo-Indian community.

The history of musical encounters presented above illustrates the complex relationship Western art music has with other musical traditions in India. These relations are shown to be simultaneously symbiotic, problematic, highly ambivalent but also transformational. Within these encounters, is a complex assemblage of overlapping

[49] Also see Sorrell, 2009; 2010 and van der Linden, 2008.

discourses, influences, motives, and narratives. The significance of Western art music in India requires an acknowledgement of these relationships that are reciprocal, fluid and far from unidirectional. A number of issues have been raised in this section that will be explored in the empirical chapters that follow. In the contemporary context, India's recent embrace of free-market capitalism and the global orientation adopted by the middle classes, as well as technological developments such as the internet, raise questions about the impact these broader factors have on music education. Moreover, the positioning of Western art music in relation to other musical traditions continues to be significant. As Potter and Sorrell (2012) state, Western and Indian classical traditions are often presented as the 'twin towers' of the music world suggestive of privilege and prestige that serves to perpetuate hegemonic discourse and marginalise other musical traditions. This is further complicated by the significance of these two traditions for Indian film music (see Booth, 2007; Beaster-Jones, 2014; Morcom, 2002, 2017). Through encounters with other musical traditions, Western art music continues to bring into dialogue the relationship between India and the West, old and new, tradition and modernity, and the local and global.

2.5 Conclusion

Through the above, I have illustrated the multiple relations, discourses and narratives that surround Western art music. Western art music is embedded in India's cultural and musical history and exists in a complex nexus of socioeconomic, political, technological, historical, musical relations and discourses that make it a significant site of negotiation and knowledge construction. Western art music thus occupies a liminal, ambiguous and situational significance in India. The interplay of these relations has led to its mobilisation in a variety of ways with respect to markets and trade, community involvement, missionary projects and philanthropy, and musical encounters. Theorising the experience and dissemination of Western art music in India is a delicate task requiring sensitivity and awareness of the multiple narratives and articulations that have and continue to surround this music. Competing, contradictory and complementary claims about Western art music coexist within a framework of relations that reflect an interplay with broader socioeconomic and political forces, technological developments, and music histories. This is compounded by the coexistence of narratives that at one and the same time articulate dichotomised thinking along with a simultaneous blurring of such dichotomies. Through this history and a review of the extant literature, we see the dialogic interplay between old and new, tradition and modernity, the local and global, India and the West, rich and poor, and self and other.

This chapter has served to contextualise the empirical chapters and I will make reference to the points signposted here throughout the thesis.

3.1 Western art music and Ethnomusicology

In this chapter, I review the salient literature on the ethnographic study of Western art music in relation to the propagation, identification and destabilisation of established discourses; global perspectives; community engagement; institutional contexts; its relationship with other musical traditions; music education and performance. I identify a growing interest in the complex relations and interactions that surround Western art music, be they characterised by economic, cultural, political, musical, technological, or ideological factors, as well as those generated through lived experience. Building on this wide-ranging literature and drawing influence from calls for a relational understanding of music (Slobin, 1993; Cook, 2013; Born, 2010), I make the argument for a relational and dialogic theorisation of the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. Such a theorisation would accommodate the coexistence of simultaneously contradictory, complementary and conflicting narratives, meanings, experiences and relations that are constantly in flux. I develop a theoretical framework based on a reading of sociologist Andrew Abbott's 'linked ecologies', postcolonial theorist Boaventura de Sousa Santos' concept 'abyssal thinking' (or alternatively the 'abyssal line'), and musicologist Nicholas Cook's concept 'transcultural sense-making'. Drawing these theories together, I develop a relational theoretical framework that is used to theorise the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India.

Ethnomusicology

This thesis is an ethnomusicological study of the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. Ethnomusicology has been described as the study of music in its cultural context (Society for Ethnomusicology, 2016; Stobart, 2008). The Society for Ethnomusicology states that: 'Ethnomusicologists approach music as a social process in order to understand not only *what* music is but *why* it is: what music means to its practitioners and audiences, and how those meanings are conveyed' (2016; italics original). Ethnomusicology is a way of critically engaging with music in diverse and multidimensional ways. Nettl characterises ethnomusicology as 'bringing into focus transmission processes and musical meanings as situated among real people in real time', as well as 'the manner in which music and musicians actively construct their own social, political, and economic worlds' (Nettl, 2016: 23-24). The agency of individuals is a key concern of ethnomusicological research; rather than passive participants, musicians, through their lived experiences, actively construct

meanings and narratives. Ethnomusicology, therefore, encourages us to think about the social and malleable nature of music. Moreover, an ethnomusicological approach encourages us to position music in relation to broader socioeconomic, political, and cultural factors. As the *British Forum of Ethnomusicology* website[50] describes:

> Ethnomusicologists seek to understand the human processes within which music is imagined, discussed and made, and to relate specific musical sounds, behaviours and ideas to their broader social, cultural and political contexts. Studying individuals and societies all around the world, including the West, ethnomusicologists aim to discover and document human musical life in its full richness and diversity.

Relatedly, ethnomusicology is inherently interdisciplinary; Rice locates ethnomusicology 'among the social sciences, humanities, and biological sciences dedicated to understanding the nature of the human species in all its biological, social, cultural, and artistic diversity' (2013: 1). In adopting an interdisciplinary approach, I draw influence not only from ethnomusicological studies, but also sociology, postcolonial theory, as well as research on music education and performance studies to elucidate the diversity of relations, tensions and meanings that surround and are generated by Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. An interdisciplinary approach problematises reductive theorisations and locates Western art music within complex sets of relations and meanings that are constantly in flux, encouraging an openness and sensitivity to the multiple ways this music is mobilised and experienced by individuals, groups and institutions.

Nettl has described Western art music as the 'last bastion of unstudied musical culture' (1995: 2). Since the 1980s, qualitative approaches that uncover the social nature of Western art music have attracted increasing attention (see Nooshin, 2011). The proliferation of these studies towards the end of the twentieth century led Nicholas Cook to describe an interdisciplinary 'shift […] towards the understanding of music in its multiple cultural contexts, embracing production, performance, reception, and all other activities by virtue of which music is constructed as a significant cultural practice' (2008: 49). Ethnomusicological approaches to Western art music resonate with calls for a relational understanding of music that have come from various authors, including Born (2010), Cook (2013), Slobin (1993), Bohlman (1991), Lippard (1990), Stokes

[50] See https://bfe.org.uk/about-ethnomusicology-0.

(1994), and Shepherd and Devine (2015). As Cook (2013) describes: 'relational musicology does not think of music as an object, but as something that is a primarily social and performative practice'. Furthermore, he states that music should be seen as 'an agent of meaning rather than just a reflection of it […] [M]usic's meanings [are] constantly renewed and regenerated through social usage' (2008: 56-57). Relatedly, in Stokes' (1994) seminal work on the relationship between music and social space, he argues that music not only reflects broader social structures but actively creates and generates space and hierarchies. Similarly, Philip V. Bohlman (1991), in his exploration of the engagement of the Yekkes[51] with chamber music, argues that the significance of this music for this community is generated through lived experience rather than abstract ideology. He concludes that an ethnomusicological approach to Western art music reveals 'not a single, monolithic music history, but a multitude of music histories' (1991: 266), demonstrating the differing ways in which Western art music is experienced globally and the manner in which the discourses and practices that surround it have been adapted and shaped by local contexts.

The application of qualitative methods to the study of Western art music has usefully identified and problematised entrenched and interlinked attitudes and perspectives that are projected onto Western art music. These include its association with: modernity, colonialism, capitalism, neoliberalism, and the 'West' (Nooshin, 2011); 'value hierarchies and canonisation processes' (Green, 2017: 265. Also see Baker, 2014; 2016; Beckles Willson, 2011; 2013); and normative sets of practices that characterise its dissemination around the world, '[echoing] nineteenth century musical museum culture' (Taylor 2016: 25). In addition, qualitative research has drawn our attention to the problematic centrality of concert culture for Western art music (see Clarke 2002 for a critique of concert culture); the privileging of musical scores over performance[52] (see Cook 2013; 2014); a reverence to a narrow canon of composers and an idealisation of the musical work[53] (see Hunter and Broad's 2017 study of the prevalence of what they term 'classical music ideology' amongst UK music students); the symbolic association of ensembles such as the string quartet and symphony orchestra with Western art music; and the association of Western art music with narratives of utopia, transcendence, universalism, civilisation, and modernity (Taylor, 2016: 27). In short, qualitative research has served to identify and unsettle universalising and singular narratives associated

[51] German-speaking Jews in Israel.
[52] Cook suggests this was influenced by nineteenth century philology.
[53] Or *werktreue*: the notion that musical works have inherent and fixed meanings.

with Western art music, encouraging a more relational, dialogic and social understanding.

In a pioneering study, Kingsbury (1988) conducted research on an American conservatory of music, examining the social and cultural nature of musical talent. Kingsbury argued that 'music is not a found object but a cultural polymorph' that reflects the hegemony of middle-class culture (1988: 125-148), potentially serving to perpetuate elite ideology and Western cultural hegemony. There are two main areas of criticism that can be levelled at Kingsbury's study. The first is that, in focusing on the problematic discourse mobilised by the institution, he does little to place these discourses or the institution in relation to wider contexts and why such discourses may have become significant for those involved. Leading on from this, there is little inclusion of empirical data that indicates the ways in which students experienced their education and what significance the discourses and narratives held for them.

Similarly, Nettl (1995) considered music education in US universities, exploring the relationship between people within the departments as well as musical traditions experienced within them. He argued that particular composers and musicians were often 'deified', describing the education provided to 'concentric circles formed around classical Western music (almost exclusively European music) composed roughly between 1720 and 1930' (1995: 27). In his description of concentric circles of musical participation, Nettl argued that an individual will be involved with a wide variety of musics and will often make sense of one musical tradition in relation to experiences of another. This is useful in identifying how people make sense of Western art music in relation to other musical traditions – a stance I adopt in the course of this thesis. Nettl's research is valuable in problematising the ideologies that abstract Western art music from social processes and imply its hegemonic status, developing instead a relational understanding. However, again, Nettl can be criticised for presenting a mono-dimensional appraisal of Western art music, exacerbated by a lack of empirical data drawn from those involved with these institutions.

Born's (1995) study has also explored the complex relationship of music to institutional settings in her work on Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique (IRCAM) – a research institution in France focused on computer-generated music – exploring the social, cultural, and political factors as well as musical and artistic practices encompassed within the institution. In contrast to Kingsbury and Nettl, Born conducted extensive interviews with those involved with the institution, discussing

hierarchical structures including, significantly, the tensions caused by the coexistence of musical styles and philosophies and the social status of those involved with the institution. The value of Born's research is that it again indicates the complex set of relations that surround music education within institutions. Also of use are the tensions Born identifies as arising from a multi-departmental institution, especially those that accompany the coexistence of multiple musical styles and aesthetics within a department. Again, 'computer-generated music' is not positioned as an autonomous or abstract art form, but is implicated in complex webs of relations that go beyond just musical concerns.

Ethnomusicological approaches have encompassed an appreciation of the geographic and cultural diversity of Western art music. Nooshin has argued that the term 'Western art music' itself is highly problematic, focusing on a set of practices related to a narrow geographic sphere and normalising notions of Europeanness that forgo the global reach of this music (2011: 295).[54] She argues that what needs to be folded into understandings of Western art music is the diversity of practices and cultures associated with it (Ibid.: 297). Linked to this, Cook (1993) and Cottrell (2004) have argued that because of its social nature, the meaning of music changes over time and space and is never fixed. In his study of performers in London, Cottrell states:

> it seems unlikely that a performance of, say, Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance marches or Wagner's Siegfried can mean the same to audiences in London, Dresden, Delhi and Hong Kong, yet the readings of such works provided by musicologists usually assume that they do (2004: 5).

Focusing on repertoire that has problematic cultural resonances (i.e. Elgar's association with colonialism and British patriotism and Wagner's association with anti-Semitism) Cottrell is criticising the prescribed, fixed and universal meanings associated with these works mobilised by musicologists. However, Cottrell could be criticised for foregrounding cultural difference ahead of economic similarities in the types of cities and communities often involved with Western art music worldwide, and how this might shape the way this music is experienced and understood. Indeed, performances of these works in Sunderland or Wolverhampton will, following Cottrell's argument, mean something completely different to performances at the Royal Albert Hall in London. Whilst this criticism may seem flippant, it is actually quite important; Cottrell could be

[54] See Y El-Ghadban (2009) for perspectives of an Iranian composer of Western art music.

said to gloss over the symbiotic relationship and interconnections between affluent cities and communities.[55] Nevertheless, his argument is that we need to take into account the impact differing social and cultural contexts can have on the meanings associated with Western art music – important in understanding the significance of Western art music in India and beyond the 'West'.

Related to this, detailed ethnographic work has been conducted on individuals and communities involved with Western art music outside the 'West' in relation to identity, the negotiation of social and political space, and the sets of relations that influence such engagement. Wang (2009) has considered the experiences of Asian parents in the US and the importance of Western art music in developing shared identities, social and cultural capital, and as a way of negotiating a 'niche in US culture'. The use of Western art music by minority communities is not dissimilar to its mobilisation by non-European minority communities in colonial India – both instances show that Western art music's significance is mobilised in situational and relational ways. Similarly, Melvin and Cai (2017) have explored the introduction of Western art music to China and its embeddedness in Chinese middle-class culture, problematising the association of Western art music solely with the West. And Yoshihara (2007) has suggested that increased participation in Western art music by Japanese communities in the latter half of the twentieth century was influenced by a confluence of 'culture, politics and commerce' in Japan after the Second World War. In a similar way to the community engagement explored in Chapter 2, these studies show that Western art music is not mobilised in just an abstract, ideological or singular way, but is developed through an assemblage of motive, meaning and influence that draws on multiple relations and associations. It therefore follows that a Bourdieusian analysis focusing only on social and cultural capital would be insufficient in uncovering the nuances of non-Western community engagement with Western art music.

Significant research has also been conducted on the mobilisation of Western art music education in post-colonial countries. Baker (2014, 2016) critiques the Venezuelan El Sistema projects that have uncritically mobilised Western art music through the lens of development and salvific discourses. He argues that such discourses have been informed by European nineteenth-century music education[56] and directed toward

[55] This criticism is located within broader debates surrounding postcolonial theory (see Chibber, 2015).
[56] See Gould (2012) for a study of the use of choral music to train groups assumed to be in need of improvement and salvation – the working class, immigrants, and school-age children – in music literacy skills.

‘civilising the uneducated popular masses in attempts to consolidate capitalism and colonialism’. Baker argues that use of Western art music in such contexts can potentially reaffirm colonial relations through pedagogy and epistemology. For Baker, the use of rote learning and what he describes as the dictatorial role of the conductor in orchestral contexts promotes archaic colonial and European values at the expense of critical and creative thinking. There is, however, an interesting slippage here that complicates Baker’s argument; colonial educators’ criticisms of rote learning in nineteenth-century India was used as a justification to supplant Indian pedagogy with Western. Moreover, the moralising elements of his arguments that seem characterise Western classical educators as ‘archaic’ chimes, somewhat ironically, with the moralising elements of colonial ideology. Even within Baker’s criticisms of Western art music pedagogy there exists a very complex set of issues; it is possible to argue that Baker is reinforcing Western liberal ideology through the promotion of critical and creative thinking that ironically resonates with colonial discourse.[57]

Similarly, Guillermo Rosabal-Coto (2016) has explored the problematic neoliberal connotations of Sistema Nacional de Educación Musical (SINEM), a Costa-Rican project that has taken inspiration from the El Sistema projects in Venezuela. He argues that ‘whilst SINEM does not colonise a geographic space it colonises bodies i.e. the music learners submit their bodily located resources to an institution that reproduces a hegemonic art tradition affirming and celebrating relationships that have more to do with Western art based musical engagements than the relationship that these learners have with their vernacular music’ (2016: 25). Both Baker and Rosabal-Coto draw on the problematic nature of colonial and neoliberal development discourse i.e. notions of development framed by Western ideas of modernity, progress, globalisation and international development (see Mignolo, 2011; Quijano, 2000); and the lack of relevance Western art music has for vernacular musics in these respective countries. Both authors problemetise Western art music’s significance in relation to broader musical, socioeconomic and ideological factors.

Beckles Willson (2009a; 2009b; 2013) has problematised the mobilisation of Western art music education in Palestine through the lens of ‘Orientalism’ and ‘musical mission’ to show the resonance such projects have with imperial and missionary activities during the nineteenth century. She argues that music education’s association with notions of ‘civilisation’ and ‘non-violence’ motivates music educators and performers, potentially serving to perpetuate the problematic discourses outlined above. She also

[57] This is an important consideration in Chapter 7.

indicates the influence of declining job markets in the West on teacher motivations with Palestine considered a viable job market for Western music educators. Another important insight Beckles Willson highlights are the parallels between past and present experiences of Western art music education in Palestine, including: 'the pattern of dissatisfaction at home, perception of problems (and thus opportunities) elsewhere, desire combined with interpolation, and then an experience of opposition' (2013: 309). The confluence of past and present experiences, and the influence of politics, ideology, and socioeconomic conditions find resonance with this thesis, although the Indian context is perhaps slightly more complex given the entanglement of Western art music with Indian philosophy and 'indigenous' musical traditions.

The way in which Western art music has been disseminated around the world raises epistemological questions. Nettl (1985) has shown that contact with Western musical traditions around the world was brought about through religious, military and colonial encounter. Through this, he shows how musical encounters as well as urbanisation and industrialisation affected musical traditions around the world.[58] This obviously resonates with the adaptations and changes that occurred in the Indian classical traditions, explored in Chapter 2. Nettl argues, therefore, that the encounter with Western music by non-Western communities resulted in a 'state of unprecedented [musical] diversity' (Nettl, 1985: 3). However, these encounters also marginalised musical traditions. Mehl (2013) has shown the ways in which Western art music became significant for Japanese communities, influencing consumer taste, and subsequently leading to the marginalisation of indigenous music in the mid-twentieth century (2013: 211); the dissonances of indigenous music, Mehl argues, became 'unpalatable' to Japanese audiences due to exposure to Western music. Moreover, these changes go beyond 'musical' influences; the transformational effect of Western art music along with colonialism and capitalism also affect epistemology, the way music is taught, and the values that are propagated through it. Whilst for many, Indian classical music occupies a distinct soundworld to Western art music, the ways in which both traditions are propagated and disseminated are shaped by non-musical influences including institutional context and socioeconomic conditions. Moreover, the musical encounters Nettl notes were far from unidirectional. For example, Yoshihara (2007) has noted the influence of the Japanese Suzuki method and the Yamaha Company in the international market and education of Western art music. Relatedly, Ramnarine (2014) has explored the ways in which state-sponsored orchestral projects in the UK have

[58] Also see Baker, 2008.

been influenced by educational endeavours such as El Sistema and are an example of the ways in which European programmes are influenced by initiatives outside the West. Epistemological and musical changes must be thought about in a symbiotic and relational way that go beyond a foregrounding of musical factors.

In relation to education, Taylor (2015; 2016) has explored the challenges of teaching music history at KM Music Conservatory, taking into account colonial legacies, internationalism and globalisation. He suggests that promoting understandings of the plural and interconnected musical and social histories of the Western and Indian classical traditions (2015: 125) could serve to 'dissolve binary oppositions of West and East into a rich historical record of intercultural musical encounters' (2016: 92), thus encouraging dialogue between students' diverse learning experiences. However, he glosses over the Orientalist discourses prevalent in the history of musical encounters between these traditions and perhaps neglects the potential for such discourses to be reframed in the institutional context of KM. Neither does he address the problematic implications of Western notions of critical thinking, goal-oriented education and the epistemological effects these might have. As has been shown above, and as will be seen in Chapter 7, musical encounters encompass a multidimensional set of meanings, narratives and interactions, and the more problematic elements should be located alongside the more benign to facilitate valuable educational experiences.

Similar approaches are found in research on bi-musical education. Such research has argued for bi-musical education's transformative potential for students, fostering self-reflexive practice that can serve to destabilise received assumptions and encourage dialogue between diverse epistemologies (see Sorrell, 2007; Schippers, 2006; Haddon, 2015; 2016b). For example, Haddon (2016b) has explored the experiences of UK students whose primary study is Western art music, but who in addition study Balinese gamelan. Such exposure, she suggests, can encourage self-reflection on attitudes to performance and learning, encouraging dialogue between different philosophies and epistemologies. According to Haddon's research, benefits include the development of 'awareness, flexibility, openness, tolerance, disengagement with the 'ego', affirmation of others and of the ensemble as a whole, and interest in experimentation' (Ibid.: 22). This resonates with Cook's (2007; 2010) view that encounters with the 'other' can encourage a redefinition of the self and processes of 'transcultural sense-making'. However, again it is clear that these benefits are borne from narratives that *could* serve to reaffirm Orientalist representations of the 'East'. For example, Haddon draws on Diamond's comment that 'participation in alternative learning experiences may allow

Westerners to rediscover and develop their capacity for intuitive perception' (1979: iii. cited in: Haddon, 2016b: 3). Here, intuition is associated with the non-western world whilst the West, by extrapolation, is represented as unintuitive. Bi-musical experience in this sense can result in the (re)creation of distinct and reductive musical worlds and philosophies and the perpetuation of Orientalist discourse.[59]

As a way to negotiate multimusical environments, Deborah Bradley has advocated a 'fallibilistic epistemology that is comfortable with uncertainty' (2012: 693).[60] This is a valuable intervention that can serve as a tool to problematise multimusical educational experiences that may perpetuate problematic discourses framed by neoliberalism and colonialism. Indeed, Tuck and Yang (2012), writing more broadly on issues of decolonisation, argue plural educational curricula can serve to perpetuate colonial ideology. An acknowledgement of the problematic nature of music education finds resonance with Baker (2014) who has argued for the need of El Sistema and other such projects to be open to critical engagement and discussed more broadly by a range of actors. However, whilst Baker and Beckles Willson argue that Western art music should perhaps not be used in philanthropic projects in postcolonial countries, I argue that through its problematic associations Western art music can provide a valuable educational experience as long as the more problematic connotations of its dissemination are engaged with as part of the educational endeavour.

Such issues are further highlighted in performance. In 2009, Nicholas Cook stated: 'It is a simple statistical fact that, for most people across the world, music means performance, whether live or recorded, and not scores' (Cook, 2009: 775). Earlier, in 2001 he argued that Western art music 'performance should be seen as a source of signification in its own right. It does not simply "express", "project", or "bring out" originary meaning' (Cook 2001: 247). That performance can come to signify a multitude of different meanings is an argument supported by Laudan Nooshin, who writes: 'The nature of music allows a great flexibility in its employment by social actors' (2009: 7). However, Western art music performance is complicated by performance rituals. The importance of performance in the signification of music has been noted by many writers. Brackett (2002: 67) has argued that 'genres are not defined by characteristics

[59] A question arises here as to why these authors do not consider the epistemology that accompanies liturgical music as separate from Western art music pedagogy. Through its vocational, social, and holistic pedagogy liturgical music offers what many music pedagogies around the world do not, including free improvisation.

[60] Indeed, several questions arise here: how does this sit with notions of infallibility often propagated in the master-disciple dynamics in Indian classical pedagogy? And does fallibility mean the same in the global north as the global south?

of musical style alone but also by performance rituals, visual appearance, the types of social and ideological connotations associated with them, and their relationships to the material conditions of production' (also see Fabbri, 1982: 52-63 and Frith, 1996; 2002).[61] Indeed, an important signifier and mediator of Western art music is what has become known as 'concert culture'. Eric Clarke describes this in the following terms:

> by comparison with the position of music within its secular and sacred contexts, concert culture brought a more intense focus on performance and placed it centre stage – literally. Performers were separated from their listeners, often raised up on a platform; they began to play only when an audience had assembled, whose members listened with a degree of focused attention and in conditions of comparative quiet (2002: 186).

He continues:

> These physical and social arrangements are part of a historically specific attitude to performing and listening, and taken together all these factors – which still characterize the conventional conditions for live performances of the concert repertoire – conspire to present music as autonomous (independent, self-sufficient) and occupying a special realm. It is therefore not surprising that great performers – the "realisers" of music – have come to be regarded with the kind of awe that oracles or geniuses have also inspired (2002: 186).

Clarke highlights a very particular conceptualisation of Western art music presented or represented through concert culture: reverence to the musical work; performer as mediator of the composer's meanings; as well as the idea of the 'great performer'. The ambiguities and tensions indicate the ways in which broader ideological issues shape and are generated through musical practices. However, again this perhaps offers a mono-dimensional critique that does not take into account the multiple sets of relations and interactions that may have influenced the significance of concert culture, especially for traditions outside the West such as Indian classical music.

[61] This is further complicated in India if we accept that the performance practices of Western art music had a transformative effect on Indian classical music traditions.

Towards a relational and dialogic theorisation

So far I have illustrated that multiple and complex relations and interactions shape the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. This has included discussion in Chapter 2 and the first part of this chapter of broader structures, discourses and agency and their contingent relationship with each other and Western art music. Lucy Lippard (1990), writing on the symbolic naming of class and culture, asserted: 'We have not yet developed a theory of multiplicity that is neither assimilative nor separative – one that is, above all, relational' (21). A recent example of such an approach can be found in Ramnarine's (2017) exploration of the histories of UK symphony orchestras, Indian-based film orchestras, and steel pan orchestras of Trinidad and Tobago. She shows that the histories of these ensembles, whilst different, are interconnected – a theoretical position that resonates with the stance I develop. Building on calls for a relational theorisation of music as well as the insights from Chapter 2, I develop a theoretical framework based on the work of Andrew Abbott, de Sousa Santos, Cook, and Mills, Thurlow and Mills as a useful way to understand the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. I argue that this theoretical framework facilitates an acknowledgment of the co-constitutive influence of structure, discourse and agency in understanding Western art music's significance.

Andrew Abbott has suggested that 'everything in the social world is continuously in the process of making, remaking, and unmaking itself (and other things), instant by instant' (2016: ix). He argues that social arrangements, networks and interactions should not be thought of in isolation, but rather in networks of relations that he describes as 'ecologies' (2016: ix). He sums this up:

> Instead of envisioning a particular ecology as having a set of fixed surrounds, I reconceptualise the social world in terms of linked ecologies, each of which acts as a flexible surround for others (2016: 35).

Moreover, he notes:

> the argument for linked ecologies underscores the fact that single actors – individuals or social entities – are never purely free but must always make their futures in conditions shaped by others; and not only by those others that are socially nearby, but also those further off. This in turn implies that analysis of one social

> structure alone can never make sense. Structures are always involved with other social structures beyond them, and beyond that with legal systems and other actors that are themselves involved in yet further competitions and difficulties of their own. The social process unfolds through the alignments and disalignments of all these things across the present, not in some local equilibrium (2016: 2).

The ecological metaphor is useful because it locates Western art music within a complex set of interdependent and interactional 'ecologies' that are far from unidimensional, unidirectional, or static. In Chapter 2 I explored the relations and interactions that surrounded Western art music in India acknowledging the influence of economic, ideological, musical, technological, and political factors. I identify these as the sets of 'linked ecologies' that influence the significance of Western art music. These ecologies are not fixed, but overlap, interact and are in many ways co-constitutive. Engagement with these ecologies enables me to consider the interactions and relations of both structures and discourses in understanding the significance of Western art music, as well as the ways in which actors make sense of these. This allows for an analysis of Western art music that locates it in an interlocking network of relations that are multifaceted and constantly in flux, shifting and adapting to environments through dialogic interaction. Through the lens of 'linked ecologies', Western art music is shown to be uniquely positioned in contemporary metropolitan India in relation to economic, political, technological, ideological, musical, and social concerns. Through the empirical data I draw out these 'linked ecologies' and highlight a rich patchwork of influence.[62]

The second part of my theoretical construct draws on postcolonial theory to problematise Western art music and its potential to perpetuate problematic discourses and dichotomies. Said (1994) has argued: 'The development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of another, different and competing alter-ego. The construction of identity […] involves the construction of opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from 'us'' (331-332). Moreover, he notes, 'the power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them' (1994: xiii).

[62] 'Linked ecologies' has resonance with Actor Network Theory (see Law and Hassard, 1999). For criticisms of Andrew Abbott's *Processual sociology* (2016) from which I have drawn 'linked ecologies, see Wilterdink, 2018.

This is especially the case when it is implied that this takes the form of a 'one-way exchange'. He (1978) has described this as the ideological creation of a dichotomy between the 'Occident' (West) and the 'Orient' (East), in which the Orient at one and the same time is romanticised as well as dismissed as 'backward' and 'ignorant'. More recently, Boaventura de Sousa Santos has written extensively on the epistemological hegemony of the West, describing the invalidation of non-Western knowledge and the failure to 'acknowledge as valid kinds of knowledge other than those produced by modern science' (2018: 8). This is what de Sousa Santos describes as 'abyssal thinking' – the thought process that divides metropolitan from colonial societies, the civilised from uncivilised, rational from irrational, enlightened from ignorant, progress from backwardness, global from local, tradition from modernity and so on. He argues 'abyssal thinking' has been perpetuated decades after the end of historical colonialism, and that its recognition and the dualisms it encompasses is vital in redressing the hegemonic relations between the global North and South (2018: 6). The discourses that have surrounded Western art music have the potential to perpetuate the binary representations that Said and de Sousa Santos highlight.

Said states that 'the job facing the cultural intellectual is […] not to accept the politics of identity as given, but to show how all representations are constructed, for what purpose, by whom, and with what components' (1994: 314). Taking note from these theorists, I argue that part of Western art music's significance is that it can facilitate recognition of and engagement with these more problematic discourses and representations that can subsequently be deconstructed. Indeed, once these binaries are established and given form in the narratives and discourses articulated in this thesis they become destabilised. For example, one only has to consider the continuity of the *margi/desi* distinction highlighted by Butler Schofield (2016) in the classicisation of Indian classical music to illustrate that dichotomous thinking is not exclusively Western. Moreover, it has been shown that the Indian middle classes have drawn on a range of motives, influences and meanings in the construction of identity and ideology that resists simple representations (see Joshi, 2017). Furthermore, Chibber (2015)[63] has argued that many of the values often associated with the West including aspiration, individualism and scepticism are not exclusively European. The point is that demarcating as 'Western' the values often associated with Western art music – notions surrounding aspiration and self-improvement, for example – are not clear-cut. As Homi Bhabha writes: 'all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity […] [T]he

[63] See Chibber (2015) for a broader criticism of Postcolonial Theory.

importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the third space' (1991: 211).[64] Moreover, as Mari states (2014): 'All of this makes us think of the extremely fluctuating nature of everything that we conceive as otherness. It is simply an ongoing dialectic game between the other and the us' (655). In short, binary thinking and the discourses that surround it are inherently contingent and unstable.

Whilst the above has focused on broader structures and discourses, the acknowledgement of agency is also important in understanding the significance of Western art music in India. As Gerry Farrell states: 'overarching theories about the cultural meaning of colonialism […] do not always apply to the details of human intercourse that takes place around music-making' (1997: 5). Similarly, Clayton notes that: 'When we impose master narratives on complex realities, those who fail to fit in are inevitably marginalized' (2007: 83). In relation to this, Nicholas Cook has argued for understanding musical encounters through the lens of 'intercultural' or 'transcultural sense-making'. He states:

> But if there is to be such a thing as relational musicology, then intercultural analysis must surely lie at its heart. […] The point is to understand what Asian music can tell us about our own cultures. Each of these transactions can be seen as a form of intercultural sense-making that generates meaning through the alignment of different perspectives (Cook, 2010: 1).

Cook's (2016) process of intercultural sense-making accommodates multiple perspectives of the social and performative nature of music, acknowledging agency and the potential for music to transcend boundaries. For example, in relation to the 'Hindoostani airs', Cook speaks of 'the significance of music as a means of transcending linguistic, cultural, and (in the context of British India) racial barriers' (2007a: 37). Yet, this does not mean that overarching theories or broader structures are not significant. I would extend Cook's insight to argue that part of the significance of Western art music is what it can tell us about broader structures and discourses as well as the agency of individuals, groups and institutions. In short, broader structural and discursive relations and interactions as well as individual, group and institutional agency will play a role in shaping the significance of Western art music in India.

[64] 'Third space' refers to the uniqueness of actors and individuals through the lens of hybridity. See Bhabha, 1994.

In his most recent book, *Music as Creative Practice* (2018), Cook provides another useful illustration of the interaction between structure, discourse and agency through a discussion of creativity.[65] Cook writes:

> life is full of scripts, whether in the form of personal plans, social expectations or institutional protocols – but they are all highly reductive, imperfectly adapted to particular situations, and frequently contradictory. Hence they call not for literal execution […] Like the blueprints used by builders and musicians, they are radically simplified representations of a world that is massively complex, contingent and situational. And in each case the relationship between script and reality […] involves multiple (mis)translations that create space for the many small decisions and adjustments that are the way we work, and the interactions between which give rise to unpredicted and unpredictable outcomes (2018: 202).

What is particularly useful here is Cook's use of 'scripts' – 'blueprints' that are drawn on in multiple ways to make sense of everyday interactions – that could be used as another way to describe the relations and interactions that are drawn upon to make sense of the significance of Western art music. This serves to acknowledge both the influence of macro structures and discourses as well as micro 'localised' relations and interactions. Also useful is the potential for mistranslation, misrepresentation or misunderstanding 'scripts'. In this sense, the 'scripts' or versions of 'scripts' that are drawn on to make sense of the significance of Western art music carry with them the potential to reaffirm problematic tropes.[66] This has resonance with what Mills, Thurlow and Mills (2010) describe as 'critical sensemaking' which they suggest:[67]

> provides a framework for understanding how individuals make sense of their environments at a local level while acknowledging power relations in the broader societal context. The critical sensemaking framework takes a very complex combination of variables […] and offers an analysis of how these forces combine

[65] See Cook (2018) for a detailed discussion of music as creative practice.
[66] This resonates with Foucault's (1976) theorisation of discourse – strategies which draw on assemblages of influence that subsequently generate further discourses.
[67] See Maitlis & Christianson, 2014 for review of the literature on sense-making. Also see Weick, 1993; Weick, 1995; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005; Thurlow & Mills, 2009.

> to allow individuals to make sense of their environments and take action on a day-to-day basis. Critical sensemaking […] is useful in analysing the relationship between individual actions and broader societal issues of power and privilege (2010: 190).

Again, 'critical sense-making' serves to traverse the boundaries between structure, discourse and agency in the ways in which Western art music is made sense of. However, whilst power and privilege are important aspects of Western art music's significance in India, it is also important not to ignore the 'less suspicious' aspects of music-making that Cook (2007) identifies as 'transcending' barriers.

A theoretical framework that draws on the theories of these writers is at one and the same time broad enough to take into account broader structural concerns but also does not overlook more localised interactions and experiences. I use this theoretical framework to illustrate the process through which individuals, groups and institutions draw on broader ecologies, discourses as well as agency to make sense of the significance of Western art music. This significance is generated through the relations and interactions that surround Western art music as well as those generated through social and lived experience; Western art music is implicated in an ongoing process that encompasses the dialogic interplay between broader ecologies, discourses, individuals, groups and institutions. The term accommodates the coexistence and interplay of complementary, conflicting and contradictory sets of relations and interactions that surround and are generated by Western art music, including its potential to traverse as well as reify social and musical boundaries.

In light of the above, I draw extensively from empirical data to illustrate the richness of participant responses as well as well as to give voice to what could be described as 'local theorising'. In the introduction to *Theorizing the Local: Music, Practice, and Experience in South Asia and Beyond*, Richard Wolf (2009) writes:

> While it is inevitable that ethnomusicological research on South Asia will engage increasingly with issues of globalisation, many of us do not view the globalisation literature as offering the only pertinent framework or point of departure for ethnomusicological studies of South Asia. We use 'theorizing the local' to signal the continued value of comparative microstudies that are not concerned primarily with the flow of capital and neoliberal politics, but which take forms of interconnection, within and beyond South

> Asia, very seriously' (6).

In the same volume, Clayton (2009) constructs his research on the guitar in India as a series of quotations with supporting commentary. Through this, Clayton (2009) argues that whilst the guitar is a global instrument it is primarily conceptualised at a local level:

> First, even the most global of instruments is theorized on a local level - that is, people understand it in relation to a local cultural context. Second, understandings of this kind imply theories of three-way connections between instrument, place, and community, in which global music culture is given a local interpretation. Third, and consequently, the story of the guitar in India can be understood as one of encounter and exchange taking place largely at a local level through negotiations between individuals (even when what is at stake is globally mediated repertoire or style) (65-6).

Both Wolf's and Clayton's quotes have clear resonance with my argument that whilst Western art music is a 'global' art form it is mediated through local and situational relations and interactions. Taking inspiration from the above, I adopt a similar approach in my empirical chapters; drawing on rich empirical data I illustrate the ways in which participants make sense of their engagement with Western art music through multiple sets of relations and interactions in respect not only to the local and global but also the other themes I identify in Chapter 1.[68]

[68] The validity of participant and non-academic voices in ethnographic studies of Western art music has increased in recent years (see for example Rink et al. (2018). This also resonates with Appadurai who has written: 'as forces from various metropolises are brought into societies they tend to become indigenized in one or other way' (1999: 221).

3.2 Positionality and research methods

Chapter 3.1 has given some indication as to the convergence of theory and method in the blurring of boundaries between broader theoretical frameworks and those mobilised by respondents. In this section, I explore this further through researcher positionality and outline the application and limitations of the research methods used, including multi-sited ethnography, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentary analysis. The research methods were influenced by a review of the extant literature on Western music in India, ethnomusicological studies on Western art music more broadly, the empirical data and experiences garnered during research, as well as the theoretical framework. The research methods are appropriate to my aims and objectives, encouraging interrogation of multiple subjectivities (including my own) in a sensitive, relational and nuanced way. The methodological underpinnings and research methods were subject to constant scrutiny and renegotiation throughout the research process.

The research is qualitative and the research paradigm is broadly interpretivist: I seek to understand the social significance of Western art music in metropolitan India through the subjective experiences of individuals (see Tanh and Tanh, 2015: 1). In line with conventional ethnomusicological approaches, I utilise ethnographic research methods to gather data from individuals, groups and institutions involved with Western art music in metropolitan Indian cities. An ethnographic approach located broadly within an ethnomusicological framework has facilitated access to understandings about the social significance of Western art music in multiple contexts and amongst diverse individuals and institutions, enabling me to explore the research questions posed. Ontologically speaking, exploring Western art music in this way has provided access to individual and communal knowledge, illustrating the complex set of relations that surround its significance in India. My main concern has been to relay and analyse critically the accounts and narratives of individuals, groups and institutions as well as my own experiences. As Wolcott states:

> […] qualitative researchers need to be storytellers. That, rather than any disdain for number crunching, ought to be one of their distinguishing attributes. To be able to tell (which, in academia, essentially means to be able to write) a story well is crucial to the enterprise (1994: 17).

Hammersley (1998) notes that plausibility and credibility are the two key elements that validate qualitative research: Plausibility concerns whether the knowledge presented is 'true' or plausible given the context of the research; credibility refers to whether the ethnographer's judgement of the empirical data is considered and has been relayed accurately (Hammersley, 1998: 62-70). The experiences and narratives that I present in this thesis are not amenable to 'number crunching' as they are not quantifiable; rather I have tried to convey the experiential nature of this research in all its ambiguities and nuances.

Ethnographic research over an eleven-month period was undertaken primarily in three Indian cities – Chennai, Bengaluru and Kolkata – where I was hosted by several institutions, attended performances, and conducted archival research. This was supplemented with 'virtual fieldwork' – utilising the internet for documentary analysis (including performances and interviews), skype interviews, and email correspondence to augment research findings. The key methods used were:

- **Reflexivity and positionality:** the adoption of a self-reflexive approach in which the relationships between me, Western art music, India, respondents and the empirical data were acknowledged.
- **Multi-sited ethnography:** empirical work conducted across three Indian cities, diverse institutions, groups, and individuals, engaging with a plethora of narratives and experiences.
- **Participant observation:** including teaching, performing, delivering talks and workshops as well as attending lectures and concerts, documented in a detailed research diary.
- **Semi-structured interviews and informal discussions:** with participants directly or indirectly involved with Western art music.
- **Documentary analysis:** including archival and internet research.

Empirical data was gathered and analysed using an interdisciplinary qualitative methodology. Data has not been quantified as the aim of the research was not to reach a 'positivist' conclusion, but rather to highlight the relational and subjective nature of the negotiations, tensions, narratives, meanings and experiences attached to Western art music. The research included 75 interviews. 64 of these were with individuals directly involved with Western art music, ranging from students, teachers, parents, performers, founders, administrators, tradespeople and audience members. The remainder were with individuals not directly involved with Western art music but who were in some way

connected to it, including Indian classical musicians and teachers who worked alongside Western art music musicians and teachers.

Reflexivity and positionality

The notion of reflexivity is well-established in the social sciences as a tool to scrutinise the research process (see Cloke, 2004; Stone, 2008; Ellis and Bochner, 2000). A particular concern of reflexive ethnographies is researcher 'positionality'. Sandelowski and Barroso argue:

> reflexivity implies the ability to reflect inward toward oneself as an inquirer; outward to the cultural, historical, linguistic, political, and other forces that shape everything about inquiry; and, in between researcher and participant to the social interaction they share (2002: 222).

Reflexivity requires the researcher to reflect on their own meanings, behaviour and engagements with the research topic (Raven, 2006). In short, reflexivity can be described as understanding the contingent relationships between the various agents and factors involved in ethnographic research.

Coinciding with the trend to study Western art music from an ethnomusicological perspective, there has been an increasing concern with researcher positionality. Drawing on a clichéd anthropological notion, Nettl (1995) suggests that researchers who have a background in and research Western art music need to approach it as if they were a ‘Martian’ who has no familiarity with the topic. This, of course, is not realistic given the amount of time and emotion such researchers will have invested in this music. Moreover, such an approach potentially removes or invalidates an important layer of the ethnographic process: the personal experiences and baggage that the researcher carries can generate significant insights that should be engaged with in their full ambiguity. In addition, the ethnographic study of Western art music in countries outside the ‘West’ raises questions of power and how one defines the problematic insider-outsider binary. A simplistic and reductive interpretation of this complex dichotomy (if it can be called that) could be described in the following way. The majority of researchers who adopt an ethnomusicological perspective have been educated in Western institutions and have received extensive training in Western art music. They are insiders in the sense that they have a detailed knowledge of the tradition they are researching and are researching from within a Western institutional framework.

Moreover, as Maanan notes: 'Ethnographies are shaped [...] by the specific traditions and disciplines from which they are launched' (2011: 5). Conversely, researchers are outsiders or 'privileged observers' of communities and institutions in unfamiliar geographic locations as they may not share the same history, culture, and experiences of research participants (Cloke, 2004: 15). In short, researchers of Western art music in countries outside the West are insiders because they have studied Western art music but are outsiders because they are researching this music in a different social and geographic context. I could characterise my positionality as a researcher from the UK studying the significance of Western art music in metropolitan India as an 'insider' because I hold two Music degrees and have extensive educative and performance experience of Western art music, but also as an 'outsider' because I am studying this music in a context that is geographically, socially and culturally 'unfamiliar'.

However, my position and those of many researchers, is more complex, liminal, ambiguous and relational than this. Researchers will hold various perspectives on Western art music and the countries in which they are conducting research. For example, there are biographical concerns I have had to negotiate. My mother's family are of Anglo-Indian[69] heritage and lived and worked at an elite school in the north of India. I have visited the school on three occasions; in 2007, 2011, and most recently in 2016. Over the course of these visits, I have noted the school's transformation from somewhat faded colonial grandeur to one whose buildings and grounds are as grand as any leading English public school. Most recently, I was given a tour and shown recent renovations that had revealed, amongst other things, secret galleries, Turkish baths and ornate plaster work. I was also given a tour of the music department and invited to play the old chapel organ that has been in place since the 1900s, and dined in the school's dining hall, sharing the top table with staff and prefects, including the school captain. In conversation, the school captain informed me that his family lived in London but had sent him to study at the school, an indicator of the growing and renewed prestige not only of the school but India more generally.

My mother's family left India for the UK in 1961 – as did many Anglo-Indians post-independence – as a result of increasing political instability and financial insecurity. My mother and her family experienced some of the effects of colonialism, Indian Independence and postcolonial change, and her identity can be described as 'postcolonial' in the ways that writers on the Anglo-Indian community reference (see Caplan, 2001; Almeida, 2014). This complicates my relationship with India and this

[69] Anglo-Indian here is defined as those with mixed Indian and British heritage.

research; a very personal connection adds a human dimension to broader historical knowledge of the British Empire, Indian nationalism, the Indian Independence movement, and the ambivalent positioning of the Anglo-Indian community in India during the twentieth century. What we have is a complex blurring of the insider-outsider binary as well as the relationship between old and new, tradition and modernity, India and the West, the local and the global, and self and other, influenced and articulated through a diverse set of interdependent relations and interactions.

My experience of music, too, is inherently tied up with the relational nature of this thesis. I am the first person in my family to study Western art music. I started learning the cello aged twelve at a comprehensive school in the West Midlands and subsequently entered a specialist music school at the age of fourteen. Going from an ethnically diverse comprehensive of over a thousand pupils to a specialist music school of around two hundred who were predominantly white, and experiencing a markedly different educational environment to the one I was used to was a culture shock. This position has been particularly useful in understanding tensions surrounding epistemology noted by KM students. Moreover, I can empathise with the disconnect some students at KM felt between their musical and educational experiences and those of their family. A further complication arises in differentiating between the middle-class communities I engaged with in India and middle-class communities in the West. In terms of material wealth and global orientation, there is far more difference between an affluent middle-class Indian and a poor rural Indian farmer than there is with a white, middle-class researcher from the UK. Again, this blurs the insider-outside binary through a complex set of relations and interactions; the argument that I am an outsider because I am from a different geographic location is complicated by the experiential resonances and material wealth I share with many of the participants in this thesis. The push for an 'ethnomusicology at home' (Nooshin, 2011: 1) encompassed in an ethnographic approach is inevitably complicated by such contingent perspectives, experiences and relationships. Resonating with the theoretical perspective developed in this thesis, the positionality of researcher and participants reflects a complex set of relations and interactions that are constantly in flux.

A final point needs to be made about the potential for misrepresenting participant responses and the importance of self-reflection in negotiating this. Describing his own work as an ethnographic researcher, Bourdieu notes what he describes as the 'epistemocentrism' of the 'scholarly viewpoint' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 254); that is to say the power dynamics involved within the research process, especially

when conducted from the point of view of a researcher from the 'West'. Conflicting feelings of disloyalty, dangers of misrepresentation, and balancing my own subjectivities with those of my respondents have been at the forefront of the writing process. However, a primary social skill of ethnographic research has been identified as empathy (Watts, 2008). In the context of this research, this has entailed being able to engage with the multidimensional perspectives of diverse participants and agents. The complexity of my relationship with India and Western art music, I believe, has enabled empathetic relationships with the diverse people and narratives I have encountered. Moreover, the multiple perspectives I hold on India and Western art music have also given me the tools to scrutinise and problematise the narratives and meanings projected onto this music. The utilisation of a self-reflexive approach has been central to the analysis, encouraging a dialogic interaction between my positionality, the empirical data, India and Western art music. What emerges from such research is the inherently relational, shifting and complex nature of ethnography; the relationship between old and new experiences, the unfamiliar with the familiar, or indeed the familiar with the familiar, and, ultimately, self and other.

Multi-sited ethnography

I have adopted a multi-sited ethnographic approach, gathering data from three study cities, and from multiple institutions, events, spaces and individuals and groups within those cities. Multi-sited ethnography follows a topic or social problem across different sites, going beyond 'traditional' ethnography which is typically situated in one site for an extended period of time (Marcus, 2012: 10). According to Marcus, 'multi-sited ethnography solves the need for a method to analytically explore transitional processes, groups of people in motion, and ideas that extend over multiple locations', as well as the interconnectedness of people and places through the process of globalisation (Ibid.; also see Marcus, 1995; and Coleman and Hellermann, 1998). This is of particular importance for the current dissemination of Western art music in India and its links with the transnational processes of colonialism, globalised capitalism as well as its relationship with what can be described as the broader socioeconomic, political, cultural, musical and historical ecologies identified in Chapter 2 as well as the forthcoming empirical chapters.

During the research process, I engaged with a number of geographic sites; Chennai, Bengaluru, and Kolkata, but I also reference relevant experiences in Mumbai and Delhi. In some respects, these cities are disparate; they are in different states having

distinct communities, cultures and political affiliations. For example, Tamil culture and history has many differences from its Bengali counterpart. The political history of these cities is also diverse; the Left Front, a left-wing party, governed Kolkata until their defeat by Trianamool Congress Party in 2011. This stands in contrast to the more 'conservative' government that has been in power in Chennai. Musical landscapes are also diverse. Chennai is considered an international centre for Carnatic classical music, hosting an internationally renowned festival each year. Kolkata, on the other hand, is a centre for Hindustani classical music, hosting its own internationally renowned festival each year. In addition, the two cities have differing film music industries, known respectively as Collywood and Tollywood. There are nevertheless many factors that link these cities: they are sprawling, metropolitan urban centres; they have a rapidly expanding affluent middle-class; they have a colonial history; and they all have growing Western art music scenes. Moreover, the ethnographic data has revealed clear links between the narratives and histories associated with Western art music in these cities. For example, the social and cultural capital associated with Western art music by the middle-classes; the influence of colonial powers and Christianity on Western art music's dissemination (Chennai and Kolkata have a strong Christian heritage); and the communities involved such as the affluent middle-classes.

Furthermore, the complex relationships that occur in the spaces in which Western art music is experienced and disseminated means that a researcher of this topic must engage with multiple social and musical sites. Indeed, as Marcus states: 'When conducting multi-sited ethnography, spaces can be geographic, social, or virtual' (2012: 3). He continues that researchers can follow people, a 'thing', a metaphor, story, life/biography, or conflict.' (Marcus, 2012: 5). The experience of Western art music does not exist in a vacuum and is influenced by multiple factors that cross various social and musical spaces, histories, socioeconomic factors, politics, education and performance. For example, I explore the ways in which Western art music is experienced in relation to Indian classical traditions and film music. I also explore the complex relations between those involved with Western art music such as international teachers, Indian students, parents, and those indirectly involved including Indian classical musicians. Furthermore, I deal with multiple institutional contexts: a higher education institution, music schools, charitable organisations both religious and secular, and a variety of music ensembles. Engaging with these individuals, groups and institutions necessitates a consideration of the multiple influences, motives and meanings that shape the experiences and narratives mobilised about Western art music. Indeed, Hannerz (2003) has noted that multi-sited ethnography allows the

researcher to understand a variety of perspectives involved with a 'specific idea, action or process'. Western art music is linked to multiple sites and spaces (geographic, temporal, economic, political, virtual, cultural and so on) that cannot be understood in isolation. A multi-sited methodological approach resonates with my theoretical framework that explores the complex sets of relations and ecologies which shape Western art music's significance in India.

Multi-sited ethnography has been argued to 'hamper' ethnographic research. Hannerz (2003) lists some of these limitations as the inability to get to know a site in suitable depth as a result of 'spreading oneself too thinly across multiple sites, leading to superficial research; the subjective nature of the decisions behind which sites to focus on; and the frenetic pace and accompanying stress of multi-sited ethnography when compared with the more leisurely pace of 'traditional ethnography'' (also see Englund et al., 2000). Many of these challenges were mitigated in my research by prior knowledge and experience of the cities, institutions, individuals and Western art music scenes I would be studying. Moreover, my goal has been to provide a snapshot of particular experiences and negotiations of Western art music in the study cities that are indicative of its significance.

Other critiques have taken issue with the conceptual implications of multi-sited ethnography. Hage (2005) dismisses multi-sited research as an actual impossibility, proposing instead the concept of a single discontinuous site. This broader problem has been succinctly summarised by Michael Herzfeld: 'The term 'multi-sited ethnography' […] suffers from the same oversimplification of the notion of fieldwork location as does the term 'globalisation'. When are sites separate, different, or otherwise distinguishable?' (2004: 216). And indeed, this critique resonates with the theoretical framework adopted and the interlinked concepts I have drawn on. Whilst I mobilise the general tenets of multi-site ethnography – expanding the ethnographic process so that it is not focused on the singular but rather on the plural – I do not mobilise it as a means of 'separating' the particular sites into hermetically-sealed locales. Rather, I mobilise it as a way to explore the overlaps, interconnections and complex sets of relations that surround Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India.

Sampling strategy and methods

Study sites were identified and selected on the basis of their relationship with Western art music and its dissemination in India. Institutions were contacted prior to my arrival and provided with relevant contextual information about me and the proposed study.

Institutions that have hosted me include Calcutta School of Music, KM Music Conservatory, Bangalore School of Music, Musée Musical, Harmony, and the Academy of Western Music. I have also had contact with various music societies including the Madras Musical Association, the National Youth Orchestra of India, the Symphony Orchestra of India, as well as the Melhi Mehta Music Foundation and Furtados School of Music. Philanthropic projects have also been engaged with including the Sunshine Orchestra (a philanthropic project of KM), the Oxford Mission, Behala and Rhapsody. I have also written for *Serenade Magazine*, an online music portal based in New Delhi, for whom I have published an interview with Augustine Paul, director of the Madras Musical Association. In addition, I have delivered workshops, performed and presented at music conferences at KM, the Academy of Western music, Musée Musical, the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation, the Goethe Institut (Chennai), and taught Western music more generally on educational retreats including Berserk (part of Arts Bengaluru) in Bengaluru.

The target population included music teachers, students, parents, audience members, administrators, tradespeople and founders of institutions who had a direct involvement with Western art music. I also interviewed participants indirectly involved with Western art music, including Indian classical musicians who shared educational space with teachers of Western art music. Potential participants were identified on the basis of the following criteria:

- Involvement with Western art music education (administrators, staff, students, and parents).
- Involvement with Western art music societies (organisers, trustees, and members).
- Audience members at Western art music performances.
- Those indirectly connected to Western art music scenes, including Carnatic and Hindustani classical music teachers at KM as well as bi-musical and fusion musicians.
- In addition to Indian participants, I interviewed international music teachers at KM.

Interviewees were predominantly identified through institutions. However, a sizeable minority were introduced by other participants, met at events or other chance meetings. I recruited participants by immersing myself in music scenes in the study cities as a teacher, performer, and Western art music ‘participant’ over an extended period.

Participants were guaranteed confidentiality and were anonymised in the research process. Christian, Hindu and Muslim pseudonyms were used for Christian, Hindu and Muslim participants respectively. For individuals outside these communities, names were used drawn from common names associated with their communities.

Table 1 below indicates broad details of participants including gender, location, role and institution they belonged to:

Table 1: Interview participants (gender, city, role and institution)

Gender:

Gender	
Male	Female
44	20

Cities:

Cities		
Bengaluru	Chennai	Kolkata
10	44	10

Role:

Role				
Parents	Students	Teachers WAM	Teachers ICM	Other
13	25	12	2	12

Institution or retailer:

Institutions and retailers								
AWM	BSM	CSM	Harmony	KM	Sunshine Orchestra	Musee Musical	Oxford Mission	Other
2	3	2	3	31	2	4	5	12

The participants and institutions were drawn from different regions, communities, and institutions in line with a multi-sited methodological approach and my theoretical framework. The variety of participants, institutions and events engaged with facilitated nuanced and multi-layered understandings of the interlinked and overlapping discourses, relations and interactions generated through engagement with Western art music.

Participant observation

Participant observation formed a significant part of the research process. Dewalt and Dewalt describe participant observation ‘as a way of collecting data in naturalistic settings by ethnographers who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied' (2011: 2). They state that participant observation seeks ‘to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible given the limitations of the method’ (2011: 92). Participant observation facilitated immersion in my study cities and host institutions. Participant observation also engendered broader engagement in city life, encouraging the contextualisation of institutions and participants in relation to socioeconomic, political and cultural landscapes, cityscapes, and musicscapes; this was important in developing an understanding of the ways in which Western art music related to broader socioeconomic, political, cultural and musical spaces. Through participant observation, I adopted multiple musical and social roles; engaging in various roles within institutions as well as music scenes more broadly allowed me to observe and experience Western art music from a variety of perspectives including, for example, roles of researcher, teacher, performer, and audience-member. Again, this resonates with the theoretical framework and the multi-sited approach adopted, generating rich data from a variety of perspectives.

I kept a detailed research diary to document and analyse the multiple roles I inhabited and experiences I accrued as a participant observer. I have relied on observations documented in my research diary to provide data on performances, lectures, workshops, tutorials, instrumental lessons, descriptions of institutions, as well as the more subjective and, at times, ‘emotive’ reactions of my experiences. The research diary was not only an aide memoir but also helped me engage with self-reflection on the preconceptions and subjectivities that I may hold in relation to the significance of Western art music in India. Inevitably note-taking is selective and there may be omissions, but the number and variety of events attended over the course of eleven

months has served to build up a multi-layered and textured picture of Western art music scenes in the study cities, as well as my experiences. In the research diary, ideas I had about the significance of Western art music in India were reinforced as well as reframed and challenged, and new ideas emerged that further contributed to the development of this research.

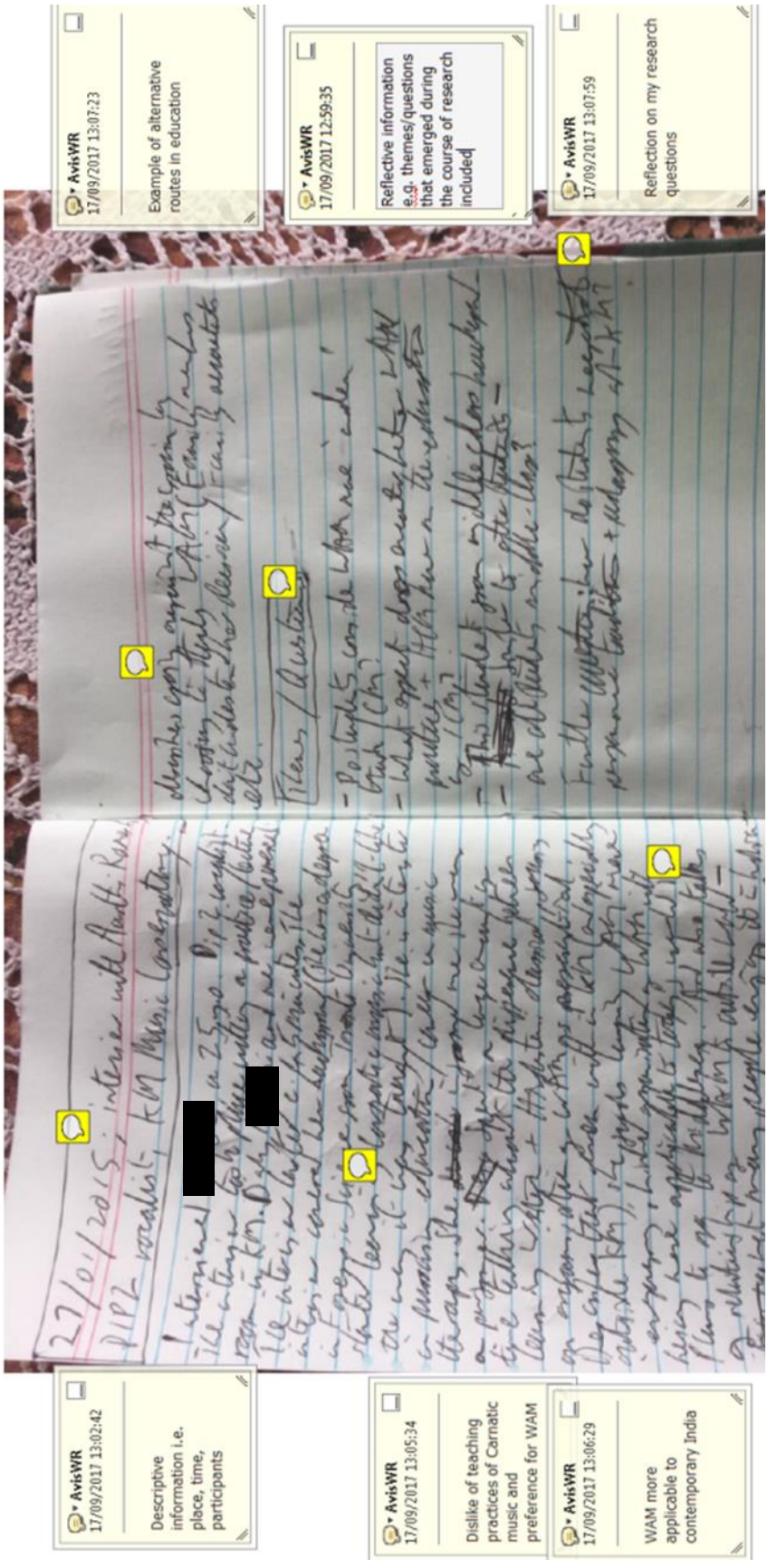
Participant observation was particularly useful in exploring performance and pedagogic practices both within and outside institutions. Experience of practices associated with Western art music and Hindustani classical music were particularly valuable for understanding participants' experiences (especially useful for Chapter 7). Other examples were the juxtaposition of Western art music and Hindustani classical music performances at events such KM Day 2015 and Monsoon Festival 2016 in Kolkata. Noting my subjective experiences revealed the resonance of my conceptualisations of these musical traditions with the experiences of interviewees, as well as with historical understandings, however subjective and problematic these might be. This has allowed me to relate to and empathise with the ideas and lived experiences of participants, as well as to challenge my own preconceptions. For example, my instinctual reactions to performances of Western art music and Hindustani classical music at events such as the Monsoon festival often conceptualised these musical traditions as 'opposing'. Such experiences revealed insights into my relationship with Western art music and other musical traditions in India. In this sense, my thoughts and experiences offered insightful, complementary and sometimes alternative perspectives that added another layer to my ethnographic data.

I have included some 'thick description' passages in the empirical chapters. 'Thick description', an anthropological term introduced by Geertz (1973), is described by Denzin (1989: 83. cited in Ponterotto, 2006: 540) as going beyond surface appearances to include the context, detail, emotion, and webs of social relationships inherent in experiences. Ponterotto states: 'thick' description interprets […] behaviour within a context […] pointing to the significance of an observation, event or behaviour', and includes 'voices, feelings, actions and meanings (2006: 539). For Denzin, thick description is 'biographical, historical, situational, relational and/or interactional' (1989: 107. cited in Ponterotto, 2006: 540); that is, it allows the reader some insight into the lived experiences of the researcher as well as the respondents. Thick description therefore forms an important part of ethnographic research, entailing a detailed description of the places visited, as well as offering a window through which the reader can engage with the researcher's experiences and positionality. This research method

fits in with my theoretical and methodological approach in that it encourages a relational understanding of the position of Western art music within wider contexts. Through such passages, the reader will be afforded some level of transparency to interrogate my positionality, albeit that this is arguably limited by the selective and subjective nature of such writing. Occasionally these are supplemented with retrospective references to articles and books. Readers are encouraged to think about the ways in which the themes presented in Chapter 1 are played out in these reflections.

I organised and annotated my research diary thematically in order to highlight both recurrent and new themes that arose dialogically during the research process. These reflected my research questions, and included themes relating to community involvement, musical encounters, the influence of technology and so on. Figure 1 provides an extract from my research diary to exemplify the ways in which I analysed the data. This passage was written after an interview with a student at KM. I summarised the interview, described the location, provided contextual and background detail about the student, and thematically analysed the passage. This documented my initial experience of the interview facilitating comparison with other interviews which could then be compared with the audio-recording.

Figure 1: An annotated extract from my research diary



Source: Personal research diary compiled during fieldwork.

The challenges associated with participant observation are well documented (see Sanjari et al., 2014; Jamshed, 2014). For example, participant observation of a group or event can never be complete because of the subjective and selective nature of data collection and analysis, influenced as it is by context, perspective, researcher positionality, and observer bias. This has been described as 'observer-expectancy' (Jamshed, 2014). Moreover, Participant observation can influence participants' behaviour and, subsequently, data collection (Sanjari, 2014: 3). Challenges also occur when negotiating the various roles participant observers occupy. For example, at various points I took on the role of teacher, student, audience member, workshop leader, lecturer, researcher, and socialiser. Negotiating the boundaries and identities of these various roles was challenging; for example, shifting from the role of teacher to student and performer to audience member, and identifying where the fluid boundaries of these roles lay and the power dynamics that were expressed through them required constant vigilance. Relatedly, these roles had implications for the nature of my relationship with participants; for example, my role as a teacher could have been perceived by students as occupying a position of power to which they may have been inclined to defer or, more damaging to the research, to tell me what they felt I expected to hear. This is perhaps especially pertinent given the student-teacher relationships explored in Chapter 7. In other instances, when talking with fellow teachers and founders of institutions, I was perhaps not considered to occupy a position of power. As with all social interactions, the dynamics at play cannot be reduced to simple binary relationships between researcher and participant that attempt to fix the inherently fluid nature of these interactions: these positions are relational and contingent (see Sanjari, 2014: 6).

As with all aspects of the research process, participants and institutions were informed in detail about the research project and consent was sought in line with the University of York's regulations and accepted academic practice. However, the issue with participant observation is that whilst institutional approval may be granted, there are situations where consent cannot be given by every person you have observed either within or outside institutions, for example at concerts; consent, therefore, was sought as far as was possible. Whilst guidelines and accepted academic practice can offer some safeguards, they cannot account for the innumerable interactions and negotiations that take place in ethnographic research. To mitigate this, I have emphasised the subjective and selective nature of my observations and experiences and attempted to relay them in a sensitive and transparent way.

Pilot study

In December 2013, prior to my research trips to India in 2015 and 2016, I designed and conducted a pilot study that included semi-structured interviews with parents and children of South Asian heritage who lived in the UK and were involved with Western art music education. Participants comprised six instrumental pupils and their parents, utilising methods approved by the Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee (see Appendix 4). This allowed me to test my interview technique, revise the aims, objectives and interview questions, as well as providing an opportunity to test and refine my analytic strategy. An important outcome of the pilot study was my decision not to interview children in India. In addition to the ethical dilemmas of interviewing children, I felt that the data generated would not be useful for the aims and objectives of the research. For example, children are perhaps not best placed to comment on the relationship of Western art music to broader socioeconomic and political issues that I am interested in. Furthermore, the power dynamics involved are arguably more pronounced than they are with adults; children may have been influenced or intimidated by me, or may have responded according to parental expectations. Whilst there have been successful ethnographic studies of Western art music involving children (see Skoutella, 2016), I concluded that the ethical dilemmas involved presented too many obstacles, especially in the Indian context, and that the data generated through adults would be richer.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were central to my data collection, and were chosen instead of research methods such as surveys and questionnaires. Surveys and questionnaires would not have facilitated personal interaction and therefore would not have provided insight into the diverse and multifaceted lived experiences I was interested in exploring. I conducted 75 interviews that took the form of in-depth, semi-structured ethnographic interviews/discussions that ranged from c. 45 minutes to c. 3 hours. Whilst acknowledging the need for flexibility in the interview structure and questions, I nevertheless felt it necessary to devise a pre-determined set of themes with a set of standard, open-ended questions that provided a loose structure for participant discussion (see Appendix 1). It was hoped, and proven in practice, that this would allow for flexibility and free-ranging discussion. In most cases, the general themes to be discussed were shared with participants prior to the interview. Participants were also informed that they were at liberty to talk about anything they felt was relevant to their

experience of Western art music in India, as well as the option to opt out of questions if they desired. The interviews were structured around five key themes:

- **Contextual background:** including family, community and individual backgrounds and musical experiences.
- **Current engagement:** including participants' current engagement with Western art music as well as other musical traditions, and how their involvement has developed.
- **Values, meanings and significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India:** exploring the significance, values, and meanings surrounding and projected onto Western art music and, subsequently, the ecologies Western art music relates to.
- **Relational position of Western art music:** exploring the ways in which Western art music is positioned in relation to broader socioeconomic, political, cultural, historical, technological and musical factors.
- **Future significance of Western art music in metropolitan India:** exploring how participants see the significance of Western art music scenes in India developing.

The predetermined themes allowed me to address the research questions as well as the aims and objectives of the study. This facilitated exploration of the ideas and meanings mobilised about Western art music by participants as well as its positionality in contemporary India.

Analysis of interview data

Because of the number and length of interviews, transcription in their entirety was unrealistic – it could have taken over 1500-1800 hours to transcribe all interviews, if one allocates 10 hours to transcribe 1 hour of interview. Instead, I transcribed selected sections of interviews and used a system of coding to analyse the interviews in their aural form. Initially, I used the key subject areas outlined above, before refining the coding system to address more specific areas. For example, recurrent themes amongst students at KM explored in Chapter 6 included:

- The mobilisation of music education as a form of rebellion or alternativeness in relation to broader social attitudes towards music, the music profession and music education.

- The decision to study music in relation to changing job markets.
- The mobilisation of music education to articulate generational divide between students and parents.
- Conceptualisations of Western art music that drew on established tropes, including global orientation.
- The conflation of music education, and particularly Western art music education, with conceptions of modernity.
- Financial backgrounds that located students amongst India's affluent middle-classes.

For an example of the coding used to analyse a range of interviews, see Table 3 below.

Table 2: Example of interview coding

Institution	Role	Gender, age	City	Coding/ theme	Quote
KM	Student (Bhakti)	Female, mid-20s	Chennai	Social change	It wasn't enough the way Indian classical music was taught […] There wasn't a guarantee of payoff.
KM	Student (Guarav)	Male, early 20s	Chennai	Rebel	They took me and dropped me in the mechanical engineering […] I said 'If I'm better as musician let me do that'. So I flunked classes and they let me do that [music]
BSM	Parent (Lalita)	Female, mid-30s	Bengaluru	Social change	I came from interior Tamil Nadu so was not so exposed to the Western genre of music.
Piano shop	Piano tuner	Male, late-60s	Kolkata	Social change	Lot of people used to hire pianos on a monthly basis, sometimes every two months of three months, but now this hire has gone down

					because people are finding it better or cheaper to go in for synthesiser.
BSM	Parent (Anindita)	Female, early-40s	Bengaluru	Shared experience	I hope to listen to [Western classical] more and more, to actually appreciate

It was not feasible for every interview or comment to be included in this thesis. However, the extracts from interviews represent recurrent themes and exemplify the relational and multidimensional significance Western art music occupies in contemporary, metropolitan India. On occasion interviewees were not drawn from target participants. Examples include an interview with a piano tuner in Kolkata, and retired musicians in Chennai who had been involved with the film industry. In these cases, the participants provided an aural history of Western art music that related to areas beyond the main focus of my empirical chapters, but were nonetheless illuminative of the history of Western art music in India. Moreover, the information added rich material that served to further nuance and contextualise discussions with other interviewees.

Interviews usually took place at host institutions, but on occasion were conducted at participants' homes, in public spaces such as cafes, or via skype. All the interviews were conducted in a place of the participant's choosing. Participants were given an information leaflet and consent form prior to the interview (see Appendices 2 and 3), as well as details of the main themes to be discussed. It was also made clear to participants that they could talk about anything they felt was significant or relevant to the research. All interviews followed the same broad structure, although many digressed into areas I would not have expected, with discussion often continuing after the conclusion of the interview. During interviews, I attempted to create a congenial and free-flowing space within which participants felt comfortable to talk about what they considered relevant. I also immersed myself in the day-to-day life of the institutions and, it was hoped, participants would become familiar with me as a researcher as well as socially. As Krueger and Casey note, such research methods are essentially about being open, listening and paying attention without being judgemental (2000: xi). 'Non-

judgemental' listening was also facilitated by the complexity of my own position in relation to India and Western art music which afforded a sensitivity and empathy with diverse participants.

Documentary analysis

I also analysed primary source material, including newspaper articles, institutional pamphlets, social media webpages, websites and other online platforms, photographs and audio-visual documents. Documentary analysis was used to complement, substantiate and contextualise interviews and participant observation. Moreover, documents and other secondary sources provide access to historical experiences and data. For example, recordings and audio-visual footage published on YouTube provides insight into the transcultural exchange that took place between Yehudi Menhuin and Ravi Shankar,[70] or interviews with various actors involved with Western art music such as Karl Lutchmayer, Zubin Mehta and so on. Such material can be construed as a quasi-documentary source. As Henn, Weinstein and Foard (2009) observe, documents 'describe places and social relationships at a previous time when we could not have conducted our research, or provide us with a direct account of people involved in their social situation' (110). I engaged with this material in a similar way to the interviews, organising the main points and ideas thematically through the use of the coding system outlined earlier. Such sources were useful in supporting, clarifying and contextualising ideas, narratives and experiences derived from participant observation and interviews. They also facilitated an understanding of the historic significance of Western art music in India by a range of media and agents, how it is mobilised in online platforms, and the significance of social media and websites in its present-day dissemination.

Conclusion

This chapter justifies the methodological approach and research methods used that are appropriate to the aims and objectives of the thesis. The theoretical framework and methodological approach have encouraged me to explore the significance of Western art music from the perspectives of diverse individuals, groups and institutions. Such an approach highlights the complex sets of relations and interactions that surround Western art music in India as well as the many ways in which it is mobilised and experienced. My intention has been to present the many narratives, meanings, values

[70] See https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/how-we-met-yehudi-menuhin-and-ravi-shankar-1575503.html.

and discourses associated with this music as it is experienced in these cities. No claims are made to objectivity in a positivist sense, and I locate the research in a broadly interpretivist paradigm. It is understood that each quote offers an insight into the thoughts of a particular individual, in a particular moment, and in a particular context that will inevitably be subject to change. Participants carry with them subjective baggage and influences, as do I. No attempt is made to circumvent the issue that this approach and therefore the findings of this thesis reflect multiple subjectivities. Rather than viewing this as a limitation, I consider it a strength that speaks directly to the plethora of values and meanings associated with Western art music, mine included, and indeed has been the primary objective of the research: to explore the significance of Western art music from a fundamentally relational perspective.

4. Western art music and philanthropy: the Oxford Mission and the Sunshine Orchestra

In this chapter I explore the mobilisation of Western art music in philanthropic endeavours in contemporary, metropolitan India through two case studies: the Oxford Mission (OMB), based in Behala, Kolkata, and the Sunshine Orchestra, Chennai. Both institutions provide a valuable lens through which we can engage with the relational, interactional and situational significance of Western art music as a form of philanthropy in contemporary, metropolitan India. The institutions also provide an opportunity to compare the ways Western art music as a form of philanthropy is mobilised by these institutions – the OMB, a long-established Christian foundation, and the Sunshine Orchestra established in 2008 with its explicitly 'secular' foundation. I show that the individuals, groups and institutions in both case studies are engaged in a process of assemblage, encompassing multiple interactions and relations in an attempt to generate and make sense of the significance of Western art music as a form of philanthropy.

The use of Western art music as a form of philanthropy in postcolonial countries has been problematised as a result of its association with discourses of salvation, civilisation, modernity, missionisation, Orientalism, and neoliberalism (see Beckles Willson 2011; 2013; Baker 2014; 2016; McGuire, 2009; Rosabal-Coto, 2015). Whilst these studies and discourses are useful in problematising Western art music's use in philanthropic projects, the specificity of the Indian context must be taken into account when considering the case studies in this chapter. Firstly, my case studies must be located within a broader history of philanthropy that has been shown to encompass an assemblage of meanings, narratives, motives and influences that problematise reductive conceptualisations of philanthropy (see Kumar, 2017; Godfrey, Branigan and Khan, 2017). Secondly, the mobilisation of Western art music in missionary and philanthropic endeavours has historically been adapted, shaped, and negotiated in relation to 'indigenous' music – for example the use of folk music as a form of Christian missionisation – as well as the social dynamics between communities – for example, providing opportunities for social mobility and the negotiation of the caste system (see Wolf and Sherinian, 2000). Thirdly, the importance of Western art music to Indian film music and the bands of the uniformed services has generated employment opportunities for those educated in Western art music. Similarly, the recent expansion of interest in Western art music amongst the Indian middle-classes also provides significant employment prospects, social mobility and the development of social and

cultural capital. Whilst the more problematic elements that authors such as Baker (2014; 2016) and Beckles Willson (2013) highlight are important to this chapter, the history and situational significance of Western art music in India complicates a reductive application of this analysis to Western art music as a form of philanthropy in contemporary, metropolitan India. Whilst there is the potential in both the OMB's as well as the Sunshine Orchestra's mobilisations of Western art music to generate abyssal thinking, this is blurred and complicated by broader relations and interactions as well as the agency of those involved.

Backgrounds

Five semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the OMB, including an employee and three former students, one of whom had returned as a teacher. Two of the former students were members of the Calcutta Chamber Orchestra and worked as professional musicians, and the other had set up a private music school in Kolkata and was a successful conductor. I conducted semi-structured interviews with two teachers involved with the Sunshine Orchestra and also draw on published interviews with A. R. Rahman, its founder, as well as a prominent mentor for the project. In addition, I draw on online resources, including websites related to the two institutions as well as footage of performances, and a promotional video for the Sunshine Orchestra. I also draw on participant observation and experiences gathered during involvement with musical outreach projects since 2007. I have taught at several music schools in metropolitan cities in India and have been engaged with numerous philanthropic projects through these.

The Oxford Mission, Behala

The Oxford Mission, Behala (OMB) is located on D. H. Road. The green gates at the entrance bear two crosses, and as you enter the grounds, you are greeted by lush green fields with a small lake in the centre. Various buildings including teaching rooms and hostels are dotted around the grounds. Young children dressed in white shirts tucked into blue shorts with knee-length socks and leather shoes can be seen playing violins on the grass – their attire reminicent of old-fashioned English public school dress. Also onsite is the recently built Mathieson Memorial Music Centre – an impressive concert hall and rehearsal space commemorating Father Mathieson. I was invited to share tea and biscuits with the OMB's administrator in his office. The room held the OMB's vast collection of Christian literature, a photo of Father Theodore Mathieson – a prominent figure in the OMB's history who had taught and resided at the

Mission from 1942 until his death in 1988 – and several pianos. On one piano was stencelled 'H. Hobbs & Co. Ltd., Calcutta'; on another was stencilled 'Braganza & Co. Ltd, Kolkata'.

According to the *Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, 'The Oxford Mission to Calcutta commenced in 1880 […] as a celibate brotherhood drawn from priests who were Oxford graduates' (Brown et al., 2017: 489). Two institutions were founded in undivided Bengal; one in Behala and the other in Barisa in what is now Bangladesh. According to the official website of the Church of North India (CNI), the OMB was established in 1908 by Father Frederick Douglass of the UK-based Brotherhood of the Epiphany.[71] It is a charitable and non-profit making organisation, and, since 1929, has been registered under the Government of India Foreign Contribution Regulation Act that regulates Non-Government Organisations.[72] After the Brotherhood of the Epiphany left Calcutta in the 1980s following the death of Father Theodore Mathieson, the OMB was run by the Bengali Brotherhood, before being taken over by a Board of Trustees in 1992. According to the OMB website: 'The Mission does not partake in any sort of 'commercial' ventures. It is kept functional on donations both local and from abroad [and] has been granted total exemption under Section 80G of the Income Tax Act'.[73]

The OMB's primary objectives are described as 'imparting basic education, imbibing healthy living conditions and initiating self-employed means of livelihood, amongst the destitute, underprivileged, forlorn village folks and their unnourished children' (CNI: online). All of the students are male and, at the time of writing, there were 126 students aged 5-16. Guha, the OMB's administrator now in his seventies, comments: 'The OMB provides free hostel facilities, boarding and lodging. All boys go to primary school run by the Mission then high school run by government […] We take on average 10-15 boys per year.' According to Christopher, a former OMB student and ex-employee in his late sixties, attempts were made to establish a girls' school but this was abandoned because female students were often removed from the school to be married.[74] According to Guha, 'the boys are picked from all religions, and one boy is picked per family'. Both Guha and Sanju, the OMB's Director of Music in his forties, stated that no religious conversion takes place or is expected (personal email), with Guha reiterating 'there is no pressure from the church.' Although no conversions are expected, students

[71] See http://oxfordmissionbehala.org/.
[72] See https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/topic/Foreign-Contribution-Regulation-Act.
[73] See http://oxfordmissionbehala.org/
[74] The issue of marriage and music is a recurring theme throughout India's musical history (Woodfield, 2000; Bhakle, 2008), and is explored in the following chapters.

have previously performed in daily church services and all those interviewed were Christian. Christopher described tensions with local Hindu communities who had been suspicious of what they felt were the OMB's Christian activities.[75] Tensions between Christian organisations and other religious communities have received increasing attention in recent years, and the position of Christian organisations in relation to Hindu nationalism has become increasingly fraught (see Safi, 2017). The OMB's decision to distance itself from its missionary foundations and to present a more secular image is indicative of an attempt to negotiate the delicate balance of religious tension in its locality.

Western art music has been a core part of the educational work of the OMB since its foundation, and according to Guha the OMB became known as the 'nursery of Western classical music in India'. As with other missionary projects (see Wolf and Sherinian, 2000), Western art music was introduced through the Fathers who ran the Mission. As Guha described, 'Western music came with the Fathers. Father Frederick Douglass, the first Father, played the violin and piano'. Father Douglass ran the OMB from 1908 until his death in 1949 and was succeeded by Father Theodore Mathieson who was a cellist involved with various musical activities around the city. Guha notes that 'Music was compulsory from the start. The Mission initially taught string instruments but introduced windblown and brass 4 years' back, and besides this we now train in percussion'. The OMB's official website describes the welfare and educational activities presently undertaken. They provide free general education as well as musical training, boarding facilities, uniforms, medical care as well as running various community projects. Below is an abbreviated list of the OMB's mission statement (see Appendix 5 for a full list):

1. Hostels with Boarding and Lodging facilities are provided free of cost to one hundred and fifty underprivileged boys, between 5 to 16 years of age.
2. Primary Education in the Mission's own school and further higher studies up to Secondary level, in a Government high school including provision of text books, study materials and class-wise private tuitions.
3. Organised in-house computer courses.
4. Provision of school uniforms, sporting appurtenances, scouts and cubs dresses

[75] Such tensions were also experienced by Mathieson's School of Music. An Ace Foundation report stated the school was vandalised by an 'angry mob' in 2001 who were unhappy with the school's Christian ethos (see https://acefoundation.org.uk/home/projects/music/mathieson-music-trust/).

and recreational items such as televisions and music systems.

5. Medical treatment.
6. Provision of stringed, brass, wood-wind, percussion, guitar, keyboard, tabla, and drums and instrumental music training.
7. Weekly sessions on contemporary singing, folk-classical dance forms, arts-crafts, drawing etc.
8. Sponsored technical training and or higher studies up to graduation level for meritorious students.
9. Outdoor and indoor games, scouting, cubbing activities and social work within the Mission's compound.

The variety of activities the OMB undertakes illustrates their ethos: to educate students, encourage them to engage in social work, and to encourage healthy lifestyles. The Mission has also adapted its education to suit changing job markets and technological developments. For example, Guha states: 'We also trained boys in industrial skills and in handcrafts such as watch making and repairing. The boys then didn't want to do lay work so we got computers and trained them up in that'. The inclusion of 'contemporary singing' and 'folk-classical dance forms' also resonates with other missionary projects that utilise local cultural and musical signifiers to engage local communities in Christianity (see Wolf and Sherinian, 2000; Sherinian, 2014).[76] Engagement with sporting activities, social work and music is reminiscent of Victorian notions of self-improvement and 'giving back to the community'. As Buck (2012) explains, Victorian culture foregrounded health, social work and artistic endeavours such as music. The reader will also notice reference to scouting activities, again indicative of what Dollery (2012) has described as the propagation of Victorian and Western value systems. This resonates with the OMB's 'mission statement' to imbibe 'healthy living conditions' and '[initiate] self-employed means of livelihood', and is reminiscent of broader narratives of individualism and self-reliance that were adopted by the Indian middle-classes in the nineteenth century and are still adhered to by the Indian middle-class today. Sreejith (2013: 39) has noted that 'being able to stand on your own two feet' became an ideological stance the Indian middle-classes adopted in response to Western education, and was contrasted with traditional Indian notions of collective and family responsibility. Such a stance also resonates with the entrepreneurial spirit that currently

[76] This resonates with broader approaches to education and building design such as those identified by Seth (2007) as well as the Victoria Memorial.

pervades India's metropolitan centres. The OMB's narratives can be seen to fit both within a colonial and current capitalist context, as well as colonial and neoliberal development discourse. The OMB describes its achievement: 'The Mission has thus far moulded more than ten thousand socially deprived juveniles into self-sufficient, literate, morally upright citizens, mostly, established as distinguished musicians, spread across the world' (OMB: online). This quote summarises the OMB's mobilisation of Western art music and education more broadly as a means to promote self-sufficiency, develop morals, encourage literacy, and provide access to global networks, resonating with the narratives that characterised nineteenth century missionary projects (see Beckles Willson, 2013) and Victorian ideas about the 'deserving poor' (Katz, 1989).

Economic and social concerns

Narratives of self-sufficiency are present in the Mission's adaptations to the changing economic, political, social and cultural landscape of Kolkata and India more generally. Over the past thirty years, the OMB has made strides towards financial self-sufficiency. Guha notes: 'We are presently inconvenienced by lack of funds. We must become self-sufficient in 2 to 3 years'. Originally funded by the UK Oxford Mission, this source of funding has declined in recent years requiring the OMB to seek funding from a variety of international and local donors.[77] For example, Sanju notes the Goethe Institut provided sponsorship for the purchase of musical instruments: 'Last month we had sponsorship for buying all instruments from the German consulate […] that time lots of money [but we have to] find our own way also, [they] won't give money next year.' In response to the necessity to find alternative revenue streams, the OMB is undertaking an impressive array of projects to expand the Mission's activities. These include educational projects, the establishment of accommodation for elderly Kolkatans, and the clearing of water tanks for recreational purposes as well as to produce fish for consumption (see Appendix 5). In addition, Sanju has described renting out the OMB's grounds to local schools for football and cricket practice, as well as to wealthy Kolkatans as a fitness retreat. These activities make the OMB more engaged with the local community and provide additional revenue streams. There is a confluence of various narratives here. These activities can be seen as an extension of the OMB's foundational aims to engage with social work and local communities. They can also be seen as reflective of changing economic conditions brought about through economic liberalisation and the adoption of an entrepreneurial attitude. In addition, this could also be interpreted as an extension of the 'self-sufficiency' that characterised the post-

[77] See http://www.oxford-mission.org/home/index6.html#2

independence era; international funding has diminished and the OMB has found it necessary to pursue financial stability through local initiatives. The OMB can be seen to be making sense of current socioeconomic conditions through an assemblage of narratives, motives and influences.

The Oxford Mission Boys

The above themes of self-sufficiency and transformation were articulated in the experiences of former students. Christopher describes what he attained through his education at the OMB: 'I got the dignity also […] We are able to go to the quite high-society platform, though we come from slums […] The main target [of the OMB is to] learn through education and other activities and get proper dignity, human dignity'. He continues:

> You would not know I come from broken family. But I am proud to say I have been trained up [in] such a way I have changed [into] a proper citizen, prestigious, I got the dignity also. We are building up a proper human […] Previously we were afraid of the high society […] but now I have established my dignity, I am not going to beg. The Mission aims to build up a child so they can stand on their own feet.

Similarly, Sanju stated:

> It's not only finding a job […] through Western music. I think we can see a lot of these students from difficult background, through this Western music they can see something good and I think the brain gets more mature. We can see all these people not doing music – they are very shy. When they start doing Western music they are becoming lively, develop their skills fast.

Sanju highlights the development of social and practical skills through music education, aligning with the transformational narratives highlighted by Christopher. Christopher's description echoes the institutional aims of the OMB: to develop morally upright, self-sufficient citizens. He explicitly highlights the transformational outcomes of his education alongside ideas of citizenship (see Sparke, 2006), and Orientalist notions of the 'uncivilised' and 'civilised'.

However, these narratives are not only ideological. The self-sufficiency that Christopher speaks of is located in tangible job opportunities, contrasting with Beckles Willson (2013) and Baker's (2014; 2016) assessment of the 'inappropriateness' of Western art music philanthropy in Palestine and Venezuela. Sanju continues, describing the dedication and enthusiasm of students from poorer backgrounds towards learning as they see this education as an opportunity:

> [At] CSM [Calcutta School of Music] […] you see from there nobody comes for the music or orchestral playing because they are rich families they don't bother, they come for time pass, after few years they are not coming, they go to do something else […] Difficult background student they want to learn because they want to do something with the music. They feel: 'I have my future with the music so I have to do it'. Education is difficult here and costs lot of money so they go with the music.

Sanju emphasises the difference he sees between the dedication of poor students and those from affluent families who see music as a hobby rather than a vocational skill that might be of fundamental importance to their future careers.[78] This was reiterated by Christopher who referenced the status of musicians amongst Bengali families: 'Normal Bengali family do not like musicians – no future in that'. This contrasts with the positive career prospects former students like John saw in music. John, who is in his forties and has worked as a conductor at the Calcutta School of Music, stated: '[At] that time there was big problem, financial problem so my parents could not afford that much money to make me study, because we were very poor […] so my parents put me in Oxford Mission'. John went on to exclaim: 'Fantastic thing for me, Oxford Mission and Calcutta School of Music has given me, without them I am nothing'. For John, the OMB gave him access to an education and career pathway that would not have been accessible given his socioeconomic background.

The OMB focuses on developing vocational skills as a primary objective. According to John, more than '90%' of those educated at the OMB pursue a musical career. The OMB website[79] lists the career pathways its students have pursued:

[78] As will be seen, this contrasts with the status of musicians amongst the middle-classes, some of whom see music as a hobby rather than a serious vocational skill that could enhance future career prospects, although there are indications that this is changing.
[79] See http://oxfordmissionbehala.org/.

1. As professional musicians in orchestras engaged by the Film Industry, in five-star hotels – owned orchestras; for back-ground music recordings, on part-time, full-time basis.
2. As professional music teachers in schools, colleges, universities, clubs, hotels within the country and abroad on full-time or on lesson based rates.
3. As permanently employed musicians in police bands, army and navy bands.
4. As world class, high-profile internationally renowned solo musicians.
5. Many proficient and experienced musicians open and operate their own schools of music and are very well placed in life.
6. A marginal lot take up full-time jobs in Christian institutions/organisations to live and serve in harmony with their Oxford Mission Christian up-bringing.
7. A handful is successful in obtaining government jobs on competitive basis.

The career pathways listed above indicate the routes students follow, showing how Western art music education relates to diverse social and musical contexts. It also portrays the ways in which the OMB has responded to and understands the applicability of Western art music to the diverse and changing musical landscapes of India. The first point highlights the relevance of Western art music education for employment as session musicians in the film industry as well as function musicians in five-star hotels. Whilst there has been a decline in the use of string orchestras in the film industry, the OMB demonstrates an awareness of the importance of Western art music to this industry. They also emphasise the demand for musicians familiar with Western art music in luxury hotels and in other prestigious venues and events. The second point references the growing demand for music teachers in educational institutions – especially in India's metropolitan centres – which has accompanied economic liberalisation. The third point relates to the colonial legacy of bands in the uniformed services.[80] The fourth point relates to international opportunities available to students who have a Western art music background, emphasising the global networks that such education makes accessible. The fifth relates to the growing demand for music schools and the potential to tap into this market for Western music education, capitalising on a freeing-up of the economy and accompanying entrepreneurship. The sixth describes students becoming involved with further Christian work – the first time Christianity is mentioned. And the seventh relates to government jobs unrelated to

[80] Brass and wind bands have a long history in India, explored by Booth (2000), who describes the low social status of such musicians, a point returned to in the following sections.

music. It is clear that the OMB's focus is on music careers for its students and illustrates a pragmatic understanding of the relevance of Western art music education to various musical contexts and job markets. Whilst having a moralising and proselytising element to its educational endeavours, it also has a clear and grounded vocational basis that offers viable career paths to students, ranging from the film industry, the bands of the uniformed services, international music-making, to the performance of Western art music at corporate events and weddings.

These career paths were verified by the former students interviewed who were all working as professional musicians. Guha noted that most of the performers in hotels around Kolkata were 'ex-Oxford mission boys', stating:

> There is a lot of requirement of Western classical music in everyday life here in 5 and 4 star hotels, all ex-Mission boys perform there. It is absolutely elite class requirement – people who understand music want this music.

For example, Sanju described that when he was seventeen he was asked to audition for a 5-star hotel [the Grand Hotel] in Kolkata and performed in a quartet at the hotel for the next three years. Christopher also described performing in '5-star hotels [amongst them the Taj Bengal] for the past 25 years' and teaching and performing in various capacities around Kolkata:

> Lot of our students are doing their job by playing violin, cello […] They've got a job in hotels and also other cities of India like Bombay, Delhi, Bangalore.

Similarly, John described working in hotels in Darjeeling after leaving the OMB:

> Year of 1991/2 teacher said that we got a job at Darjeeling at a hotel called Windermere Hotel […] We used to practice every day, and walk one or two kilometers up and down the mountain. It made us very fit! And then we'd practice 9.30[am]-4pm then have our performance. We were provided dress – black bow tie, the one you have to tie up yourself, we used to have fun, the director showed us how to do it. We'd perform from 7pm-9.30/10pm, and after 10.30[pm] take our dinner.

John still occasionally performs at the Taj Bengal. Christopher stated that the OMB was encouraged to look for performance opportunities outside the school by Fran Caterini, the wife of the American Consul to Kolkata (1992-2002). Fran Caterini also set up the Calcutta Foundation, a non-Governmental Organisation that provides educational and vocational support to poorer communities in Kolkata.[81] Christopher described:

> Oxford Mission used to do school orchestra. Then [Fran Caterini] suggested you have to go out of your school. She used to go to governor of Western Bengal, have parties with foreign delegates, and she use these boys [OMB students] to perform.

Christopher described a diversity of opportunities that came as a result of economic liberalisation in the 1990s, with increasing numbers of foreign delegations coming to Kolkata and being entertained at corporate events by OMB students. He stated that the organisers of these events saw the OMB as the 'go-to' institution for musicians. He also described the growing demand for string quartets at Indian weddings, stating:

> There are rich fellows who want the ceremony, they know us. They [affluent Indians] have been upgraded, they are doing business with foreign fellows, it's the global way. And with that the culture is changing, they are asking us to play in their wedding [...] and now we are getting all these jobs. I have these groups that can play film songs, Bollywood. This is seasonal job, we start in October and get lot of extra money.

A number of points are raised through the quotes above. Firstly, the clear demand for Western art music amongst economically affluent, globally-oriented Indians who circulate in increasingly international networks and have adopted global consumer tastes (this resonates with the insights from Derné, 2014; Beaster-Jones 2016; and Morcom, 2014). Secondly, the ability of these students to make a sustainable living through Western art music as well as entrepreneurial skills in promoting the services of OMB students. And thirdly, the use of string quartets in the performance of Bollywood music, symptomatic of the embeddedness of Western art music and Western instruments in Indian film music. Again, there is a complex confluence of narratives, influences and motives here, showing the ways in which Western art music has adapted to and is significant and relevant to contemporary Indian contexts.

[81] See http://www.calcuttafoundation.org/about.php.

Resonating with his earlier comment on developing 'dignity', Christopher also points to the unique social position of OMB musicians. He states: 'I know the grass roots but I also know the high society life'. Whilst rehearsing with the Calcutta Chamber Orchestra (CCO), I was informed that many of the players were either current or former OMB students. At a well-attended performance by the CCO at the Tollygunge Club – one of Kolkata's premier private members' clubs – I was reminded of the complex social position OMB students occupy. Western art music's potential for social mobility is complicated by the low social status of musicians articulated by respondents in the following chapters. OMB students identify themselves as coming from disadvantaged backgrounds and are involved in what might be considered a low status profession, but at the same time they circulate in high status events. The complex position the OMB students occupy resonates with Butler Schofield's (2018) description of the unique social position musicians held in the Mughal courts of the seventeenth century, at one and the same time considered of low social status whilst associating with 'high status' individuals. Similarly, Morcom has identified the complex social status of 'dance girls' and courtesans (both historically and in the present-day), observing that the service they provide to patrons is considered low status whilst their art is respected and revered. In a similar way, the social status of the 'OMB boys' is, to quote Morcom, 'complex, in-between, inconsistent, or liminal' (Morcom, 2015: 1). The position of these musicians in contemporary Indian society can be seen as a continuity of the historic liminal status of musicians in India.

The entrepreneurial possibilities Western art music education provided were clear in the narratives of three former students. Sanju returned to teach at the OMB in 1996 but had also established his own music school. Two other former OMB students had also set up music schools in Kolkata: Anup Kumar Biswas, a cellist now based in London, established Mathieson's School of Music in 1996 – a philanthropic organisation conducting similar work to OMB. Biswas had been financially supported by Father Mathieson to study at the Royal Academy of Music in London and was, according to Christopher, the only OMB student to have studied in London.[82] Abraham Muzumder set up the Kolkata Academy of Music in 2012, a private music school catering to Kolkata's affluent middle-classes. He had also received funding from the German Embassy to study and perform in Germany. It is clear that the education the OMB

[82] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LCfkz-xpyKI for a documentary on Mathieson's School of Music.

provides has enabled these students to tap into the expanding music education and performance markets in India's metropolitan cities.

Moreover, the above also indicates the international opportunities the education afforded former students. John voiced his excitement at having played with the Pan-Asian Philharmonic Orchestra in Bangkok: 'I found myself in a different world, it's really a great experience for me'. Similarly, Sanju described opportunities to study at Dartington College in the UK:

> Then came chance to go to UK, first a summer course. Then I was sponsored to go to USA. Then one of the sponsors asked 'can you come back' – they liked my playing – so I got sponsorship to go back to Dartington summer school in the UK. We played chamber music, amazing to work with famous musicians, attending masterclasses.

Sanju and Guha also noted that there were many former students who were now abroad: 'We have been producing 10-15 boys every year and our students are now placed all over the world. We have people in UK, USA, Germany, in the Indian navy and the Indian army'. It is clear that Western art music education has facilitated access not only to local music scenes but also to global networks for OMB students.

All the OMB respondents pointed to the bands of the uniformed services as primary destinations for many students.[83] Christopher felt that students were successful in their application to these bands because of the aptitude they developed for Western art music at the OMB. He notes: 'So when they [military bands] recruit new fellows, they recruit [those] who know this [Western art music]', reinforcing the employment value of the vocational skills fostered by OMB's music education. Such career pathways echo an earlier colonial legacy of brass bands, militarism, and local music making as an established pathway into employment for musicians (see Booth, 2009). It is notable that none of the students at KM Music Conservatory discussed in Chapter 6, or the parents interviewed in Chapter 5 mention military bands as a preferred career path, perhaps reflecting the different class backgrounds and aspirations of these participants and OMB students. Indeed, Booth has highlighted that the status of bandsmen is often

[83] This was also highlighted by Aruna Sunderlal, founder of Bangalore School of Music (BSM), who stated that recipients of BSM's outreach work have the opportunity to work in the uniformed services.

seen as marginal and of low social status (Booth, 2008), yet for the OMB students such a career pathway is considered an opportunity for upward social mobility.

Whilst the aims and objectives of the OMB indicate only a minority of students undertake Christian work post-schooling, two former students described the ethos they had been imbued with at the OMB and the cyclical nature of their involvement with Western art music. They drew on narratives of 'giving back' to the community the education they had received. Christopher commented:

> Students leave Oxford Mission, they start teaching in their own village. The local people start learning [because] Oxford Mission boys are there […] You are not learning for yourself, you have to share what you have learnt. The model that we have learnt from the Priest and Fathers is that you not only help yourself but you help others also. I can motivate these boys. I'm giving back all my blessings, I'm giving back all they have taught us […] Those Fathers passed away – we are disciples.

Christopher described going to hospitals to perform for the 'sick and elderly'. His involvement with music was not only beneficial to him, but also led to a continuity of the aims and objectives of the OMB through teaching and education – what he described as the 'moral lessons' he learnt. Sanju also described similar motivations upon his return to the OMB as a teacher:

> I just came in [to teach] music and that time I am teaching here and I got a chance, 6/7 years back, to take over the music department […] I felt this is something I'm giving back. You have to help the underprivileged children [as well as] teaching privately.

In addition to running a private music school, Sanju also devoted time to working with the OMB in their educational projects so that he could, as he saw it, help 'underprivileged' children':

> [My sponsor] said 'you like to stay here?', I told him 'I think now you did enough for me, so I should go back and give something to Mission' […] This is something – giving back – just what I have done. There is a very poor place here, people with difficult background. I do almost free service here you know, I can give back […] I felt good here to come back and work with these

children.

This led Sanju to establish an orchestra for former OMB students:

> Some of them [OMB students] spoiling now they don't have good place to stay. I decide I have to do something for these people, that we should have an orchestra. When they come out I can take them where they can stay and learn more.[84]

This has resulted in the establishment of the Kolkata Youth Orchestra.[85] From Christopher and Sanju's comments, it is clear that there are moral, cyclical and, perhaps, proselytising elements to their narratives that are influenced by the missionary narratives adopted by the OMB; they feel they have benefitted greatly from their education and there is an imperative to continue this through their educational and outreach work. As has been seen elsewhere (Beckles Willson, 2013; Baker, 2014, 2016), such positions resonate with the narratives of salvation and development that often characterise the mobilisation of Western art music in philanthropic endeavours.

Reflections on the OMB

Simplistic anti-colonial and decolonising arguments would be critical of the continuing relevance and privilege afforded Western art music by the OMB and those involved. This is especially in terms of the resonance this has with colonial ideology, Orientalism and Christian missionary projects that could reinforce problematic discourses – what de Sousa Santos describes as 'abyssal thinking'. However, the significance of Western art music should be placed in dialogue with the multiple relations and interactions that both surround and are generated by it. It is clear that Western art music and the OMB are situated within a network of relations and interactions. These include broader economic shifts and financial concerns; the relevance of Western art music to Indian film music and the bands of the uniformed services; changing consumer tastes amongst the Indian middle classes and subsequent job markets; as well as narratives and discourses surrounding salvation, Orientalism, modernity, global orientation and Hindu nationalism. Whilst we should acknowledge and engage with the problematic narratives

[84] It is important to note that the respondents interviewed had benefitted financially from their musical education. For others, this education may not have been as profitable.
[85] See https://serenademagazine.com/series/throwback-thursday/a-musical-evening-with-the-kolkata-youth-orchestra/. And see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oxWe-TMGZBA&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR1uKRb8f1OvJ6jUeDSONthzzr95DeND8ihiFz8m3ms1bQZO86ExKo40Ixs.

that surround the use of Western art music by the OMB, we must not discount the very real benefits this education offers.

The Sunshine Orchestra, Chennai

The Sunshine Orchestra is an outreach initiative established in 2008, supported by the AR Rahman Foundation, and based at KM Music Conservatory. According to the Foundation website[86], the Sunshine Orchestra offers orchestral training to local school children in Chennai from 'socially and economically deprived' backgrounds. The foundation has a different history to that of the OMB; it was set up by AR Rahman reflecting his interest in music education and can be seen as an example of the increasing amount of philanthropy undertaken by wealthy Indians (Bhagwati et al. 2018). The reasons for the establishment of the Sunshine Orchestra vary. According to some sources, children were initially drawn from a local MGR school and had no previous experience of learning music. According to Joseph, an American violinist in his thirties who worked as a teacher at KM in 2008,[87] the Conservatory was initially established as a private enterprise to develop an orchestra to replenish a declining population of string players in Chennai and India, charging students at that time around INR 3 lakh (c. £3,300). Joseph explained that they wanted to create a symphony orchestra and this was the impetus for the establishment of the Sunshine Orchestra.

> If they wanted that symphony orchestra you had to focus on young people who could start at the age of 5 or 6. […] Then Jayda [KM's administrator] called me and said 'Joseph, I have people from the MGR school, I've got maybe 10 girls, you go teach them'.

The Sunshine Orchestra is now an established part of KM. Muruga, the Orchestra's mentor and conductor in his late sixties who had worked with AR Rahman for over 20 years, notes: 'We brought in kids from local corporation school and adopted them onto the programme. They learnt violin, viola, cello, and bass, none come from musical background'. The aims and objectives of the project are to develop the foundations of a professional orchestra in Chennai, and also provide vocational and transformative education through music for these children. The Sunshine Orchestra had been started with a string section and, whilst I was at KM, a euphonium player from Scotland had been employed to start a brass section. Unfortunately, brass instruments had still not arrived 6 months after his arrival and he had to teach using make-shift instruments

[86] See http://arrahmanfoundation.org/projects.html.
[87] Joseph no longer works at KM but continues to live in Chennai.

made from household items including tubes and mouth pieces that he had brought with him. He ended up leaving shortly afterwards, and KM has now employed a trombonist from the UK who has taken over the brass section. The Sunshine Orchestra students spend several evenings a week practicing at KM and rehearse extensively on Saturdays. According to the website:

> Once equipped with the requisite skills, endowed with confidence, they can explore opportunities to build a career in music, as teachers or as performers […] Music, as a subject, imbibes a strong focus on time management and builds key educational skills like numeracy and literacy. The practice routine required to study an instrument fosters a sense of responsibility that aids in all areas of the child's development.

This resonates closely with many of the typical narratives mobilised about Western art music including those by the OMB in which it is seen to contribute to personal development and discipline as well as fostering transferrable and vocational skills. Moreover, the Foundation website implies Western art music education can facilitate social mobility by providing exposure to an international network of Western musicians: 'They benefit from the exposure to global cultural trends through their interactions with eminent international musicians and learning from them [thus] diluting communal and cultural differences' (AR Rahman Foundation: online). Indeed, as the Foundation states: 'There are a few things that strike a chord […], the greatest one of them all - with the power to dissolve boundaries - is music' (AR Rahman Foundation: online).

At a more local level, the Foundation states: 'The children get a better understanding of their own cultural identity through the exploration of Indian musical traditions'. Here, the Foundation is referring to film and Indian folk music arranged for string orchestra that the Sunshine Orchestra performs. I sat in on some of the Sunshine Orchestra's rehearsals and also saw them perform at KM Day in 2015. The students I observed were around grade 4-6 standard, consisted of 4 cellists and 5 violinists, and performed music by Vivaldi. The Sunshine Orchestra can be seen in this clip performing a piece called *Merasoli*; the recording is, however, obviously dubbed.[88] They can also be seen playing at *The Hindu Lit for Life*, 2018 at Sir Mutha Concert Hall, Chennai.[89] Not only does the Orchestra introduce students to Western music, but it also exposes them to

[88] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AAVvg_I83UI.
[89] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGrwvXqslLc.

local musical traditions and techniques.[90] Members of the Orchestra perform Indian-inspired music and use unique technical approaches to playing Western bowed-string instruments to perform *gamakas* in ways akin to those found in Carnatic violin performance and Indian film music. What is interesting to note here is the revival and revitalisation of Indian cultural forms through the lens of the symphony orchestra, performance practices drawn from Western art music, and Western epistemology.

In contrast to the orientation of OMB's students to the uniformed services and church music, Sunshine Orchestra members are oriented primarily towards the film industry and have no explicit connections with Christianity.[91] The importance of striking a balance between the various tensions that surround Western art music in Chennai was made clear by Joseph. Joseph had suggested to Rahman: ''Let's rent out a church [as a performance space]', and Rahman was like 'no you don't want to feed that perception that this is Christian music''. This indicates the tensions that surround musical outreach in contemporary India, and the ways in which the Sunshine Orchestra operates at the intersection of colonial legacy, religious tension, contemporary demands of the film and music industries, as well as reflecting changes in consumer taste. At the same time, the Orchestra and Western art music education are conceptualised as offering a musical and cultural experience that transcends local and global boundaries.

An illustration of the problematic ways in which the Foundation mobilises Western art music is provided in a promotional video. This 'cinematic' introduction published on YouTube in 2013 begins with AR Rahman asking:

> What makes us behave differently to the underprivileged, and why we don't find a common ground to celebrate life? It is mostly true that every worldly possession is a wall to our spiritual freedom. When we shared those meaningfully we are enlightened with our known virtues which is life-changing. Like how cooking something nice is not the same as sharing it with others. So this is one such story which started 4 years ago. I realised that music is one thing that can change lives.[92]

[90] This is not dissimilar to the INYOC's aim to revive Indian musical traditions through the orchestra.
[91] The Sunshine Orchestra can be seen performing a classic Bollywood piece here: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/entertainment/tamil/music/Sunshine-orchestra-recreates-Narumugaiye/articleshow/50531279.cms.
[92] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jr9_xvfr6bI.

In this extract, Rahman mobilises the transformational and salvific potential of Western art music and orchestral playing and the need to share experiences with others. The video includes interviews with parents alongside scenes of children performing in their own homes. The following scene is typical of those found throughout the footage. A father states: 'About 4 years back, my son had got an opportunity to learn music from the AR Rahman Foundation. We have no knowledge about music. We only listen and enjoy. My son is now learning the cello. We saw a cello for the first time when he started. Now he is in the finishing stages of it'. The video then cuts to a scene of the man's son playing the cello whilst his father, a *dhobi* (or washerman), is seen ironing clothes with a traditional metal iron common in many poorer Indian households. Other scenes introduce parents who describe their occupations as a tea seller, a tailor, and a housemaid which are then juxtaposed against their children playing violin, cello, or double-bass. In one interview, a woman says 'I wish they [children] don't have a hard life like us [parents], they should become successful'. In another scene, a grandmother comments 'At nights, during the family prayer time, Ebi sits with us and plays the violin. His mum, dad and everybody feels very happy listening to him play.' The clip then shows the students of the Sunshine Orchestra being taken to AM Studios in Chennai with grandiose, cinematic music playing in the background. Above this, AR Rahman can be heard stating 'the journey has just begun'. The students are then shown rehearsing a piece entitled *Romanza*. The video is interspersed with images of what are, presumably, a professional orchestra, made up mainly of white men in dinner jackets. The scene contrasts with footage of the students in their own homes, emphasising the opportunities awaiting them that may provide a route out of their current socioeconomic position. The cinematic music (that all sounds particularly Western) adds to the sense that the project is providing an important public service.

When the video is unpacked, an extremely complex set of mobilisations and narratives emerge: Western art music is promoted through ideas of progress, modernity, and social mobility and images such as the international symphony orchestra are contrasted with the local environment of parents, playing into neo-colonial discourses identified by Baker (2014, 2016). It is clear that the footage is intended to conflate the orchestra with notions of success, social mobility, modernity and access to local and global music networks, set against the children's home environments that are presented as parochial and traditional. The juxtaposition between the children's musical lives and the working lives of their parents plays on the narratives of salvation and civilising influences mobilised about the Orchestra as well as Western art music.

The implication is that learning Western art music and belonging to the Orchestra will ensure a brighter future for these children, facilitating upward social mobility.

Whilst such an educational endeavour may have resonances with colonial projects and ideas of cultural hegemony, such narratives are complicated by the very real desires of parents – regardless of how these have been manipulated in marketing – who wish to give their children the best opportunities they can. Rahman's status in India would undoubtedly have an influence on parents' motivations to be involved with the project. It cannot be stressed strongly enough that Rahman is an extremely successful, wealthy and iconic local superstar with international connections, and having the opportunity to be involved with a project associated with him cannot be anything but beneficial. This basic impulse is what draws together parents' motivations articulated in the footage and acts as a primary motivator for their children's involvement with Western art music rather than any intrinsic interest in the music itself. The marketing strategies employed can be seen as an attempt to develop a socially relevant and viable musical project that parents, donors and the media can buy into, one that draws on its significance and relationship with various ecologies, including Rahman's status, Western hegemony, and the adaption of Western ideology to local contexts.

The development of vocational skills is an important objective of the Sunshine Orchestra. This is partly framed by employment opportunities provided by the film music industry, and the need to develop musicians who can play and record film scores. I conducted an interview with Muruga, the Orchestra's mentor, in the recording studios of KM, impressively decked out with sound-proofing, a large mixing desk and recording room. According to Muruga, session players can earn as much as INR 2,500 (£27.00) per session, with many musicians getting more than two weeks work a month, and can earn as much as INR 10,000-15,000 (£110-165.00) per day. Discussing the aims of the outreach project, Muruga states:

> The outreach programme is one which will help them to get a livelihood from music. They come from an economically weaker section, so this could be their life. But not just that, it serves everybody, the music itself, younger people picking up instruments, and of course they will start learning.

In a similar way to those I interviewed at the OMB, Muruga draws on a cyclical narrative in which the learning and performance of Western art music will be continued

by the students of the Sunshine Orchestra, thus carrying on the aims and objectives of the project. AR Rahman also draws on the narrative of 'giving back', commenting:

> I guess that's what old age does to you! [laughs] But I am at a place now where I have my other earnings and so I wanted to do this. Even if I fail, it is fine. It's also a way to create things that help me connect. (cited in Krupa, 2013)

Muruga's statement that the orchestra could be a means of livelihood for students resonates with the decision to select children from economically underprivileged backgrounds. This decision was as much influenced by pragmatism as altruism. For AR Rahman, underprivileged children are more motivated and dedicated to the Orchestra than their privileged peers. He states: 'the decision of staying loyal to the art of strings playing – I never trusted that a kid from an upper middle-class family would be in it' (Nk, 2015). What AR Rahman is articulating is that a student from an affluent middle-class family will have too many other distractions and employment options, and that they will not dedicate enough time and effort to the Orchestra for it to be successful. In a similar vein, Shrimath,[93] a violin teacher in his fifties working with the Sunshine Orchestra, felt:

> The richer class don't want to come sit in the orchestra and play. I deal with a lot of children. Richer children don't want to come. Their importance is given to something else. They are all from richer class of people, so [they think of music] more of a hobby rather than profession. We are making the poorer children as a profession. Richer class cannot sit more than an hour. I'm dealing with a lot of lawyers, accountants, teaching them […] their progress is very slow. The Sunshine Orchestra is very good, they come for 5, 6 hours and learn.

A complex set of issues coexist in these narratives. On the one hand, poorer students are given an opportunity that could be transformational, affording them a career in music. On the other, they are chosen because their socioeconomic background has already limited their opportunities and makes them ideal students who are dedicated, motivated and committed. They serve very well the aims and objectives of the project as well as AR Rahman's vision of developing a successful, home-grown orchestra. In

[93] Shrimath had been educated at a Jesuit college, performed with the Madras Chamber Orchestra, and had recorded film scores with AR Rahman.

addition, these comments also raise questions about the status of musicians in a similar way to the OMB; whilst having a career in music may be seen as a career path that improves the social status of poorer students, it may be less attractive to affluent students who have many more options.

For AR Rahman, the project also reflects his desire to keep the tradition of string playing alive in India. String orchestras were widely used in film music recordings, but since the 1980s and the development of digital instruments and recording techniques, they have fallen into decline (Morcom, 2014; Booth, 2008; Beaster-Jones, 2016). AR Rahman states:

> Our session orchestra has really been amazing, but I never saw anybody who wanted their sons or daughters to become musicians. The children all became doctors or engineers… so they worked very hard to ensure that their kids didn't take up music which I thought was a good thing but not good for music (Rahman's Sunshine Orchestra, 2015).

AR Rahman emphasises the dearth of Indian string players, and the lack of interest in music as a profession amongst the affluent middle-classes, reaffirming the lowly status of music, as well as his desire to revive orchestral practices. This was corroborated by Shrimath who described AR Rahman's interest in developing string players:

> [AR Rahman] knows that in future the string section in India will go away […] They are all taking up the keyboard instrument. Very few are taking up string. They don't come in the professional way, so he wants to bring-up the symphony orchestra in India.

Similarly, Muruga stated:

> I do not see young persons taking up [acoustic] instruments. They are difficult of course. We do not have an [acoustic] orchestra. Say in another 10 years these acoustic instruments will perhaps get extinct. […] So reviving [them] in that point of time will be difficult. Now motivated by these children, by these kids [Sunshine Orchestra], maybe we'll see more come in.

The revivalist connotations in the quotes above align with Bithell and Hill's definition of music revival:

> A music revival comprises an effort to perform and promote music that is valued as old or historical and is usually perceived to be threatened or moribund. Generally speaking, revival efforts engage a number of intertwined processes and issues (2014: 3).

In the case of the Sunshine Orchestra, Western art music education is not solely used to revive Western art music, but to resurrect the tradition of string orchestral playing in Indian film music, perceived to be under threat from technological developments and the proliferation of digital instruments and recording techniques.[94]

Another narrative that AR Rahman emphasises is the need for a home-grown, self-sufficient music industry that is not reliant on foreign musicians. He states:

> We are talking about India and India has 1.3 billion people living in it. Why should we go to some other country? I actually want musicians from other countries to come and record here. Of course, there are certain things we should share with the world […] We shouldn't be dependent on them […] we should be independent (Rahman's Sunshine Orchestra, 2015).

Here, the self-sufficiency of the music industry AR Rahman is talking about becomes a source of national pride as well as being emblematic of India's growing global stature. Morcom (2013) has described the international repute and status of AR Rahman as representative of India's global position. AR Rahman is mobilising self-sufficiency in the music industry as an example of India's growing global and independent stature. In an interesting confluence, the modernity associated with the symphony orchestra is linked with an increasingly global and independent India that in turn resonates with earlier nationalist and protectionist discourses that characterised the post-independence era.

Joseph adopted a more cynical view that foregrounded economic expediency:

> My theory is that these guys [older string players employed in the film industry] are getting old and are not going to be around forever. If you've got to have an orchestra, if you don't have one here, you go to Eastern Europe but that's more expensive. These

[94] Perhaps ironically, AR Rahman was a pioneer of using digital techniques in film music. Interestingly, we see an inversion of the 'restorative nostalgia' that Beckles Willson (2013) speaks of in relation to Western art music educators in Ramallah – confronted with a sense of potential 'loss' through the digitisation of film music, Rahman employs revivalist tactics.

> people [Indian musicians] make 3,000 Rupees per session. Let's say it's three days, that's 9,000 Rupees times 20 people. These guys don't make any royalties. For a music director it makes a lot of sense to want to have an orchestra here.

Whilst this is anecdotal, given the current state of the film music industry and the relatively low costs of hiring Indian musicians, Joseph's statement may hold weight and again adds another commercial dimension to an already complicated social venture.[95]

Reflections on the Sunshine Orchestra

As was seen with the OMB, the music education offered by the Sunshine Orchestra is influenced by a complex set of relations and interactions. The musical history of Chennai and the importance of string orchestras in Indian film music have encouraged revivalist mobilisations of Western art music education amongst proponents such as AR Rahman, as well as influencing the motivations of those involved. This mobilisation has as much to do with the Indian film industry as it does with Western art music. The selection of orchestral members from less affluent socioeconomic backgrounds, as well as the motivations of students and parents, shape the ethos of the Sunshine Orchestra. Parents draw on a very real desire to give their children the opportunity to 'escape' the socioeconomic conditions of their family; the success of the Sunshine Orchestra has as much to do with the economic realities of people's lives as it does with notions of Western cultural hegemony. Students are selected not only for altruistic purposes in order to offer them the opportunity to develop vocational skills, but also for pragmatic reasons – they are considered to have fewer educational and career opportunities than their more well-to-do peers and as a result will be more motivated and dedicated. The significance of Western art music in the context of the Sunshine Orchestra indicate both the influence of broader linked ecologies, abyssal thinking as well as the agency and sense-making that individuals, groups and institutions engage with.

Concluding thoughts

The two case studies indicate the ways in which Western art music as a form of philanthropy is reframed in contemporary, metropolitan India, serving to nuance some of the more critical attitudes to the proliferation of Western art music programmes in postcolonial countries (Beckles Willson, 2013; Baker, 2014; 2016; Rosabal-Coto,

[95] Indeed, the Symphony Orchestra of India employs Kazakhstani musicians due to a dearth of Indian musicians.

2016). A reductive analysis of the interrelationships in which Western art music is embedded is inadequate in grasping the multi-layered sets of relations and interactions of such endeavours. Whilst the two institutions occupy different cultural and geographic spaces, the narratives deployed and their approach to Western art music education is strikingly similar. Both are primarily concerned with the education of students from poorer economic backgrounds, and draw on narratives of social mobility, vocational skills, moral development, salvation and the transformative potential of Western art music. The significance of this music is shaped not only by these broader discourses, but also by the situational sets of relations and interactions that surround and are generated by Western art music. Both institutions and the respondents position Western art music in relation to multiple ecologies, relating it to economic factors, job markets, music histories, and social status. Thus, Western art music reflects market demand for musicians with Western art music training in the film industry, as function musicians, in the uniformed services, and in private music schools in India's metropolitan cities. Fundamentally linked to this, participants also illustrate their aspirations for a 'better' life and the significance of Western art music education in achieving this. Through this mobilisation, the institutions and those involved draw on discourses, relations and interactions that simultaneously serve to reaffirm and blur the problematic binaries that surround this music. These include notions of old and new, tradition and modernity, local and global, rich and poor, India and the West, self and other, and structure and agency.

5. Western art music, affluent middle-class parents and Bangalore School of Music

The Bangalore School of Music is housed in a relatively modern building. It was originally run from the founder's bungalow in Fraser Town (another affluent suburb of Bengaluru) but moved to its present location in the mid-1990s due to increasing demand for music education. As I entered daily, I would sign my name in the visitors' book whilst exchanging pleasantries with the security guard in a mix of Kannada and English. I would then ascend some stairs to be welcomed by the receptionist who would offer me tea or coffee. The reception area took up most of the first floor and was covered in posters of past and upcoming events performed by Indian and international musicians. To the right was a waiting room and to the left, an office and the principal's room. Up another flight of stairs on the second floor were numerous practice rooms. The biggest housed a grand piano and an impressive array of VHS and DVDs of BSM performances, including the annual 'East-West concerts' that programmed both Western art music and Indian classical music. On the top floor was a large rehearsal space, and two guest rooms for visiting Indian and international musicians. On the ground floor was the auditorium – an impressive concert hall in which students performed every month, and which hosted concerts by professional musicians from around the world. Amongst the concerts I attended were a flamenco concert by a visiting Dutch guitarist, a clarinet trio featuring an American clarinettist, an American violist and an Indian pianist, and a flute and piano duo from Mumbai who performed Mozart and Bach.

In recent years, interest in Western music education has grown amongst India's affluent middle classes in metropolitan cities. All the music schools that hosted me during the course of this research were oversubscribed, with a shortage of teachers and space. In this chapter, I explore the motivations and experiences of affluent, middle-class parents whose children are involved with Western art music education at Bangalore School of Music (BSM). The literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3.1 has shown that Western art music has been mobilised in a variety of ways by Indian and non-Western communities both within and outside India that simultaneously destabilises and reaffirms discourses associated with this music. This has been influenced by the interaction and relations between a variety of economic, ideological, musical, and technological ecologies. I have also shown that the Indian middle-classes both historically and in the present draw on a complex range of motives, influences and meanings to make sense of their identity that again problemetises a reductive analysis

of their identity and engagement with Western art music (see Joshi, 2017 and my Chapter 2). Chapter 4 has shown Western art music holds significance for those involved with philanthropic projects, indicating a complex sense-making process. Building on this literature and my empirical data, I argue that affluent middle-class parents make sense of their involvement with Western art music through a configuration of narratives, motives, meanings, and influences that overlap with the above. However, they also indicate how they make sense of Western art music in situational and interactive ways that also differentiate their engagement. In order to understand this configuration, I focus on notions of affluence and global orientation; vocational and transferable skills; moral development and discipline; and the interaction of 'Western' and 'Indian' philosophies.

Backgrounds

The parents interviewed came from a variety of backgrounds and had diverse experiences of music. Jyoti, Leela and Madhu described themselves as non-resident Indians – Indian citizens who had lived and worked abroad for extended periods of time. Jyoti worked in the health sector and had lived in the US for 15 years where she had completed her bachelor's degree. She had recently returned to Bengaluru and her daughter was learning piano at BSM. Leela had spent the past 20 years in Bengaluru although she had spent time in Canada. She described herself as a 'housewife.' Both her daughters were enrolled at BSM – one was studying violin and viola and the other piano. Madhu had spent 5 years in the US before returning to India. Her son and daughter learnt violin at BSM. Gavin, originally from Chennai, described owning his own business. His son was a piano student at BSM. Lalita was an Carnatic classical musician based in Bengaluru. She was originally from Chennai but had lived in Bengaluru for the past 20 years. Her daughter was enrolled at BSM and studied piano and voice as well as Hindustani and Carnatic classical music. Anindita was a university lecturer and had lived in the city most of her adult life but was originally from the North-East of India. Manju had moved to Bengaluru 15 years ago and her daughter was enrolled at BSM. Daniel had a Master's degree in Business Administration and was involved in various businesses in the city. His daughter, Stephanie, was enrolled at BSM studying violin. Sarasvati had grown up in Mumbai and had attended a convent school. Her two daughters were studying voice at BSM. I also interviewed Catherine, a piano teacher and accompanist at BSM who came from a Christian background and had grown up learning piano and performing in church. Swetha, another piano teacher and accompanist at BSM, came from a Hindu background, but had been educated at

convent schools in Indonesia and India. All the participants were female apart from Gavin and Daniel, and all had a Hindu background apart from Catherine, Daniel, and Gavin. Respondents were aged between thirty and fifty. The interest in Western art music amongst affluent middle-class Hindus suggests interest has grown beyond communities traditionally associated with this music such as the Parsis, Portuguese-Goans and Christian communities.[96] In relation to contemporary India and the rise of Hindu nationalism, the decision of these Hindu, middle-class parents to be involved with Western art music is curious although, as Joshi (2017) notes, Hindu nationalism and globalised capitalism go hand in hand.

All parents had limited exposure to Western art music and their children were the first to study it in their families. Saraswati had been a member of her convent school choir but had received no formal training in Western art music. She had, however, received some training in Carnatic music but stated she would have preferred to have learnt Western art music. Jyoti had learnt Hindustani classical music for around nine months as a child but had no experience of Western music education. She informed me that no other members of her family had been involved with music education. Lalita was a professional Carnatic classical musician but had no exposure to Western art music prior to her daughter's enrolment at KM. Gavin, Daniel and Catherine had exposure to Western art music through Christianity. Gavin noted that his father, brother and uncle were involved in Chennai's film music and Western art music scenes, and that he had learnt organ as a child. Catherine had similarly been exposed to Western art music during her childhood through her local church, where she had learnt to play piano and organ and accompanied choirs and services. Whilst many in her family had learnt Western art music, Catherine was the only one to pursue a music career. Swetha had spent several years during her childhood in Indonesia and had learnt piano at her convent school. She explained that at that time (during the early 1980s) more Indonesian children learnt Western art music than their peers in India. This had informed her parents' motivation for her continuing to study Western art music when they returned to India; whilst she was raised a Hindu, she described being enrolled at a local convent school where she was taught by Irish nuns.

[96] It is interesting that none of the parents interviewed came from Muslim, Sikh or Buddhist backgrounds. This is not to say parents from these communities have no involvement with Western art music (indeed AR Rahman, a Muslim convert, founded KM Music Conservatory) but that I came across few parents from these religions involved with Western art music.

Affluence, global orientation and technology

All the parents interviewed noted an increased interest in Western art music amongst affluent middle-class Indians as well as a growth in the number of music schools. For Catherine, this increased interest is indicative of growing financial stability amongst middle-class Indians:

> A lot more people can afford music lessons. I know when I was growing up my sister and I did piano, but now it seems like more people can afford it. I think in Bangalore the average middle crowd […] earn quite a lot of money, where they can send their children to music, and then art, and things like sport. I see very few families having to sacrifice to send their child to music.

Whilst expensive compared with Indian classical music education, all respondents noted that accessibility to Western art music had increased dramatically. Daniel, who had lived in Bengaluru all his life, described how interest was expanding beyond communities traditionally associated with this music:

> The opportunities for learning have grown a lot. We are seeing a lot of posters, cultural centres, schools. There is a lot more exposure. Predominantly it was the Christians involved, but other communities are getting involved. The Hindu communities are also getting into it through socialising and the social awareness that is happening.

Daniel's suggestion – along with others – is that interest in this music is expanding beyond the communities traditionally associated with it. For Anindita, Bengaluru's cosmopolitan demographic has been influenced by Western culture:

> Here people connect to the West a lot more, there is a comfort with the language. The media plays an important role, we connect more with the Western and global cultures too. In Bangalore you can see the influence of Western classical music […] I've been in Bangalore past 22 years, accessibility, awareness, the media is there, the language is there.

Anindita highlights the contrast between metropolitan centres like Bengaluru and other areas in India.[97] Similarly, Lalita noted the adoption of a more 'broadminded' attitude:

> More it's coming out of the interest, and the opportunities are available in schools like this [BSM]. So there is a stage for children to perform. Now there's a more broadminded kind of thinking that has allowed this to get assimilated with our kind of living.

Sarasvati also described changes in attitude towards Western art music: 'Everybody is more exposed now, it's a seamless world, there are no borders. Everybody is more accepting of different cultures. When I grew up, it was unheard of [for] a South Indian girl to learn Western music.'[98] She continued:

> For me it doesn't matter now, people are more accepting – Hindustani, Carnatic whatever. People want to give children as much as they can, they want to invest in their education.

These quotes might be symptomatic of an increasing cosmopolitanism and interest in global cultural forms as identified by Derné (2014) and Beaster-Jones (2016) as leading to a change in ideology and consumption amongst the middle-classes. Lalita also makes an insightful comment on the way Western art music fits in with her conception of Indian middle-class life in metropolitan cities. She goes on to state: 'Western classical was something we didn't have, we were not so exposed to the Western in general, we were more seeped into the Indian tradition – Carnatic music, not even Hindustani – but now Western fits more.' For many respondents, Western art music becomes associated with modern, metropolitan *Indian* middle-class life. Both Anindita and Lalita make sense of their involvement with Western art music through the sets of relations and interactions that surround it i.e. 'global thinking' and increasing affluence.

Linked to affluence and global orientations, technology was also noted by participants as having a transformational effect, encouraging transcultural exchange. Lalita suggests:

> The internet has a huge part to play. There's so much information available […] It was very useful, very easy […] What I am also

[97] It should be noted that all respondents spoke fluent English.
[98] There is a tradition of Hindu girls learning Indian classical music to enhance marriage prospects (Bakhle, 2005).

> seeing is a lot of Indian classical musicians showing some interest in learning this music.

Merry also described changes resulting from exposure through media:

> 20, 25 years ago, we didn't have the internet or that many TV channels. What was happening around them was Indian music. But now a lot more people [are] exposed to Western music. They are more aware, there are shows like American Idol, Britain's Got Talent, things like that.[99] It opens people's minds to accepting other forms of music.

The importance of the internet in transcultural exchange has been discussed in Chapter 2. Catherine also highlighted greater awareness and accessibility as a result of wider internet availability and usage. She felt this led to a shift away from students 'just wanting to learn piano and guitar, [to a desire] to learn violin, viola, double bass, flute' and so on. Thus, the internet led to greater awareness of the breadth and range of Western art music education. Such comments suggest the expansion of Western art music amongst the Indian middle-classes is relatively recent and is linked to increased affluence and exposure and changes in ideology. Respondents pointed towards generational changes in attitude towards music in general and Western art music in particular, with the latter gaining greater acceptance and legitimacy amongst the affluent middle-classes. Madhu, for example, described differences in her and her children's musical tastes as a result of time spent in the US: 'I only know Hindustani and Carnatic, I thought they'd like it too but they didn't connect with the music, they said 'it's not our kind of music'. This coincides with a general opening up of the economy and the expansion of free-market enterprise in India. Changes in advertising during the 1980s spurred interest in Western cultural forms, and saw the emergence of an increasingly affluent middle-class with a global orientation (Mazzarella 2003).[100] Merry suggests interest in Western art music is symptomatic of a broader change in outlook amongst middle-class Indians, resonating with increasing cosmopolitanism through interaction with foreign media. This trend has been extended and, arguably, intensified by increased internet penetration and use of smart phones (Beaster-Jones, 2016; Deo, 2015). The increase in access to Western art music is related by

[99] Indeed, there are now numerous talent shows hosted by Indian TV channels. See http://www.carnaticmusicidol.com/ and *India's Got Talent* (see https://en-gb.facebook.com/indiasgottalent/).
[100] Also see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b6AY4GPLyP4.

participants to three key concepts: cosmopolitanism, affluence and technological developments.

In conjunction with the above, Swetha and Catherine suggested that parental interest was borne out of a degree of neighbourly competition which resonates with notions of cultural and social capital (see Bourdieu, 1983). Catherine commented:

> People talk with their neighbours, she plays violin and golf […] I personally teach a couple of parents who are so competitive. They are like, 'what is that child doing, what level are they at. My child goes to this school and does this' […] Keeping up with the Jones': 'my neighbour does it so I have to do it'.

Manju supported this assertion stating: 'I live in an apartment society. Everyone is doing this or that, so we want our child to have the same opportunities'. Madhu also related increasing demand and interest in Western art music to greater affluence and the development of what she described as the competitiveness of 'apartment society':

> I had a middle-class upbringing, and my class mates listened to George Michael. Now you go to any school with middle-class or upper class [people] and everybody is aware of the world music composers. If it wasn't there in my high-end school, it wouldn't have been anywhere apart from Christian convents. Now every school has lots of children learning. I live in an apartment society where 80% are learning music and 60% are learning western instruments.

Daniel's daughter studied violin and was in her second year at BSM working towards ABRSM Grade 3 and performing in various ensembles at the school. Her music-making was part of a hectic weekly schedule, typical of an increasing number of activities middle-class children are involved with. Daniel notes:

> She starts her day at 7.45 and gets ready for school. At 2.45 she swims for an hour. She leaves at 4 and is back home by 5. She then has a break to play with friends for an hour. Then she is back to homework. On Saturdays, that's the only time for music. She practices a bit, maybe 10 minutes a day. We can push her a bit, but it's an extracurricular thing.

The increasing number of activities middle-class children are involved with has been identified by Gilbertson (2014) as indicative of a growing internationalism and global orientation. Swetha suggested the number of expatriates and non-resident Indians (NRIs) returning from periods abroad had led to an increased demand for Western art music education. When describing the motivations of NRIs, Swetha stated:

> So they've seen the Western classical music outside India and they are a bit posh and their children study in fancy schools and it's very expensive. And then there are just, I guess, upper-class parents who live around here and they just want to keep up with the Jones'.

This is linked to increasing affluence and competition amongst parents resulting in children being involved in increasing numbers of extracurricular activities. Sarasvati described parents' willingness to invest large amounts of money in children's education:

> Parents are a lot more educated and willing to be involved. They are also watching others […] everybody's watching, everybody wants to give children everything they can. Look at the IB syllabus [international baccalaureate], parents are willing to pay a [INR 1] lakh [c. £1,000] a month to get their child into an IB programme.

Similarly, Daniel described the importance of NRIs in the burgeoning Western art music scenes in Bengaluru:

> Bangalore is very cosmopolitan, lot of people are travelling abroad, then coming back. Education has helped, people have a pretty high literacy rate over here, so they come out and look at things apart from just academics, in sports or arts.

This was in part the case for Madhu, whose children were the first in her family to learn Western art music. She describes the importance of her experiences in the US in her motivations for enrolling her children at BSM: 'We were abroad for 5 years in America and we got it from there. Schooling was happening there, near Boston, and they had classmates who learnt violin.' Indeed, Leela described the international opportunities her daughter enjoyed at BSM:

> She has already played for events and was a member of the

> INYOC. She got the opportunity to go to Canada and play with NYOC [National Youth Orchestra of Canada]. They played Shostakovich, she got the exposure to playing repertoire, she wouldn't have had a chance of here. She went to the Commonwealth games in Scotland and played as part of culture exchange in 2014.

It is clear that Leela's daughter had participated in international networks through music, reminding us of the global cachet and relevance that Western art music has for these parents. Thus, parents see music as a form of social capital both in relation to 'keeping up with the Jones'' but also as a way of engaging with transnational communities and experiences. Parallels can be drawn here with the colonial Indian middle-classes who had travelled abroad and been influenced by Western culture, subsequently adopting a self-Orientalist view of Indian culture as 'unclean' and 'backward' (see Joshi, 2017; Sreejith, 2013).

Indeed, this was reflected in the increased competition and desperation for places at music schools like BSM. Lalita stated:

> the interest wasn't there. Now more and more people want to learn […] For the younger generation they really want to get into it. There's a queue of people waiting […] Where this school [BSM] is concerned, I remember when I had tried sometime back, this was maybe 7-8 years ago, even then there was a wait.

The competition for places in music schools was also noted by Manju and Anindita. Manju noted: 'People are coming from far-off places – places like Whitefield, Chinagar.' Similarly, Anindita stated:

> I've seen parents travelling 20km to get to BSM. Bangalore was not planned as a developed city; the traffic is terrible. Some of them travel at least one and a half hours to get to BSM. I have not come across a school like this anywhere else, not with a formal set-up like this. I don't even want to move to another place, BSM will be too far.

Many of the parents implied that their children learnt Western art music to enhance job prospects and support their applications to university. Swetha stated that 'now a lot of metro children are looking to go abroad for their studies, and some colleges give extra

things for Western classical'. This was a view shared by many parents who perceived Western art music as having a global cachet that would enhance their children's prospects. Daniel, Anindita, and Leela stated that their children were going to continue with music but mainly as a 'hobby'. For example, Leela explained: 'We think of it as a more serious hobby.' Leela informed me that her daughter was studying for a bachelor's degree in Metallurgy and Material Science at the Indian Institute of Technology in Mumbai, one of India's premier higher education institutions. She emphasised that whilst her daughter would not pursue music as a career, it would play a significant part in her future life.

Similarly, Anindita described her son not taking music further so he could focus on his academic work. He had been learning classical guitar for 5 years but had given up when he entered 10th standard. Anindita stated:

> Here academic pressures are very high. He is more into academics, that is what he is focusing on. He loves music and he keeps listening. He loves the teachers here also, but I don't see it as lifelong thing. Even though capabilities are good there [for her son to take up music professionally], but here the set-up is different […] 95% of [success is achieved] in certain academic fields [like science]. The struggle is too much when they are in music. Some of them do it, but only some of them who make it there are very big […] With music there is more competition, life is less easy. In music you have to be politically right, you have to know more people.

Broader changes in employment opportunities were significant factors for parents. Anindita continued that she was 'not against music, but seeing the probability of success in life, [they need] a career of their own that gives them good decent earnings… My youngest son is good at maths, chemistry and computers so he is going for engineering.' Similarly, Daniel spoke of the difficulty of pursuing a career in Western art music:

> There is not much scope for artists like this. Sports and academics are the priority but the option is there if she wants to pursue it. We have a pure interest in academics and then we are interested towards arts after that. As a profession people are looking at sports, sports is a big thing, people have taken to it as a

> profession. The arts is catching up but maybe that will happen in a few years' time.

In these parents' comments, Western art music is predominantly mobilised as an extracurricular activity that generates cultural and social capital rather than an activity that might improve one's economic position. They refer to the economic challenges of pursuing a musical career that contrasts with the views of participants explored in Chapter 4. This points towards the class differences between these parents and their less affluent peers. The position of these parents can be contrasted with those of the Sunshine Orchestra in several important ways. Rather than looking to music education as a way to improve their financial prospects, these middle-class parents mobilise music predominantly as an extracurricular option believing it will be less lucrative than other career options. This resonates with the view highlighted in the previous chapter that children from the affluent middle-classes have more employment options, and therefore will not be as committed to music education as those from poorer backgrounds, viewing it perhaps as a hobby rather than their main source of income. From another perspective, these parents are in many ways adopting similar positions to the parents from poorer backgrounds; both sets of parents are trying to negotiate what they feel will be best for their children and their career prospects.

Moral development, discipline and education

In addition to an expression of global orientation, parents mobilised Western art music as a way to instil discipline and develop social and cognitive skills, in line with notions of moral development and resonating with the previous chapter's mobilisation of the salvific qualities of Western art music. Anindita was an Associate Professor of Architecture, had a masters in Urban and Regional Planning, and had previously run a consultancy practice before having a family. Her husband's family had an interest in classical music traditions from around the world, but were mainly interested in Indian classical music. Anindita notes the values she felt were generated through a Western art music education:

> I always feel anything that is organised is always good; calm set up and organised way of presenting yourself makes kids into better human beings […] I'm looking at it as an education and something which makes people good human beings. The kind of appreciation I get for my eldest son, and I've seen him very different from the other kids who are not interested in such formal

> training. Right from the beginning there's a calm way of training.

Daniel, too, felt that the discipline of learning an instrument would aid the mental development of his daughter: 'I thought the instrument would help in some way, I thought it would help her in her younger days, mentally help her with life further on […] The training experience is just an interest, we've taken it more to support her in other areas of life.' Daniel, like Anindita, viewed music education as an extracurricular activity that would enhance mental development and discipline, rather than something to pursue for its own sake or as a career. This resonates with the moral development discourse mobilised in Chapter 4; engaging in Western art music can instil discipline, is good for cognitive development, and can offer moral 'nourishment.'

The association of Western art music with 'progressiveness', 'open-mindedness' and 'modernity' was also mobilised by Anindita in relation to the social relationships between students and teachers:

> The teachers here [at BSM] are very sweet and nice. In a traditional Indian set-up they do not present themselves in a sweet way, they are very strict. The moment it comes in that tone then teenagers protest to anything, then the capability or interest in a subject gets less. It [Western music education] fits better with teenagers, they don't like being told what to do. It's a modern education, they can interact with the teachers.

Anindita highlights the tension between perceptions of the strictness of 'traditional Indian education' and what she views as the modern and progressive style delivered at BSM (similar themes are explored in Chapter 7). For her, the pedagogic approach of Western art music is more suited to modern living, citing differences in the social relationships between students and teachers. These themes are also explored in Chapter 6 in the experiences of students and teachers at KM. This has problematic connotations; Western styles of teaching were associated with modernity and the civilising mission of the colonial era, and there is the implication of cultural hegemony of Western-style education and its suitability to contemporary Indian life. However, Anindita did not feel her decision to enrol her son at BSM was influenced by Western values, but rather by her Brahmin background that placed great value on education. She described learning music as a more general form of education:

> I come from Brahmin community. Brahmins are the educated

> class, advisors to the kings. My family, they take it as education, music is education, and they see this [Western art music] as one more along with Carnatic or the Hindustani.

There is an interesting inversion here. Daniel described how learning music was part of Christian community life: 'Orthodox Christians are into European stuff. The language is part of that religion so you learn something in their culture. For Brahmin communities, they start learning flute, Carnatic music, sitar' (also see Bakhle, 2005). There is a temptation to consider the growing interest in Western art music as primarily the result of globalisation, the interconnectedness of global networks, increased affluence and cosmopolitanism. Whilst these aspects are significant for Western art music scenes in India, for Anindita her decision was also influenced by her Brahmin upbringing, indicating the ways in which traditional Brahmin attitudes towards education are recast and reframed in relation to Western art music in metropolitan cities.

The above is another way in which complex narratives interact in parental motivations to study music.[101] The moral and mental development that Anindita sees conceptualised in Western art music is often associated with Victorian attitudes towards music education, but these are also found within Brahmin philosophy, again blurring the boundaries between the binaries of 'East' and 'West'. It could be argued that Anindita's comments also raise the spectre of caste differences in India. On the one hand, learning Western art music is a signifier of her caste as well as her class. However, it also suggests that Western art music can become a site where the boundaries of caste and class can become blurred, particularly in relation to the less affluent participants explored in the previous chapter.[102]

Shared experience and reciprocal learning

For parents, studying Western art music was not just about accruing social and cultural capital for the purpose of exchange value as well as vocational and transferable skills for their children. For many, their children's involvement with Western art music was a

[101] Stevens and Sapra (2007) have argued that secularism so closely associated with Western modernity has a long history in India and that the notion that 'open-mindedness' is exclusively a Western aspiration is flawed.

[102] There is some resonance here with Dalit conversions to Christianity and Islam as a way to escape the discrimination of the caste system. The application of Brahmin thought to Western cultural forms is not new. With the spread of Christianity, western musical practices became a significant factor in the worship of India's Christian populations, and Brahmin theology became an important part of Tamil Christian theology (see Wolf and Sherinian, 2000), used to distinguish Brahmin communities from others.

shared musical and educational experience, leading to parents developing their own interest in this music. Both Leela's children were enrolled at BSM and she ferried them to and from the school. Her older daughter, aged 19, had started learning violin in 2006 followed by viola in 2011, achieving ABRSM Grade 8 in both. Her younger daughter had started violin at the age of 7 and was currently working towards ABRSM Grade 3. Leela stated:

> They gave [my older daughter] the opportunity to play in the orchestra. Before that I would hardly play any music, but I really enjoyed all her classes. Once [my eldest daughter] started to play, I had to devote time to take her to classes. I used to sit through the class, and the first year she appeared for Grade 2, and I got interested, and then she was selected for the orchestra. Slowly I started learning and enjoying Western a lot.

Similarly, Daniel described his shared experiences:

> I've been invited to a few concerts. We can see what is happening in the industry. I've only attended a few concerts as a child, it was very rare. With [my daughter], we are trying to attend as many as possible, they are well organised and performances are very nice.

Lalita also reflects on her shared experience with her children. After enrolling her children at BSM, she began voice training and singing in BSM's choir, whilst her husband had taken up the double bass and played in the School's orchestra. She notes:

> Basically, I sing Indian classical professionally. [But] I've recently gotten involved with Western classical music, that is after my daughter got involved with it, but otherwise I'm an Indian classical musician […] So I sit through the classes sometimes. Recently I started learning how to play the classical guitar. It's good to know because Indian music is only rhythm and melody, there's no harmony. And I've recently joined the choir at BSM […] I don't think I'll be able to get to the performance level [in Western art music], it's more out of interest that I am doing what I am doing.

In this quote, the shared experience of Western art music is clearly important, spurring this parent's interest and providing a point of contact between herself and her daughter.

For Lalita, this led to self-reflection on the differences between her experiences of Western art music and Carnatic classical music:

> in our kind of music we learn from rote, we're not even allowed to read in a book, my teacher would write it down and I would have to memorise it. If he sings a new scale, I would automatically have to reproduce it […] Here [in Western art music], it's there [written down]. Reading music plays a very important part […] I was given a piece and I was asked to recognise it [the notation]. [In Carnatic music] we just listen and sing it back. […] Pure listening skills, and your ability to reproduce it.

The dichotomy between the written traditions of Western art music and the aural traditions of Indian classical music are highlighted in Lalita's comments, leading to self-reflection about the differences between the two traditions (this is also explored in Chapter 7).

For Lalita, her interest in Western art music was also supported by online resources. She comments:

> I do listen to classical but I find it hard to understand what they're trying to convey […] I wanted to understand chords. It was interest in harmony […] I hope to listen to it more and more, to actually understand and appreciate […] I've also been doing these courses on Coursera.[103] They have a lot of little courses for 6 weeks that actually introduce you to classical music, and music theory. From Yale, I did this thing, introduction to classical music [and] how it evolved. I'm going to try one on music theory.

The comments and experiences of the parents above show that children's involvement with Western art music also leads to shared musical and educational experiences with their parents. This nuances the notion that this music is solely used to enhance *curriculum vitaes* and develop vocational and transferable skills for children but also has experiential and social implications for parents.

[103] Coursera's website describes itself as providing 'universal access to the world's best education, partnering with top universities and organisations to offer courses online' (https://www.coursera.org/).

Western art music beyond BSM

Some parents suggested attitudes to music careers were changing. Sarasvati stated: 'People used to see [music education] as a hobby and didn't want to invest so much. Now they're investing much more and allowing [children] to take it as a career.' However, my respondents suggested that those who wanted to pursue music further still faced entrenched attitudes. Merry stated:

> We need a good music college with a recognised degree […] Art and music is still perceived as a hobby. The mind-set has to change, as well as the mind-set of the government. There are colleges in performing arts but it's primarily Indian music. We need to go somewhere else [abroad] for higher education purpose. We need to be opening people's minds to the fact that it can be a viable career option. Let's say my younger daughter wants to study music and psychology and go into music therapy, people are all telling her to just do psychology with music on the side.

I interviewed Merry's daughter, Rhada, who was an 18-year-old student at BSM. She had studied Western classical theory and Musical Theatre, taking her ABRSM Grade 5 singing and LCM Grade 8 in Musical Theatre. She was introduced to Western art music from an early age. Rhada disclosed her future plans in music:

> I want to go into music therapy – using music to help children with special needs. I was with this kid and he was biting me and then we went into a room and played some music and he was calm, that's why I want to do it. I'm taking a gap year, teaching at BSM and another school. There are no schools in India that offer music therapy so I'm applying in the US […] I want to see more people thinking about music therapy, I think it's slowly coming around.[104]

Similarly, Daniel spoke of changes in attitude towards music education:

> Out here in engineering they are just churning out numbers, huge numbers. Look at our background, we had to come from scratch, this is hardly 70 years after independence. The knowledge of

[104] Music Therapy was a popular topic for several respondents and raises questions about attitudes towards mental health in India, its relationship with music therapy elsewhere, and questions of where this interest comes from.

> careers that could get them a job, so that they could get enough money for a meal [was] difficult for a lot. Those professions that are in big demand are engineering, medicine. We needed professionals who could help build the economy. But now things are coming to a saturation point, there are too many engineers. But when it comes to the arts, it's still developing, it's in its initial stage for youth out here and there could be opportunities.

This resonates with sentiments expressed by students in the next chapter who felt that now there were more opportunities to study arts-based subjects and that attitudes towards music education and music as a profession were changing. Indeed, Lalita and Merry stated that their children actively wanted to pursue music as a profession. Lalita continued to talk of a generational divide between children and parents: 'Children are more into the global mode of thinking. [My daughter] is not going to sit down and do academics. I want to see what she is interested in and [for her] to take a career she enjoys. I don't think she'll like sitting all day doing computers'. Again, Western art music is mobilised as representative of a global culture in keeping with the global orientation of younger generations of Indians.

Madhu's children were interested in pursuing music as a career and she expressed a flexible attitude towards this:

> Whatever path they choose […] He has a passion for vocals, he keeps trying it out on his own. He's only 13 but he locks himself in his room to practice, he's enthusiastic, extreme on the practice. I think eventually he will do something in that field, perhaps as a profession. My daughter, it is more fun for her, she's only 11, she likes singing a lot but I don't know how far she'll take it.

Lalita's daughter wanted to pursue a career in musical theatre, 'Broadway and stuff like that'. She commented:

> We felt that the exposure to Indian classical and Western classical would be a good thing […] If there is a chance to do it, because she ultimately wants to look at Julliard, but in fact they have those short-term courses too at KM. She also liked [KM] very much. The infrastructure seems to be very nicely done.

Manju's son was also considering a career in music. She describes his attitude: 'He's not thinking about anything else. He wants to go into music theatre.' She informed me that he had taken the commerce route through the higher years of education at school, in which one of his subjects was drama. But she also added the caveat that 'you need your education also, because you may not be able to take it [music] as a profession in India'.

Views about the status and security offered by 'professional' degrees such as engineering and the sciences were significant considerations for these parents. Whilst there has clearly been an increase in opportunities to pursue music as a career, parents still feel there are economic factors that inhibit this, mainly the perceived lack of financial security in the music industry with the implication that their children would be downwardly mobile. Gavin was not optimistic about Western art music scenes in India, stating:

> Talking about 100% Western classical music then it is definitely a tough time in India. The culture is like that, very few people are into it […] The big crowd is not coming for it […] What I see is many musicians who are solo musicians in Bangalore they started their life with Western classical music but when they come to know they need to make a living from it, they close the book, they change track and go into cine music, [become] stage performers. They should do both, and then the crowd will start liking it.

Gavin sums up what many of the parents allude to in their responses, emphasising the difficulty of pursuing a musical career in contemporary India and the need to be able to perform a diverse range of music. Gavin views music education in a relational way that takes into account consumer taste and market demand, and notes the pressure this places on musicians.

Whilst fully aware of the pressures facing musicians, Gavin had made the decision to home-school his son so that he could concentrate on music. He justified his approach: 'Why do you spend so much of time studying at school? We are giving him home schooling and he's a fulltime musician right now doing home schooling'. He related his decision to broader societal attitudes towards music education: '90% of the people are not okay with this because they follow the traditional method. [They feel] you have to go to school and go to college and then do what you want'. In Gavin's opinion a 'major portion of life is going off [being wasted by pursuing qualifications and education

beyond someone's main interest], that is my viewpoint'. Gavin's aspiration was for his son to become a professional concert pianist. He contrasted his approach with that of broader society, going against what he felt was the norm. This can be contrasted with Jyoti's more open-ended approach to her daughter's education. She commented: 'When she grows up it's her choice and I want her to have that kind of freedom to not feel because it's my [Jyoti's] ambition or thinking. I don't want her to have that approach in life'. She continued 'If not as a main music subject, she's going to definitely go in the side-lines with a music background'.

Catherine and Swetha also noted that there had been changes in the status of musicians and attitudes to music careers. In terms of scope for taking up music professionally, both teachers noted there were many more opportunities to do so. Catherine stated: 'We still have a shortage of teachers', similarly Swetha commented:

> I think that if you're qualified or dedicated enough there are enough opportunities […] I get paid a lot more than I thought I'd get paid teaching Western classical music. Of course I couldn't sustain a family, but if you are willing to spend the hours, it is possible in a place like Bangalore. If you're a good teacher and you get good results you can make good money.

Catherine articulated a slightly different view, suggesting: 'The market has grown, the demand for music has grown. The supply doesn't match the demand […] Many are taking it up seriously and more young people are taking it up as a profession'. Catherine also described a change in the gender composition of music teachers and related this to better pay and opportunities as well as changing attitudes to women working. She commented: 'With girls it used to be you get married and you stay at home and teach [music]. Now more guys are doing it because they can support a family'. This was corroborated by BSM's founder, who described a predominantly female demographic of music teachers in the past who were married and taught from home that contrasted with an increasing number of male teachers entering the profession and teaching in schools. Swetha also stated: 'Now many guys are taking it up and supporting the family. Even in the BSM [there are] more male teachers.' This returns the discussion to issues of gender and masculine and feminine pursuits regarding music highlighted in Chapter 2, as well as the relationship between music education and marriage that will be explored further in Chapter 6.

Concluding thoughts

Parents' responses suggest their decision to involve their children in Western art music is an expression of increased financial security, global orientation and a 'new' attitude to music education. Not only do they align themselves with a more global orientation, but they also have the finances to pay for the practices that accompany and signify this. Such an outlook suggests Western art music is seen as a form of social (in terms of the networks that knowledge of Western art music accesses) and cultural capital (its use in the enhancement of *curriculum vitae* to aid engagement with global job markets). They also note the suitability of Western art music education to the current economic climate, giving preference to it ahead of Indian classical music. In addition, parents mobilise colonial, orientalist and neoliberal discourses that associate this music with salvation, modernity, global orientation and moral development. In this sense, they articulate sentiments that resonate with de Sousa Santos' abyssal thinking – Western art music is used to delineate elite status and perpetuate binary thinking based on the hegemony of Western culture. Whilst this may be a significant factor in the narratives presented above, responses indicate that parental involvement is more multifaceted and complex than this suggests. For example, many of the parents also expressed enthusiasm at the prospect of a shared learning experience with their children, pointing to the social nature of music education and its potential to traverse generational boundaries; parents and children are involved in a form of transcultural and transgenerational sense-making. Moreover, some parents mobilised their interest as part of established community attitudes to education. For example, Anindita stated that her interest in Western art music had been influenced by her Brahmin background and interlinked views of education. Parents' responses show that, far from being constrained by deterministic and overarching cultural narratives, their experiences of Western art music are individually, communally as well as locally mediated, whilst at the same time being influenced by broader economic, political, cultural, musical, and technological factors. If this stance is adopted a more fluid and open understanding of the reasons why Western art music education is expanding in India is possible. Such an understanding encourages relational readings that accommodate the situationally mediated experience and mobilisation of Western art music by these affluent middle-class parents whilst not avoiding the problematic connotations of its perceived significance.

6. Western art music, KM students and the decision to study music

KM Music Conservatory is housed in a modern-looking building. The institution's name is emblazoned across the top in large, metallic letters and the path to the entrance is flanked by lush green lawns, small trees and benches. The video footage played on a television in the reception area shows past performances and interviews with staff and students. To the front of the building, there is the Hindustani teaching room. To the right, there are high-tech studios, a practice room for the Sunshine Orchestra and a lecture room. On the first floor is a practice room that forms the central focus of this floor. Surrounding it are lecture rooms, practice rooms that house pianos and digital instruments as well as staff rooms. On the roof is an auditorium where concerts and recitals take place.

Building on Chapter 5, I explore the reasons why affluent middle class students have chosen to study music at KM Music Conservatory (KM). As noted, KM was founded by the renowned film composer AR Rahman and teaches Western art music alongside Hindustani classical music and audio engineering. I have already highlighted the complex relations and interactions that surround KM as an institution, the changing economic climate that has influenced a growing interest in Western art music education and music education more generally, and the interwoven relationship of Western art music with Indian film music and Indian classical music (see Chapter 2). I show that students articulate their decision to study music at KM in relation to their social, financial, and educative backgrounds, parental and societal attitudes, as well as the influence of broader ecologies and discourses. Students draw on a range of themes and concerns that relate decision making to: financial security; global orientation; the negotiation of modernity and tradition; rebellion and marginality; consumer tastes; job markets; 'traditional' family values; and the status of musicians and music education. The decision to study music undertaken by these students, therefore, requires complex and multi-layered negotiations. Multiple sets of relations and interactions frame students' decision-making, and students make sense of these multiple sets of relations and interactions through their decision to study music. Engaging with student responses allows us to think about the continuously adapting significance of Western art music education for these students in relation to KM and India more broadly.

Student backgrounds

Students range in age from late teens to early thirties. Amongst those I interviewed, one student came from a Christian background, two were Muslim, and the rest

identified themselves as Hindu. Geographically, students came from a range of states, including Gujarat, Maharashtra, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu. In addition, the two Muslim students were from Bangladesh and a Hindu student was from Sri Lanka. One student's family had settled in Dubai, but she had extended family in Chennai. All the students I interviewed except one (a violinist) were pianists, vocalists, guitarists or composers. Of the 22 students interviewed, 16 had either previously completed a non-music degree, or had started another degree before dropping out and enrolling at KM. Of those students, 15 had studied for degrees in Computer Science and Engineering whilst 5 had studied for degrees in audio engineering or arts-based subjects. All, except 2, had studied for degrees in India. There were several younger students who had come to KM directly after finishing twelfth standard (the final year in Indian schools). All the students interviewed were the first in their family to study music at a higher education institution, and the majority had made a decision to study music to degree level independent of family and community attitudes. The majority of students came from what can be described as 'professional families' with backgrounds in the sciences, medicine, engineering, business and accountancy.

Affluence and global orientation

As with the articulations of parents in the previous chapter, the decision to study music was linked to affluence, 'open-mindedness' and global orientation. KM is able to attract a steady stream of students from both within and outside India, a feat made more impressive given the low status of music education and professional musicians in India (see Booth, 2005; Morcom, 2015)[105] as well as the high tuition fees of over INR 6 lakh (c. £6,500) per year rising to c. £13,000 (exclusive of living costs) if students pursue a final year at Middlesex University. KM's fees are almost three times that charged by other Indian higher education institutions,[106] which typically charge between INR 2-4 lakh (c. £2,000-4,000) (QS Top Universities: online). Due to a lack of government funding (there are no student loans or bursaries and limited scholarship opportunities), students and their families require significant disposable income to be able to study at KM. Given that the average family income in India is estimated at around INR 80 lakh

[105] It should be noted that Booth and Morcom are not necessarily referring to classical musicians. Classical musicians (Indian or Western) are often considered to hold a higher status than 'folk' or 'pop and rock' musicians, and some successful musicians are seen to hold high status, including Zakir Hussain, Zubin Mehta, and, among some circles, A. R. Rahman.
[106] The average cost of both fees and living costs is estimated at c. INR 3.5 lakh (c. £4,000 pounds).

(c. £8000),[107] it can be assumed that students at KM are part of an increasingly affluent middle-class whose parents are willing and able to finance their education. George, Alex and Lucy (lecturers at KM all in their early 30s) confirmed that students come from economically privileged backgrounds. This was also confirmed by students. Jatin, a 27-year-old male student, describes the financial exclusiveness of music education at KM: '6 lakhs is a very huge amount, something for the very privileged. I'm lucky I worked for 5 years […] The person who is not financially strong will not have any exposure'. Similarly, Anoosha, a 19-year-old student, felt that:

> 90% [of the Indian population] cannot afford something this elite […] Indian classical music, because it is very affordable here, you can find really great teachers at really affordable prices […] There's a lot of government funding for Indian classical music, that doesn't happen for Western classical here.

Anoosha confirms the view that studying at KM is beyond the reach of the majority of Indians. Her statement that only 10% can afford this education resonates with Derné's (2014) assertion that the transnational middle-class comprises only 5% of India's population, locating KM students within this stratum. Furthermore, she contrasts access to Western art music education with that of Indian classical. The latter receives government subsidies making it accessible to the locally-oriented middle-class who Derné describes as constituting 15% of India's population. Western art music, on the other hand, receives no government funding and is only accessible to a very small and affluent transnational middle-class with a global orientation.

Similarly, Hitesh, a 22-year-old Diploma 2 student, contextualised and made sense of his interest in music education in relation to changing economic conditions in India. He contrasts current economic conditions with those his parents and grandparents experienced, juxtaposing the urban against rural, the modern against traditional, and open-mindedness against insularity. He described his grandparents as being from a rural community who were struggling to establish themselves and gain financial security post-independence. He referenced political instability, limited educational opportunities, and the volatility of the economy as the main concerns his grandparents and their generation faced.[108] Hitesh described his parents' generation 'becoming more

[107] See https://www.businesstoday.in/current/economy-politics/india-average-per-capita-income-higher-last-4-years-rs-80000/story/281142.html.
[108] See Jaffrelot (2015) for an overview of political and economic instability in India during the twentieth century and my Chapter 2.

settled with more facilities, and becoming more financially secure'. According to Hitesh, his parents' generation were preoccupied with their children's education which they hoped would lead to financial security and upward social mobility. Hitesh described his family history:

> The older generations, they were in rural work. Then the next generation, they studied and earned really good education, they were into commerce. My family were all in farming but no money was there, then they all went to Ahmedabad. […] My dad became more secure, became engineer.

His parents' generation expressed a negative attitude to studying subjects that were perceived as offering little financial security or the potential for social mobility, such as music. Hitesh suggests there has been a focus on 'professional' career routes which in turn has had implications for arts education in India, resonating with Ovichengan's (2015) description of the status of arts and humanities in India. Hitesh went on to make a distinction between his generation and that of his parents, arguing that younger Indians are becoming increasingly flexible, differentiating themselves from previous generations through the adoption of what might be seen as transnational, liberal attitudes. He states: 'Our generation is trying to be as independent as possible'. He felt that music education represented an important signifier of this independence. Similarly, Vijaya – an 18-year-old student – described the importance of global connections:

> What makes us interested in other cultures' music? Bad things happened through British rule, but KM is modern. People should be into the global, encouraging that global interaction, encouraging Hindustani and Western. They should let you do whatever you want to do.

Again, the implication is that the decision to study music is an expression not only of financial security and affluence but also of the increasingly transnational, liberal and global orientation of a younger generation. These student responses indicate the continuing of the association of Western music education with modernity, global identity, and the ways in which they coalesce around these shared values through their decision to study music.

Narratives of rebellion

Linked to this were narratives of rebellion students mobilised in relation to broader societal and familial attitudes. George, a lecturer at KM, noted a range of parental attitudes towards the decision to study music:

> I've had from the pure fear of where they're going to end up, through treating it as a one-off joke thing, that it's a phase they will go through, to hugely encouraging through to complete denial of their child's ability through to when they're here "what have you done to my child!" […] The worst are the ones whose parents see it as a joke. "Completed the course, now it's time to get married" and it happens every year. "This has made you suitable as a bride and it's time to leave" […] [Some] Parents find our approaches to teaching more liberal [and] want a more Victorian-style […] There are also the ones who are praising of everything you've done.

George notes entrenched attitudes about the position of women and the role music education is seen to play in improving marriage prospects, a recurrent and historic attitude to music education in India (see Woodfield, 2000; Bakhle, 2005). George also notes the mix of attitudes to the 'liberal-style' education KM delivers, from those who want a more rigid 'Victorian-style' to those who are appreciative of what they see as a more progressive and less strict style of education perhaps symptomatic of a global orientation. For George: 'India has this kind of double sided approach to the arts. It loves arts and music and has deep rooted traditions in almost deifying it, and on the other side it is seen as a low class insubstantial profession and men who do it are not worthy of marriage'. George illustrates the range of parental attitudes to music education that students have to negotiate in the decision-making process. These include the low status of music and musicians, the tensions surrounding 'Western-style' education that can be perceived as too 'liberal', and the role of music education in the marriage prospects of both men and women.[109] George illustrates the complicated and often ambivalent attitude towards music and musicians in India which makes the decision to study at KM intriguing. Relatedly, the gender divide at KM was described by George, as 75% male to 25% female. There may be several reasons for this. Firstly, AR Rahman's status has encouraged more men to see music as an acceptable career choice. Historically, film music has always been male-dominated, with predominantly

[109] These issues were also identified by Anthony in Chapter 4.

male orchestras and working environments. Secondly, music careers are considered more economically viable today than for previous generations as a result of economic growth and changing job markets. As noted in the previous chapter, the majority of music schools I have worked at in India have been run and staffed by women, although there are signs that attitudes are changing with a higher proportion of men taking up music as a profession. The increasing numbers of male students enrolling at KM is again indicative of changing attitudes to music education.

The negative attitude towards music and music education was raised by several students. Gaurav, a Diploma 1 student, noted:

> Taking music as a career is really a big deal in India. I still have relatives who ask me "why aren't you doing a degree?", because they don't consider Bachelor of Arts a really good degree. It's really difficult to make it here […] I didn't think music was something I could professionally learn. The mind-set is really different […] but it's changing […] I have friends who were going to do fashion design, but parents would say 'Fashion design is not for boys, it's a girl thing', but their dads said yes to studying music – it's a sign that it is changing. There is less of this sense that music is just for women. But, there is a cliché in India that with arranged marriages, and the father of the bride asks you "what do you do", and you answer "music", and he'll say "ok, but what do you do?"

Gaurav, with some humour, describes the wider challenges facing young people who want to study music and pursue a music career. He alludes to the status of musicians in India, who are not highly regarded (see Booth, 2005; Qureshi, 2008), and also to the issue of gender, whereby men are encouraged to pursue well-paying occupations that will enable them to support a family. This contrasts with George's observation that some parents consider KM a 'finishing school' that will enhance their daughter's marriage prospects, underlining significant gender differences in attitudes towards music education. However, Gaurav notes that music is increasingly considered a viable career for men, pointing to changing attitudes to the relationship between gender and music. This also resonates with the gender divide amongst music teachers noted by Catherine in the previous chapter. She observed that historically women featured predominantly in music education in India, but that more men are now entering the

profession as a result of expanding employment opportunities. The increasing numbers of male students like Gaurav who have chosen music as a career instead of other options illustrates a reframing of the music profession as a viable career for men.

Bhairavi, a Diploma 2 vocal student, planned to complete her degree at Middlesex University. She started learning Carnatic music as a child and came from a professional family. Her parents were initially supportive of her interest in music and wanted her to study Carnatic music after she finished 12th standard, but it was she who decided to 'get a serious degree' first that would serve as an insurance policy if she was not successful in pursuing a music career. Bhairavi completed an undergraduate degree in Forensic Science at the University of Toronto before coming to Chennai to study Carnatic classical music. Her comments reflect widely shared attitudes towards music education, in which it is felt that one should get a 'professional degree' as a backup if a music career is unsuccessful. After becoming dissatisfied with her experiences of Carnatic music, she enrolled at KM and changed her focus to Western art music. Since then, her parents' attitudes have changed and she reflects that they are increasingly concerned about her employment prospects. During the interview she stated this change was prompted by her parents' limited understanding of what this entailed. She notes: 'I don't know if they are so supportive now […] I know my parents do not understand why I like Western classical music, they will not accept it'. It is clear that Bhairavi's parents' concerns are borne out of a fear of the unknown; they do not understand what Western art music is or what it can offer her in the future.

Bhairavi also spoke about the attitude of her extended family, who assumed her science degree had been unsuccessful and that she had subsequently fallen back on music. She notes:

> When I came here, a lot of my family friends and distant relatives would go "well what are you in India for" and I'd say "I'm here to study music" and then they would say "well that [Forensic Science] didn't work out that well then, did it?"

The attitude of her extended family is indicative of the low social status attributed to music, giving Bhairavi's comments an almost rebellious inflection. She elaborated:

> It speaks volumes about the attitude towards the arts, there's this hierarchy. I did really well, but everyone was like 'you must have done badly and now you're falling back on this'. It was not just one

> or two people but everyone. They think you are not doing a serious degree or serious profession. They say 'she's in KM, she's in Rahman's troupe'. They ask 'what do you do, do you just sing all day?' They don't understand the switch to Western, you know, 'why are you doing Western in India?'

Various important points can be drawn from Bhairavi's quote. Firstly, the low social status of music education which is not considered a serious degree. Secondly, the lack of understanding of what music education entails. And thirdly, what is perceived as the incongruity of studying Western music in India, an attitude that does not take into account the historical interconnections between Western art music and India i.e. its importance for various communities, its significance in film music, and its influence on the Indian classical traditions. Experiences similar to Bhairavi's were expressed by Gatek, Aakesh, Hardik and Hitesh.

Linked to this, the description of the decision to study music as 'off-beat' was noted by many of the students. Aakesh – a 20-year-old student – described his educational decisions as 'off-beat': 'Indian parents have this mind-set, parents are sending their children for engineering and doctor. But other forms of education, not so. I'm going 'off-beat' but parents aren't ready to do it.' Hardik, a 19-year-old student, raised similar issues: 'In that town [his hometown] if you are studying music they will not respect you'. Hitesh reflected that studying music was not a 'usual option' and that it was more common to pursue degrees in engineering or medicine. He described enrolling for an engineering degree by 'default'. It was only after he learnt about KM in his second semester that he decided to change his educational focus to music. Hitesh described the difficulty of convincing his parents of his decision:

> It's not the usual option to go into music […] Most people go into engineering, medicine – that's what society expects us to do, they think there's a security of life […] Most of the people in my town don't know Beethoven and Mozart […] It was difficult to persuade my parents I wanted to leave engineering. We have this stereotype image. Nobody puts their children into arts. They say, 'if they're weak in academics, put them in arts. Engineering is considered for the professional.'

He noted the effect his conversion to music had on his parents: '[I think] they were feeling the pressure of society, 'what do people think?' […] if you go out of your

tradition, they see you differently. They think arts is an easier degree.' Hitesh was of the opinion that initially his parents were bowing to societal pressures regarding what they felt were 'legitimate' educational pathways. Whilst he notes his parents have become more supportive, he believes that there is still a 'long way to go before society becomes more open and flexible' and felt his choice of music went against broader societal attitudes. Similarly, Harsh and Parin described broader societal attitudes to music education. Harsh, an 18-year-old, stated: 'In India that is the problem, people don't look at music as a science, I think of it as a science and an art. They don't look at music as something that can be so deeply theoretical.' And Parin, a 20-year-old, stated: 'Indians don't see art as a full-fledged occupation. Indians want to play it safe with regular income. They promote kids singing and playing piano to a certain age, but they won't support them further.' Anoosha affirmed this, describing her parents' reaction to her decision to study music:

> I finished my high school […] It's either you become a doctor or an engineer, nothing to do with music. My parents were really freaked out at the beginning so it took some convincing […] They were really scared because it's not something you have happening much and if anybody does go into music it's usually film so it's very rare […] The expectations people have of you, the way society expects you to be, there's a lot of pressure.

Anoosha's quote emphasises the uneasiness her parents felt initially about her decision to study music instead of science or engineering. Her parents' uneasiness arose because she was not choosing a conventional educational pathway and they were uncertain whether it would be a 'good' career choice, but, according to Anoosha, when they saw how happy she was they became more sanguine. Hardik stated:

> when I heard there was a course in KM I told them there's a course like that, but they didn't understand, they took me and dropped me in the mechanical engineering that I did for one year. I said "If I'm better as musician let me do that". So I flunked classes and they let me do music.

His response underlines the tensions many students felt between their desire to study music and their parents' concerns about future careers. Again, Hardik presents a narrative that portrays the almost rebellious nature of his decision to study music, and a bucking against conventional educational pathways as well as parental and societal

attitudes. This indicates the significant position parents' attitudes hold in students' decision to study music, and the continuation of traditional family values. Similarly, Phil, a lecturer at KM stated:

> Parents' sole concern is employment […] So they are really asking what purpose is the university, and for many of them it is so they can get a job at the end of it. The vocational, corporate mind-set dominates. Music is just so unstable so they ask 'Why, what's wrong with him?' They think he is mentally inferior, or that their son is not very strong academically so he should do music.

This stands in sharp contrast with the attitudes towards music education amongst the poorer participants in Chapter 4 for whom music education unambiguously could lead to upward social mobility. Students' decisions also contrast with the views of the parents in the previous chapter many of whom felt that it would be better for their children to pursue a degree and profession other than music.

Some of the students also noted narratives of rebellion against what they described as 'corporate agendas'. Lavin, Jishu and Jatin noted that the work they had undertaken post-university had come into conflict with their musical interests – they had no time for music and so gave up their jobs to study music. For example, Jishu, a 24-year-old, had worked for an investment bank in America:

> I worked in a bank for about two years and towards the end of my stay I knew that I wanted to apply to a school of music. I was just doing it for money. I used to work in a bank and I was somebody else's slave, [so it was] an ethics question […] I didn't like that industry from the start. I was just there to earn money.

For Jishu and others, music was mobilised as a vocation in contrast to their previous educational and career pathways. They drew on narratives that placed music beyond the realm of work and money, drawing on ethical and vocational motivations to explain their choices.

Related to this, the decision to study music was positioned by some students against the broader political context of Hindu nationalism. As noted elsewhere, there is a contradiction between the right-wing ideology adopted by the BJP and that of AR Rahman's position as a Muslim as well as the global orientation of the middle-classes who engage with Western cultural forms, even if this engagement is in part influenced

by indigenous narratives. In response to the increasingly aggressive stance towards Western cultural forms adopted by Prime Minister Modi and the BJP, some students suggested their decision to study music was an expression of the opposition to Hindu conservatism and nationalist ideology. For example, Jatin states:

> College was very conservative. They had Hindu management. I was there playing the guitar and the warden comes and confiscates it because guitar's a Western instrument and I'm not allowed to play Western instruments in the college […] I had to write an apology letter […] And in the live performances, they used to put up the volume of all the Indian instruments […] Sitar, Veena and so on […] There's this whole weird thing about protecting your own tradition going on in India […] The conservative people do not let their culture mix with other cultures.

For Jatin, his decision to study music was part of a broader political stance. He continued:

> They don't let guys and girls talk to each other, they have this conservative mind-set, they think the Western movies are coming and spoiling Indian culture and so everything Western is bad. There's this whole moral policing going on […] a couple of friends got arrested because they hugged on Marina Beach […] Telling you other cultures are bad, telling girls to be fully covered with dresses, it's not good for you. Hopefully people like us walk around and make the people more comfortable. It's us that have been exposed to this and we have to expose it to others. The whole thinking that westerners destroyed our country is very strong. Every view in the textbook is coloured with patriotism. I don't know what happened, the reaction of post-independence rejecting Western, burning non-Indian material. And Western music comes with the culture, classical, rock, pop, metal. Look at it, it took us 40 years to accept foreign investment is good. What about culture? It's going to take a long time […] It would be nice if it [music] could Influence the mind-set of people so they don't have to be engineer or doctor. It's slowly going up, not as fast as everyone wants it, but it's happening.

Jatin felt this ‘conservative mind-set’ was more pronounced in Chennai and Tamil Nadu than elsewhere in India:

> In Chennai, it is harder, the mix of culture is not that huge. Tamil has been more traditional. Tamils have big problem with Hindi. They resisted the influence of Sanskrit, and took Sanskrit words and gave them negative meaning. ‘Nirvana’ is an example, they use it ‘for being naked’ [...] It’s an extremely conservative approach. It’s shown in the movies too, movies are encouraging it, the difference between men and women, men are superior, women always unreliable. Every Tamil movie, there is a song where a man bashes what the girl has done and how she is no good; it’s an example of the conservative mind-set. It’s going to take some time for the conservative mind-set to go away.

Here Jatin emphasises his experience of the sensitivities and ambiguities that surround studying music, and particularly Western art music, in India. Jatin’s comments are illustrative of the tension between ‘western’ and ‘indigenous’ music traditions, resonating with contemporary issues surrounding Indian and Hindu nationalism. This had implications for the way he mobilised his decision to study music and what KM represented for him. Not only does Jatin go against conventional educational trajectories, but he also mobilises Western music as a means of rebelling against and subverting conservative Indian and Hindu nationalist values. Such sentiments are extremely ambivalent and complicated to unpack. On the one hand, Jatin can be seen as subverting and undermining nationalist ideologies. On the other, although I think unfairly, his comments could be considered an example of ‘abyssal thinking’ (de Sousa Santos, 2007) with its neo-colonial overtones i.e. the association of western culture and education with modernity set against the ‘backwardness’ of Indian nationalism, with music education being used to signify a transnational and liberal identity, social progressiveness and moral superiority. As with other students, Jatin perceived his musical identity as out-of-kilter with mainstream Indian society, whilst at the same time positioning himself within Derné’s (2014) depiction of a global, transnational and liberal stratum. Jatin concluded the interview by stating: ‘I felt that I should talk to you not just about music but the whole cultural aspect, people realise something is wrong with the culture and don’t speak out. Accept there is something wrong with culture, only then it’ll change.’ For Jatin, the decision to study music was not only about music and education, but also raised cultural, social and political concerns.

Negotiating parental consent and societal attitudes

Students articulated a range of responses that reflect changing attitudes to music education as well as a more explicit mobilisation of studying music as a 'rebellious act' against typical societal attitudes to higher education pathways. According to an HSBC study (2015: 9) exploring parental involvement in higher education choice in India, 51% of parents surveyed felt the most important goal of education was to help build successful careers. According to the same survey, 48% of parents identified medicine, engineering and computer science as top career preferences for their children (Ibid.: 11). Indian parents have been identified as having a significant influence over their children's life choices including marriage and career pathways (see Jambunathan and Counselman, 2002); the confluence of a preference for 'professional degrees' amongst parents along with the influence they are purported to have on their children's life choices suggests that seeking parental consent was a significant negotiation in students' decision to study music.

Jatin was an engineering graduate in his late twenties who had worked as an engineer for 5 years and had recently married. He had decided to pursue interests in music as he had become disenchanted with mechanical engineering. Parental consent was a significant consideration in his decision-making; he articulated the need to obtain consent from both his and his wife's parents:

> My mum always knew I'd go into music one day, but in Indian culture so much of importance is given to parents. Basically people don't do anything without consent of parents. I come from a traditional Brahmin family, mostly conservative community, but my mum was liberal. She asked me after 12th standard if I wanted to do music, but I went to college to do engineering. College went well, I got a distinction, got a good job. And then I married last year and my wife forced me to join KM and know more about Western music. She convinced her parents about me not doing my masters in engineering – their consent was very important. Her parents were supportive as well so it was easier transitioning from engineering to music.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Bhairavi and Harsh who also noted their Brahmin heritage and the strong 'family values' that Joshi (2017) notes are prevalent

amongst newly affluent middle-class families. Gaurav also described how learning opera and coming to study at KM had been transformative:

> it's because of the training in singing opera. At home we have this culture, we live with our parents, we are really dependent at home. Now it is total change in the way I think about life.

We have an interesting confluence of traditional and modern values here. According to Joshi, 'up to the end of the nineteenth century, at a general level, individualism was marked by its absence in the country. Instead, one's destiny was more or less controlled by the institutions of family, caste and community' (2017: 38). He goes on: 'even amidst breakneck modernisation [the Indian middle classes] seek to reaffirm their identity as authentic, even traditional, Indians' (Joshi, 2017: 25). The involvement of these students with music education indicates an expression of individualism but at the same time there are continuities with 'traditional' family values.

All students noted parents had limited experience of Western art music and sharing musical experiences was identified as important in negotiating parental concerns. Anoosha notes: 'So my parents have absolutely no exposure to Western classical music […] they enjoy what they can relate to. I never played for them, but then one day I played to them. I was tuning my violin for five minutes and my dad asked 'is that your piece' and I said 'no' [she laughs]'. Vijaya, a 17-year-old student majoring in piano, also commented: 'None of my family has a musical background […] If I play some stuff like Berio they won't get a single thing […] They can pretty well get Mozart and Beethoven'. Gatek, a 19-year-old student, also noted the importance of sharing musical experience with his parents:

> Most of the parents, 99.9% in Sri Lanka don't know what western classical is. My father would ask me, 'okay, what do you learn?' If I say I'm studying musicianship it doesn't make any sense, they don't understand. But they saw the score that I wrote for my first year, now they understand.

Similar themes were highlighted by Vijaya:

> I didn't tell them that I wanted to learn Western classical music […] but I'm learning Hindustani too, so they are fine. I thought there would be big reaction when they knew I lied to them but they were all fine with it. My mum's a great fan of Carnatic music but has

> never taken the initiative to learn Western. She was okay with me learning it for fun and now she is okay with me studying it […] They didn't oppose it, they wanted to know what it was […] but when they came to know there is something not that bad when I showed them Beethoven, they are very glad that I am pursuing something different. Like when I play them Beethoven's 'Moonlight sonata' they can see why it's called that […] They can't understand modern music. They have always listened to melodic songs in violin, so very chromatic pieces are hard for them to understand […] They can't enjoy this music as much as Indian, but they're trying to understand.

Vijaya raises several important points. First, she highlights her parents' assumption that she would want to study Indian classical music, reflecting commonly held attitudes that you study Indian musical forms in India, rather than Western. She also highlights the distinction between studying Western art music rather than Western popular music, and the differing status of 'high' and 'low' art, emphasising that Western art music was more acceptable to her parents than Western popular music. It has already been noted that Western art music was not considered as culturally destructive by Indian nationalists as Western popular culture (Morcom, 2017), and perhaps her parents' reaction is symptomatic of this. In addition, Vijaya also highlights the desire of students to share their musical experiences with parents, and she describes the willingness of parents to try to understand something unfamiliar to them, resonating with the shared musical experiences between parents and children explored in the previous chapter. The comments above indicate another way students accommodate generational divide and parental concerns through shared musical experiences. These serve to navigate the distance between their educational and musical experiences and those of their parents, indicating the negotiation of generational barriers through shared experiences and sense-making exercises.

In discussing the low social status of the arts in India, participants articulated several factors they felt had informed changes in attitude to music. The international recognition and global cachet an education at KM provided students was noted as a way to negotiate parental and societal attitudes. Gaurav, for example, described the importance of an internationally recognised degree in convincing his parents:

> I was preparing for architecture and design for two years […] I was

> always interested in music […] Parents wouldn't allow because music didn't have a degree. I really had to convince my mother, it was a really tough decision because the fourth year is in London […] The degree thing here actually got me here […] [My parents] were really confused and that made me scared. I wasn't certain I could make my career out of music.

He also notes his parents' confusion (a point reiterated by many other students) when he suggested he wanted to study music at degree level. Again, his parents' primary concern revolved around the career prospects such a degree would offer. Similar comments were made by Hardik and Dhanraj. As Hardik noted: 'My parents never [would have] allowed me to study here without the degree.' Aakesh emphasised the need 'to graduate from a place 'that's known around the world', referencing the cachet KM's international accreditation generates. Several of the students felt the music education at KM was superior to that offered at Indian music colleges. Lavin, an ex-student in his late 20s, argued: 'There's no point joining the Indian music college, they start from zero. There was no KM at that time, no international music happening before KM.' Parin expressed similar sentiments: 'Indian institutions are no good, the outside world don't see you as a performer on stage because the undergraduate course in music not so solid. KM is the only place giving it.' The importance of KM's international recognition and cachet on a global stage was important not only for these students but also in convincing their parents. Moreover, to paraphrase Derné, KM's music education can therefore be seen to represent the 'global connections, good education and English-language skills that allow [these students] to hitch their dreams to the global economy' (Derné, 2013: 13).

The success of KM can also be related to the global fame and reputation of its founder, AR Rahman, who has transcended local music scenes through Grammy award-winning soundtracks of films like *Slumdog Millionaire*. Rahman's reputation has considerable impact in India, as Morcom has stated: 'Rahman is the first composer who has managed to make this music [film music] appeal on a global scale that includes the West. As such, his music is iconic of the economically booming and increasingly powerful India' (Morcom, 2015). KM is shortly opening a campus in Mumbai called 'The Mac Labs' to teach students how to create music using Logic Pro X, Apple's professional music creation app, illustrating the international interest in India

as a market for music-related technology.[110] AR Rahman and music education's global appeal can be contrasted with the recent rise of Hindu nationalism. The iconic status of AR Rahman was also an important factor in the decision making of students. Several of the teachers at KM expressed the view that AR Rahman had been a prime motivating factor in students enrolling at the school. Joseph notes: 'The pupils came because they wanted to be like AR Rahman, and he's such a legend. They thought: 'I can be like him, I can be a part of this', it was their dream.' Such views were shared by Aanat – a Hindustani teacher in his 40s – and Chatterjee – a piano teacher in his 60s – as well as Taylor, who notes students often state 'music is my religion and AR Rahman my god' (2015: 1). Similarly, Chatterjee, an Indian piano teacher at KM, described AR Rahman's impact on the social status of musicians:

> They all want to become composers to the ever-growing Indian film world. Rahman has been like a beacon of light for the future […] They came for the aura of Rahman, thinking some magic should come if they would come to this school. Parents' allow them because of Rahman.

This was verified by several students. Gatek stated: 'I joined because of Rahman's name. I didn't know what western classical music is. I just wanted to become a composer.' Similarly, Harsh stated: 'A lot of students think you'll get opportunities to work with Rahman; that attracts students. Students come thinking they'll get their breakthroughs'. Hrishek, a 20-year-old, also described the impact of AR Rahman's status on the success of the conservatory: '90% think they will get into Bollywood, doing film composing.' AR Rahman's reputation and his impact on the social status of musicians and music education was an important factor in students' decision-making process. Here Western art music's significance is mobilised through its significance for the film music industry and connection with AR Rahman. In line with Morcom (2017), it is possible to argue that the significance of Western art music education is propagated indirectly through interest in film music.

Changing job markets, entrepreneurship and expediency

The economic changes brought about through economic liberalisation have changed the employment market in India and have had a profound impact on the decision to study music. What has been described as India's 'neoliberal' policies and embrace of

[110] See https://www.apple.com/in/newsroom/2017/10/apple-music-and-km-music-conservatory-announce-new-mac-labs-in-chennai-and-mumbai-india/.

globalised capitalism have been said to have produced a more service-oriented economy (Srividasan, 2015; Goswami, 2013), the oversaturation of professional fields such as engineering and a middle-class precariat (see Gowain, 2017), the growth of the creative industries (FICCI, 2016) and an entrepreneurial spirit (see Joshi, 2017; Derné, 2014; Dossani and Kenney, 2002). The decision to study at KM also relates to broader employment issues concerning India's overproduction of engineering graduates, as highlighted by Dhanraj:

> All the engineering students don't find jobs in the town [his hometown]. Out of a hundred, ten people only are working as engineer, 40% in other job, and 50% are unemployed.

His figures resonate with those of the HSBC (2015) study that reports 60% of engineering graduates are unemployed. Dhanraj highlights that the decision to study music not only reflects changing attitudes to music education, but also changes in job markets. He felt that undertaking a music degree could offer better employment prospects and social mobility than that offered by the oversaturated job market for engineers. In doing so, Dhanraj inverts the conventional values related to social mobility and status associated with professional degrees identified by Ovichengan (2015), reinforcing perceptions of the increasing viability of pursuing a career in music.

A number of the teachers voiced concerned about students' job prospects. Joseph described:

> The only problems we had were issues about careers. They were like 'We're paying a lot of money, what will we do when we come out of here if we are not famous playback singers?' The financial concerns trumped everything else […] You absolutely have to be an entrepreneur to create something new.

Similarly, Bill, a lecturer in his 30s, expressed his views on the situation:

> sometimes I just have to be honest and say there isn't a guarantee that this will pay off in the long run […] We're creating graduates and hoping things could change. We are involving them in a fantastic tradition, there is value in doing music. There are intellectual skills and analytical skills embedded within music and it's interesting; you don't need a reason other than it's interesting […] We need to stress the technology side, that the students can

> become producers. We need to promote the team working skills this degree fosters. I mean, India cannot continue producing engineering graduates.

Students were also well aware of the precarious nature of the job market and adopted an entrepreneurial approach that focused on making intelligible their musical skills, especially Western art music, to broader audiences and environments in India and internationally. Jishu explained:

> It's a little scary because we don't know our application in India and if we head abroad we get treated as exotics. If I go to the States, I'm actually an easterner in the states and they expect Indianess from me. The application of hybrids like us is new: 'who will I do it for, who are my clients?' I can go into the film music, commercial, but I want to do my music. I want to be an offbeat composer who has added their voice, it doesn't have to be the same formula. I'd like to apply what I've learnt here [in KM], but who do I do it for and how to do it? I'm confident about the audience aspect, but I'm just unsure about clients. I'm not like a Schoenberg or Stockhausen, like 'I don't give a fuck', but I don't like the corporate way, there's no freedom at all there, it's like working in a bank. If I come into music and do the same thing, there's no freedom.

Jishu highlights the challenges he felt he would face regarding how he would negotiate his multimusical identity, connect with audiences and develop a market that did not compromise his musical identity, portraying an intuitive awareness of broader issues surrounding Orientalism as well as capitalism. Kahaan, a 20-year-old, also aimed to become a composer, but emphasised the difficulty of balancing commercial work with individual creativity:

> Initially working, arranging music for composers and then grow the experience and see what opportunity comes. I want to compose for films, but it wouldn't be in the style of commercial market, but it's difficult to do something else. I'm currently arranging for a composer in Bangladesh, he composes, I have to orchestrate it, for songs, electronic programming things.

Jishu had a clear plan for how he could package his skills and prepare himself for the Indian and international job markets:

> The expanse of knowledge I've got from KM, for India I'm over prepared but abroad not so much […] I'm okay with audio engineering, but lacking in the arts side. What I want to do is a very expansive thing. Say you're my client, I want to be able to do all the sound and music. I have to know both so I can do the job for you. If I can be above average in everything and do everything okay I think I can do it.

Jishu wanted to draw on all the skills he had developed at KM to facilitate a career in music. He also described the importance of attracting audiences in India and the insular nature of KM:

> You come outside the college, it's a whole new world, there's the chai shop, reality hits you as soon as you walk outside the school. 80-90% of the students are so immersed in the coursework or the world of KM that they don't go out. I think that is extremely harmful. […] It's important to keep in tune with what is happening in Hundred Foot Road. After Diploma 1, I started doing shows with a friend of mine across India. I know they [the audience] are impressed because I am AR Rahman's student but we do Hindi music, we don't do aria music. […] The audience has to be grabbed. After we have it, yes experiment […] to cater to an audience is like being a whore at times.

Jatin, too, was pragmatic about the need to compose commercial music to survive:

> I don't think I can make it here as a teacher because it's too late. I want to do something more with composition because I don't have any other option. I might do a masters in composition and write the music that is more commercial so I can survive. […] I might go into film scoring and try to balance the melodies more with the harmonies, make it more accessible to the crowd.

For many of the students, connecting with audiences was a way to open up accessibility to Western art music whilst also generating work. Whilst in India, I was involved with and attended many events that aimed at fostering points of contact

between Indian audiences and Western art music. Opera India was set up by Abhinav Sridharan, a former KM student with the '[aim] to make Operatic music more comprehensible to the Indian audience' (Opera India: online). It does this by taking a theme such as 'love' and drawing on operatic and Hindi songs that share this theme, performing them side-by-side so that audiences form a connection. In a conversation with me, Sridharan stated:

> The meaning of that piece was understood because the Italian piece meant the same thing. […] Here [in India], after we came and performed, people started understanding the opera. Whatever we sang in French, Italian, or German they understood. Blending these two art forms, we want to propagate these artists, exposing Indian audiences to opera.[111]

Sridharan describes adapting opera performances to make them more accessible and comprehensible to Indian audiences. In a recorded performance published on YouTube entitled 'Love', Sridharan can be seen performing *A Khyaal* in *Raag Raageshree* followed by Verdi's *Il Travatore*.[112] Jishu also expressed the desire to 'spread the knowledge of western classical music to people who don't know it at all […] It doesn't have to be in the French Embassy or British High Commission. It can come from us.' Jishu highlights what he feels is the reframing of Western art music away from these European cultural centres to an Indian context through KM students.

Hitesh was also concerned about connecting with audiences and developing arts education in India:

> I want to be a professional artist in India. I'm not sure about arts education in India, I want to develop myself into arts educator for all India. I want to stay in Ahmedabad, and work on art projects and performance projects. Things like art mob, or flash mobs using different artists from different art forms, photographers, painters. Problem with art education is the lack of exposure amongst people, people are not sure of art, they don't know how to value it. They say it's nice but not more than that. This has to do

[111] In a benefit concert for the Kathmandu Conservatory, I performed with Sridharhan and several international and Indian instrumentalists at the Goethe Institut in Chennai. The ensemble featured Carnatic flute and percussion, with Sridharan 'code-switching' between styles, to borrow a term from Slobin (1979).
[112] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TffgRI7O3ds.

> with the education system, I want to work on that side […] I think to present western classical not in proper form […] people will love it, if it is used in film music or something.

Hitesh described the difficulty in raising his family's understanding of Western art music:

> I tried playing *Clair de Lune*, it was 5 minutes long […] I played but after 1 minute they were bored. So then I thought maybe fusing new pop music with classical music would work better. I want to work with different art forms, visual arts. If you could fuse Western classical with other music, people would definitely think twice, 'what is that sound?' Remember Eugene Alcalay? After the interval he did encores and people were streaming out. They enjoyed it, but because they don't listen to it a lot, they hear more pop music or commercial music, they can't sit for it.

Hitesh references a concert that we had attended at Museum Theatre in which the pianist Eugene Alcalay performed a recital. There was a large audience at the beginning of the concert but audience members started streaming out at the beginning of Alcalay's encores, and continued to do so as Alcalay was playing. This is perhaps indicative of the difficulties of attracting and making connections with new Indian audiences.

Students expressed anxieties about employment, how to attract and sustain audiences, and how to make Western art music accessible and understandable to Indians. Some of the students drew on entrepreneurial tactics such as incorporating Indian classical or film music elements into Western art music performances to try and attract audiences to their music-making whilst at the same time generating work. Students also mobilised their entrepreneurial activities through the lens of 'mission', as an expression of 'open-mindedness', flexibility, social progressiveness and a liberal attitude. Whilst there were examples of changes in attitude to music education and musicians, there were still many entrenched ideas and challenges that students faced. The above also shows that students understand that creativity and musical identity are shaped as much (or perhaps more so in this case) by broader ecologies and market forces as by agency. The entrepreneurial narratives above are ambiguous, illustrating the perhaps contradictory mobilisation of entrepreneurialism with the flouting of 'corporate mind-sets'. However, more broadly, these student responses can be seen to reflect a sense-

making process in which they attempt to make their skills intelligible to Indian audiences and sustainable within a broader socioeconomic context.

Concluding thoughts

In their responses, students draw on a diverse set of discourses, relations and interactions to make sense of their decision to study music. Students highlight several important factors that have informed the decision-making process: the international and global cachet of KM; AR Rahman's iconic status, framing Western art music's significance through film music; the saturation of job markets in fields such as engineering; shared musical experiences to traverse generational boundaries; financial security; and global orientation. Students make sense of the decision to study music in ways that are contingent, situational and inherently relational. Students negotiate parental and societal attitudes to music education, both positive and negative, and make sense of their decisions in relation to these. Some students mobilise music education as an expression of rebellion against conventional educational pathways, societal and parental expectations and 'traditional' values, as well as Hindu nationalism. Others articulate the importance of shared educational experiences with parents and family as well as the aim to develop audiences for Western art music in India. For some students, their decision to study music positions them as 'modern', 'global' and 'affluent', and thus serves to differentiate them from peers and older generations. Given the multiple sets of relations students engage with, a complicated picture emerges that at one and the same time reaffirms binary oppositions whilst simultaneously blurring and destabilising them, indicating the multifarious ways these students mobilise music education.

7. Western art music, musical encounters and KM Music Conservatory

The soundscape of KM is eclectic – inside one can hear vocalists singing Verdi; classical guitarists practising pieces by Tarega, Sor, and Bach; pianists practising Chopin, Debussy and Beethoven; Hindustani vocalists practising rags and gamakas; a chamber choir singing Palestrina; the Qawwali ensemble singing Sufi devotional music; students rehearsing metal music; trance music from students' smartphones used for meditation; free improvisation; electronic dance music (EDM); and the music of film composer AR Rahman. I attended KM Day – an annual music festival held at KM – in which the Sufi and the Hindustani ensemble performed side-by-side with the chamber choir and various Western classical performances. It was interesting to note the potential ways these musical traditions might have been experienced in this context, the reactions of the audience, and my own judgements which encouraged reflection on the sense-making process that all were engaged with.

The lecture programme at KM is also diverse: students are introduced to the theories of Jacques Attali; the history of The Beatles; impressionism and Debussy; Charles Rosen's The Classical Style; contemporary art music composition classes in which students are introduced to aleatoric compositional techniques and free improvisation; lectures on Hindustani music history and theory; and group lessons in Hindustani classical music performance. Taking part in some of these sessions I was struck by the resonance they held with my own educational experiences in the UK. However, there were also differences; I assisted teaching a musicianship class and one of the students used Carnatic notation to aid him transcribe the 4 part Bach chorale I'd played for the class on the piano, an indication of how this student tried to make sense of the task through his Carnatic classical training. A similar instance of transference occurred in the relationship an Indian piano teacher had with his students. I was sitting in the foyer one day when he walked in. Immediately several male students stood up and touched his feet before following him into the piano studio, a traditional Indian custom showing respect to one's teacher. Here, Indian students and an Indian teacher mobilise 'traditional' customs whilst engaging with Western art music.

In this chapter, I explore teacher and student experiences of KM's bi-musical[113] curriculum focusing on the negotiation of musical boundaries, epistemology, and

[113] The term bi-musical is problematic, especially when considering the intermingled history of the two traditions. This is further complicated by the presence of a Qawwali ensemble at KM as well as the relationship the institution has with film music. However, I argue that conceptualising

teacher-student dynamics. I reveal the complex, ambiguous and multi-layered discourses, relations and interactions drawn on to articulate and make sense of musical encounters at KM. These include economic, political, technological, ideological, and musical ecologies as well as the interactions and relations between individuals, groups and KM. I argue that experiences of KM's bi-musical curriculum provide a lens through which we can further make sense of the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India. I illustrate the ways in which the empirical findings in the previous chapters (especially Chapter 6) are reflected and generated through lived musical and educational experiences.

Taylor (2015; 2016) has argued that teaching music history at KM should encourage a dialogic understanding of the interconnected histories of Indian and Western musical traditions, blurring dichotomies between 'East and West'. Similarly, research on bi-musical education has argued for the educative potential of experiencing diverse musical traditions which can lead to the destablisiation of problematic and rigid conceptualisations (see Sorrell, 2007; Schippers, 2006; Haddon, 2015; 2016b). However, I have argued in Chapter 3.1 that there is a tendency for Taylor, Haddon and others to gloss over the potential reaffirmation of Orientalist, colonial and 'neoliberal' discourses that bi-musical experiences can generate. In response to this, Bradley (2012) has argued for a 'fallibilistic' mobilisation of music education that acknowledges its more ambiguous elements rather than glossing over them. This is especially important given the history of musical encounters in India, the relations that surround KM as an institution (see Chapter 2), as well as the ways in which students have articulated their decision to study music at KM (see Chapter 6). Colonial, Orientalist and 'neo-colonial/neoliberal' discourses will in part shape experiences of KM's bi-musical education.[114] However, rather than a negative outcome, I argue that a recognition of the more problematic outcomes of these musical encounters encourages fruitful dialogue. Moreover, there are subtle and diverse negotiations that take place in the sense-making process of teachers and students. Again, the tension between re-establishing whilst simultaneously destabilising binary oppositions emerges from teacher and student responses. This positions KM, its bi-musical curriculum and the

KM's educational environment as bi-musical is useful as it allows us to confront the more problematic aspects of such education.

[114] Such attitudes about Western classical music resonate with Broad and Mary's (2018) identification of the perpetuation of 'classical music ideology' that privileges the ontological status of composers and works, as well as McPhail's (2013) assertion that western classical music is more often associated with technical and formal theoretical knowledge.

experiences of teachers and students in a complex nexus of ambivalent and dialogic relations and interactions.

Teacher experiences

The Western art music faculty at KM at the time of my research comprised nine members from Europe, the US and Indonesia. Of the nine members of the Western faculty, I interviewed five, all of whom had doctorates. The oldest was in his forties whilst the others were in their early to mid-thirties. They brought with them differing conceptualisations of Western art music and educational practice, how Western art music functioned in the context of KM, its relationship with Hindustani classical music, as well as their relationship with the Hindustani faculty. I also interviewed a former faculty member – Joseph – who had taught early on in KM's history. I interviewed two Hindustani vocal teachers. Shreya had a higher degree in Hindustani classical music and was a renowned performer, teacher, and scholar of Hindustani music. She had been working at KM since its establishment. Aanat had been working at KM for a relatively short period. Concurrently, he had been studying for a PhD in vocal health - hoping to promote understanding amongst Indian classical musicians. The two faculties functioned independently with staff having relatively little knowledge of the other's traditions and, therefore, limited lived experience that could be related to the students' educational experiences. However, it should be noted Johnny had some knowledge of Carnatic classical music and Aanat had achieved an ABRSM qualification in Western classical voice.

All faculty members were very well qualified, indicative of increasing job opportunities for musicians and academics in India. In informal conversations with Western faculty members, most acknowledged their decision to work at KM had been informed, at least in part, by lack of job prospects at home. George stated he was looking for a 'first post' when he found KM. Alex had left the US with a 'bitter-sweet taste' and, whilst he was appreciative of his study opportunities, was disappointed by the lack of career prospects post-graduation. In addition to working at KM, Johnny ran a music school in Germany from which he had taken a leave of absence, describing KM as his first 'proper academic job'. For Lucy, KM was also her first job post-graduation, citing the difficulty of the job market in the US. Martin had worked at several higher education institutions in the UK, joining KM in 2011 and leaving in 2015. Historic resonances can be drawn with European musicians who travelled to India during the eighteenth century to tap into emerging job markets (see Woodfield, 2000), as well as with Western music

teachers travelling to places like Palestine for employment (see Beckles Willson 2009a, 2009b, 2014). In informal conversations with Hindustani faculty members it emerged KM's institutional set-up and the security of regular employment were motivating factors in taking up positions in the faculty. The Western faculty commanded a state-prescribed salary of c. $25,000. Whilst anecdotal, I was informed that the Hindustani faculty earned around c. $14,000.

Curriculum design and teaching

At KM, students study for a foundation course (first year of study), followed by Diploma 1 (second year) and Diploma 2 (third year). The foundation course covers general musical skills, theory, history and introduces students to performance and composition. The curriculum for Diploma 1 is divided into four broad sections: Hindustani classical music, audio engineering, performance and musicianship, and pastiche and history. Western art music constitutes 50% of the curriculum, whilst Hindustani classical music and audio engineering comprise 25% each. Students then have the option to focus on performance or composition in Diploma 2. Whilst faculties adapt teaching practices to the institutional context of KM and the demands of the curriculum, as well as the diverse musical and learning experiences of students, the way in which Western art music is taught has many parallels with teaching in UK-based music departments. Students attend lectures on topics such as composition, music theory and history. Lecturers encourage students to engage critically with the content of lectures as well as their musical experiences. Composition tuition ranges from lectures on the development of compositional techniques in areas such as serialism to workshops on free improvisation, sound art, and acoustic and electronic composition. For vocal and instrumental lessons, students predominantly learn through one-to-one tuition. Students also have the opportunity to take part in weekly performance classes, which adopt approaches typical of Western art music education in the UK. Four to five students out of a class of around twenty take turns to perform and receive feedback from a teacher and fellow students. There are also opportunities for students to join various ensembles, including a chamber choir that performs repertoire by Palestrina to more contemporary choral music.

The relationship between Western art music teaching at KM to wider ecologies is illustrated aptly by Taylor, who describes a trip to Anna Centenary library with KM students. It is worth quoting him at length:

> As well as in the lecture hall, the power of Western classical music

> to function as global knowledge in India has particularly struck me during visits to a public library. Anna Centenary Library in Chennai is one of the largest libraries in South Asia, established by the Tamil Nadu state government in 2010 with a series of bulk purchases from international publishers, including a substantial music collection high up on the sixth floor. Here, 'music' primarily means Western classical music, with thousands of texts on Western musicology, theory and performance practice, most of which appear never to have been taken off the shelves. The library symbolises the challenges at the heart of India's rapid urban development: a wonderful investment in education has been undermined by political instability, as the current state administration has withdrawn support for the library […] I take groups of students on research visits to the library, partly to supplement the print and online resources available at our institution, but partly also to share with them the sheer variety and depth of knowledge that can be derived from studying art music. As the only way to locate resources is to browse the shelves, students must spend time physically interacting with the printed material, which can be something of a shock to the system for a generation attuned to research through a laptop interface and search engine (Taylor, 2015: 124-5).

The image of knowledge bound in books and stored in an inaccessible library points to issues of accessibility surrounding the material and text-based confines of much knowledge on Western art music. This stands in contrast to the opening-up of markets and accessibility via the internet, with sites such as Wikipedia, the International Music Score Library Project and YouTube reaching anyone with access to a smartphone. Taylor's quote resonates directly with Abbott's use of the library as a metaphor for linked ecologies, highlighting the relation between the library, state politics, the materiality of books, international publishing, the fee-paying students at KM, and the Western teacher - all of which are interconnected in a network of influence.

Hindustani classical music teaching is also situational and relational, and is adapted to fit time-tabling constraints. The instrumental and vocal tuition of Hindustani classical music is not typical of traditional practices, but perhaps symptomatic of the ongoing adaptation of Indian educative practices to changing educational contexts (see van der

Linden, 2013; Bakhle, 2005). Students are not engaged with the traditional *guru-shishya* relationship, in which the student spends a large amount of time with one *guru*. Ruckert describes this system:

> In a more or less closed musical society, one's guru was arranged in one's early, formative years, and continued to be a decisive figure throughout a lifetime. A student's connection to the music was through the guru, since there were no other media from which one could learn – and one did not divide one's attention among several gurus. The guru was a dynamic figure, conducting the daily regimen of practice and learning, and regulating all facets of the musical growth of the disciple (*shishya*) (2004: 34).

In contrast Hindustani teaching at KM typically takes place in a group setting, with around fifteen students attending a lesson. Students sit in a circle and the teacher demonstrates *raags*, encouraging students to repeat sections or demonstrate for the rest of the group. In addition to vocal and instrumental tuition, students also attend lectures on the history and theory of Hindustani classical music. Some students are involved with the Hindustani vocal ensemble, providing a space for ensemble learning that in some ways mirrors the activities of KM's chamber choir. The role of the Hindustani teacher at KM is less involved than the disciple-guru dynamic described by Ruckert, with teachers having less influence over the rest of the students' lives. This locates the tuition of Hindustani classical music at KM in a tradition of musical encounters that have encouraged adaptation of the ways in which it is performed and taught (Bakhle, 2005; Subramanian, 2008).

Shreya expressed concerns about the move away from traditional Indian educational practices to a more institutionalised, international curriculum. She stated:

> Any education, if it is not grooming a student holistically then it is not complete because a teacher and education institution shapes a personality, it doesn't just develop skilled people. I am not just concerned with his musical skills, but I am concerned about his overall growth. This is Indian philosophy. […] If he is not healthy mentally how will he perform. He needs to gain not only in terms of skills but also spiritually, personality wise. In the *gurukul*,[115] they

[115] A *gurukula* or *gurukulam* is an educational institution run by a guru that traditionally took place in a domestic setting.

> were completely in charge of the students. The *gurukul* was in charge of the student even if he's not learning, to see he is coming up as a good citizen also. The aim of education should be to create good human being, […] who's positively going to contribute to his family and society.

Shreya's comments portray her dissatisfaction with the institutionalisation and commodification of education that focuses narrowly on skills development, highlighting the tension between a traditional *gurukul* system and institutionalised education. Her comments resonate with the concerns expressed by Srivadasan (2015) and Goswami (2013) about the effects of neoliberalism and commodification on Indian higher education. It is clear from Shreya's comments that Hindustani teachers may be under pressure to adapt teaching practices and philosophies to align with Western-style institutions as well as, perhaps, a concomitant leaning towards self-Orientalism and essentialised difference as a result. This resonates with a broader historical socioeconomic and political trends that chart the decline of the *gurukul* system during the colonial era; its resurgence during the post-independence era reflecting India's Indo-centric ideology; its decline again due to economic liberalisation; and now its reassertion in response to rapid social change (and perhaps Indian/Hindu nationalism) and the desire to uphold the system through the lens of protectionism and tradition.[116] The *gurukul* system perceived to be under threat from the 'neoliberal' ethos of the institution along with the perceived need to save it resonates with self-Orientalising narratives adopted by the Hindu nationalist movement (see Dalmia, 1999: 1336-1339. See Hasan, 1998 for a detailed consideration of the development of higher education in India and its relationship with the *gurukal* system).

In contrast, Aanat felt the value of KM's education was that students were exposed to what he described as 'global music': 'They'll get the idea of global music. They will not be biased musicians. Most of the time Hindustani and Carnatic musicians are biased. [KM] Students are much more open'. Here, Aanat suggests that exposure to a plurality of genres will introduce students to global ways of thinking mobilising narratives connected to modernity and the West, contrasting this with the biases he associates with Indian classical musicians and teachers. Aanat also noted:

[116] Recently several *gurukulam* have been established in India as well as overseas. Researchers have been studying the effectiveness of the system through those institutions and the implications of changing approaches to pedagogy (see Prabhakar, 2010 on the development of the gurukulam in Carnatic classical music).

> In Indian music voice training is not much developed, they are doing it with trial and error, and they are taking a lot of time – 10 years with guru. Most of the time the gurus are not very good with the physiology. They are not saying what to do, what is the science behind it. [Students] don't have much time in the academy, they need to learn fast.

Here, Aanat alludes to the tensions between the *guru-shishya* tradition which has a more 'relaxed' approach to time and the institutionalisation of music education which has a 'stricter' approach to time with clear goals and deadlines.

The tension between Western pedagogic styles and the *gurukul* system raised further questions about epistemology. Many of KM's Western faculty considered it their educational goal to encourage critical thinking but described the difficulties of doing this given entrenched ideas students held about the student-teacher relationship. Alex explained:

> It's hard to get critical feedback from students. […] Here in India there is a big wall between you and your teacher. It does not come naturally for people to critique their teachers. […] A lot of students use regurgitation to generate ideas. They don't challenge or think independently. In composition workshops I ask questions and am greeted by silence. Students are afraid to say something [that's] not correct. Schools here don't teach critical thinking.

Similarly, Joseph stated: 'It was difficult in that I found it was not always easy to promote speculative thinking. It's possible they'd been exposed to a type of teaching where the answer is right or wrong'. George also described his educational goal as developing students' critical thinking. I sat in on a lecture George delivered on Jacques Attali's *Noise*. In an observation that appears to contradict the experiences of Alex and Joseph, a debate ensued between George and one of the more 'critically engaged' students who challenged the conclusions of the lecture. The content of the debate itself is less significant than the fact that the debate took place, and provides an interesting image of Western education at KM. In contrast, in the Hindustani classes I observed there was less student-teacher interaction, with students taking a much more passive role.

This posed questions for the student-teacher relationship; the *gurukul* system that Shreya describes predicates itself on a *guru-shishya* relationship in which the teacher is not usually challenged (see Ruckert, 2004). As Ramnarine (2007) notes, in such a system students are not permitted to embark on a solo career until the teacher gives them permission or thinks that they are ready to do so. Indeed, George describes the issues he felt Shreya faced as a result of a focus on critical thinking: 'From her tradition, teacher and guru cannot be questioned. And then she ends up with students who challenge'. The combined forces of Western-style critical thinking and Western ideas of student-teacher relationships indicate the tensions that arise in this educational context. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development[117] (OECD) has described the primary aim of higher education as the development of critical thinking skills. However, Atkinson (1997) has questioned the appropriateness of teaching such skills in non-Western contexts, arguing that they embody values and beliefs specific to Western societies. The educational philosophies of the Western and Indian musical traditions raise questions that go beyond musical content and the acquisition of skills to social dynamics and educational values. The prominence and dominance of 'critical-thinking' at KM could be seen to collude with the hegemonic positioning of Western education globally, reaffirming dichotomous thinking between traditional and modern and India and the West.

Tensions and negotiations surrounding the nature of education, critical thinking, musical boundaries and student-teacher relationships were brought into relief in debates surrounding the 'hybridisation' of the curriculum. I sat in on a faculty meeting where a discussion about hybridisation ensued. Shreya, the Hindustani vocal teacher, was very clear that she felt students had to gain distinct knowledge of the classical traditions before they could be fused in any meaningful way, whereas Johnny felt that crossovers should be implemented from the beginning. Johnny outlined his position:

> The music theory needs to be revamped so that you can show the crossovers from the beginning. […] We have to redraft the curriculum. I think the way the traditions are shown as relating couldn't be more superficial. They are taught as completely

[117] The OECD is described as 'an intergovernmental economic organisation with 36 member countries, founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade. It is a forum of countries describing themselves as committed to democracy and the market economy, providing a platform to compare policy experiences, seeking answers to common problems, identify good practices and coordinate domestic and international policies of its members' (see http://www.oecd.org/about/).

unrelated segregated fields.

The issue here – and highlighted by several lecturers – was on whose terms did such hybridisation take place, and at what expense to epistemologies. Both George and Shreya felt students should be given a firm foundation in both traditions before a fusion of the curriculum could take place. George noted:

> The senior faculty do not want to hybridise, there are faculty who do want to hybridise it from its initial stages. We do not think it viable or beneficial for students […] it's also a good learning mechanism for the students to understand that it's not necessarily that this is the correct or this is the incorrect approach, but the mode of knowledge transference varies greatly from a more aural tradition on one side to a more written tradition on the other side. […] students get used to interacting with the teacher and the knowledge being presented. […] One of the unique things of KM is having staff who have trained elsewhere but we combine that with people who are trained in a much more traditional Indian sense. The students have to learn a flexibility of approach when they are being taught by someone on one side and when they're being taught by another.

Resonating with Bradley (2012), developing common understandings requires potentially glossing over some of the distinct epistemological and social dimensions of Hindustani classical music such as the student-teacher relationship. However, both positions are marked by ambivalence: in one, the question is how you represent a distinct version of the musical tradition that is not reductive;[118] in the other, the question is how you develop a hybridised curriculum that does not reduce musical traditions to a meaningless fusion framed by unequal power dynamics.

Many of the teachers also noted the transformational effects their experience of education at KM had on them. Shreya described being influenced by KM's chamber choir to establish a Hindustani vocal ensemble. She states: 'In the ensemble, I take so much of harmony into it. Cultural exchange that is happening.'[119] For Joseph, his

[118] There is another tension here: the reaction against neoliberalism and musical encounters could be seen as an attempt to 'preserve' cultures not dissimilar to nineteenth century museum culture.
[119] The Hindustani vocal ensemble can be seen here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_CQBbCgs28Y.

educational approach and philosophy was also shaped by KM: ‘It’s about sharing something rather than promoting it. I think you also have to be open to learning something. As long as it can be an exchange it can be a healthy thing.’ In an attempt to negotiate the tensions surrounding teaching Western art music in KM, Joseph described some of the teachers during his time had become students of Indian classical music:

> A lot of us were also here as students. I studied Carnatic violin, the percussionist learnt *tabla*. It was a case of creating the right attitude in ourselves rather than coming in with something sparkling and with arrogance. We were learning something about the culture and music of the culture.

As a result of these experiences Joseph described a change in his educational philosophy:

> On the part of the teacher, I never saw any teaching in the sense that we know teaching. All I saw was imitation, not a word spoken, and the student tried to do it and they keep going without a word spoken. Nobody teaches them per se. They have a positive attitude of trying to imitate the sound, it is a positive musical skill. It’s the way kids learn language, people pick things up, and it’s the same thing with music.

Joseph concluded that his experience: ‘Changed my philosophy towards music-making. We study so much and try to find so many techniques for practising and learning, yet we look down on imitating things.’ In Western art music, emphasis is often placed on notions of creativity that are related directly to original thought and critical engagement. Recent research (Rink et al., 2018) on music education has marginalised imitation in the process of teaching, learning and performing of music, whereas in Indian classical music imitation is a key pedagogic tool that can subsequently be used to develop an individual musical voice. The educational environment at KM and the experiences of teachers illustrates the tensions that exist between rote learning and critical thinking and the contrasting pedagogic approaches and philosophies. Joseph indicates the ways in which teachers’ philosophies were shaped by such experiences, suggesting a dialogic and relational view of teachers’ experiences at KM. Rather than adopting fixed gatekeeping role to knowledge (see Shoemaker and Vos, 2009), teachers are also involved in the learning-process, adapting and developing teaching

practices in relation to the environment in which they find themselves. Rather than playing gatekeeping roles traditionally associated with pedagogues, these teachers tried to develop a teaching practice in dialogue with the diverse needs and experiences of their students as well as their own experiences.

Case study: Hundred Foot Road Ensemble

Vivid examples of the negotiations identified above were found in teachers' attempts to generate and make sense of connections between students' experiences of KM, experiences outside KM, and preparation for life beyond the institution. Echoing Taylor's (2015; 2016) argument for connections to be made between Western art music education and the students' social experiences, two of the composition lecturers sought to relate their teaching practices to the lived experiences of students. Alex and Johnny spoke of their desire to develop teaching methods that drew on influences from student experiences of India and Indian classical music, as well as Western art music. Alex stated:

> My training is in western classical music, Avant Garde stuff and the tradition that flows out of that, and that has so little contact with what the people do here. Whenever I have the chance to share this music and contextualise it the students find a lot in it. I encourage them to find how it relates to their music, and what they want to do musically, and what they want to do after [KM].

One of Alex's aims was to establish a 'new music ensemble'. He stated: 'We're trying to sort out what this ensemble means in the institution.' In relation to this ensemble, he spoke about the challenges of teaching composition, and how he had adapted his approach:

> I took over the composition forum classes. First thing I tried to do is to give them a bunch of really interesting things to read and get together and talk about them, Dave Hickey and Susan Sontag articles, things like that. That wasn't working so I had to reassess what was going on with those forum meetings to make them useful […] Students here don't do so well with theoretical learning. They deal much better with hands on activity rather than reading 100 pages a week and get together and mull over this stuff.

Again, the difficulties of critical thinking and independent research in the context of KM was raised as an issue. Alex decided that the students needed more practical engagement and developed a project that would combine composition with practical skills:

> They needed experience of getting performers to perform, experience of conducting and running a rehearsal, experience organising and coordinating concerts […] Working towards a concert enabled me to address certain kinds of skills a composer needs […] We needed to put a concert on and we needed to make things happen instead of just talking.

Alex described some of the practical skills the students developed including the importance of writing scores that were easily understandable, coordinating rehearsals and concerts, acquiring knowledge about instruments, as well as thinking about ways to publicise the concert, for example, via social media. Moreover, in the concert, Alex encouraged a 'talk-back' session in which students took questions from the audience. He described this serving two purposes, with an eye on the practical skills such education develops as well as the need to connect with audiences: 'If it's going to be a meaningful experiment with local contexts and audiences, we have to have these talk-back sessions'. Again, this served to challenge the separation between audience and composer, developed practical skills of community engagement and debate, and serving as a sense-making exercise.

In the first instance, the project utilised instruments[120] students were unfamiliar with as well as found materials from around Chennai - using them in a free improvisation session that was recorded. The idea was that students could then draw extracts from the recording to develop compositions. Steve, a brass teacher, and I took part in this rehearsal. It was interesting to observe the ways in which these students approached free improvisation. Some of them approached the instruments with trepidation, whilst others did not understand how they were expected to improvise. Students also took turns to conduct the ensemble. Alex then used a recording of the session to make what he described as a 'moquette', a 5-minute sound art composition, which was presented to the students as a demonstration of the kind of thing they could do. The students were then asked to take the recording and develop compositions which would function as discussion points in the lesson. Alex also produced a composition that would be

[120] Instruments included a prepared piano, electric cello, and euphonium.

discussed in the class in an attempt to democratise the experience. Again, this challenged the traditional Indian teacher-student relationship. As he described: 'I think we did get this sense of group ownership over the project.'

Image 1: Free improvisation session, KM. Photograph taken by the author.

Image 2: Prepared piano, KM. Photograph taken by the author.

Alex continued that he was trying to '[find] a way for people to make music they find interesting that grows them aesthetically and artistically but also can connect with what the culture is here.' He described the fine balance between teaching challenging techniques and relating these to local contexts:

> When I teach composition lessons here I'm trying to find the music the students here are interested in writing, whilst at the same time trying to provide techniques, contexts, concepts, and alternative aesthetic values to keep their brains moving rather than encouraging them to try to make something that's comfortable for them. I want them to make music they believe in, that is true to the values they have […] We're trying to establish connections with an audience – Indian audiences are not American audiences. […] it's

> experimental, it's an opportunity to make a new kind of music here and see how it fits in the context of Chennai and India.

Johnny, the other composition lecturer, described his teaching priorities along similar lines: 'I want them to engage on a really personal level with what composition can possibly mean for them in India.' A major concern and source of tension for the composition lecturers was striking a balance between developing compositional skills that would be useful to students in India's music industry and the desire to develop individual compositional voices that were not necessarily geared towards the music industry. Johnny stated:

> It's a horrible mistake to ignore the wider communities or the financial and economic realities. None of us go into music to lock ourselves up but with the wish to share and communicate. But you have to find that sweet spot; the conversation becomes cheapened by assumptions of other people and questions of accessibility and vocational skills.

Indeed, Johnny wanted composition to be a 'stand-alone' element beyond the industry:

> As well as succeeding in the industry of composing in India, I'd like to see how they can bring their creative sonic skills to communities and networks of friendship wherever they're from or in their immediate circles. Then I want them also to be very critical about what they're doing. If they start thinking critically and having other insights, they might write interesting film music. Composers are starting to write some music that breaks away quite radically from Indian film music.

Again, notions of critical thinking, original thought and creativity were the focus of the composition lecturers, portraying their educational philosophy and desire to go beyond the regurgitation or imitation of fashionable trends. Both composition lecturers were engaged in a sense-making process – trying to make sense of contemporary art music composition in relation to KM, Chennai and India as well as student experiences and tastes.

Reflections on Teacher experiences

The teaching contexts and experiences discussed above serve to affirm the complex relations and interactions that are experienced by teachers at KM. All teachers interviewed relayed concerns about how to engage students in ways that related to their diverse educative experience as well as to wider ecologies. The main tensions generated by KM's bi-musical curriculum revolved around how teachers negotiated musical boundaries, the effects this had on teacher-student relations, and the educational goals teachers wished to achieve. Teachers' responses indicated the flexibility as well as rigidity of these negotiations that were part of a broader process of engagement that was used to make sense of the significance of Western art music education. The lived experience of teachers is valuable for several reasons. It gives us a window through which to understand the reaffirmation of binary thinking as well as the way binaries are simultaneously blurred in teacher experiences of KM's bi-musical education.

Student experiences

The tensions and negotiations highlighted by lecturers were played out dramatically in student experiences. Student respondents used in this section were at various stages in their studies. Four were Foundation (first year) students, five were Diploma 1 students, and seven were Diploma 2 students. Two respondents were former KM students who had subsequently returned as vocal teachers. One had pursued music studies at Middlesex University, whilst the other had completed a Diploma course at KM and gone straight into teaching. Three of the students had extensive backgrounds in Carnatic classical music, five had backgrounds in Hindustani classical music, two had a background in both traditions, and three had a limited background in Western art music. Five had undergraduate degrees from Indian universities in subjects other than music and one had an undergraduate degree from a university outside India. The students ages ranged from late-teens to early-thirties. The diverse educational backgrounds and ages of these students means that they carry with them certain musical 'baggage' and 'biases' that have influenced their responses. All participants were from an economically privileged background.

Critical thinking, rote learning and student-teacher relationships

Many of the students understood or conceptualised their experience of Western art music in relation to Hindustani classical music, drawing on well-established and

potentially problematic tropes. Harsh, an 18-year old Diploma 1 student, had grown up in Mumbai learning Hindustani classical music and popular music. He conceptualised Western art music as structured and important in developing the foundational skills required of the 'modern' musician:

> There are structures behind writing it, there are structures behind performing it […] It's important for a musician to develop that discipline and understand structures. The structures that are followed […] bring the musicians onto the same page. […] I'm interested in learning more about harmony [and to] read and write music. It fascinates me. Hindustani is just improvisation; I want to be able to understand the complexity that music can bring.

Critical engagement and understanding are mobilised as signifiers of Western education and its suitability for a modern and globally interconnected world. Pavi, an ex-student and vocal teacher at KM, also described the aural and theoretical knowledge fostered through Western art music and its accessibility through scores and text-based knowledge. He stated:

> If studying for a degree it should be Western. You get vocal ability skills from that education. Also, I can go like x-ray vision when I listen to any piece, I can understand it. Counterpoint and the theoretical stuff, sight-reading – every musician should have those skills. It is universal – person from US will understand you and you will understand him.

Hitesh welcomed the accessibility and variety of text-based knowledge available to students via books and the internet, as well as the plethora of music institutions worldwide. He stated:

> Nowadays there are lots of conservatories, universities doing higher education in western classical. [There is a] depth of learning, so many genres, string quartets, trios, symphonies, different styles of music, so many composers lots of different techniques, lots of different authors, writers, and critics. Alex [a composition lecturer] gave us 11 pages of composers' names. He wanted to make us listen but it's a 5-year project (he laughs).

Other students also described the importance of Western art music as a foundation that would equip them with the skills needed in today's music industries, particularly in India. Hitesh, a Diploma 2 pianist, asserted that learning orchestration and listening to Wagner would be useful for composing film music, illustrating the significance of Western art music education in relation to the Indian film industry (see Morcom, 2017 on the importance of Western orchestras for the Indian film industry). Similarly, Jishu described Western art music education as developing multifaceted skills such as music theory, history, analytical techniques – for example 'Schenkerian analysis – critical thinking and so on', that he viewed as essential for the modern musician. Similarly, Gatek described the importance of studying orchestration for film scoring, as well as developing dictation skills through sight singing so, as he described, he could 'hear the entire sound in my mind and improve overall musicianship'.

Students often contrasted their experience of Western art music with that of Hindustani classical music. Vijaya describes the distinction between the aural and written traditions of Hindustani classical and Western art music:

> In Hindustani we don't have particular [written] records. Hindustani is mostly without proof [and is] an aural tradition. We have to believe. [In Western art music] we get to see the process, really see it and believe it and then we can look for something else in that.

Vijaya's comments illustrate a distinction made by many students (and lecturers) that Hindustani classical music is taught through aural history rather than verified historical documents.

These tropes were also revealed in how students conceptualised and approached performance. Again, students can be seen to reaffirm dominant and potentially problematic conceptualisations of performance in both traditions. For Pavi, experiences of Hindustani and Western classical music performance differed considerably:

> Because everything is written prior [in Western art music]. The score is there, less scope to improvise, even though I personally feel you can improvise, you can add ornamentation and all these things […] Indian classical has more freedom for improvising. Western classical has sheet music asking you to get into that feel,

> you play what's written on the score, but with Indian classical you create the feel. Stage fear is more with the written score, there are strict instructions.

When asked for clarification, he expanded: 'In a live concert of Indian music, I don't have to perform the piece exactly like that in every venue, I mean note-wise. So, if I have a piece in Italian, that note has to be that note [sings passage of Handel's *Ombra Mai fu*]'. This quote could be said to illustrate the prescriptive connotations of Western art music set against an aural improvisatory tradition of Indian classical music embedded in student conceptualisations of the two traditions and their performance, perhaps reflecting established tropes that could be said to have roots in colonial ideology and philology.

Further enquiry revealed that these student experiences are illuminative of the negotiation of broader sets of relations and interactions including notions of creativity, etiquette, posture and performance psychology. Pavi further developed this point by outlining the relatively few (but significant) parameters of Indian classical performance: 'In Indian classical music there are less columns to tick. If you're pitching is not good you are not good. Especially in performance, if you go out of tune in one note you are considered a lesser level'. Lavin described his experience of performing Western and Indian classical traditions: '[Indian classical] it's a lot more comfortable. Western classical music you have to keep the techniques in the back of the head'. Pavi and Lavin have outlined what they feel are the differences between the performance traditions of Western and Hindustani classical music. The emotional meanings attached to performance were also mobilised by students as distinguishing factors between the two traditions, related to written and aural dichotomies. Parin, for example, felt:

> In Western classical, the way you sing, the performer already knows the piece, you have a score. […] You think about the emotions of the piece. […] [In performance] the pressure is technical. In Hindustani, […] the way you approach the piece [and performance] is completely different. […] In Hindustani you only sing this *raag*; you don't know anything else apart from that. I don't know how I'm going to start, how long I'm going to sing […] In Western classical you know, you have the text and emotions.

Parin's comments would upset many Western musicians, but what can be taken from his description is the different demands of performing Western art music and Hindustani classical music. Parin explained the differing conceptualisations of creativity further:

> In Western classical you are the performer. Performing Hindustani, the singer is performer and composer. The nature of creativity is different. Performers' creative job in Western is to bring out emotions and interpret the music. How to approach the pianist, where he is coming from, and how to depart from that – that is performer's creativity, dynamics and so on. Indian classical is more about the *raag*, staying in 5, 6, 7 notes, and bringing a beautiful thing out of it. […] in Hindustani you are also the composer, developing your own point of view, this doesn't happen in Western – the performer is just the performer. In Hindustani it's all one.

These issues were reiterated almost verbatim by Jatin, a 27-year old Diploma 1 vocal student and composer who had studied Carnatic classical music since childhood, especially in relation to the nature of creativity:

> I do not have the pressure to be creative with Western. I have already decided what I'm going to sing, emotional expression is already fixed. Maybe something happens that is spontaneous, but mostly it is already there. The pressure of creativity on stage is less. Carnatic music does not give importance to voice texture, vocal range. It is about how creative you are within your limitations. What can you do for a different colour. I can choose not to go to the high G if I don't want to, but in Western, voice has to be perfect. It's a different kind of pressure. Carnatic is more mental music; here [in Western] it is how physically well I am. In Carnatic, if I'm really confident in my creativity it won't go off. In Western classical you have to be physically well otherwise it can go off. I'm always more confident with Carnatic, you [the performer] have more control. Western classical is physical, Indian classical is more mental.

These responses articulate a diverse range of narratives in the sense-making process in which differences between the traditions become somewhat reified, drawing on notions of essentialised differences. In terms of preparing for a performance, Parin noted:

> Before performing that *raag* you practice it for a year; for Western classical you learn the piece in a month. You can't do that with a *raag* […] it takes long time to build mental and muscle memory for the microtonal aspects. Minor six for example [sings] in *raag bhopali* is really between your 5th and 6th [degrees of the scale]. To train your voice to sing minor 6th [in *bhopali*] you really have to focus completely into it. Sing one note wrong it goes wrong; if speed is not there it kills the composition part.[121]

Students also described differences in the psychological approach to these musical traditions. Lavin describes utilising the meditative qualities of Hindustani classical music to prepare for Western performance: '[I] start up with the Indian piece. It sets up the mind to be in a peaceful state'. In contrast, he felt that if he started with Western classical music he 'had a lot of difficulties' in terms of having a 'peaceful state of mind' in performance. Similar sentiments were expressed by Gaurav, Hitesh, and Jishu who also noted the meditative connotations of Hindustani classical music as beneficial for the psychological preparation for Western performances. Relatedly, Aakesh described his approach to dealing with performance anxiety: 'exercises of relaxation, meditation makes you focus on things; Indian musicians sit quietly, eyes shut. This helps to gather all that energy and hold onto it, then we are ready.' Whilst the utilisation of the meditative qualities of Hindustani classical music to prepare for Western performances points to syncretism, it can also point to the ambivalence surrounding bi-musical experiences; students associate Indian classical music with spirituality and meditation, whereas Western art music could be interpreted as being associated with secularism and rationality, potentially reaffirming Orientalist representations of these musical traditions and, by extension, East and West. This resonates with Subramanian's (2007) insight into the Orientalist discourses mobilised in the modernisation of the Indian classical traditions. Moreover, such representations of Western music are perhaps as reductive as Orientalist characterisations of

[121] I assume this student was referring to *raag bhopali todi* rather than *raag bhopali. Raag bhopali* equates to the major pentatonic scale and does not include a flattened 6th degree of the scale. *Raag bopali todi,* on the other hand, does include a flattened 6th degree of the scale.

Indian music; they do not account for the diversity of meaning and expression that surrounds either Western or Indian musical traditions. For example, student responses resonate with the notion that the performance of Western art music serves as the reproduction of composers' meanings (see Cook, 2014).

According to George (lecturer) the accessibility of learning materials such as scores, books, online information, and its 'structured' and 'goal-oriented' pedagogy led to the development of a preference for Western art music amongst some students: 'We very often find points where they begin to favour one method or the other and will start to challenge the validity of one tradition.' Over the course of my research, it was always the validity of the Indian tradition that was challenged. Rather than epistemological diversity, such educational experiences had the potential to challenge and undermine the validity of Indian classical teaching. Bhairavi, a Diploma 1 student, provides some insight into what lay behind these preferences:

> I've experienced all three [Hindustani, Carnatic and Western classical] and find Western classical, […] it's so much more engaging because your sessions with teacher are always one-on-one. It's not like that for Hindustani. With the way Western classical music is taught in general – the how's and why's are explained so much better.

Bhairavi had initially come to Chennai to study Carnatic classical music but changed her focus to Western art music after becoming disillusioned with the Carnatic teaching she was receiving:

> the *guru* I had found was unfortunately quite the dictator. Demanded hours and a very specific way of learning and would mock you, and I wasn't learning anything. He demanded that you didn't sing anything else, otherwise he wouldn't teach you […] They expect you to invest so much time with so little investment from their side. That's how it's taught in general, that just wasn't working for me. There wasn't a guarantee of pay off […] to at least know you were headed in the right direction.

Bhairavi draws on the goal-oriented nature of Western education, and how this had a better fit with the time constraints of 'today's world':

> It was how organised [KM] was. It wasn't just endless time with a

> teacher where you had no fixed goal in sight and it may or may not work out […] obviously that's just not practical in today's world, I mean, how could you not give yourself a deadline with some cut-off, right?

Similarly, Lavin described differences in the amount of time needed to master techniques in the Western and Hindustani traditions:

> Western classical accesses voice production technique more easily. This is not taught in Hindustani, how you learn only comes with time. There is no theory of warm-ups.[122] The first two years sometimes you just sing *sa*. It takes much more time to get this. In Western classical it is much easier to get what is required of you as a performer.

Bhairavi's and Lavin's comments resonate with the association of Western pedagogy with modernity, structure, and its relevance to contemporary life. Importantly, their comments highlight attitudes to time and goal-oriented education; Bhairavi feels 'Indian' teaching methods and a 'loose' approach to time and goals are incompatible with the 'modern' world and are ultimately unproductive and inferior to Western music education. Her comments indicate the pressure the *guru-shishya* and *gurukul* systems of teaching are facing within KM and more broadly in modern India.

This indicates the complex positioning of Western art music in KM that resonates with the effects Western economic models and ideas have had historically on the use of time and space in Indian classical music education and performance (Butler Schofield, 2017). Pertinently, Western pedagogic methods and philosophies seem to fit with the global orientation that Derné (2014) and Beaster-Jones (2016) argue the affluent Indian middle-classes have adopted. The preference for a more 'Western' conception of space and time by students is symptomatic of this. For Bhairavi, Indian classical epistemologies are no longer applicable to modern Indian life. This global orientation can be seen as a legacy of colonialism and the cultural hegemony that accompanied it. Western art music is considered more relevant to the ideological changes brought about through an embrace of globalised capitalism whereby 'neoliberal' values are preferred over 'traditional' ones, privileging a structured, goal-oriented education.

[122] It should be noted singing ***alanka's*** are similar to vocal exercises used in Western art music, and that singing the *sa* could be considered a warm-up technique.

Hitesh also described differences in the teacher-student relationship:

> [In Hindustani] it's a group session, basically storytelling, a background level story. In Western classical we have slide shows, the focus shifts from teacher [and it is] quite friendly. It's more critical, we can ask more questions.

Here, Hitesh's comments indicate a difference in the position of the 'teacher' in the Hindustani and Western traditions. In the Hindustani the teacher is conceptualised as a gatekeeper of knowledge, whilst in the Western the teacher adopts a facilitatory role allowing more scope for critical engagement. Similarly, Gaurav spoke about differences between the education philosophies of the two traditions and the impact it had on student-teacher relationships:

> In Hindustani we have the *guru-shishya* tradition. This is not there in Western and it is much more open, we can talk freely and discuss the issues that I face, and we can work on it precisely. In Hindustani you just keep doing it, figuring it out on your own.

Again, the experience of Western art music and what Gaurav describes as a more 'open approach' is presented as a modern pedagogic method which fits better with a global orientation, resonating with some of the comments presented in Chapter 6 and explored in this chapter. However, the tension that this introduced to the notion of 'open-mindedness' was clear. The narrative of 'open-mindedness' as representing a global orientation have been explored in Chapters 5 and 6, again relating experiences of Western art music education to a global orientation. Students also mobilised such narratives in relation to their educational experiences. Gaurav describes music education 'opening-up [his] mind to all sorts of things.' He also described the way he perceived Western art music in relation to Hindustani classical music that brought this into relief:

> Hindustani I always thought was very narrow-minded, but these rules in Western [art music] open us up and make us not rigid. Performers and composers are so open minded in Western. Berlioz was so ahead of the time. I studied Hindustani beforehand, and Western opened me more to thinking openly. […] Learning a style defines your mental state of mind, your opinions, those type of things.

Similarly, Jatin describes a philosophical awakening through his engagement with Western art music: 'What fascinated me about western music was the evolution, the breaking of the rules. I listen to a lot of modern music, read a lot of journals about people like John Cage'. Gaurav and Jatin's comments illustrate how notions of 'opening-up' and a 'global orientation' are played out and embedded in their educational experiences.

Due to the perceived structure and organisation associated with Western pedagogy, there were instances where the Hindustani faculty were put under pressure by students to adapt teaching practices. A sense of friction between the pedagogic approaches of the two traditions was identified by several students. Gaurav, a Diploma 2 student, described developing:

> a hatred towards the Hindustani tradition because I couldn't understand what it was teaching us in the long run, and I really started to like the Western because of how precise it is […] Because in Hindustani they sometimes say things in an indirect way.

Rather than creating a more diverse or plural epistemological position, Western art music education is at times positioned as more relevant and better suited to the 'modern' world, characterised by rapid globalisation and urbanisation. This points to fundamental philosophical questions about the nature and purpose of music education. The 'clear' and 'structured' pedagogic practice associated with Western art music is compared favourably against Indian classical traditions, with students drawing on its relevance to wider ecologies. This has broader ramifications, especially when considering essentialising narratives employed in, for example, Orientalist discourse that associates the West with modernity, structure, rationalism and productivity, whilst the East is associated with spirituality, irrationality, emotion and low productivity. These indicate the relevance of broader social narratives to student experiences of bi-musical education. Such comments also resonate with the goal-oriented education proffered by internationalist agendas and capitalist job markets, portraying the ongoing influence of Western economic models on Indian education and thought.

This led some students to suggest adaptations to Hindustani teaching. Jishu, a Diploma 2 student, described one such incident:

> The two traditions are quite separate from each other. In

> Hindustani class, after Mam [Shreya] had had the staff meeting, she asked the class 'how do you feel about the teaching process in KM and how can it be improved?' You see, Western classical is very professionally taught, with slides and all; Hindustani is very aural and it's not well documented. […] So we finally inferred that we need power-point slides […] she impromptu translates stuff from Hindi textbooks, and on the basis of this, everybody writes stuff down, but it's a very personal notes thing – our notes won't be the same and won't be consistent. In Western we have fixed slides as well, and also have our own notes. […] We told her she teaches history because it's a history that prides itself on forging links. So we have Bach on one side, what happened in India at that time? [Shreya] told us it has to come from our side, [that] we have to make the connection.

Jishu's description shows the ways in which the student-teacher relationship is being challenged in the Hindustani lectures, influenced by students' experiences of Western music pedagogy and technology. This goes some way in illustrating how complex bi-musical education is; it is not just musical differences that students have to negotiate but also different student-teacher dynamics and culture. Making links between the two traditions was raised by teachers in the previous section. Shreya's suggestion that such connections were not the responsibility of staff but had to come from the students is perhaps symptomatic of the difference between her view of the teacher-student relationship and that held by some of the Western teachers i.e. that there is a far more clear-cut distinction between the teachers' role and that of students. To reverse Haddon's observation on the transformative potential of bi-musical education, engagement with the 'other' has made students more 'Western-oriented' with them developing preferences for notions of professionalism and modernity associated with Western epistemology.

However, this created tensions for some of the students. For Pavi, traditional Indian pedagogic methods were important, describing his experiences at KM:

> KM Hindustani teachers approach teaching in a very traditional Indian way. It's a completely different approach […] Indian music is a discipline that enhances the whole idea of learning. You can't learn it the same way as Western. You cannot dilute the subject.

> This is happening outside India, happening in the UK. There must be respect for the way it is taught. […] I taught Indian classical music in Milton Keynes, there were many questions to face, how to bridge this gap, enculturation and all that. […] Indian teachers expect respect in certain way, but in UK [you] will get a culture shock. […] I had to adjust myself. For UK I can expect these things, wearing shoes in class. Here, in India, it is disgusting.

This could be of benefit to students in that they become familiar with different social dynamics, though it can also create tensions between students and teachers, as well as between teachers and teachers, as seen in the previous chapter. It is important here to relate these comments to the history of Indian classical music education, its institutionalisation, and its adaptation to urban settings that was brought about in part by colonial encounters and the distorting effects of Western notions of time, space and goal-oriented education. Indian classical music continues to be adapted to urban settings and to new musical markets, and KM can be seen as part of this.

Many students noted broader changes to the status of Carnatic music education and identified the impact of 'modern' life on the Indian classical traditions. However, they suggested this was not necessarily a consequence of Western art music but rather that of the Indian film music industry. Jatin suggested:

> The importance of Carnatic music has gone down, Indian artists don't have much support. It's the movie industry now, western popular music. AR Rahman made a sudden change, [his music] was easy to understand, each song lasted 5 minutes. All this affected my performance too. I was made to sing more popular film songs from peer pressure. […] There was no demand for Carnatic classical. When I was 16 years old we perform two and half hour concerts, when audience was in the mood. But now, you don't see concert going beyond two and a half hours.

Aakesh also described changes in attitude:

> People have less patience now. People want something really fast, life is fast these days. In Hindustani you present the *alap* and *rag* you chose to perform, express the pitches. Most of them [audience] won't sit around for long, they get impatient.

> Performance as well as education is changing. Students don't want to reside with the group and teacher in the *guru-shishya* or the life of the *gurukul*. They want individual lessons and quick results.

The preference for 'faster results' by students resonates with a 'Western' conception of time and space; what are considered the typical elements of Indian classical education and accompanying epistemology are no longer considered suited to the contemporary, metropolitan environments in which they function (see Harvey, 2005).

Transference and syncretic practice

Reflecting the complex tensions outlined above, students drew on musical knowledge of the 'other' to make sense of their educational experiences. As Vijaya explained: 'I identify with Western classical through Carnatic music.' The experience of bi-musical education at KM is not only one of perceived conflict and dislocation but also one of transference and syncretic sense-making. For Harsh, studying Hindustani classical music was beneficial for his study of Western art music: 'Studying Hindustani classical music gives the singer a very good sense of pitch. That helps insanely [sic.] when it comes to ear training in Western classical music.' Parin also described the importance of Indian classical music in developing aural skills:

> With my background in tonal I can relate any note taking the *sa*, this has helped me in musicianship skills. […] In [music] theory, I relate chords to different *raagas*, half diminished chords are similar to *raag banmati*. It has helped understanding western.

Similarly, Jatin described utilising Carnatic thought process to understand Western art music:

> For Western classical harmonies I used Carnatic *saregama* in musicianship classes. If you play a chord 5, I hear 5 [5th degree of the scale], 7 [7th] and then 2 [2nd]. Every harmony I understand in terms of Carnatic.

Several students highlighted the way in which techniques taught in one tradition could be transferred to the other. In Gaurav's case, starting practice sessions singing opera and then moving to Hindustani practice was beneficial. He developed this point further, suggesting that learning the two traditions in tandem 'really helps you speed up both

individually, but you have to know it is for your good, and understand what it's teaching you, but if you go blindly you will probably shift to one'. Gaurav reiterates the constant tension and negotiations, as well as potential benefits, that exist in bi-musical education. He added:

> There is a huge difference but also similarities. Breath is the most important thing, breath control in both, but the approach in both styles is different. Holding breath for long in Western focuses on the diaphragm. In Hindustani it's the *sa*, holding the *sa*. I like the more precise technical way in Western. Exercising the breath helps me in Hindustani.

Similarly, Lavin described his approach to warming-up:

> They complement each other. I start off with western because the range is vast compared to Indian classical, it sets up the voice. In Indian there is much more sense of pitch, this helps pitching in Western.

Lavin also described syncretism:

> [Western] vocal techniques aren't there in Indian music. So we learn them and apply them to Indian, adapting techniques we want to apply to Bollywood songs. Many people want film singing and playback singing. Western can improve their range.

These comments resonate with Taylor's (2015) suggestion that students learn a unique technique through Western classical training that can differentiate them in India's film industry.

Links between *raags* in Indian classical music and modes in Western art music were highlighted by many students. Vijaya continued: 'I don't prefer one; together they are helping me understand […] All linked together for me, like comparative learning'. Similarly, Parin described forging links between notions of 'tension and resolution' between *raag*-based music and tonal music:

> In Hindustani you have *raagas* that teach you tension and resolution. In *[raag] Yaman* so much prominence is given on 7th note, then you keep pulling it [in performance] so they [the

> audience] are on the edge of their seat. I could [therefore] communicate with western; Indian classical music teaches from a different perspective, uses different terminology, but shuffle it around and [you can] relate this to that. So many pieces in Western are based on *raags*. The modes are nothing but 7 basic *raagas*. Then Debussy the impressionist – he uses folk *raagas*, *Bhopali* pentatonic scales and all. It's really fun to listen to it and relate to it.

Whilst the student accounts above show the ways in which learning experiences in one musical tradition can complement the other, there were also instances of confusion. Parin noted the confusion that arose from modulations:

> In Western classical there are lots of modulations. For the Indian listener, we sing one *sa* and don't move from it. *Gharaberum* have a scale *bhopali* where they modulate to the second but sing the same notes and it becomes a different *raaga*, but it's rare. Western is emotionally confusing, one piece takes us through a rollercoaster when it modulates. Mozart's symphonies going to relative minor is very strange for me. Bach and Corelli are difficult because there are so many modulations.

Similarly, Jatin described difficulties in breaking away from Carnatic modes of thinking when listening to music that modulates frequently, especially when composing:

> I have to forget my tonic which is very hard for a Carnatic musician. You listen to the tonic for 1 hour and then do something else. Melody in Carnatic, that comes to mind very easily. I am trying to limit the influence of melody and think more about the harmonies, stop thinking about melody and think about harmony progressions [in my compositions].

Similarly, Parin also described his difficulties making sense of contemporary art music:

> Atonal music goes above my head. I am so much into tonal music, consonance, dissonance, those things. I see atonal music as sound effects; the wind, crows squawking, how do you replicate this in string quartet. Music is something different; [atonal music] is not music in my ears. I'm not saying it's bullshit it just hasn't

> happened for me, like Schoenberg. I get the classical genre, Mozart, Vivaldi […] [Atonal music is] very experimental and not natural to musicians. In Indian music, everything is tonal; the foundation is built on *raagas*.

Contemporary music composition was an integral part of KM's curriculum though some students had difficulty engaging with it. The tension was not necessarily between Western and Indian traditions but between tonal and atonal aspects of contemporary music. This illustrates the challenges bi-musical students face when trying to make sense of multiple musical traditions.

Composition and audio engineering also provided a space for students to negotiate their diverse learning experiences and musical identities. A number of students were involved with Alex's Hundred Foot Road Ensemble and described their experiences. The compositions that emerged from the project were diverse. One of the students who had a background as a DJ produced a piece influenced by what he understood to be 'intelligent dance music' (see Alwakeel, 2009 for a discussion of this term). He produced an electronic piece called *Cosmic Glitch* that tried to replicate the sounds of malfunctioning machinery by using a midi interface. Another student's piece was based on his own text and recordings of vocal students at KM. He was interested in minimalism and created a piece using Logic, parts of which were triggered in live performance via midi interface. Other pieces featured Carnatic flute and harmonium. One student used footage from Charlie Chaplin's 'The Great Dictator' and drew on what Alex described as 'film music mentality'. Alex's piece was scored for prepared piano, vocals and harmonium (that Alex described as sounding like '*Qawwali* or *bhajans*'), and stylistically drew influence from jazz and rock. Such use of composition, electronic music and audio engineering demonstrated the diversity of compositional output of the students, but also the ways in which audio engineering was used to traverse local, global and musical boundaries. However, many of the issues regarding student-teacher relationships, power dynamics between the musical traditions, critical thinking and Western notions of creativity had not been overcome by this exercise. Aakesh commented:

> Sound art was a new concept for me. We used collected sounds and do something with it. We wrote 8 compositions using similar sounds, but compositions were very different […] I decided to use percussion as a melodic instrument. The bassline was recorded

> sounds I made sitting in a restaurant having lunch. […] Spoons touching the plate and all those sounds. We were thinking in a different way with sound art, to explore sounds and extract sounds.

He described the Indian elements used in his composition: ‘So with the snare, I went from 5 to 4 whilst still using Carnatic rhythmical complexity.’ Jishu described his use of the recording of the free improvisation session that preceded the Hundred Foot Road performance, and the way this made him think differently about the relationship between composers and performers:

> I used the Great Dictator, that scene from Charlie Chaplin. We were composers and performers at the same time. We learnt about graphic notation, draw an image and [the performer] would play that. That’s not me that’s him. It’s awesome how composers and performers are insanely [sic.] equal. All of us were equally amateurs but it was organic.

Jishu’s experience of Hundred Foot Ensemble indicated the ways in which students occupied and negotiated various roles, destabilising the fixed positions of teacher-student, composer-performer and performer-audience member. Gaurav described his experience of the Ensemble:

> We used influences from different traditions, Hindustani, Western, Carnatic. We did a composing workshop for each piece, giving space for all performers to improvise [with] limited boundaries. It was a communal effort, teamwork. Some compositions were totally western in sound, but others had Indian sounds. Pavan’s composition used splashes, it was abstract. Bharat’s sounded like it was influenced by Arabic music. One had harmonium and had that Indian sound. Alex wrote some songs, Jishu improvised a vocal melody. My composition was minimalism, [I wanted to] let the audience sink in the sound.

Gaurav felt that Hundred Foot Ensemble was: ‘Representative of the [students’] diverse backgrounds, and education in some sense. The compositions were totally different’. The student experiences of the Ensemble indicate the ways in which students interact with technologies to negotiate diverse learning and musical experiences in a constantly

evolving sense-making process that also includes engagement with musical genres outside of the classical traditions such as electronic dance music.

Reflections on student experiences

Student responses indicate the competing, complementary, and, at times, conflicting experiences of music education at KM. Students articulate their experience of Hindustani classical and Western art music through a reaffirmation as well as blurring of the following:

- Rote learning and critical thinking
- Unstructured and structured learning
- Aural and written pedagogy
- Teacher-student relationships
- Differing conceptualisations of creativity and performance
- Differing conceptualisations of the value and relevance of the two traditions

Students, at times, found it difficult to negotiate and appreciate contrasting pedagogic methods and philosophies. This often resulted in students developing a preference for Western music education as a result of what they felt was its openness and relevance to the modern world. They often drew on Orientalist discourses and broader ecologies to articulate differences between the traditions. However, student experiences can also be seen to illustrate self-reflection, dialogue and syncretic approaches that were drawn on by students to make sense of their experiences. This indicates that students do not experience Western art music in isolation but in relation to other ecologies, discourses, and individual interactions.

Concluding thoughts

Teachers and students articulate and understand their experiences in relation to economic, musical, political, ideological, epistemological, and technological factors. They use the interactions and relations between these broader ecologies to make sense of the significance of the musical education they are experiencing. Respondents also negotiate musical boundaries, teacher-student dynamics, and epistemologies through individual, group and institutional interactions. KM's bi-musical environment is problematic and the musical encounters that take place within it often lead to a reaffirmation of binary thinking. However, teachers and students also place their

educational experiences in dialogue with other knowledges and understandings, leading to self-reflection and syncretic musical practices. For example, students draw on syncretic learning strategies to make intelligible their experiences of these musical traditions, whilst teachers adapt teaching to suit the diverse experiences of students and institutional demand. Bi-musical education can play a role in destabilising established and dominant narratives as Haddon and others suggest, but this should be tempered and, I would argue, enhanced through acknowledgement of the ways in which it may actually perpetuate the discourses that it is claimed it unsettles. This is not to criticise the views or experiences of the participants included in these chapters, but to highlight the tensions and complexities that surround such musical encounters. To paraphrase Boer's (2009) comment on European representations of Indian dancers: the roots of participant experiences and their representations of musical traditions are drawn from 'real-time' interactions that have taken place within the institutional space of KM. Understanding the sensitivities of Western art music's relationship with other musical traditions within KM reflects the tensions and complexity that surround Western art music in India more generally.

8. Conclusion: The significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India

Why are you here? You've come to the wrong place…

Above is a quote from an interview with a retired, Christian violinist from Chennai who had been involved with the film music industry and Western art music. He lamented the decline of Western art music in the city whilst showing me leaflets and pamphlets of a failed attempt by a French conductor to establish a symphony orchestra in Chennai in 2005. Whilst the scene the elderly musician depicts does not reflect the vibrancy of Western art music in Chennai, the exchange was symptomatic of questions I received throughout the course of this research. Questions focused on the incongruity of researching Western art music in India, the implication being that the two had no relationship or relevance for each other. Leading on from this, I would often be asked why I was not researching Western art music in the UK or Indian classical music in India. And one individual took issue with the very idea of the project, forming a postcolonial critique of the research, the power dynamics involved, and me as a researcher from the 'global north'. He felt that the sets of relations that surrounded the research and my position made the project unethical. These questions encouraged a self-reflexive evaluation of this research and my positionality, as well as influencing the formulation of my primary research question. So, what is the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India? And what is the value of this research? Returning to my theoretical framework, I want to conclude by arguing that first Western art music's significance lies in its unique positioning in contemporary, metropolitan India that encourages those involved to bring into dialogue diverse relations and interactions to develop their own and others' understandings, and second its significance is dependent on these interrelated factors.

In trying to unravel and understand the significance of Western art music in India, the thesis has engaged with diverse material ranging from missionary and philanthropic work (Chapter 4), the narratives and experiences of affluent middle-class parents (Chapter 5), the narratives and experiences of students at KM Music Conservatory (Chapter 6), and the power dynamics, relationships and interactions generated through the 'bi-musical' curriculum at KM (Chapter 7). Through these chapters, and in answering the research questions posed in the introduction, I make four assertions. Firstly, that individuals make sense of Western art music and their own position in dialogue with seemingly disparate ecologies and discourses as well as through the

relations and interactions between individuals, groups and institutions. Secondly, Western art music functions as an important site around which individuals and groups coalesce and express shared values and identities. Thirdly, institutions, as normative and cultural phenomena, are embedded in complex networks of relations that shape positionality, institutional identity and the education they offer. And finally, I suggest that the significance of Western art music is not only generated through the interplay of external relations but also through lived experience of education and performance. In each case study and at every level, a complex process of assemblage of various influences, motives and meanings, and the interpretation and reinterpretation of these, is drawn on to make sense of Western art music's significance. The diverse empirical material presented is united by a broader process of relational theorising and shaped by shared relations and interactions. Yet the relations and interactions individuals, groups and institutions draw on, as well as the ways in which they make sense of them, are fundamentally situational and lead to variations in the ways in which actors mobilise the significance of Western art music.

I have used the term 'linked ecologies' to show that the significance of Western art music is shaped by economic, political, ideological, technological, and musical ecologies. For example, in Chapter 6, students draw on a diverse range of factors they feel have influenced their decision to study music: the oversaturation of job markets, increasing affluence, the adoption of a global orientation set against conservative attitudes reflected in part by Hindu nationalism, the local and global status of AR Rahman, increasing opportunities to study music, and the cachet of an internationally recognised qualification. The responses of these participants reveal a rich interplay of social, economic and political influences that has shaped their decision to study music. Similarly, the parents discussed in Chapter 5 noted that their children had greater opportunities to study Western art music because of the expansion of music institutions including schools, retailers and performance organisations. Technological developments – especially the internet – were also noted to have enhanced accessibility to Western art music through exposure to global trends. Similar examples can be found throughout the empirical chapters, indicating the ways in which these 'linked ecologies' shape and are drawn on to articulate the significance of Western art music.

In addition, and linked to the above, it is clear that Western art music has the potential to perpetuate 'problematic' discourses. I have drawn influence from Said (1994) as well as de Sousa Santos' (2012; 2018) only slightly melodramatic term 'abyssal thinking' to

identify the ways in which Western art music can generate 'troublesome' dichotomies. In each of the empirical chapters 'abyssal thinking' has been signposted as integral to conceptualisations of Western art music's significance. Individuals, groups and institutions have been shown to draw on discourses that mobilise notions of, for example, universalism, modernity, morality, global orientation, salvation, affluence and Western art music's 'elite' status as a way to make sense of and project Western art music's significance. These discourses were often placed in opposition to what were perceived as more 'conservative', 'old-fashioned', 'insular', 'rigid' or 'local' discourses represented by, for example, 'traditional' values and the pedagogy that accompanies Indian classical music. For some of the participants, such positions are deemed important in challenging ideologies associated with Hindu nationalism; for some of the authors I reference, (Beckles Willson, 2013 and Baker, 2015), these characterisations of Western art music exemplify the propagation of Western cultural hegemony and Orientalist, neo-colonial and neoliberal ideologies through Western art music.

However, rather than seeing this as a negative outcome, I would argue that these more 'problematic' associations contribute to the significance of Western art music in the context of contemporary, metropolitan India making it an extremely vivid and valuable art form. If, as de Sousa Santos argues, these 'problematic' discourses are recognised and challenged, they generate extremely valuable dialogue and reflection. This entails a recognition of the potential perpetuation of 'abyssal thinking' from both without – conditions brought about by colonial legacies, neoliberalism and globalisation – as well as from within – the potentially reductive and Orientalist discourses often drawn upon to articulate and make sense of musical experiences. Indeed, as Martin Stokes has warned 'we should not forget that music is one of the less innocent ways in which dominant categories are enforced and resisted' (Stokes, 1996: 8) and conceptualising it as frictionless abstracts it from its social value. Part of the significance of Western art music is that it does not always sit comfortably in contemporary, metropolitan India, but is replete with contradiction and ambiguity. As soon as we start to engage with these more 'problematic' discourses that surround Western art music, we begin to understand how these, to paraphrase Said, 'are constructed, for what purpose, by whom, and with what components' (1994: 380). I also want to note here the tendency of writers like Baker to invalidate articulations of knowledge they consider associated with colonialism in ways that actually resonate with the 'abyssal thinking' de Sousa Santos outlines, especially in the moralising elements of their arguments that seem to chime, somewhat ironically, with the moralising sentiments of colonial discourse. Moreover, articulations about Western art music that focus on, for example, text-based

knowledge and rote-learning are, of course, ambiguous but certainly not invalid ways of thinking and are extremely valuable elements that add to the rich patchwork of meaning associated with Western art music in India and elsewhere.

Moreover, whilst engagement with Western art music can lead to 'abyssal thinking', its position in India is far more nuanced. For example, the narratives employed by the OMB and the Sunshine Orchestra focus on notions of the 'deserving poor' and the moral and transformative potential of Western art music that could be said to perpetuate nineteenth century discourses. However, this is shaped by the embeddedness and relevance of Western art music to local music scenes and traditions, and, subsequently, the very real opportunities it affords participants: Western art music education is seen as an opportunity to acquire a skill that could have a transformative impact on their lives through enhanced employment opportunities in the bands of the uniformed services, as musicians in film orchestras, and at corporate events and weddings. As such, the students of the OMB and Sunshine Orchestra occupy a curious position – they are considered of low social status because of their socioeconomic background and the status of musicians, and yet often circulate in high status networks, blurring the boundaries between rich and poor. This example shows that the significance of Western art music has as much to do with local concerns and social dynamics as it does with overarching narratives about Western cultural hegemony.

The career trajectories of participants in Chapter 4 stand in contrast to the aspirations of affluent respondents in Chapters 5 and 6, who wanted to pursue careers in music therapy, as composers and producers, in advertising, and arts education. None of the affluent participants expressed any inclination to join the bands of the uniformed services, play music at corporate events, or become a member of a film orchestra. This indicates how the significance of Western art music for careers is conceptualised differently by rich and poor, serving to reaffirm boundaries. For example, the affluent middle-class parents discussed in Chapter 5 recognised the global cachet of Western art music for *curriculum vitae* enhancement as well as for university and job applications. Some of these parents saw Western art music as an extracurricular activity – a hobby rather than a career choice – voicing uncertainty about whether a music career could provide financial security and implying that such a career choice would ultimately lead to downward social mobility. However, these mobilisations were also indicative of the diverse influences that shaped parents' engagement. For example, one parent asserted that her involvement was not only shaped by 'Western'

values but also by Brahmin philosophy as well as Western art music's situational significance within the study cities. For the students in Chapter 6, music education was considered an expression of global orientation that, whilst not necessarily leading to financial gain, served as an expression of modernity and transnational identity. But within this, students also negotiated 'traditional' family values and 'local' musical styles such as film music. Moreover, their decision to study music was sometimes considered by parents and extended family members as a choice that would lead to downward social mobility. At one and the same time, then, Western art music was mobilised as an expression of affluence, liberalism, rebellion, generational divide, marginality, elitism, modernity, internationalism, as well as local histories and changing consumer tastes. As a result of the interplay between relations and discourses that surround Western art music there is a simultaneous reaffirmation and blurring of the dichotomies of India and the West, rich and poor, tradition and modernity, old and new, and the local and global.

Part of Western art music's significance, then, is that it reflects these broader ecologies and discourses as well as the relations and interactions that surround them and are generated through them. To paraphrase Cook, it is not only Western art music's meanings that are 'renewed and regenerated' through social usage, but also the meanings and significance of broader ecologies and discourses. Western art music provides a space in which those involved make sense of their relationship to as well as between ecologies and discourses, bringing seemingly disparate factors into dialogue. Within this, individuals, groups and institutions exercise agency in the ways in which they make sense of these broader influences. This resonates with Cook's (2018) assertion that 'life is full of scripts' which are drawn upon in day-to-day interaction. However, 'the relationship between script and reality [provides space for] multiple (mis)translations […] which give rise to unpredicted and unpredictable outcomes' (2018: 202). Therefore, overarching narratives that, for example, suggest Western art music's significance is primarily shaped by 'Western values' or 'hegemony' do not adequately accommodate the numerous and diverse ways in which participants engage with this music. This serves to undermine a simple application of the binaries that de Sousa Santos describes as well as indicating the need to recognise and destabilise the perpetuation of reductive discourses on all sides. Just as soon as the more problematic elements of Western art music come into focus, they are simultaneously blurred and undermined by the contingent, situational and relational position of Western art music in India.

As I have noted, the significance of Western art music is not only shaped by broader ecologies and discourses, but also by the interactions and relations between individuals, groups and institutions at a more situational level. Cook has written that music should be seen as 'an agent of meaning rather than just a reflection of it […] [M]usic's meanings [are] constantly renewed and regenerated through social usage' (2008: 56-57). If one considers the epistemological negotiations and experiences relayed in Chapter 7, it is clear that Western art music's significance is not only shaped by abstract ecologies or discourses but also through lived experience. I have shown how a range of meanings – from potentially Orientalist discourse to syncretic musical practices – are generated through the lived experience of teachers and students at KM as they negotiate the multimusical curriculum. For example, students developed syncretic learning practices to make sense of their diverse educational experiences, drawing on strategies and skills developed in one tradition to aid the other. However, tensions arose in student negotiations of the two traditions, including the ways in which they were taught, the social relationship between teachers and students, as well as between aural and written modes of transference. These tensions extended to philosophical considerations of the purpose of education as well as educational preferences. In addition, students made sense of their experiences in relation to broader ecologies and discourses including economic conditions, job markets, and Orientalist discourses. This suggests that the experience of Western art music is shaped both by lived experience and the interaction of these broader factors in a co-constitutive, dialogic process.

Similar narratives can be found in the ways in which respondents attempted to share musical experiences with others. For example, KM students described sharing experiences with their parents to help them understand their decision to study music. Similarly, many of the parents in Chapter 5 developed an interest in Western art music through taking their children to lessons and concerts. In both instances, shared musical experiences were mobilised to encourage understanding and dialogue. The mobilisation of Western art music as a form of musical mission in Chapter 4 as well as the entrepreneurial narratives employed in both Chapters 4 and 6 can be seen as broader examples of this. Respondents in Chapter 4 articulated desires to 'share' Western art music with less affluent individuals and groups they perceived would benefit from it. The students in Chapter 6 articulated a desire to introduce audiences to Western art music by drawing on local musical signifiers to both share this music as well as generate markets for work. These musical encounters and shared experiences indicate that, as Martin Stokes states, 'music doesn't simply 'flow' across the gap as

some, talking more generally about cultural globalisation and transnationalism, like to imply' (Stokes, 2012: 99). However, it is also clear that, as Qureshi states: 'problematic as cross-cultural musical encounters may be, they […] offer those who are mutually 'other' a domain of valued experience that they can share' (1999: 322. Cited in Cook, 2007: 37). Whether these participants are considered 'mutually other' or not, it is clear that Western art music can provide a 'domain of valued experience that they can share', both in its traversal of boundaries as well as in the frictions it creates.

There are also clear resonances between the articulations about Western art music presented in the empirical chapters and those explored in Chapter 2. For example, the musical encounters that take place within KM harbour historical echoes of the experiences of musicians such as Maud MacCarthy and John Foulds. In both instances, those involved draw on complex assemblages and meanings, and many of the narratives generated through past encounters are seemingly renewed in KM. These include problematic discourses along with genuine attempts to traverse cultural and musical boundaries. Similarly, the historic significance of Western music in identity formation, the acquisition of social and cultural capital, and social mobility amongst communities such as the Parsis, Baghdadi Jews, Anglo-Indians, British and Portuguese-Goans resonates with some of the narratives employed by participants in Chapters 5 and 6. These communities mobilised the significance of Western art music within broader discourses about modernity and universalism whilst at the same time positioning it in relation to situational and local relations and interactions. And finally, the mobilisation of Western art music as a form of philanthropy has clear resonance with past philanthropic and missionary endeavours, both in the discourses that are drawn upon as well as the tangible benefits exposure to this music confers. Whilst there are clearly situational factors that differentiate the significance of Western art music in contemporary, metropolitan India with that of the past, there are numerous points of connection.

Indeed, as with the diverse case studies presented, I would argue that the past and present are united through a process that foregrounds the relational significance of Western art music; whilst the relations and interactions encompassed within this process may vary, a unity can be identified in the ways individuals, groups and institutions engage in a process of 'making sense' of Western art music in Indian contexts. It is, therefore, my contention, that the empirical data presented in this thesis can provide a window not only through which we can explore many of the concerns of contemporary, metropolitan Indian society, but also as a way of reengaging with

historic mobilisations of Western art music in India. This includes the ways in which Western art music can re-establish and blur relationships between conceptualisations of tradition and modernity, India and the West, old and new, rich and poor, the local and global, and self and other. The persistence of these dichotomies cannot be dismissed but must be engaged with in all their ambiguity – both in terms of reaffirmation as well as blurring in both the present as well as the past.

Further examples could be drawn from the body of the thesis to illustrate the above points. A thesis about Western art music in India will never just be about Western art music; rather it will be about how it is experienced, negotiated, disseminated and positioned in relation to broader ecologies, discourses as well as agency. Western art music's significance lies in the multiple and constantly shifting meanings it simultaneously holds, lending it a dynamic rather than static quality. Thus the meanings and narratives that coexist in and around Western art music are constantly in flux and morphing in relation to India's rapidly changing social contexts, sometimes reproduced as well as reframed and reimagined but always in inherently relational and situational ways. It is in this context of rapid change that the values and conceptualisations surrounding Western art music are subject to on-going negotiation, reproduction, transformation and re-imagination. Such relations illustrate both continuities and adaptations, the negotiation of the themes explored in Chapter 1, and the relationship between music, agency and broader factors. All of these coexist and merge with one another in a dynamic and shifting nexus in which continuities and adaptations sit side by side, often overlapping and morphing into one another. The resilience and dynamism of the mobilisations and meanings surrounding and generated by this music suggest it will continue to be of relevance and social significance in Indian metropolitan centres. The relationship Western art music has with Indian society provides a powerful lens through which we can begin to think about and understand the contrasting, competing and often contradictory narratives, discourses and experiences that coexist in contemporary, metropolitan India. To extend Cook's notion of transcultural sense-making, this includes not only trans-cultural but trans-temporal and trans-ecological negotiations that encompass the contingent relationships between old and new, tradition and modernity, rich and poor, local and global, India and the West, and, ultimately, self and other. At every level, Western art music is uniquely positioned to bring into dialogue many of the concerns of metropolitan India – from colonial legacies to Indian independence, socialism to economic liberalisation, globalisation to Hindu nationalism, film music to Indian classical music, the affluent middle classes to the poor, structure and individual agency, and the list goes on – encouraging us to engage

with a process of relational sense-making. Western art music's significance, therefore, does not lie in simplistic or reductive appraisals that are either overly negative or overly positive. Rather, its significance rests in its ability to bring into contact these various factors in ways that encourage dialogue between our (multiple) selves and (multiple) others: each are dependent on the other in complex webs of relations, interactions and influences. Therein lies its significance.

Further research

A follow-up project exploring the career pathways of the students at KM would illuminate where their education has taken them as well as the ways in which the narratives they mobilise about music education have changed since they left the institution. Further enquiry into students' conceptualisation and engagement with notions of creativity and performance would again build on the CMPCPs recent outputs. In addition, whilst researching at KM I explored the ways in which bi-musical students experienced and negotiated performance anxiety. Building on Haddon's (2016b) research, the empirical data suggested that applying insights and conceptualisations of performance drawn from Indian classical traditions could alleviate performance anxiety amongst Western art music students. However, this was problematised by the Orientalist narratives that the students drew on. A project exploring both the benefits and tensions generated by bi-musical education would be valuable to research on performance anxiety.

9. Appendices

Appendix 1: Semi-structured interview - set of standard open-ended questions/themes that provided a structure for participant discussion – page 1

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Key Informants

For Researcher Use Only

(Introductions; thanks for agreeing to participate; ask permission to digitally record and explain right to stop recording at any time explain that you will erase part or all of the data on request; go over consent form and signatures; reiterate that they have the right to withdraw at anytime; ask participant if they have any questions).

The interview will explore the following themes: the engagement/involvement with Western classical music (WCM) the participant has; why the participant is involved with WCM (i.e. what do they get out of it); whether or not there is a history of engagement with WCM in their family and/or community; whether they plan to be involved with WCM throughout their life; and, finally, what role WCM has in present-day India.

Indicative questions:

1. **What is your involvement with WCM?**

Example questions I could ask: When did you first become involved with WCM? How did you become interested in WCM? What is your involvement with WCM? Do you attend concerts regularly? Do you play an instrument?

If they are a student: how often do you have lessons? How do your experiences of WCM shape your relationship with this music?

2. **Why are you involved with WCM?**

Example questions I could ask: Do you think it is important to be involved with WCM? What do you think people/you get out of their/your involvement with WCM? Did anyone encourage or influence your involvement with WCM?

3. **Is there a history of involvement with WCM in your family and/or community?**

Example questions: Is anyone else in your family involved with WCM? Does anyone in your family play an instrument? Is there a history of involvement with WCM in your family and/or community? Other cultural/musical interests do you have (including dance)?

4. **Future developments**

1

Semi-structured interview - set of standard open-ended questions/themes that provided a structure for participant discussion – page 2

How do you see your involvement with WCM developing? Do you think you will continue to be involved with WCM throughout your life? Do you hope to become a professional musician?

5. What role do you think WCM has to play in India?

How do you see WCM developing in India?

6. Concluding questions

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Do you have any questions for me?

7. Concluding remarks

Thank participant for participating; if someone has influenced their involvement with WCM, ask for permission to contact that person; reiterate participant has the right to withdraw at anytime.

Appendix 2: Information leaflet/consent form (Staff and adults)

Consent Form for Staff and adults
'The significance of Western art music in India'

Rupert Avis, PhD candidate, Department of Music, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD. Email: rsa504@york.ac.uk

This is the consent form for my research project. It enables me, the researcher, and participant to formally document the process of informed consent. Below are a series of statements that I will need you to tick if you are to take part. You will also have to provide a signature at the bottom of this form to prove you have read the information sheet and consent to being part of the study. If you are unhappy with, or unsure about, any of the statements made below and need more information, you can contact me at: rsa504@york.ac.uk. If you do not want to take part, you can say no. You are also free to withdraw from the project at anytime without giving reason.

	YES	NO
Have you read the information leaflet about the study?	☐	☐
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study?	☐	☐
Do you understand that you can withdraw from the study at any time?	☐	☐
Do you understand what will happen to your data (including use in future/secondary analysis or research)?	☐	☐
Do you understand that your right to confidentiality will be maintained?	☐	☐
By ticking yes you have agreed to take part in the study.	☐	☐
By ticking yes you have agreed to be recorded (audio/video).	☐	☐

By signing you agree to take part in the study.

Name	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
Rupert Avis	Date	Signature

Appendix 3: Information leaflet/consent form (Parents/guardians and Children/young children)

Consent Form for Parents/Guardians and Children/Young People
'The significance of Western art music in India'

Rupert Avis, PhD candidate, Department of Music, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD.
Email: rsa504@york.ac.uk

This is the consent form for my research project. It enables me, the researcher, and participants' parents to formally document the process of informed consent. Below are a series of statements that I will need you to tick if your child is to take part. You will also have to provide a signature at the bottom of this form to prove you have read the information sheet and consent to your child being part of the study. If you are unhappy with, or unsure about any of the statements made below and need more information, you can contact me at: rsa504@york.ac.uk. If you or your child do not want to take part, they are free to withdraw from the project at anytime without giving reason.

	YES	NO
Have you read the information leaflets about the study?	❒	❒
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study?	❒	❒
Do you understand that you and your child can withdraw from the study at any time?	❒	❒
Do you understand what will happen to you and your child's data (including use in future/secondary analysis or research)?	❒	❒
Do you understand that yours and your child's right to confidentiality will be maintained?	❒	❒
By ticking yes you have granted permission for you and your child to take part in the study.	❒	❒
By ticking yes you have agreed for you and your child to be recorded (audio/video).	❒	❒

By signing you grant permission for your child to take part in the study.

Name	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
Rupert Avis	Date	Signature

Appendix 4: AHEC email of approval

From: **Helen Jacobs** <helen.jacobs@york.ac.uk>
Date: 27 November 2014 at 14:40
Subject: Re: Submission to AHEC
To: Rupert Avis <rsa504@york.ac.uk>

Dear Rupert

Thank you for addressing the questions raised by the committee and for sending the revised and additional documentation. I am pleased to let you know that your project has now been approved by AHEC. On behalf of the committee, I wish you well with your project.

Best wishes
Helen

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Appendix 5: Social Welfare and Missionary Activities presently undertaken by the Oxford Mission, Behala

Sources: http://oxfordmissionbehala.org/ ; http://www.oxford-mission.org/home/index.html

Social Welfare and Missionary Activities presently undertaken by the Oxford Mission, managed by a Trust Association are basically three fold :

Firstly - Promotion of Education

A. ***Hostels with Boarding and Lodging*** facilities are provided free of cost to one hundred and fifty B.P.L. and under-privileged boys, between five to sixteen years of age.

B. Primary Education in the Mission's own school and further higher studies upto Secondary level, in a Government High School including provision of text books, study materials and class-wise private tuitions, for all hostellers.

C. Organised In-House Computer courses for all boys of Class VII to X.

D. Provisioning of School uniforms, sporting appurtenances Scouts and Cubs dresses and recreational items like T.V., V.C.D., Music System.

E. Medical treatment by a resident Medical Officer and ENT Specialists; hospital treatment if necessary.

F. Stringed, brass, wood-wind, percussion, guitar, key-board, tabla, drums are provided, for age-wise, instrumental music training, by accomplished musicians.

G. Weekly sessions on Contemporary singing, folk-classical dance forms, arts-crafts, drawing etc. under experienced teachers.

H. Sponsored technical training and or higher studies upto graduation level for meritorious students.

I. Apart from formal education, boys are engaged in outdoor and indoor games, scouting cubing activities and social work within the Mission's Compound.

Secondly - Community Services

A. The Mission also caters to the needs of the local community, nearby schools, clubs and especially senior citizens by way of free access to the playgrounds to morning walkers, joggers, athletes, school and college

students for sports, football, cricket coaching camps and tournaments.

B. A free Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic, under specialists, rendering voluntary services is operated by the Mission, for the needy sections of the local community.

Thirdly - Social Service

A. The Mission has been operating since 1954, a thirty bedded Old Age Home named ‘Santi Nivash’, for elderly males and females, with homely care and affection.

B. It has also provided land and administrative back-up since 2006, for health-care purposes, by way of a Hospice Clinic – cum – Hospital for HIV-Aids and T.B. patients and a residential Nursing Girls’ College for Basic, Post Basic courses.

Projects in Hand

1. A Master Plan is being finalised for 41 Bighas (13.7acres) of the existing Oxford Mission compound, with a G+4new building, for a Millennium English Medium School, on IB patterns, with Hostel facilities, covering Academics, Music, Sports, Games, Aquatics, Foreign Languages, Performing Arts, and an Open Air Shelled-Stage Music Auditorium, with a capacity for 2500 persons. The Project, the only one of it’s type in this part of the city, is expected to become functional by 2016.
2. SENIOR CITIZENS’ / RETIREMENT HOMES stands administratively approved for construction on 2.1 acres of available land and is scheduled to become functional by 2016.
3. A ‘RETREAT CENTRE’ for spiritual nourishment and a Home for Destitute Women, requiring psychological and physical rehabilitation, has been planed.
4. 4. OPERATION OF NIGHT SHELTERS for Homeless people is in the pipe line.

Other projects we are undertaking

At the various sites in India and Bangladesh, the Oxford Mission is actively suporting the local communities. Part of our work is through specific projects aimed at improving conditions both at the Mission premises and within the local communities within which we work.

Current projects include the following:

Behala, India

- St. Joseph's school is being upgraded to an English Medium School. We are now retraining staff and will be renovating the school. In the longer term we hope to expand the school and extend the premises to enable the school to teach an increased number of pupils.
- Old persons residence: The first phase of a significant expansion of the offering to the older residents of the area is now taking place with the renovation of existing buildings on the former Sisters' side to be used to provide additional accommodation for old people.
- Tank clearing: A vital part of life revolves around the various "tanks" on site. They provide valuable sources of food (fish), and also provide much welcomed recreational facilities. Over the next year or so we will be restoring another tank

10. List of abbreviations

- **ABRSM:** Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music
- **AWM:** Academy of Western Music
- **BJP:** Bharatiya Janata Party
- **BSM:** Bangalore School of Music
- **CNI:** Church of North India
- **FICCI:** Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
- **GST:** Goods and Services Tax
- **HMS:** Hindu Maha Sabha
- **IMSLP:** International Music Score Library Project
- **INYOC:** Indian National Youth Orchestra and Chorus
- **INR:** Indian National Rupees
- **KM:** KM Music Conservatory
- **MMA:** Madras Musical Association
- **MMMF:** Melhi Mehta Music Foundation
- **MSM:** Mathiesons School of Music
- **NEM:** Newly Emergent Middle-Class
- **NRI:** Non-resident Indian
- **OMB:** Oxford Mission Behala
- **RSS:** Rashtriya Swamsewak Sangh
- **SSO:** Scottish Symphony Orchestra

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