

Western Classical Music in Mumbai: Global Music, Local Meanings

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Hannah Marsden, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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6th July 2018

Abstract

This thesis is an ethnographic and historical investigation into the roles and meanings of Western classical music in Mumbai and Goa, India. My core argument is that the values and ideologies held by those involved in Western classical musicking in Mumbai do not always correspond with local values and ideologies prevalent in the city. Tensions are thus created, as a transnational music historically rooted in European high art cultures meets local values in a post-colonial site.

Chapters one and two present a historical account of Western classical music in Mumbai. Drawing on extensive archival research as well as on oral histories, I outline how Western classical music was established in the city, and what it meant to the communities involved in it. The rest of the thesis is based on ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in Mumbai in 2014 and 2015. In chapter three I take three case studies, a local music competition, an amateur orchestra and a Catholic choir, to explore various ways in which Western classical music can be employed as signifier of, and can participate in the construction of, multi-layered and nuanced identities. I show how practitioners of Western classical music in Mumbai are subject to questioning from within the locale and from international audiences regarding their identities as *Indian* Western classical musicians. Chapter four focuses on the Symphony Orchestra of India. In the first section of this chapter I place the orchestra within local discourses about social status and class. In the second half, I unpack the role of the orchestra within cultural diplomacy, and question its significance as an internationally recognised marker of soft power (Nye 1990). Chapter five focuses on the role of Western classical music within social development projects. I suggest that ideologies and values underpinning notions of music being an agent for social change do not always correspond with local ideologies and values. I question the ethics and effectiveness of three socially focused music projects in Mumbai and Goa. In chapter six I examine music education praxis in Mumbai. Taking Lucy Green's argument that education participates in the construction and perpetuation of ideologies about musical value as my starting point (Green, 2002), I suggest that music schools and music curricula within local International schools legitimise Western classical music as an academic discipline, and have the capacity to influence local ideologies about the value of Western classical music.

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Notes on the text

Commonly used acronyms

NCPA National Centre for the Performing Arts

SOI Symphony Orchestra of India

BCO Bombay Chamber Orchestra

FSM Furtados School of Music

MMMMF Mehli Mehta Music Foundation

Notes on interview transcriptions

Throughout this script I have included several direct quotes from informants, which have been transcribed from recorded interviews or other sources. I have not altered or corrected grammatical errors, nor have I highlighted any etymological incongruities by adding a bracketed sic. I ask that the reader be aware that some speakers had English as an additional language, and that Indian English should be considered as a dialect with its own speech particularities.

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Introduction

This thesis is about the roles and meanings of Western classical music in Mumbai, India. It provides a historical account of Western classical musicking in Mumbai, which is based on archival research and oral histories, and an ethnographic exploration of the scene, which is based on a year-long period of fieldwork undertaken in 2014 and 2015. In this thesis I discuss Western classical music in relation to local, national and global identities, to nation building and soft power, to social development and to music education. My core argument is that the values and ideologies held by those involved in Western classical musicking in Mumbai do not always correspond with local values and ideologies prevalent in the city. Tensions are thus created, as a transnational music historically rooted in European high art cultures meets local values in a post-colonial site.

Background

My interest in Western classical music in Mumbai stemmed from a short period of working in the city in the summer of 2012, when I had volunteered to teach in India as part of a scheme placing UK-based music teachers in schools and music centres across India, an activity founded on a desire to spend more time in the country, and to perhaps even find a job there after my MA was completed. My two-month long placement, which primarily involved teaching classroom music in a large international school in the suburb of Navi-Mumbai, was originally undertaken for the purposes of gaining experience of living and working in Mumbai: I had visited the city previously and enjoyed its pace and vibrancy. However, through my teaching work, and through the musical relationships I built, I was able to gain an unexpected insight into the Western classical music scene in the city.

As the weeks progressed, I discovered that there was a small but active Western classical music scene in Mumbai, with one established amateur orchestra, one professional orchestra, a number of choirs, and a plethora of music schools. Myself and two fellow volunteers from the same scheme spent some of our time working in these schools, teaching piano to the children of Mumbai's affluent middle classes. We also volunteered in several schools for under-privileged communities: we were keen to feel as though we were making a difference to the lives of children living in extreme poverty. We found that music education was in high demand, and we were constantly busy.

Questions presented themselves. Which local communities were involved in Western classical music, and what did their involvement signify to them, as well as about them? How was Western classical music in Mumbai perceived and received by those playing it, and by the wider community? How were Indian performers of Western classical music received transnationally? What did the presence of a professional symphony orchestra signify about Mumbai? What was Western classical music's role in social development projects? What was music education contributing to ideologies surrounding musical value in the city? These questions, which had not been addressed in any prior research by other scholars, formed the basis for this project.

This thesis was proposed as an ethnographic study, which was to be based on research I was to conduct during a period of fieldwork in 2014 and 2015. Once I commenced fieldwork I quickly became a participant in the Western classical music scene, joining several ensembles, including the Bombay Chamber Orchestra (BCO). My first concert with the BCO was in May 2014.

The week before the concert I would wake up at 5.30am in my apartment in Mumbai whilst it was still dark. Carrying my viola, I would walk a short distance to the nearest taxi rank, the five

minutes of exercise feeling like an ordeal in the thick-aired heat. The drive south along the empty sea-link road watching the sun rise hazily over the city's skyscrapers was always my favourite part of the journey, and at 6.45am, I would arrive at a school building in the Fort area of South Mumbai in full blazing morning sunlight.

Throughout the two previous months the orchestra had met for a few hours every Sunday morning under the baton of Mr Alaric Diniz, longtime member and clarinetist, but for the week before the concert we met each morning at 7am to intensively rehearse with a professional guest conductor, Leonti Woolfe from Israel, for an hour and a half before work or school.

May is the hottest month of the year in Mumbai. When I arrived in the city in January it was already sweltering and sticky, but friends kept telling me, wait until May, in May you will experience the real summer heat. When May finally arrived I understood. The heat, which had been steadily building through March and April, was something I had never experienced before, it was oppressive, humid, relentless, exacerbated by Mumbai's densely packed housing and choking pollution, not even letting up during the night time hours.

I felt a little embarrassed to admit that I travelled to BCO rehearsals by taxi: some of the musicians in the orchestra rose at 4am and travelled in the heat by train for over an hour, only to go back again to attend school or work in the northern suburbs. Many had been in the orchestra for years, some for decades: the BCO inspired the highest levels of dedication. The school hall we practiced in, though large and airy, did not have air-conditioning, and for that week we would sit every morning under whirring fans, hot and tired but determined to work hard to put on a concert of which to be proud.

I had been invited to play in the BCO after telephoning its founder, a vivacious octogenarian Parsi lady named Jini Dinshaw, at the beginning of 2014. I had called asking to meet and interview her about the BCO, having already established that the orchestra and Miss Dinshaw were considered stalwarts of Mumbai's western classical music scene.

Miss Dinshaw (generally called 'Miss Jini', in affectionate deference, by members of her orchestra), however, was more interested in how I could help her, and immediately asked me to play in the viola section, which was low on numbers. I had not brought my viola with me to India, partly because my cheap airline ticket only allowed me to bring minimal baggage, and partly because I hadn't really expected to play. Miss Jini suggested that I borrow a viola, which I did from another stalwart of the local scene, Furtados Music Store director Anthony Gomes, who was himself an amateur violist. Before I knew it I was the newest member of the BCO. The first piece we played in rehearsals was Mendelssohn's *Hebrides Overture*, a piece I had played as a teenager in my youth orchestra in Sheffield, and again with an amateur orchestra in London. I felt very at home.



Illustration 1. The Bombay Chamber Orchestral in rehearsal. May 2014.

Similar things happened throughout the first month of my fieldwork. When I visited the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation (MMMMF), a music school specialising in piano tuition, I was immediately asked to step in and teach, as one of their regular piano teachers had suddenly left her post. As I had worked as a piano and strings teacher in London, I was happy to continue teaching in Mumbai, it gave some much needed extra income, and meant that I had full access to the school and the students, even if it did mean continuing to work on Saturday mornings as I had done for years previously. Similarly, my initial meeting with Furtados School of Music (FSM) resulted in my being recruited as a teacher-trainer, using my decade of experience as a music teacher in the UK to help develop their fledgling classroom music curriculum. I was asked to play viola with a group of string players called the Phoenix Chamber Soloists, to do the occasional function gig, and to listen to mock examinations for friend's students. Later in the year I spent some time volunteering, teaching keyboard to music teachers at Mukhtangan, a school serving disadvantaged communities in the centre of the city. I attended every concert possible, spending many evenings at the National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA), at the very southern tip of the city. Essentially, I found myself unable to be an 'observer' of the scene in the city. As a professional (Western classical) music teacher and amateur viola player and pianist, my skills were in demand: I was sucked in.

However, as my ethnographic research got underway it became clear to me that the Western classical music scene in Mumbai in 2014 had been preceded by a long and complex history. My informants would refer to events which had happened decades earlier, or would discuss musicians or key figures whose influences were still being felt years after their deaths. More questions began to present themselves. When and how had Western classical music become established in Mumbai? How had historical events, attitudes and values shaped contemporary musicking in the city? I became aware that a knowledge of the history of Western classical music in Mumbai was necessary; it would facilitate a deeper and more nuanced understanding of my ethnographic data.

This realisation led to a period of extensive archival research, which I undertook after returning from the field¹. This research, supplemented by oral histories that I collected in Mumbai, is presented in chapters one and two. Chapter three to six are based on my ethnographic fieldwork.

In taking Mumbai as a specific locale to examine a transnational music, this thesis considers the city's role in shaping Western classical music as a global cultural form, as subject to, and a part of, global flows (Appadurai 1996). As Mina Yang argues, 'it is no longer possible to speak of culture as monolithic or pure; rather, culture today is comprised of a highly hybridized set of practices inflected by both global and local trends' (Yang 2007:3). Mumbai was a site in which meanings of Western classical music were in negotiation, and in which discourses surrounding the global and the local were fore-fronted, complicated by post-colonial tensions, by Mumbai's status as an emerging global city, and by sometimes conflicting ideas of nationalism and globalism. It was also a site that I knew well, having spent some time teaching and building contacts in the city prior to starting this research project, as I mention earlier in this introduction. There had never been an in-depth study of the Western classical music scene in Mumbai, despite its long history: I saw an opportunity to contribute original research which would be of interest to Mumbai's residents, as well as to the transnational scholarly community.

The choice to research Western classical music (rather than Indian music²) for this thesis was a conscious one, and was based on my own prior musical expertise and experiences: I am an ethnomusicologist with a background in Western classical music (I had studied a BMus before an MA in ethnomusicology, I trained as a classical violist and pianist, and before my PhD studies I had worked as a piano, upper strings and classroom music teacher in London for many years). Bruno

1 I could not find any significant archived information about Western classical music in Mumbai in the city, with the exception of a private collection of concert brochures kept by local pianist and conductor Parvesh Java.

2 I had previously spent time in South India learning Carnatic music, and was at one point tempted to research this genre.

Nettl has suggested as recently as 2005 that many ethnomusicologists aspire to produce a monograph entitled 'the music of the' at least once in their lives, calling such a work 'the meat and potatoes book' (Nettl 2005:234). For myself, monographs of this nature are built upon, and perpetuate, notions of otherness, and are a manifestation of scholastic hegemony and chauvinism. Many scholars are now choosing to focus on researching within their home locale or their own musical culture(s) (Stock and Chou 2008). As this thesis is about Western classical music, I suggest that it falls in line with these more contemporary trends, and contributes to a newer field within ethnomusicology: the ethnomusicology of Western art music (Nooshin 2011). Key literature situated within this emerging subdiscipline includes Nettl's *Heartland Excursions* (1995), Stephen Cottrell's *Professional Music Making in London: Ethnography and Experience* (2004), and the collection of articles in the special issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum* journal entitled *The Ethnomusicology of Western Art Music* (2011).

Literature on Western Music in India

Western classical music in Mumbai has never been the subject of an in-depth study, and Western music in India is under-researched. Martin Clayton has commented on the lack of attention that Western music in India has garnered from ethnomusicologists, writing, 'Westerners have remained largely uninterested in that part of Indian musical culture that most wants to identify with the West'³ (Clayton 2009:66).

Below is a review of relevant literature on Western music in India, which provides context and background to my own study. I include research about a multiplicity of Western music genres, including jazz and rock; very little has been published which focuses on Western classical music in

3 Western music in India also is under-researched within Indian scholarly communities.

India specifically, a gap that this thesis goes some way to fill. I begin by looking at historically-based works, and finish with ethnographic studies.

In his book *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth Century Anglo-Indian Society* (2000), Ian Woodfield provides a detailed historical account of music making within the Anglo-Indian⁴ community in Calcutta in the 1780s. He suggests that Western music making in India at that time was enhanced by the arrival of a large number of European women into the country - the wives of the East India company employees - who contributed to musical life by hosting soirées and encouraging amateur performances. He situates Western musicking in the 1780s as occurring almost exclusively within the Anglo-Indian community, and as being a predominantly amateur and female pursuit, writing, 'Evidence of Indians actively engaged with European music is extremely rare in the eighteenth century'⁵ (2000:45). He does, though, note that some wealthy Indians were invited to 'English-style concert parties' (2000:151), and highlights some early encounters between British and Indian musicians, pointing to the craze in the 1780s for *Hindoostani airs*: Indian songs and melodies which were collected and transcribed by English female musicians (2000).

Woodfield describes Western musicking in India during the late 18th century as marked by nostalgia and as providing a symbolic connection to Britain, noting the lengths that the British in Calcutta would go to in their attempts to recreate 'an urban centre modelled on that of a typical provincial town in England' (2000:9). However, the singing of patriotic songs also, he suggests, provided a means by which Anglo-Indians might assert moral, racial, cultural and musical superiority over Indian citizens, thereby reinforcing the imperialistic mission and providing the

4 British residents of India.

5 Woodfield does not mention military or missionary work. Charles E. McGuire, in his book *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol Fa System* (2009), touches on the role of music in missionary work throughout the British empire, although he does not mention India specifically.

British with a tangible sense of purpose (2000:138-9). Richard Leppert also discusses the role of music within the imperial project in his analysis of a colonial-era painting by Johan Zoffany⁶. Leppert argues that music and painting were signifiers and transmitters of cultural values and of social, political and economic structures in colonial India (1987). For Leppert, Zoffany's painting, which features an Anglo-Indian family around a piano, translates as imperial policy and cultural chauvinism. The image, Leppert suggests, 'fundamentally demands to be read as Harmony, Unity, Order and (by association) Peace, justifies aggression for the aggressor' (1987: 68). Bradley Shope has similarly noted the role of music in colonial India, writing, 'Music was a crucial element in the construction of identity among India's British rulers who were charged with conquering a land in which high Western art was virtually absent' (Shope 2008:275). Whilst Woodfield writes about his British subjects with a degree of sympathy, suggesting that there was a 'a certain sense of respect' (2000:177) on the part of the British towards Indian music and musicians, Leppert paints a starker picture, writing, 'racial estrangement, based on an economy of colonialism and an ideology of cultural superiority, was obvious at all levels of society and personal interaction' (Leppert 1987:66).

Woodfield, Leppert and Shope present Western music in late 18th century India as playing a role in projects of imperialism, and as existing almost entirely within the social spheres of the Anglo-Indian communities. However, there is evidence that by the late 19th century Indian upper classes were actively engaged in Western music. Charles Capwell has documented the National Anthem Project of 1877, which saw Indian scholar, musician and musicologist Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore given the task of translating '*God Save the Queen*' into Bengali and of finding a suitable melody for it. Capwell suggests that SM Tagore's interest in Western music and his support of Queen Victoria was 'resonant with the concerns and interests of his class' (Capwell 1987:408).

6 The Morse and Cator Families, painted by Johan Zoffany c.1784

Capwell highlights how the introduction of the British National Anthem to India was both political and social in aim. Queen Victoria had been declared Empress of India in 1877 after the British government took over the running of the country in 1858 and the Crown took all Indian possessions, administration, and armed forces from the East India Company. The national anthem would, it was hoped, promote loyalty to the Crown, encourage a sense of personal connection to the Queen, and help to instil Western values into colonial India (Capwell 1987). The elevation of music as an art form would correct and raise the 'general moral tone of the people' (Rev. Canon Harford 1883 in Capwell 1987: 413); people who were at that point considered 'depraved' and 'brutal' (ibid). Capwell's research reveals that Western classical music in 19th century India was still explicitly bound up in wider projects of colonial control and hegemony.

Some primary resources that give small glimpses into India's Western classical musical life in the early 20th century take the form of letters to the *Musical Times*. In 1922 S.M. Everett, professor of piano at the Calcutta School of Music, wrote to the *Musical Times* to complain about the standard of musicianship in Bengal. He asserted that teachers were unqualified and that many students spent a full year learning three Trinity College of Music examination pieces, and had no other musical knowledge. In India, he said, 'musical ignoramuses are legion' (Everett 1922:508). Everett also complained that the state of Bengal did not recognise musical examinations, a fact which indicates that music was not considered a worthy mainstream subject at that time. Whilst Everett did not specify, one can assume that most of the students he referred to in his letter were from the European community.

Benjamin Easterbrook Angwin wrote to the *Musical Times* in 1936 to describe the musical life of a prestigious military school named the Lawrence School, which was situated in the Himalayan foothills. The school's fully fledged music department educated the children in 'true

English traditions' (Easterbrook Angwin 1936:228), playing them recordings of great artists 'so that these children, many of whom have never heard a real orchestra, may get some true idea of the classics' (ibid). Easterbrooke Angwin's record of the school's lecture series, which included lectures entitled 'English Folk-Song – Our Priceless Heritage', and, 'Modern English music is as good as that produced by any nation in the world' (1936:229), highlights the ongoing role of music in maintaining and strengthening notions and assumptions of British cultural superiority, crucial to the colonial project which would have been, at that time, coming under growing pressure from anti-imperialists within India⁷.

Historians researching Western music in India in the early to mid 20th century have focused on Indian rather than British musicking, noting Western music's role as an identity marker within certain Indian communities. Shope, in his essays *Anglo-Indian Identity, Knowledge and Power: Western Ballroom Music in Lucknow* (2004) and *The Public Consumption of Western Music in Colonial India: From Imperialist Exclusivity to Global Receptivity* (2008), situates Western jazz, dance and popular music performance within Goan and Anglo-Indian⁸ communities in Lucknow and in cosmopolitan centres such as Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. Shope explains that the Goan and Anglo-Indian communities at this time were often marginalised in India and treated with suspicion both by their British rulers and by their local Indian community. Western music provided Goans and Anglo-Indians with an 'effective tool in promoting respectability and recognition of the community within the socio-political system of the early twentieth century' (Shope 2004:181) and provided a means by which Goans and Anglo-Indians might 'assert their identities as distinct from other south Asians and highlight that their taste for music reached beyond the geographical boundaries of India' (2004:181). In this way, it could be argued, Goans and Anglo-Indians were

7 Although Easterbrook Angwin does not mention it, perhaps the looming threat of the 2nd World War also played a part in the overtly nationalist nature and tone of these lectures.

8 By which Shope refers to mixed race Indians (Indian and British), not British residents of India as in Woodfield 2000 and Leppert 1987

using music in very much the same way as the early Britishers in India described by Woodfield (2000) did: as a way to reach beyond their locale. However, for Goans and Anglo-Indians in the 20th century, reaching beyond the locale was to sometimes reach to a space in which they were not welcome, as racism was still prevalent within the British and European communities. Jazz performance, though, represented what Shope describes as 'a shift from an imperialist sensibility to a more global receptivity' (2008: 272), circumnavigating the imperialist hierarchies established in Western classical and military music, and allowing Goans and Anglo-Indians to find their own voices in Western musical performance. Gregory Booth has also suggested that Goan musicians regarded jazz as 'progressive' (Booth 142); Western *classical* music, it appears, was still associated with colonial and racist ideologies.

Whilst Shope has discussed Indian participation in Western music in the early-to-mid-20th century in terms of a divergence into jazz and dance genres, Booth, in his 2008 historical ethnography *Behind the Curtain: Making Music in Mumbai's Film Studios*, writes about Western music in the mid 20th century within the realms of the Bollywood film music industry in Mumbai, which at the time, he asserts, was dominated by musicians who were engaged with, and trained in, Western music⁹. Booth identifies Goan and Anglo Indian participation within this sphere, but also mentions the Parsi community as integral to the film music industry¹⁰. He provides evidence that, by the mid-to-late 20th century, Western music performance had become so entrenched within Mumbai's Goan Catholic community that it was generally expected that Goan Catholics would become professional musicians, writing, 'Social identity often has a direct impact on an individual's choices of occupation in South Asia' (2008:121). Goan Catholics were, according to Booth, the 'gatekeepers of Western music' (2008:145); film orchestras were so heavily dominated by Goans that non-Christian, non-Goans, according to one of his sources, were made unwelcome (2008:124).

9 Anna Morcom has examined musical similarities between Hindi and Hollywood film scores (Morcom 2001)

10 The Parsi community are predominantly based in Mumbai and Gujarat, which would account for their presence in Mumbai's film music industry, and for their absence from Lucknow's ballroom scene.

Scholarship focusing on Western music in post-colonial India¹¹ shows how Western musicking in the country took on further layers of meaning and nuance, as post-colonial discourses influenced perceptions and receptions of a music associated with, and rooted in, the British raj.

Booth has published two articles focusing on wind bands in India. *Socio-Musical Mobility among South Asian Clarinet Players* (1997) gives a brief history of wind bands' introduction to India, situating the clarinet firstly within the historical trajectory of military bands and then within the film music and wedding procession industries. In that article, Booth suggests that Hinduism's ideas of ritual pollution (saliva on a clarinet reed being a pollutant) coupled with negative associations with colonialist culture render clarinetists as low down on the socio-musical ladder (1997). However, in *The Madras Corporation Band: A story of Social Change and Indigenization* (1996), Booth suggests that links between Western music and prestige are still tangible in modern day Chennai, writing '[Wind bands] continued presence as musical symbols of status and prestige in public and private settings demonstrates an ongoing relationship with the regions colonial past' (1996:161).

It is in Booth's, and to some extent, Shope's, work that we see evidence of Western music being assimilated into, and refashioned within, Indian cultures during the mid to late 20th century, outlined by Booth, who argues that the continued presence of wind bands in India 'expresses the ability of South Asian cultures to refashion external cultural influences in ways that fit their own patterns of social organization and suit regional cultural needs' (Booth 1996:61).

Clayton's recent ethnographic research into guitar cultures in India explores how shifting notions of the global and local, complicated by post-colonial politics, are negotiated by India's guitarists. In *Local practice, global network: The guitar in India as a case study*, Clayton describes

11 From 1947 onwards.

the guitar as a global instrument which must be theorised locally (2009). He points to tensions between 'Indian' and 'Western' musics within India, suggesting that Indian musicians are sometimes associated with ideologies of cultural nationalism, leaving 'Western' musicians in an 'accidentally oppositional (anti Indian? anti musical?) limbo' (2009:66). In *Rock to Raga: the many lives of the Indian Guitar* (2001) Clayton argues that attitudes to the guitar in India 'are bound up with attitudes to 'Indian-ness' and to 'the West', as well as to concepts of Indian cultural identity and to notions of 'tradition' and 'modernity' (2001: 2-3), writing, 'For many people in India, 'tradition' is assimilated to Indian-ness and 'modernity' to the West' (2001:26).

In terms of situating Western music with specific communities in India, Clayton echoes Booth and Shope by locating Western music within Goan, Anglo-Indian and Parsi communities, although he allows that locally made rock music is increasingly associated with middle class Hindu and Muslim communities (2001). He suggests that a global instrument can be linked to local communities and can express specific social identities within local, national and global spheres (2009:71).

To conclude this literature review I summarise key findings. It is clear from the historical scholarship reviewed here that Western music was implicated in British colonisation, providing a means by which the British could articulate their own (notional) cultural superiority over the Indian population, thereby helping to justify the actions of the East India Company and the British Raj. Alongside this, music, for the British, was also bound up with nostalgia; it demonstrated a connectedness to their homelands beyond the locale. Gradually Western music began to be practiced by Goan, Anglo-Indian and Parsi communities, themselves occupying complex places within colonial society, neither fully accepted by the ruling British colonisers nor by the local Indian citizens. As the 20th century progressed, Western music became very much associated with

those groups.

Clayton asks, 'what do local theorists consider their own and what is other, what belongs, and what is rooted here ... and even, who are “we”, who counts as Indian?' (2009:67). It is here that my own work on Western classical music in Mumbai finds most resonance. Is Western classical music considered 'other' in Mumbai? What identities are articulated through its practice? For Clayton, the position of the guitar in India is complex: it is a part of ongoing negotiations and discourses surrounding cultural identities, notions of nationality and ideas of tradition and modernity. I suggest that my research on Western classical musicking in Mumbai can add another voice to these discourses.

Western classical music: a critical frame of reference

Throughout this thesis I explore Western classical music in Mumbai from a number of theoretical perspectives using a plurality of theoretical frameworks, and for clarity I discuss literature relating to each argument as it occurs within my chapters. There is, however, one trope which I will discuss here in the introduction: arguments surrounding ideologies of universalism and autonomy within Western classical music.

During my fieldwork, I noted that ideologies of Western classical music being a universal language and an autonomous art form were embedded within certain pro-Western classical music local discourses in Mumbai, and were at the root of many of the tensions and debates surrounding musicking in the city. Mehroo Jeejeebhoy, founder and director of the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation, the oldest established music school in the city, communicated a universalist position

typical of many of my informants:

So I still don't like the term Western classical music. I think classical music is just classical anywhere, it is something that has stood the test of time. You know, like, Beethoven doesn't belong to Austria or Germany alone, or artists like Picasso, just because he was Spanish, his legacy is something that he has given to the world. Just like the music of Beethoven or Mozart, it is a legacy for the world to enjoy, not just the West. (Jeejeebhoy. 2014. Personal communication: 5 December)

Universalist ideologies, such as the one outlined here by Jeejeebhoy, underpinned recurrent local arguments for the cultivation, support and funding of Western classical music in the city, arguments which I found to be frequently debated and challenged. Western classical music was, for its proponents such as Jeejeebhoy, a universal language, as relevant and necessary to society in Mumbai as to any other transnational locale. It was autonomous, Western in name but otherwise unbound to any particular society or culture.

However, as I will argue throughout this thesis, Western classical musicking was imbued, for some in Mumbai, with values and ideologies incompatible with local values and ideologies. Zane Dalal, resident conductor of the Symphony Orchestra of India, brought this point to my attention early on in my fieldwork, telling me, "We are going to talk about how the symphony orchestra is at odds with the ground it stands on" (Dalal 2014. Personal communication, 3 February). Western classical music was viewed by some, particularly by Mumbai's ruling right-wing Shiv Sena party, as rooted in, and as a signifier of, European cultures historically associated with colonialism.

As I will make frequent mention of musical universalism and autonomy throughout this

paper, I now explore, in some detail, scholarship surrounding these concepts.

Western classical music as a universal language

The supporters of what is broadly called classical music often praise its ability to express the natural and eternal qualities of the human condition. (Green 2008:7)

Mari Yoshihara provides a framework with which to discuss responses to the ideology of universalism within Western classical music. She divides opinion into two positions: 'universalist', a position which refutes connections between nationality/ethnicity and music making, and 'particularist', a position which sees music making as culturally specific (Yoshihara 2007). This binary, though, implies a simplicity that belies the many nuances, contradictions and grey areas within the debate, which I now outline.

John Drummond asks, 'Is aesthetic appreciation a function of biology or a function of culture?' (Drummond 2005:5). The universalist answer would be that a person from any nationality or ethnicity is capable of being moved, of experiencing emotion or of having an aesthetic experience when listening to Western classical music. Educationalist Terese M. Volk sums up this viewpoint:

Listening to, performing, or composing music from any culture can lead to aesthetic experiences for the students. The intrinsic value of music from any culture may be appreciated to some extent by anyone, regardless of backgrounds. (Volk 1998 in Drummond 2005:5)

A strong advocate for the universalist position, and a scholar who has attempted to critically engage with and provide tangible evidence for the universalist stance, is Laura-Lee Balkwill. In her 2003 PhD thesis *Recognition of Emotion in Music: the influence of culture and auditory cues* (Balkwill 2003), Balkwill argues in favour of 'the existence of universal correlates of emotion in music' (2003:60). She offers evidence that suggests the existence of shared auditory cues in emotionally expressive music from Western, Japanese and Hindustani traditions, finding that her listeners were able to recognise, to varying degrees, music intended to evoke joy, sadness and anger as distinct from one another in all three tonal systems (2003). This recognition was facilitated by 'psychophysical elements' (Balkwill 2002, also Balkwill and Forde-Thompson 1999) such as timbre, volume, pitch range, tempo and complexity of melodies and rhythms. Balkwill, however, bases her claims on a relatively small focus group listening to only three genres of music - Japanese, Western and Hindustani - and she does find that sensitivity to complex emotional cues was diminished in listeners from different cultures. Such a small sample of musical styles cannot be adequate in backing up a universalist position.

Anna Morcom's article *An Understanding between Bollywood and Hollywood: The Meaning of Hollywood-style music in Hindi films* (Morcom 2001) is more specific, examining Hollywood style music in Hindi film scores, asking why 'Western' or 'Hollywood style' music appears to be able to communicate successfully to an Indian audience. Morcom gives examples of musical elements provoking similar emotions in Hindi film scores as they do in Western ones (high tremolo delineating danger or fear for example). Morcom, like Balkwill, focuses on physiological elements and responses, i.e. a sudden loud chords delineating shock, suggesting, 'it does seem probable that a musical effect is more likely to be applicable to a wider range of cultures or contexts if its expression is rooted in a physiological response, and the more basic the physiological response is, the more universal its potential is likely to be' (Morcom 2001:74).

Morcom does, though, point to musical elements that do not always delineate in the same way in India as they do in the West: chromaticism and the whole tone scale, for example, which delineate disturbance in India due to, Morcom suggests, their lying outside the scope of Indian musical genres, but which are often used by Western composers such as Debussy and not considered disturbing (Morcom 2001). Here, in attributing the disturbing affects of the whole tone scale and chromaticism to their absence from Indian musical styles Morcom aligns herself with education scholar Lucy Green's argument that familiarity is key to an understanding of musical meaning: an unfamiliar musical element will result in a negative response and will cause aggravation, regardless of what it delineates in its culture of origin (Green 2008).

Christopher Small, meanwhile, takes a particularist critical approach, one which provides an alternative theorisation of the responses of the listener:

People from other musical cultures, even musicians, who are unfamiliar with the syntax of this music, on hearing the most ravishing (to our ears) harmonic progressions of Schubert, remain as unmoved as a monolingual Englishman hearing Homer read in ancient Greek. (Small 1996:16)

According to Small, unfamiliarity is not met with aggravation, merely indifference. Small does not accept even physiological responses to Western classical music to be in any way universal and suggests responses to it are entirely culturally dependent: a strong particularist stance which seems to be rooted in not much ethnographic evidence. Stephen Feld also takes a particularist stance, arguing that musical sounds acquire meaning through social interpretation, interpreted by the listener as a socially constructed being, with intra-musical sounds not integral to perceptions of emotion (Feld 1994 in Keil and Feld 1994).

More research is necessary if there is to be conclusive evidence as to whether musical meanings in Western classical music elicit universal emotional or aesthetic responses. The above theorists all suggest, to varying degrees, that cultural background does influence response. What is worth bearing in mind though, particularly with regards to Green's notions of familiarity, is that due to global cultural flows – the international media, people, the internet, television etc - very few musics are today not in some way globalised, and therefore entirely unfamiliar to a listener. Morcom, for example, has pointed to one way in which Indian audiences are exposed to Western, or elements of, Western music through Bollywood film scores, therefore one can assume that Western classical music is not totally unfamiliar to Indian ears. It is becoming less and less viable, particularly within my sites of research, to discuss music as being geographically or culturally bound, and therefore it is more and more difficult to frame discussions of universalism within specific sites.

Green's argument that familiarity is fundamental to understanding musical meaning (2008) sparks a more complex way of understanding universalism with regards to the *performer*. If familiarity is all it takes, then the notion that musical appreciation is biological, rooted in nationality or ethnicity, is refuted. Western classical music could therefore be understood as universal in the sense that everyone in theory, given appropriate education or experience, would be able to understand and respond to it, and crucially, to perform it, authentically.

This theory chimes with liberal ideologies summed up by Yoshihara, who suggests that 'to think of musical understanding as geographically and culturally bound is not only provincial but also racist' (Yoshihara 2007:199). It harks back to Mantle Hood's 1960 article *The Challenge of Bi-musicality*, in which he uses the example of Japanese musicians playing Western classical music to 'eliminate the argument that an alien musical expression has cultural or racial characteristics

which make it inaccessible' (Hood 1960:55).

Some scholars, however, have questioned the credibility and the sincerity of Western classical music's universalist proponents, pointing to situations in which nationality or ethnicity has influenced personal experiences of music. Mina Yang has written extensively about South-East Asian performers of Western classical music. Unlike Yoshihara, her findings suggest an inbuilt racism within Western classical music culture. Yang, in a biting attack, writes:

Although Asians have been playing Western music for over a century, and playing it well, the essentialist idea that this music by natural rights belongs to Europeans – is on loan to Asians on an interim basis – prevails. (Yang 2007:16)

Yang accuses Western audiences of essentialising Asian performers as 'unfeeling technicians' (2007:13), whilst simultaneously essentialising Western performers as possessing the heart and soul required for authentic performances. Yang also suggests that marketing ventures involving Asian or Asian-American musicians foreground racialised identities, and that performers are forced to exploit their Asian-ness and to play up to orientalist stereotypes in order to establish themselves on the global stage (Yang gives an example of Vanessa Mae who recently recorded an album entitled *China Girl*, the cover of which features Chinese lettering and a picture of Mae wearing traditional Chinese clothes) (2007). Universalist, for Yang, is 'Europeanist' (2007:1), with Asian participation considered unnatural by Westerners. Yang's claims are somewhat validated by Yoshihara, who finds that, 'the idea that classical music is a province of European descendants to which Asians – as the racial and cultural outsider – are alien is not held exclusively by those ignorant of classical music' (Yoshihara 2007:189). Indeed, on this point she reflects the writings of Small, who condemns America as having a 'dismal tradition' of producing classical composers, 'because this

music had, and has, no organic relationship with indigenous American culture' (Small 1996:137).

A personal account of a musician who felt restricted by her national identity has been provided by Roe-Min Kok, a pianist and scholar born in Malaysia. Kok correlates her own desire to become a musician, to learn the piano and do her ABRSM¹² grades, with a deeper desire to 'become British' (Kok 2011:82). This desire echoes a theme common in post-colonial theory, described by Robert Young as a postcolonial 'desire to become white' (Young 2003:23), a condition he suggests is part of the process of negotiating between layers of different value systems, changing race and class by assimilating the dominant culture (2003:33). The notion that Western classical music articulates a separation or distancing from one's national identity, and a conceptual move towards the adoption of a Western identity, is one which speaks to post-colonial discourses, and echoes a much-theorised phenomenon in the colonial encounter whereby colonised elites identify with and emulate the coloniser (Nandy 1980, Fanon 1967, Memmi 1965 in Luhrmann 1996), an identification ultimately flawed as the colonised can never 'achieve whiteness' (Fanon 1967 in Luhrman 1996:12).

Kok was, as a member of a post-colonial elite, driven by a desire to become British that was ultimately thwarted. Her statements highlight conceptual ethnic and national boundaries drawn around Western classical music, and the internal negotiation of identities which may occur in players. Yang sums up this predicament:

Classical music finds itself at a pivotal moment, in which its previous stance of aloof distance from the concrete and messy realities of race and other social exigencies is no longer tenable. Meanwhile, stereotypes persist, and Asian musicians are faced with the choice of either erasing their difference and being considered no better than a cultural

12 Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.

mimic, or, in resisting that model, of foregrounding difference and conforming to existing Orientalist frameworks. (Yang 2007:22)

Yoshihara, however, provides a positive contrasting argument, suggesting that her Asian-American informants take a stance indicative of 'universalist, cosmopolitan, humanistic ideals of free will, independent from the bonds of nations and other forms of affiliations.' (Yoshihara 2007:199). But why, if Western classical music is so bound up in notions of universalism, do Kok and Yang express such strong feelings of exclusion? Why are they so convinced that non-Western players, performers and composers are unwelcome?

Timothy Taylor suggests that Western European modernity is predicated on a conception of selfhood that was created in reaction to Europe's Others, and is still strongly dependent on constructions and conceptions of otherness (Taylor 2007:8), a theory summed up in the following quotation taken from Stuart Hall: 'The English are not racist because they hate the Blacks but because they don't know who they are without the Blacks' (Hall 1989 in Taylor 2007:9).

Taylor's argument is that if the Other ceases to be recognisable as such, if they take on the cultural tastes and habits of the Westerner, then how will the West define itself? Arjun Appadurai, in a similar critique, suggests that the concept of difference is the most valuable feature of the concept of culture (Appadurai 1996:12). Does a fear of homogenisation (perhaps alongside a sense of cultural proprietorship) outweigh a liberal universalist rhetoric?

The notion that ethnic background is important in Western classical music is one that is worth examining closely; it is of vital importance in the deconstruction of universalist ideologies. It has been discussed by Nettl, who found that biological background - coming from a musical family or

having strong family lineage - is a way of proving legitimacy and authenticity in American music cultures. The audience, he says, must be convinced of the performers' 'belonging' to the musical elite, in either a real or simulated (through teaching lineages) biological relationship (Nettl 1995). Although Nettl does not explicitly discuss ethnicity, his study does highlight a particularist ideology located within the Music Departments of America's music schools.

Conductor Daniel Barenboim and cultural theorist Edward Said have debated the issue of universalism through a different lens, focusing on the composer rather than the individual performer. They subscribe to the notion that when one performs classical music one articulates the composer rather than the self, one becomes an interpreter, one loses a sense of the self and takes on another identity (Barenboim and Said 2002). This should indicate that the ethnicity or nationality of the performer would not provide a barrier to authentic performance: it should be irrelevant. Barenboim, in a way which repudiates ideologies of autonomy (discussed in more detail later in this section) actively engages with a composer's nationality, describing how he feels German when performing/conducting Beethoven, and how he feels it possible to have multiple musical identities, implying that national identity, at least when performing, is flexible (Barenboim 2002). However, what the performer feels and what the audience accepts is, as Yang has shown, not always congruous.

Barenboim displays some inconsistencies in his theories: in discussing national sounds - a 'French sound', a 'German sound' - he articulates two viewpoints which appear to contradict each other: firstly that a German will feel an atavistic connection to German music, a French person to French music etc., and secondly that everyone can feel, understand and express these national sounds (Barenboim and Said 2002). To an equal degree? Can these two seemingly incompatible viewpoints possibly co-exist in the same conceptual sphere? Yoshihara reports similarly

contradictory findings; her Asian-American informants tend to take a universalist stance, however the same informants also feel that American orchestras play American music more authentically than European ones (Yoshihara 2008).

The universalism discussed in discourses and ideologies surrounding Western classical music is murky and unclear in its ideals. The universalist position that champions Western classical music as a universal language is subject, as I have shown, to accusations of speaking with only a European tongue. Further complicating the debate, globalisation now allows for huge diversity in musical choices: musical identities are becoming fragmented and disconnected to national identities and ethnic and national identities are no longer spatially bound and territorialised (Appadurai 1996: 48). This clouds not only an individual's sense of identity, but also their perceptions on universal or global languages. I argue that universalism is a nuanced ideology, and with credible arguments available for both the universalist and particularist positions, the spaces between the two is where one will find the most plausible debates.

Western classical music as an autonomous art form

Autonomy is defined as 'freedom from exertion or control, independence' (Oxford dictionaries 2013). The notion that Western classical music is autonomous, independent, that it is impervious to attempts to situate it within its historical, social or geographical context, that the compositional processes involved in producing repertoire are somehow free from constraints and influences, that music is divinely inspired, is one which underpins much of the rhetoric of universalism discussed above. The notion of autonomy is particularly resonant and relevant when contextualised within a research project such as my own.

John Shepherd, in discussing social meanings in a musical culture, puts forward two ways of thinking:

[on one hand] a particular musical style carries the cultural and social implications it does only because the group or society in question externally imposes a set of meanings or significance on the music in a manner completely arbitrary to the music's basic structure [...]. In contrast it is also possible to argue that the internal structure of a musical style is of itself significant [...] it can be asserted because people create music, they reproduce in the basic structure of their music the basic structure of their thought processes. If it is acceptable that people's thought processes are socially mediated, then it could be said that the basic structures of different styles of music are likewise socially mediated and so socially significant. (Shepherd 1981:56)

Shepherd's second suggested way of thinking about meaning in music - that its internal structures are signifiers of its society's cultural codes and ideologies - is one that has been the backbone of what one might call 'traditional' ethnomusicological study, with adherents to this thought process producing what are regarded as seminal ethnomusicological works, a clear example being Daniel Neuman's *The Life of Music in North India* (Neuman 1990), in which he draws parallels between the strict caste system of Hindu society and the rigid hierarchical nature of Hindustani music.

Nettl, Leppert and Taylor have all attempted to find evidence of Western social structures in Western classical music, focusing particularly on those from the Age of Enlightenment. Leppert has argued that 'the conceptual/musical tools at the disposal of early Western musicologists, such as staff notation and devices for measuring tunings, were musical manifestations of a scientific and

rationalistic world view embodied in the Enlightenment.' (Leppert 1987:76). Leppert draws attention to the 1722 work of Jean-Philip Rameau, *Traite de l'harmonie reduite a ses principes naturels*, and suggests that Rameau's definition of chord relations as hierarchical ordering and rationalised movement with distinction between dissonance (conflict) and resolution is 'a musical system congruent with eighteenth and nineteenth-century theories of political economy' (Leppert 1987:76).

This notion that Enlightenment and post Enlightenment political, social, industrial and economic systems, (particularly the hierarchy that exists within these systems) are reflected in music has been expanded on by Nettl, who suggests that:

...in the history of Western music, the standardization, maturity and eventual expansion of the symphony orchestra, as well as its internal organization, correlate with the development of European industrialization and the development of similarly artificial persons, the corporations of business and industry. The symphony orchestra of Haydn and Mozart coincides with the beginning of factories [...]The orchestra is a kind of army that reflects a structure found in the military domain of culture that closely reflects important parts of Western social structure. (Nettl 1995:34)

Nettl theorises musicians' roles in ensembles as reflective of the way people relate to each other in society, pointing to divisions of labour and family units. These, he suggests, are in turn derived from organisational models such as 'government, religious, military and productive organisations that are otherwise used in western society, and from the kinds of hierarchies on which they are based' (1995:121). The Enlightenment ideal of expansion and size is also one which has been touched upon by Nettl, who suggests that 'what this society wishes for most is large amounts

of goods and services to consume, and complex machinery for life and play, and thus the great composers are most respected when they produce works of almost incredible sophistication, complexity, and length' (1995:40).

Taylor has also linked the inherent meanings of Western classical music with the social structures of the Age of Enlightenment, relating tonality and harmony with Enlightenment-era Europe's relationship with its colonies. His argument centres around the idea that Western musical tonality, with its tonic and dominant dichotomy, is a 'centre orientated structure with margins' (Shepherd 1991 in Taylor 2007:28), and that the creation of this tonality was informed by Western notions of dominant and subdominant cultural forms (Taylor 2007). Taylor relates tonality to geography; space with Europe at the centre represented by the tonic key and the colonies represented by the dominant, subdominant or other related keys. He correlates the harmonic tonic/dominant relationship with a European 'ambivalence composed of both desire and revulsion with the Other' (Taylor 1007:29). Taylor draws in Susan McClary's argument that subordinate tonal themes and regions in classical works are generally perceived as feminine (McClary in Taylor 2007:20), suggesting that this corresponds to a Western tendency to characterise its subordinate colonial subjects as feminine, again stressing the notion that the dominant force within music, the tonic, represents the dominant global force - Europe.

Taylor's arguments, though compelling, do suggest an unlikely level of global awareness in Enlightenment-era composers, as well as an assumption that composers actively sought to imbue their compositions with global social structures. Are we really to believe that composers had that level of political awareness? It seems improbable. Meanwhile Nettle's method of closely comparing various Enlightenment social structures such as factories and armies with musical structures and of viewing music as being directly influenced by these structures could be criticised as being overly

literal.

Shepherd's first scenario (see above quotation), that a society *imposes* a set of meanings on music, is one which appears more reasonable. This theory is one that has been discussed by John Spitzer. In his 1996 article *Metaphors of the Orchestra – The Orchestra as Metaphor*, Spitzer tracks varying conceptualisations of the orchestra along a historical trajectory. The orchestra, he argues, has gone from being conceptualised in terms of royal absolutism to as an army to as nature, suggesting that, 'the meanings of the orchestra, like the meanings of other social institutions, are not fixed but change with age, race, education, nationality, and social class' (Spitzer 1996:234). Tina K. Ramnarine has outlined a number of other instances of the orchestra being conceptualised as a microcosm of society, underlining the notion that metaphors are dependent on their historical context by giving examples ranging from a late-17th century model of subordination and divine right authority, to an early-19th century model of voluntary association, to Small's model of industrial enterprise (Ramnarine 2012).

In considering all this, one can discern that it is not entirely satisfactory to merely point to hierarchy within Western society and find similar instances of hierarchy in musical practices. The intra-musical structures of Western classical music are not necessarily integral to its delineated meanings. Although Nettl has gone to great pains to debunk the pervasive theory of autonomy by giving solid examples of art imitating life, the links between Western society and its ideologies and Western classical music are more complex than a straightforward comparison of structures.

It is perhaps more plausible to suggest that Western classical music, like any music or musical form, may absorb different meanings to suit different agendas, and that it may be flexible and represent different ideologies. Indeed, as music migrates around the world, as has been documented

in globalisation and diaspora studies (such as those found in Stokes ed. 1994 and Ramnarine ed. 2007), new meanings are generated and negotiated according to new contexts and ideologies. As Cottrell has noted, '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' (Cottrell 2004:5). It is therefore perhaps not ideal to look too closely at musical forms for ideologies buried within. As Spitzer has shown, these are perhaps all too easily appropriated in the making of metaphors.

The scholarly literature reviewed here highlights the complexities involved in discussions of universalism and autonomy. It is important to consider these discourses, as they inform a trope which recurs throughout this thesis. As I will show, universalist ideologies in Mumbai do not always correspond with particularist values and ideologies prevalent in the city, and tensions are created as meanings within Western classical music are negotiated and debated. This thesis is not intended to provide any conclusions regarding notions of universalism and autonomy within Western classical music. It will however, add another voice to these debates and discussions.

Research Methodology

The first two chapters of this thesis are historical in content and are based on archival research and on oral histories. I have primarily drawn on newspaper articles digitally archived in the British Library, the majority of which are from the *Times of India*¹³. Originally named the

13 The *Times of India* was not the only English language newspaper circulating in Bombay: a Bombay Madrigal Singers' concert brochure printed in 1950 cites reviews from various local newspapers, including *The Sunday Standard*, *The National Standard*, *The Evening News of India*, *The Bharat Jyoti*, *The Movie Times*, and *Eve's Weekly* (Bombay Madrigal Singers 1950). The *Bombay Gazette* is also a potentially significant historical newspaper. This thesis relies heavily on articles and letters sourced in the *Times of India* for two reasons, firstly because it is digitally archived in the British Library and therefore easily accessible, and secondly because it, alongside the other sources cited in chapters one and two, provide a wealth of information sufficient for a thesis of this length and depth. *The Evening News of India* and the *Bombay Gazette* are held in the British library, however, I did not access them as

Bombay Times until it changed its name in 1861, the *Times of India* was created in 1838 to serve the British residents of India (Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica 1998). Mr Hedley Sutton, British Library Asian and African Studies reference team leader, describes the *Times of India* as, “the leading English Language newspaper in India during the colonial era”, and as comparable to the British *Times* newspaper in terms of its pro-establishment views, (Stutton 2018, personal communication, 31 October), whilst social scientist Asima Ranjan Parhi has noted that, pre-independence, the *Times of India* was associated with 'pro-administrative views' (Parhi 2008:34) and was considered to be a 'staunch supporter of the British cause' (ibid). However, since 1946 when the *Times of India* was sold to an Indian buyer (Kasbekar 2006), the newspaper has built a reputation for accuracy (Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica 1998) and for covering a broad range of interests (Parhi 2008:33). It continues to be the most widely read English language newspaper in India, and has the largest circulation amongst all English language newspapers in the world (infoBharti 2018). Over the course of the historical period covered in chapters one and two, the *Times of India* regularly published concert reviews and letters concerning music and musicians: these reviews and letters have heavily informed my chapters. Naresh Fernandes' book *The Taj Mahal Foxtrot* (2012), and his website of the same name, have also been a key source of historical information.

When in Mumbai I spent many hours collecting data in the form of oral histories. My informants, many of whom were still teaching, performing, or working in music administration, generously regaled me with their memories of key figures, of attending concerts or of performing in ensembles, and were able to recall, with remarkable detail, concerts given by famous visiting artists. Their memories have proven invaluable.

they were not digitised at the time of research. *The Sunday Standard* and *The Bharat Jyoti* are held in The Library of Congress in Washington, USA.

Because much of the Western classical musicking in Bombay/Mumbai¹⁴ over the years was amateur and fairly small scale, I found little information about concerts, music societies or individuals, either online or in text. During my fieldwork I would sometimes ask my informants if I could see any old concert programmes, letters, biographies, or any other documentation, and I would be told that the whereabouts of such things was unclear, that somebody else must have them, that perhaps they are lost, and so on. The NCPA library did not hold an archive of concerts held in the city or in its own concert halls, although it did keep a collection of concert flyers.

This is not to say that records did not exist in the city¹⁵, in private homes or offices, but I was unable to find them, with one exception. Parvesh Java, a pianist, piano teacher, conductor and festival organiser, allowed me access to his personal collection of concert flyers, which included concerts from the 1990s up until the present day, and one very special signed programme from Yehudi Menuhin's visit to Bombay in the 1952. I have drawn upon this material, which contained biographies of certain key figures.

Throughout my period of ethnographic fieldwork in 2014 I employed a participant observation methodology, as I highlighted at the beginning of this introduction. I performed in the Bombay Chamber Orchestra, I played the viola in several ensembles, I taught in music schools, I provided teacher training, I attended concerts, I made friends. I became integrated within Mumbai's Western classical music scene. I also conducted semi-structured interviews, which I recorded on a

14 'Bombay' became 'Mumbai' in 1995. 'Bombay' is an Anglicised version of the Portuguese 'BomBaim', which is thought to derive from the phrase 'Bom Bahia' or 'Good Bay' (Beam 2008). 'Mumbai' is the name of the city in Marathi, the local language. The name of the city, and which name one chooses to use when referring to it, continues to carry political significance, with 'Mumbai' often being associated with the ideologies of the right-wing regionalist Shiv Sena party.

15 Or outside of the city. A huge amount of archived information in the form of public records, private papers, documents and manuscripts can be found in the British Library's collection of India Office Records and Private Papers, located in the British Library in London. The 14 kilometres of shelving holds the archives of the administration of East India Company and the pre-1947 government of India, alongside deposits of private papers. A thorough search of these archives would potentially reveal an enormous amount of historical data pertaining to the musical life of Bombay, however, as the archives are not yet digitised, and as I felt I had sufficient information in the form of digitised archival sources, oral histories, and Java's private collection, I did not fully explore this resource for this thesis.

small microphone or filmed with my camera, and transcribed. Many of the voices of my informants will come through in this text: pseudonyms have been used where requested by interviewees.

Experiential participatory research methodologies based on meaningful face-to-face interactions with individuals and communities have largely become standard practice for ethnomusicologists undertaking fieldwork, as evidenced in much recent literature on the subject. Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley, in the introduction to *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (2008), give an overview of the trajectory of ethnomusicological research, from early music collectors motivated by a desire to collect and document musics, to the 'standard mid-century' practice of twelve months in an 'exotic' locale (2008:13), to what they deem a 'new fieldwork', characterised by face to face interaction, temporal ambiguity, and shifting notions of the global and the local (2008:14-15). They characterise fieldwork as 'an inherently valuable and extraordinary human activity with the capacity of integrating scholar, scholarship, and life' (Cooley 1997 in Barz and Cooley 2008:11)

Whilst my own fieldwork was founded on what may be now considered an outdated model - a full twelve months in 'the field' - it was rooted in experiencing, engaging in, participating in, and to some extent, contributing to, the scene in Mumbai. I therefore had to consider my own position; should I try, as much as possible, to become an 'insider'? Should I consistently remind people that I was an 'outsider' engaging in research, thereby potentially putting up barriers? How should I negotiate my own instincts, which were to get involved as much as I could, whilst also working with a nagging notion that I, as a researcher, should attempt to be an impartial 'observer', a person who was, in theory, going to write academically and dispassionately about a scene which meant so much to people that I had formed real-life relationships with?

Nicholas Cook suggests that 'stable distinctions of insider and outside, Self and Other, emic and etic are no longer embedded in either musicological or ethnomusicological practice' (Cook 2008 in Bayley 2011:101), whilst Michelle Kisliuk argues that 'the deeper our commitment in the field, the more our life stories intersect with our 'subjects', until 'Self-Other boundaries are blurred' (Kisliuk 1997:23). However, other scholars suggest that researchers may not ever achieve a truly emic perspective. Deborah Wong, for example, insists that 'the ethnographer is always an outsider' (Wong 2008: 82), suggesting that she, as an ethnographer, occupies a perpetually etic perspective, even applicable to her relationship within a father-daughter duality (ibid). Amanda Bayley, in her ethnography of string quartets rehearsals, positions herself as a cultural insider, but writes, 'As a researcher, an 'ethnomusicologist,' my role was not literally to 'take part in' but rather to “observe whatever music related behaviours occurred customarily” (Stock 2004:17)' (Bayley 2011:101). This suggests that whilst Bayley may consider herself as an 'insider' in terms of the music she was studying, she employed methodologies which placed her 'outside' of the action for the purposes of research. She writes 'as an outsider with an insider's knowledge' (Bayley 2011:101).

Bayley's use of methodologies which separate her from her informants resonates with my own work. Occasionally during Bombay Chamber Orchestra rehearsals I would put down my viola and stand up to take pictures with my camera, trying not to block anyone's view of the conductor, whispering “sorry” or “ignore me” if anyone caught my eye. After I was finished 'observing' I would sit back down and resume 'participating', moving between the two roles within the same space. Similarly, I took pictures, shot videos and recorded semi-structured interviews with staff, students and parents at the music schools I otherwise taught at, moving between my various overlapping roles. My personal relationships took on similarly layered qualities: sometimes I would be talking or gossiping with a friend, sometimes I would be interviewing or observing the same friend. Ruth Hellier-Tinoco argues that 'a shift has occurred which places field relations at the

centre of the epistemology of the fieldwork project' (Hellier-Tinoco 2003:25), and indeed, the relationships I built, both in terms of my professional relationships at my places of work, and the emotional relationships I formed, became integral to the success of my project.

Discourses from within the field of ethnomusicology surrounding fieldwork can be criticised, though, for focusing too much on the musical 'insider/outside' debate, which, according to anthropologist Michelle Bigancho, stems from a tendency in ethnomusicologists to construct musical participation as a 'privileged realm' (Bigancho 2009: 30), which other anthropologists cannot hope to access (Helen Meyers, in her 1992 article on fieldwork, appears to inadvertently prove Bigano's point, writing as she does, "ethnomusicologists are more fortunate than anthropologists and sociologists because the private feelings we study are publicly expressed in musical performance. Cultural barriers evaporate when musicologist meets musician" (Meyers 1992:31)), as well as from an 'ethnocentric ideology that affords music an autonomous space' (Bigancho 2009:30), something which she suggests contemporary scholarship should move away from.

To think, then, beyond defining my position in the field using binary 'insider/outsider', or, 'participant/observer' frameworks, I turn to political scientists Candice D. Ortobals and Meg E. Rincker, who suggest that researchers consider their identities in the field as multifaceted and intersectional, taking into account gender, class, race and power (Ortbals and Rincker 2009). They point to complexities in relationships which can occur as a result of a fieldworkers identity or identities¹⁶; female researchers, for example, may find that they hold power over some informants because of their class (as educated academics), but when interviewing male informants, particularly if those males hold powerful positions in society, they may find they have less power (ibid).

¹⁶ This is not to suggest that ethnomusicologists do not consider these issues. Carol M. Babiracki, for example, has written an account of her gendered experiences doing fieldwork in Indian villages as a woman (2008). Babiracki, though, discusses her fieldwork through the lens of gender identity only, omitting to mention other factors which would have contributed to her experiences, such as ethnicity, age and social class.

Relationships between the researcher and the researched are thus 'always entangled with systems of social power based on gender, sexuality, class, 'race', ethnicity, age, (dis) ability and other factors' (Vanderbeck 2005:388).

As I outlined above, during my year in Mumbai I took on a number of roles alongside that of researcher. I taught, volunteered, performed, made friends and lived in the community, thereby building a complex network of relationships in which my identity as a foreign, white, female, unmarried academic researcher intersected with my other various identities as an employee, colleague, ensemble member, friend and community member. As a result, my positionality was complex and fluid, particularly with regards to power and hierarchy. My own privileged position as a relatively wealthy, educated white foreigner was something I was very aware of when in the general community in Mumbai, and, whilst in many of the musical social spheres I was moving in the economic wealth and social status of the people I interacted with often counterbalanced my own position of power (although this was not always the case when researching music within projects of social development), my background in music academia, my ability to speak English and my status as a teacher certainly opened doors (I was offered teaching positions, for example). As a friend, I had a responsibility towards my informants, knowing that certain information given to me in the spirit of a close personal friendship should not to be used in this thesis (generally my friends would make sure to tell me at the time if any information was confidential). As a teacher, I had to balance the needs of my students and my schools with my research goals. It was ethically important to ensure that all of the people I interacted with were aware of my identity as a PhD researcher, from there further relationships were able to develop with the full knowledge and consent of each party.

Another methodological question posed was; how much I should engage in activities that would shape the very scene I was researching? Through the various roles mentioned above, I was

actively engaged with shaping the musical practices and tastes of the students I interacted with, and I contributed to the teaching cultures of the music schools I worked at, particularly Furtados School of Music, where I worked as a teacher-trainer. Hellier-Tinoco has written an article stressing responsibility and reciprocity as key considerations when undertaking ethnographic fieldwork, giving examples of ethnomusicologists who have engaged in reciprocal relationship models within their fields (2003). She quotes Daniel Sheehy as saying, 'It has been talked about in terms of an ethical responsibility to 'pay back' those whose music and lives we study and make our livings from' (Sheehy1992 in Hellier Tinoco 2003:20). I saw it as ethically appropriate to use my skills wherever asked: to ask my informants to be generous with their time and their stories, to allow me into their lives and places of work, but to refuse to work for them on the grounds of being an 'observer' would be, I suggest, untenable and unfair. I was able to, in some ways, to reciprocate, to 'pay back' my informants for their generosity to me, as well as foster goodwill, build trust, and, ultimately, to gain a deeper and more meaningful understanding of the organisations I was working for¹⁷.

Finally, I wish to draw attention to the issue of ethics. In terms of my day-to-day activities, ethics were a constant consideration, especially as I was working with children, sometimes with vulnerable children from disadvantaged backgrounds (chapters five and six are focused on music education and music and social development surrounding children's music cultures). I always sought permission from parents and/or teachers before interviewing or conducting focus groups with children, or taking photographs.

¹⁷ A recent meeting of RHUL ethnomusicologists on the topic of fieldwork revealed a common trope; many of my fellow researchers had found that they were as useful to their informants as their informants were to them, a situation which, I feel, is a positive one, helping to move towards a more reciprocal and balanced fieldwork model.

Notes on the field

The Geography of Mumbai

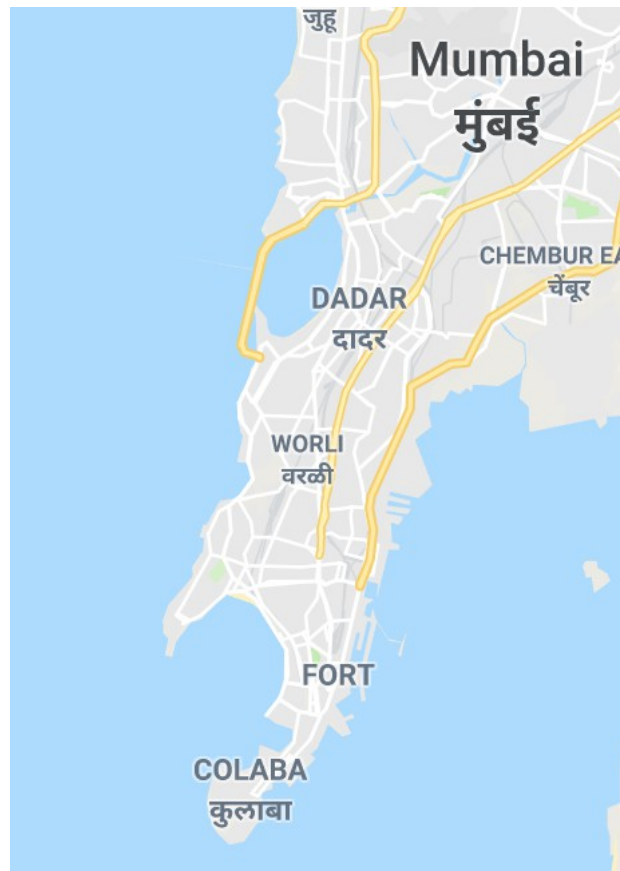


Illustration 2. Map of Mumbai (Source: google maps)

Throughout this thesis I refer to various locations within Mumbai. To give clarity and context to these references I provide below a brief description of the geography of the city, including two areas that I mention frequently: Bandra and South Mumbai, colloquially known as 'town'.

Mumbai's functioning as a city is bound up with its geography. Where one lives and where one works has a huge impact on one's quality of life, one's social status and the types of activity one engages in. Mumbai is divided on two axes, north to south and east to west. Most obvious is the north to south axis; Mumbai is long and thin, with its cultural, economic and business centre located on its southern tip. The further north one travels, the further 'out' one is from what is considered to

be the town centre. Trains running north to south carry huge numbers of commuters to their offices in town each morning, and then back to their northern homes each evening. During the rush hour commuters must travel in what is locally known as the 'super dense crush load', with 14 to 16 people squeezing into each square metre of carriage (Pai 2009). Those fortunate enough to live in town avoid this daily struggle, those in the far north endure hours each day squashed into the trains, or sitting in grinding traffic on the roads. With a few exceptions, house prices drop the further north one travels: the most northerly suburbs are considered to be very poor locations.

The Western line, a suburban railway line running from Churchgate station in the south to Virar in the north, further divides the city. To the west of this line is the sea front and the most desirable and expensive suburbs, including Bandra. The west is where the city's millionaires live, and where its middle classes buy apartments in new high rise blocks and shop in flourishing shopping malls. To the east lies cheaper and less desirable suburbs, the airport and many of the city's slums, including Dharavi, the largest slum in Asia.

South Mumbai, or 'town', as it is colloquially known, is located at the city's southern tip. It encompasses the areas of Colaba, Fort, Churchgate and Nariman point. With its sea breezes, impressive colonial architecture and some of the most expensive real estate in the world, the southern part of the city is traditionally the wealthiest and most prestigious area. The south was where the British Raj based their offices and homes; it is now the location of the majority of Mumbai's banks, embassies, law courts and cultural institutions. The National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA), which I discuss in detail in chapter four is located at Nariman Point, on the southern tip of the city.

Bandra, otherwise known as the 'Queen of the Suburbs', lies 20km north of Colaba on the

western side of Mumbai. With its sea-facing location, charming old Portuguese-style bungalows, cafes, restaurants, shops and bars, Bandra is one of the most desirable and expensive parts of town, favoured by expatriates, movie stars and Mumbai's wealthy business elite. It is also historically the home to a sizeable East Indian and Goan Catholic community, and is dotted with churches, Christian iconography, Christian shrines, and Catholic schools.

Before it became the Queen of the Suburbs, Bandra was a sleepy village, separated from Mumbai's southern area by a creek and a long train ride. A Portuguese enclave until 1802, Bandra did not officially become part of the municipality of Bombay until 1950, and it retained a sense of being somewhat separate from the rest of the city. Although it is relatively easy to reach South Mumbai from Bandra, either on the Western railway line which runs every few minutes, or via the newly built sea-link, many Bandra locals (particularly from the older generation) rarely venture south, and likewise, many southerners never travel north.

The Parsi and Catholic Communities

Mumbai's Parsi and Catholic communities are integral to Western classical musicking in the city, and as such are referred to throughout this thesis. As there is a multiplicity of research already published regarding Catholicism in India, and a smaller but still comprehensive body of literature available about Mumbai's Parsi community, I will not go into detail here but will instead provide a brief and concise introduction to these two communities and to their relation to Western classical music.

The Parsi Community

The Parsi community in India follow Zoroastrianism, an ancient religion originating in Persia. From the 8th to 10th centuries Zoroastrians in Persia were persecuted and fled to India, settling in the western coastal state of Gujarat. They began migrating to Bombay from the 1640s onwards. The Parsis in Bombay prospered during the British Raj: they spoke English and collaborated with the British on a plurality of business, education and cultural projects, which often made them unpopular amongst the rest of the Indian population (Bamboate 2015). Due to their prosperity, however, the Parsis influenced Mumbai enormously, as explained by journalist Sridevi Nambiar:

Today, Parsi heritage and influence can be found in every nook and cranny of the city – from the various Parsi businesses that have steered the growth of the city, the premier Jehangir Art Gallery, the landmark Taj Mahal Palace Hotel to the city’s historic Parsi cafés. Parsi figures from Mumbai ranging from Sir Sorabji Nusserwanji Pochkhanawala, one of the founders of the Central Bank of India and Pherozeshah Mehta, one of the founding members of the Indian National Congress, to Cowasjee Nanabhoy Davar who set up the country’s first cotton mill, leave a rich legacy revered all around the country. (Nambiar 2016)

Today the Parsi community is tiny in number: there only around 60,000 Parsis in India, most of whom live in Mumbai (Murphy 2014). There are concerns that the community will die out and many call for it to modernise its strict rules regarding conversion and lineage in order to avoid extinction (Sherine 2013)¹⁸.

¹⁸ Children of Parsi women who marry out of the Zoroastrian faith are not considered to be Parsi and it is not possible to convert to Zoroastrianism. (Sherine 2013).

The Parsi community's links with Western Classical Music have been noted by several cultural commentators, as well as by scholarly researchers, as I highlighted earlier in this introduction. In a newspaper article entitled *Why Parsis love Western Classical Music*, Aakar Patel writes, 'Parsis have been immersed in Western classical music for a long time' (Patel 2009), before suggesting that Parsis tend to make up orchestral audiences and organisers: Catholics are generalised as musicians. An article posted on a Parsi website suggests 'The Parsis are today solely associated with Western classical music' (Parsi Khabar 2017), before pointing to Parsi contributions to Hindustani music in Mumbai. This thesis will not challenge the Parsi community's associations with Western classical music: I found the community to be integral to the scene in Mumbai.

The Catholic Community

Christianity has been in India since St Thomas the apostle landed in the southern state of Kerala in the year in 52 CE. Portuguese proselytisation and intermarriage in Goa from 1510 onwards further established Catholicism in India, and led to a sizeable Goan Catholic population (Clayton 2009).

Despite its long history in the country, Christianity is marginalised and persecuted in India. Recent reports suggest that anti-Christian¹⁹ sentiment, sometimes manifesting in violence, has increased since the 2014 election of Narendra Modi's Hindu Nationalist government (Safi 2007), propelled, according to Indian human rights activist and pastor Joseph D'Souza, by, 'The propaganda that somehow Christians are working against India, against the interests of India by trying to be Christians' (D'Souza 2018 in Jones 2018). This portrayal of Catholics, echoed by

¹⁹ Muslim communities in India have also been subject to increased levels of persecution since Modi's election (Marlin 2018).

Clayton who describes how Catholics are can be seen as 'the enemy within' (2009: 6), is significant when applied to Western classical music and the community: is Western classical music also viewed as anti-Indian, as the 'enemy within'?

Mumbai has a Catholic community of around 50 000, many of whom live in the suburb of Bandra, which has been a Catholic enclave since the Portuguese ruled the area in the 16th and 17th centuries. When the British took over in 1665, Mumbai's resident Catholics began to refer to themselves as East Indians, to distinguish themselves from Goan Catholic immigrants who had similar Portuguese influenced surnames (Silgado 2015). Both Goan and East Indian Catholics continue to live in Bandra and in small enclaves across the city of Mumbai.

I noted throughout my fieldwork that the Catholic community in Bandra was largely English speaking and middle class. Like the Parsi community, the Catholics were associated with Western classical music, although they were also actively and publicly involved in other Western genres such as jazz and popular music (Fernandes 2012). As with the Parsi community, this thesis continues tropes within both scholarship and cultural commentary, and confirms associations between Mumbai's Catholic community and Western classical music.

Thesis Structure Overview

Chapters one and two trace the history of Western classical music in Mumbai. Chapter one explores the story of Western classical music from 1869 to India's independence in 1947, chapter two from 1947 through to the present day. These chapters are based on archival resources: chapter two also includes data from oral histories that I collected in Mumbai. In chapters one and two, I outlined how Western classical music was established in the city and how it evolved, which communities performed it and what it meant to them. These chapters provide a historical and social context to the ethnographic material presented in the rest of the thesis.

Chapters three, four, five and six are ethnographic studies of the Western classical music scene in Mumbai in 2014 and 2015.

Chapter three explores Western classical music and identity. I use three ethnographic case studies, the St. Andrews Bandra All Parish Zonal Talent Contest, the Bombay Chamber Orchestra, and a Catholic choir named the Cadenza Kantori, to unpack how Western classical music plays a role in shaping, negotiating, and maintaining complex, nuanced and overlapping local (subcultural), national, and transnational affiliations and identities in Mumbai.

Chapter four examines the Symphony Orchestra of India. Firstly I situate the orchestra locally within the city of Mumbai, positioning it within discourses of social class, status, and globally-minded aspiration. I then move on to place the SOI within discourses of nation building, questioning the role of the orchestra as a marker of national development. Finally, I explore the orchestra's transnational networks, looking at its role within cultural diplomacy and soft power.

Chapter five examines the role of Western classical music within social development projects in Mumbai and Goa. This chapter is based on three case studies: music lessons at a municipal school in central Mumbai, a charitable choral program for under-privileged children led by British music educators, and an El Sistema inspired strings program based in Panaji, Goa. I suggest that the ideologies and values embedded in Western classical music development projects do not necessarily correspond with the local ideologies or values, thereby creating tensions and compromising effectiveness in instigating positive social change.

Chapter 6 is about Western classical music education. In the first half of the chapter I argue that music schools in the city were contributing to the legitimisation of music as a discipline and of music teaching as a profession. In the second half, I discuss music curricula within Mumbai's international schools. I suggest that through education, Western classical music was becoming reified as a marker of global citizenship. Taking Lucy Green's argument that "music education participates in the construction and perpetuation of ideologies about musical values" (Green 2002: 208), I question the impact of Western classical music education on local ideologies about music values.

Chapter 1. The History of Western Classical Music in Mumbai

part 1: 1869 – 1947

This chapter explores the story of Western classical music in the city of Bombay (as it was then called), from 1869 to India's independence in 1947, outlining and highlighting its multiplicity of roles and meanings. In this chapter I suggest that the Western classical music scene provided Bombay's residents, both European and later Indian, with cultural and behavioural links to European high culture, echoing previous research into Western music in India by Woodfield (2000). I show that Western classical music, for its proponents, played a role in the construction of Bombay's image as a successful, cosmopolitan global city. I point to the significant role of the Indian Parsi and Christian communities.

I highlight how the values and aspirations of those involved in Western classical musicking were not always met with sympathy within the locale: those working to create and maintain a Western classical scene were, more often than not, met with apathy and disinterest, with the British population too small to maintain a professional concert culture and Indian involvement restricted to small numbers of Parsi and Catholic participants. I position the Western classical music scene as existing, often uneasily, in the complex and tense spaces between amateurism and professionalism. I show how it existed with little monetary reward, little institutional support, in spite of crippling government taxation laws, lack of unions, lack of professional opportunity and lack of structured music education. This chapter highlights how Western classical music was a labour of love for those involved.

Throughout the 19th century Bombay had become established as one of the key trading ports of colonial India. It became one of the primary cities of the British Raj, alongside Calcutta,

Delhi, Chennai and Lucknow. British residents living in Bombay would have experienced a steamy tropical climate, tropical diseases, a growing cotton industry, huge amounts of shipping and trading, a lack of electricity, the formation of a Municipal Corporation (which occurred in 1872), and building development work, as the ocean-covered areas between the seven islands that originally formed the city were reclaimed and built upon. It would have been, one can imagine, a world away from home for the Britishers who were employed to govern the city, and of course, for the wives who accompanied them. What role would Western classical music have played for this newly established community?

1.1 The Bombay Philharmonic Society

In 1869 Bombay's European residents established the Bombay Philharmonic Society with the intention of providing their city with a formalised musical scene. An article in the *Times of India*²⁰ dated December 17, 1869, two days after the newly established Society's first concert at the Town Hall, commented that:

The need of a Philharmonic Society could not but be, as it was, much felt in Bombay and for evident reasons. It has been a rare occurrence to have the opportunity of enjoying high class music here, and a Society that supplies that want confers a benefit upon the community. (Times of India 1869a, December 17, p2)

This quote prompts an assumption that the musicking of Bombay inhabitants was not prolific at this time, and that there were few opportunities for the city's Europeans to perform or listen to Western classical music. Bombay was thus rather behind Calcutta, another major Indian

²⁰ See introduction p40 for an overview of the *Time of India* newspaper.

trading city, which had, as Ian Woodfield has shown, an established culture of Anglo-Indian musical soirees and amateur performances (Woodfield 2000). This is not to suggest that there was no Western classical music at all in Bombay during the 1860s; the villages north of the main city, particularly Bandra, had a strong Goan Catholic community which would have supported a number of church choirs. Bandra, however, would have been at that time an almost entirely separate township, divided from Bombay by the Mahim Creek, with only one train daily serving its inhabitants. The southern tip of Bombay, still known generally as 'town', was the location of British-established schools, colleges and municipal buildings, as well as the main centre of trading. This area would have been considered as Bombay proper, with Indian church choirs to the north operating without stirring the interest of European inhabitants in the south. As such, I was unable to find any archived information regarding Western classical musicking in Bombay outside of European social spheres.

In the same *Times of India* article mentioned above, the author (anonymous) wrote:

There is no deficiency of genuine musical talent in Bombay; on the contrary, there is, we have reason to believe, an array of amateur and professional talent such as few cities with the same number of European inhabitants can boast of. (ibid)

The professional talent mentioned here would have consisted of members of the Governor's Band and military bands that were active in India at the time (Woodfield 2000, 1995. Shope 2008). However, the mention of 'high class' music in this extract suggests that military-style bands were not considered as worthy or fitting to Bombay's European elite as the Beethoven Septette performed by the Bombay Philharmonic Society that evening.

In the same article, links with musical society in London were made clear:

As far as we are able to learn the Philharmonic Society's concerts will be on the model of the Monday Popular Concerts in London, which, to use the words of one of the ablest musical critics of the day, are always anxiously looked forward to by the thousands of real connoisseurs. (ibid)

Bombay's residents would have enjoyed the notion that their activities modelled musical happenings in London, thereby allowing them to consider themselves as 'real connoisseurs' enjoying regular musical performances. There are echoes here of Woodfield's Calcutta, where inhabitants took pride that their musical calendar 'at least distantly reflected the cultural way of life of their cultural homeland' (Woodfield 2000: 74).

The first Bombay Philharmonic Society concert in late 1869 did not go without its hitches: an irate letter printed in the *Indian Church Review* the week before the first concert accused the society of 'thoughtless impropriety' (Indian Church Review 1869. In, Times of India 1869b, December 3, p2) in arranging an event on the first of the Ember days of the year, demanded that they postpone the evening, and implored clergymen and churchmen to boycott the event. The letter, reprinted in the *Times of India* with a mocking postscript, seemed to have little effect, and the concert was pronounced an 'unqualified success' (Times of India 1869b, December 15, p2).

I suggest that The Bombay Philharmonic Society gave the European inhabitants of Bombay a taste of home life, an opportunity to behave in a way which affirmed their European identities and a means by which they could confirm the value of European musical behaviours. Involvement of the Society was on a basis of subscriptions and proceeds were given to charity: members were keen

amateurs willing to give up their time and money to be part of this small musical world. I can find no evidence of Indian participation: performers were reported as exclusively European-origin residents.

After its first concert, the Society went from strength to strength, and was reviewed regularly in the *Times of India* until the end of the 19th century. Performances were held in the Town Hall and generally consisted of pieces for small choir, solo voices and small orchestra. A review of a concert printed on January 28 1892, twenty three years after their first concert, suggests that the Bombay Philharmonic Society was thriving:

The performance of Haydn's "Creation" in the Town Hall on Tuesday evening by the Bombay Philharmonic Society was a most successful one, and drew together a large audience who were throughout most attentive and fairly appreciative. The first two parts only of the Oratorio were selected for the performance but they comprise the major portion of the music, and the more interesting portion, and though no repeats were called for, the Concert was not over till past eleven. (*Times of India* 1892, Jan 28, p4)

The same source reported that chorus numbered around eighty, and soloists were listed as Miss N Tudbull, soprano, Mr Chisholm, tenor, and Mr HM Steuart, bass, with Mrs Walker, who was originally advertised for the solo soprano parts withdrawing at the last minute due to a 'fever and cold' (ibid). Luckily Miss Tudbull stepped in, earning the gratitude of the society (ibid). Not only Britishers were present; Herr Schmuck²¹ from Germany and the Italian Signore Inzoli were

21 Herr Joseph Schmuck received various letters throughout his time in Bombay, which are catalogued in the British Library's Western Manuscript holdings. He is identified by the British Library as 'Professor of Music, Bombay University', however, the letter in question (from Alfred Tennyson, dated 1882) is addressed to 'Professor Schmuck' but does not actually mention Bombay University, and I have found no evidence that the university ran a degree course in music at that (or any other) time. A further letter in the same holding, dated much earlier in 1861 is addressed to 'Mr Joseph Schmuck, as Music Director for Brit. Maj. 28th Regiment' (Garibaldi 1861), indicating that Schmuck's role in the city may been multifaceted, may have developed over the years, moving from military work to teaching (perhaps at Bombay University) and music directing, alongside performing, as mentioned in the *Times*

mentioned as noteworthy orchestral members (ibid).

In archived newspaper articles concerning the Bombay Philharmonic Society the same names occur again and again, hinting that the society was maintained through the efforts of a small number of dedicated individuals with some musical ability. The withdrawal of performers due to illness was a regular occurrence; the British were notorious for falling ill in colonial India (Arnold 1993), and the reliance on individuals to keep the society going or to sing certain roles must have added a layer of fragility to what appeared at the time to be a robust musical society.

By 1902, however, cracks in the Bombay Philharmonic Society were appearing. The following extract is from a letter printed in the *Times of India* from a Mr Seymour Dove, in answer to a letter printed earlier in the year by a somewhat petulant Augustus Epicure, who had complained about the lack of musical activity in the city that year. Dove laid out the reasons which prevented a healthy music scene in Bombay:

He [Epicure] is perfectly right about there being a dearth of music just at present for the enjoyment of the public after office hours; at the same time, I cannot think he writes from experience as regards matters musical in Bombay. For instance he mentions about the Philharmonic Society having been dumb for some time. As one that knows, I must say that it is a matter of impossibility to keep this society alive during the monsoon season, as so many of the lady members are out of Bombay. (Dove 1902:5)

Lack of a proper concert hall was also mentioned by Dove: the Town Hall was only available to use after an application to the Government was made, and then only for concerts which gave all proceeds to charity (ibid). Dove complained, 'how is it that the Hall cannot be engaged at a

of India report above.

fixed rent, the same as the town hall in Calcutta and various other large cities?' (ibid). Dove stated, however, that the root cause of the Bombay Philharmonic Society's problems was a lack of funds:

“Augustus Epicure” suggests a town orchestra of some fifty performers. This, no doubt, could be accomplished providing the funds were forthcoming to make it a permanent undertaking for both the men and the conductor [...] I certainly agree with “Augustus Epicure” that something ought to be done to provide the general public with what he suggests; but to my mind it will never be accomplished by trusting to subscriptions. A small tax levied by the Municipality no doubt would meet with approval. (ibid)

The small tax levied by the Municipality, suggested in Dove's letter, was not met with approval. The Municipality in 1902 was setting a precedent that would continue on throughout the century in its steadfast refusal to financially support musical societies in the city of Bombay. How strongly it was petitioned is unclear, but no funding was forthcoming. Despite gaining a regular voluntary conductor, Mr Edgar Faulkner, who was employed as the Cathedral organist from 1902 until his death in 1929 (Times of India 1829), the Bombay Philharmonic Society was waning. The city was still recovering from an epidemic of the bubonic plague, which had begun in 1896 and continued into the early 1900s (Theuns-de Boer 2001), weakening membership and audience numbers. A *Times of India* review of a concert in 1905 suggested that the audience was small, the contraltos weak, and the soprano overburdened due to a last minute withdrawal of a performer (Times of India 1905).

There is no evidence of a definitive end to the Bombay Philharmonic Society. The *Times of India* reviews gradually tail off, and one must assume that the lack funding and public support, the prevalence of illness, and the difficulties faced by organisers in securing venues meant that it

gradually deteriorated into obscurity.

Larger scale organised music making was not over for good however, and by 1912 a new society had formed to replace the old Bombay Philharmonic Society: the Bombay Choral Society. Reported to have 'risen from the ashes of the old Bombay Philharmonic Society' (Times of India 1912, December 19, p7), the Bombay Choral Society's opening concert of works by Mendelssohn and Stanford, featuring soloists Mrs M Wakefield, Mr G Johnson, and Miss A Swan accompanied by members of His Excellency the Governor's orchestra, took place on 17 December 1912 under the baton of Mr. Edward Behr (ibid). Attended by His Excellency the Governor, Lady Clarke, His Excellency Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander Bethell and a large audience (ibid), the concert was a high society event in the social calendar of Bombay's resident Europeans. The *Times of India* commented 'When such an excellent start has been made it would be a thousand pities if the society were to fall on the rocks of indifference and perish as so many other musical societies have done' (ibid).

Although the Bombay Choral Society dissolved in just a few years, its conductor Edward Behr was to play a key role in the Western classical music scene over the following decades.

1.2 Edward Behr and the first Bombay Symphony Orchestra

A German citizen educated at the Royal College of Music in London, Edward Behr was originally employed as the conductor of the Governors Band in the Indian city of Poona, over 70 miles inland from Bombay. In 1912 he was travelling to and from his base in Poona every week in the lead up to the first Bombay Choral Society concert, 'moved solely by his art' according to the

Times of India (Times of India 1912, Dec 19, p7). By 1913, Behr had moved permanently to Bombay and had taken up employment as director of the Bombay Governors Band, a post which he appeared to dedicate less time to than the pursuit of amateur musical activities in the city. After serving as musical director to the short lived Bombay Choral Society, Behr went on to conduct the 'Bombay Players'²² in light opera concerts, to host regular small musical concerts, to move the location of performances from the Town Hall to the newly built and more suitable Excelsior Theatre, and, crucially, to preside over the integration of Indian musicians into Western classical music performances.

Before Behr began his stint as the premier musical conductor on Bombay's Western classical music scene in 1912, there is little archived evidence of any involvement of Indians, either as audience members, committee members or performers²³. There is, however, evidence that a small number of Indians were becoming more involved in Western classical music from the first decade of the century onwards. Trinity College of Music was conducting music examinations in India from the end of the 19th century, and by the 1920s was awarding LTCL²⁴ certificates to Indian performers in Bombay each year (Times of India 1920). English language schools attended by Indian children, which were prolific in the town area of Bombay, would have had regular singing classes (Cordo, 2014. Personal communication, 11 August). There would have been a number of keen amateurs from Indian families who would have taken up the violin as a hobby (ibid). However, archival sources indicate that performances in the Town Hall of concert music from the Western classical tradition were, until the 1910s and 1920s, very much dominated by Europeans.

Behr, however, saw the value in having a permanent group of local amateurs that he could

22 I am unable to find any further archived sources which would clarify the nature of this group.

23 Church choirs would have been active but would have existed within Bombay's catholic enclaves, away from the attention of the Britishers, and of the newspaper reporters.

24 Licentiate of Trinity College London.

call upon to fill empty orchestral seats, though whether his intentions were that Indians be given equality of opportunity as a matter of social principle or whether they were simply about filling empty orchestral seats, is unclear. He believed Indians to be capable players, given the correct training, and he quickly began using Indian musicians in his amateur performances.

A 1919 article in the *Times of India* mentions a small orchestra conducted by Behr for a production of *The Girl in the Train*. The orchestra consisted of several European players, the drums and bass were played by army sergeants, and the first violins were two Europeans, Mr C. W. Hopkinson (leader) and Mrs Hone (*Times of India*, 8 March 1919, p13). The presence of two Indians musicians, Miss Soona Khambatta and Mr. F Bharucha (*ibid*) both from the Parsi community, demonstrated the start of an integration of Indians into the European-dominated scene,²⁵ and the assimilation of Western classical music into the local lives of Indian music performers and listeners, particularly from within the Parsi community.

In 1920 Behr wrote a long and detailed letter to the *Times of India*, outlining his plan for the formation of a permanent symphony orchestra in Bombay. Instead of insisting that the orchestra be made up of Europeans, as many people at the time would have expected, he argued for the inclusion of Indian players. Europeans, he suggested, were problematic employees: they would stay for a season or two if well paid, but then leave as soon as they had made enough money to go home. If badly paid they would become discontent and also wish to leave. Moreover, there would not be enough teaching work in the city to keep them employed during their time away from playing, and they would be entitled to leave (holiday time), meaning the band would often be incomplete. Each departure would mean a new player would have had to be brought from England at great expense. That, argued Behr, would lead to the breaking up of any venture, 'and Bombay would sink back into

²⁵ This was the first archival source I could locate which mentioned Indian musicians playing in Western classical music ensembles alongside Europeans.

the blackness of its artistic night to be roused occasionally by the advent of some great star in the shape of a new Jazz Drummer' (Behr 1920a:12). So that Bombay not be at the mercy of visiting jazz drummers, Behr proposed an alternative scheme:

My second scheme is that as the orchestra would be for the people, it should be of the people also – that it should consist of Indians. Mahomedans, Hindus, Parsis, Goanese, Anglo-Indians, in short, of any musical talent to be found in this country strengthened by capable European players in different sections of the band. There are scattered throughout India a number of musicians, especially wind instrument players, who have served in the Indian Regimental Bands, men who have been well trained by, and learnt their instruments under, European bandmasters and who with further careful training together would make excellent material for such an orchestra. (ibid)

Behr added, 'I should take women as well as men' (ibid).

An orchestra for the people and of the people. A mixed religion, mixed race, mixed gender orchestra would have, for its time, been a highly controversial and progressive notion. This level of cosmopolitanism was unheard of in European orchestras and would certainly have been groundbreaking in India, where the Bombay Gymkhana (one of the venues Behr's orchestra would potentially play in) did not allow Indian membership, Breach Candy beach was whites only, and even wealthy and influential Parsis were refused entry to certain hotels²⁶. In Europe orchestras were almost exclusively male: in 1920s Britain, for example, the Halle orchestra sacked several female instrumentalists who had been recruited during the first World War to replace male musicians away fighting (Nepil 2014). Behr, though, was not in a position to refuse willing musicians of any

²⁶ The famous Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay's Colaba district was built by Parsi industrialist Jamsetji Tata, known as the 'Father of Indian Industry' in 1903 after he was refused entry to a whites only hotel in the city (Henderson 2009).

ethnicity or gender.

Europeans were in Behr's proposal, presumed to be the most highly skilled musicians, and necessary to the production of high quality concerts. He proposed that a skeleton staff of one conductor and eight to ten European players be brought in to form the backbone of the orchestra. These Europeans would train the Indian players, who themselves would number thirty to thirty-five. The numbers of Europeans would ideally be, according to Behr, reduced as Indian expertise grew. Behr also proposed free music tuition to the children of married members, and to other talented children, 'as a means of training a supply of good players for future service' (Behr 1920a).²⁷

For Behr the issue of funding, of professionalising what was essentially an amateur pursuit, was problematic. To conclude his letter to the *Times of India*, he suggested that the Bombay Municipality supply the monetary costs of setting up and maintaining the orchestra, recovering part of their outlay by engaging the band to play at various events at clubs and gymkhanas across the city. He implored critics to consider proper remuneration as the only way to entice high quality dedicated musicians to stay, work hard, and not undertake other better paid but less worthy employment. Behr wrote:

With the above scheme you will not have the Queens Hall or Monte Carlo orchestra all at once, nor an orchestra capable of playing Richard Strauss or Scriabin; but with patience, energy and careful training you can have one capable of playing the Overtures and Symphonies and Suites of Bach, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert, Grieg, etc., and even smaller works of the modern composers. You would have a body

²⁷ Striking similarities can be found in the contemporary praxis of the Symphony Orchestra of India, which, as I detail in chapter four, employs foreign (European and Russian) musicians, with the aim of training Indian players in order that Indian membership be gradually increased, and has which opened a music school with the aim of training a new generation of potential orchestral players (Dalal 2014. Personal communication, 3 February).

of men spreading a higher standard of playing and taste for music by direct contact with their fellow men much more than any European orchestra could ever do in this country. Why should not service in such an orchestra be looked forward to as a useful and honourable career for any young musical Indian?... If this can be done in Shanghai why not in Bombay with all its wealth? Here is the opportunity for the Municipality or any other body of wealthy Indians to establish a concert by which their young fellow countrymen would have the opportunity of earning a useful livelihood. (Behr 1920a)

Hinting that the Bombay Municipality was being outshone by Shanghai may have been a tactic to stir a competitive streak in the city's Municipality. Behr clearly believed that the orchestra was a worthy cause, not merely so that Bombay's elite concert-going public would be able to listen to the Overtures and Symphonies and Suites of Bach, Gluck etc. His belief in the superiority of Western classical music and of its worthiness as an art form was tangible, highlighted here in a further letter written to the *Times of India*, where he suggested that 'it [music] is the highest form of the art that has been developed and it is as desirable a form of culture in a great modern city as good architecture, good manners and any other kind of higher education' (Behr 1920b: 14).

For Behr, having a symphony orchestra supported the notion that Bombay be comparable to any other great city in Europe or the rest of the Empire. An orchestra would not only provide Europeans with a taste of home, it was a way to prove the worth of Bombay as great a global city, its inhabitants cosmopolitan and connected. Here, Behr argues that the orchestras be considered as a part of nation building and development.²⁸

For the next few weeks the debate as to what to do about Behr and his orchestra raged on in

²⁸ This argument continues to resonate in Mumbai, as I discuss in chapter four where I unpick the role of the Symphony Orchestra of India within projects of nation building, cultural diplomacy and soft power.

the newspapers. Signor Scrinzi, an Italian pianist, teacher, composer and singer who lived in Bombay from around 1900 to his death in 1935, published a damning letter in reply to Behr's suggestions. Scrinzi posited that an orchestra made up of amateurs, bandsmen and a few Europeans would never be able to achieve the high standards promised by Behr, quipping 'if compromises are suggested, the public would do well to remember that a gramophone is cheaper than an orchestra' (Scrinzi 1920). Scrinzi also poured scorn on Behr's suggestion that the orchestra take on paid work at parties and clubs, stating that high-calibre players would refuse as a matter of principle to play at clubs and gymkhanas. Scrinzi also objected strongly to the notion that the municipality be called upon to fund such a project:

Speaking as a citizen and a musician, let me most emphatically declare that the proposal of saddling the Municipality with the maintenance of an orchestra must not be entertained for a single moment. All the arguments based on European precedents are faulty. In Europe music is an intellectual necessity of all classes; here not even Indian music can claim to be, so much the less Western art. So long as there are in Bombay 60 000 homeless people, so long as destitution, famine, illiteracy, leprosy, and child mortality make of this proud city a Hell for the poor, no public body must be asked to contribute a pie of public money for the enjoyment of the rich. If the rich are unwilling to pay for art out of their own money bags, let them go without art. (Scrinzi 1920:13)

In the above paragraph Scrinzi articulated debates that still resonate today in a multiplicity of locales. Should public money be spent on art when poverty exists? Is art a privilege only for the enjoyment of the wealthy? Should an orchestra be something that a government invest in?

The municipality of Bombay at the time agreed with Scrinzi, and did not fund Behr's

orchestra, setting a precedent which would continue throughout the century. A year later, however, Behr received a huge donation of Rs. 25 000 (c. £250) from a wealthy Parsi gentleman philanthropist named Jehangir Bomanjee Petit²⁹. This donation allowed Behr to embark on his musical endeavour and the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, also sometimes known as the Bombay Symphony and Chamber Orchestra, was born. Its first concert, which employed several musicians from the Governor's Band, was conducted by Behr and led by a female violinist, Mrs Brabazon Jones. The concert was reported as follows in *The Times of India*:

The newly formed Bombay Symphony Orchestra gave its first concert in the Excelsior Theatre on Sunday evening and achieved a success full of promise for its own future and this for the triumphant fruition of the scheme for the establishment of a permanent professional orchestra, of which it is a part. (Times of India 1921, November 15, p13)

Even the sceptical Signor Scrinzi supported Behr, and performed Mendelssohn's *Capriccio Brillante* for piano and orchestra, which was said to be a “triumph” (ibid). One can imagine the excitement in the audience. They had, for the best part of a decade, not witnessed any large scale orchestral performances, and were suddenly attending a concert of huge ambition, powered by a passionate conductor and featuring women and Indian players. Questions arise. Were the audience pleased to see such large numbers of Indians playing orchestral instruments? Did this mixed group of European and Indian musicians satisfy a nostalgia for home, or did it prove Bombay to be a global cosmopolitan centre? Was Behr a forward thinking cosmopolitan liberal, or was he simply in need of musicians?

29 J.B. Petit is from a well-known family of Parsi philanthropists. His father, Seth Bomanjee Dinshaw Petit founded the London School of Tropical Medicine and was Director of the Bank of Bombay. J.B. Petit patronised the J.B.Petit High School for Girls in Mumbai, now one of the leading educational establishments in the country and now the venue of the Bombay Chamber Orchestra's weekly rehearsals.

I cannot find sources which would shed light on how the local Indian players were regarded by Behr or his European players, but, as the Bombay Symphony Orchestra was predominately an amateur pursuit, we must assume that the Indian members found it to be an enjoyable experience, or they would have simply left the orchestra and found something else to do with their free time.

The Bombay Symphony Orchestra performed many concerts (including radio concerts) throughout the 1920s as both a symphony orchestra and a chamber orchestra, using, as archival sources suggest, the Excelsior Theatre in Churchgate as its primary venue. It employed only four permanent European string players, who worked alongside a further three permanent Indian string players to form the professional backbone of the orchestra, on a salary of Rs. 2000 per month (Bharucha 1922:9). The wind and brass came almost entirely from the Governor's band; the rest of the musicians were local amateurs. Behr was never paid for his work, which was done in addition to his ongoing duties as director of the Governor's Band. The treasurer of the society, Mr Farrokh E Bharucha (presumably the same Parsi violinist as mentioned here on p63) wrote: 'Mr Behr has been ceaseless in rehearsing his men and has sat up night after night copying and scoring his parts when they were not at hand. His has been a true labour of love' (ibid).

Funding, though, was always an issue. Despite the initial donation from JB Petit, and further donations from several other Parsi philanthropists, local government support was not forthcoming, and in March 1927 the committee of the Bombay Symphony Orchestra wrote an open letter to the *Times of India* suggesting that unless around 400 members of the public purchase season tickets at the cost of Rs. 100 per ticket, the orchestra would be forced to disband. JB Petit was clearly unable or unwilling to continue to provide sole support to the orchestra (*Times of India* 1927, March 24, p.10). A reply in the *Times of India* from a Mr RK Unwala was printed a month later. Unwala suggested that the Bombay Symphony Orchestra continue on using only local

amateur players, getting rid of the expensive Europeans (Unwala 1927:12). He also pointed out that 'Bombay may be full of philanthropists and financiers, but the experience of past years has amply shown that none of them - with the exception of J.B Petit – are in any way inclined to 'give liberally and for the cause of music'' as the Committee puts it' (ibid).

By 1928 it was all over for the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, and Edward Behr had a new job as European Programme Director at the Indian Broadcasting Company in Bombay. His employment was announced in the *Indian Radio Times*, alongside the following comments:

As people well know he is a capable artist and it was due to his indefatigable energy that the premier city of India organised and maintained a first rate orchestra – the Bombay Chamber Orchestra for over seven years. But unfortunately the apathy of the public towards the institution was so great that Mr. Behr found the task of carrying on too much even for him and had to close it down. (Indian Radio Times 1928)

Again, the amateur nature of the Western classical music scene in Mumbai resulted in the eventual demise of what was clearly a huge undertaking by a small number of dedicated individuals. Behr must have felt huge regret in letting it go, yet without a patron or an audience willing to pay 'out of its own money bags' as Scrinzi had suggested (Scrinzi 1920), the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, like the Bombay Philharmonic Society before it, faded from Bombay's musical spheres as the 1920s drew to a close. A trope was beginning to emerge; globally-minded aspiration tempered by local values.

The 1930s were to bring a fresh vigour to the Western classical music scene in Bombay.

This was the decade in which the legendary characters that are still invoked today in Mumbai – Mehli Mehta, Jules and Olga Craen - made their names. It was also the decade which saw a huge number of musical performances of not only Western classical but also jazz and dance musics (Fernandes 2012). It saw musicians diversifying, with a greater number of Indian musicians taking on bigger roles within the scene, and many musicians performing several genres, including film music. The 1930s also saw residents from the northern suburb of Bandra begin to be more prolific in their contributions to the city's musical life. Described by historian Naresh Fernandes as a decade of musical 'multiculturalism' (2012:16), African American bands performed jazz at the Taj Mahal Hotel alongside Anglo-Indians, Goans, Britishers, and Jewish refugees who had fled the Nazi regime in Europe. Bombay's residents were able to listen to up-to-date music from a global array of performers. Bombay was indeed proving itself as a global cosmopolitan city through the vast amount of musicking happening in its clubs and hotels.

As I will show, the 1930s were a period in which Western classical music began to take on a more complex and nuanced role within Bombay's society. Alongside providing European residents with a means to connect with Western culture, it also provided a space in which Indian players began to take on a more vital and authoritative role in the production and performance of orchestral music. Evidence suggests that the overwhelming majority of Indian participants in the Western classical scene were from the small and elite Parsi and Catholic communities: these communities were viewed by Europeans as the most 'Western' in outlook of all the Indian communities, both in terms of dress and in terms of values (see introduction). Western Classical Musicking provided the Parsi community with an opportunity to engage actively in Western culture, and to prove themselves active and able members of the Western cultural elite.

A few individuals from the 1930s stand out as being key protagonists in the story of Western

classical music in the city of Bombay: Czech violinist Walter Kaufmann, Belgian conductor Jules Craen and his Goan pianist wife Olga, Parsi violinist Mehli Mehta, and Goan Catholic Cecil Mendonza dominated the scene.

1.3 Walter Kaufmann and the Bombay Chamber Music Society

In 1934, a young Jewish Czech composer, conductor, pianist and violinist named Walter Kaufmann arrived in Bombay after fleeing the Nazis in Europe. Born in 1907 to a German speaking family in Karlsbad, Kaufmann had studied violin in Prague and musicology in Berlin. His reason for coming to India was simple: 'I could easily get a visa' (Kaufmann no date in Schindler 1999:4). He remained in Bombay for 14 years, working as director of music at All India Radio for the last nine of them (Fernandes 2014). Upon his arrival in Bombay in 1934 Kaufmann wasted no time in immersing himself in not only the Western classical music scene, but also the Indian classical scene. Unlike Behr, the passionate conductor of the defunct Bombay Symphony Orchestra of the 1920s and a man assured of the superiority of Western classical music, Kaufmann was fascinated with Indian music³⁰. He wrote:

As I knew that this music was created by people with heart and intellect, one could assume that many, in fact millions would be appreciating or in fact loving this music...I concluded that the fault was all mine and the right way would be to undertake a study tour to the place of its origin. (Kaufmann no date in Fernandes 2014).

³⁰ Kaufmann produced seven books on the subject of Indian music, including the well known volumes *The Ragas of North India* (1968) and *The Ragas of South India* (1976). He is most famous for composing the All India Radio Theme, which is based on the rag Shivananjini (Fernandes 2014)

Kaufmann began educating himself in Indian music and within a year was composing music for what he described as 'a large Indo-English film company' (Kaufman 1935 in Schindler 1999:95), favouring Indian instruments over Western ones. Kaufmann did not neglect Western classical music though, and within two months of arriving in Bombay he set up the Bombay Chamber Music Society with the help of a friend named in letters as 'Fred' (Kaufmann no date in Schindler 1999:99). Kaufmann was initially a little shocked and hurt when, in the first meeting of potential Chamber Music Society members, he was asked to play something as a test (Schindler 1999). Why Bombay's residents were so suspicious of him is unclear. Perhaps the level of music making in the city was so variable that they did not want to waste time on someone with little ability, although one would imagine a graduate of the Prague conservatoire would have inspired confidence. Perhaps they wanted to give an impression of discerning taste in order to impress the young newcomer and make him think that they were as hard to please as any European audience. Whatever their reasons, Kaufmann put his pride aside as he 'badly needed the money' (Kaufmann no date in Schindler 1999:99), agreed to play. He passed the test and went about organising weekly concerts.

Kaufmann's concerts were initially small private affairs held in the homes of members who had large rooms and pianos. 'Pianos in Bombay are something a newcomer really has got to get used to – they are worse in adjusting to the weather than humans', wrote Kaufmann (*ibid*). Alongside organising concerts in private homes, Kaufmann also began to play regularly at the Willingdon club³¹ with his string quartet, which was made up of himself on viola and three Indian players, the first violinist being Mehli Mehta (father of conductor Zubin Mehta) who was to become the most highly regarded violinist of the decade. Mehta is mentioned here in a letter written by Ernest N. Schaffer regarding Kaufmann's Bombay Chamber Music Society:

31 The Willingdon club was one of the first clubs to allow Indian membership. It was founded in 1918 by Lord Willingdon after he had been refused permission to take an Indian Maharaja with him to the Bombay Gymkhana.

It was soon a must to attend these weekly concerts. I have in front of me the programme of the 61st chamber concert on 29 August 1935. It lists compositions of Bach, Vivaldi and Kaufmann. The small orchestra comprised of emigrants, both male and female, and also the father of Zubin Mehta. (Schaffer 1971 in Schindler 1999:99)

Schaffer, in the same letter, listed Mehta as being the only Indian performer in a group of 'emigrants', which I presume to mean white Europeans, however, more and more Indian performers were making their mark as Western classical music players, as evidenced by the majority Indian membership of a fresh new Bombay Symphony Orchestra, which existed alongside (and perhaps in competition with) Kaufmann's prolific Bombay Chamber Music Society.

1.4 Jules Craen and The Bombay Symphony Orchestra

A mere seven years after Behr's Bombay Symphony Orchestra folded due to lack of funds and public apathy the city was ready again for a large orchestra. Residents must have been missing the pomp and ceremony of attending orchestral concerts, and were, no doubt, feeling that Bombay was falling behind other large cities in the Empire when it came to keeping up with London. In January 1935 the *Times of India* printed the following announcement:

From time to time, letters and articles dealing with the need for a Symphony Orchestra have been published in our columns. Attempts have been made to supply this need but, whether from lack of public support or other reasons these attempts have not met with the success they deserve. The management of the Taj Mahal Hotel will make an attempt to supply this need with an orchestra of as size suitable for the satisfactory rendering of

symphony music. Mr. Jules Craen has been engaged to select and conduct an orchestra of 25 performers. (Times of India 1935a, Jan 25, p3)

The Taj Mahal Hotel described above still stands overlooking the Arabian sea and the Gateway to India monument in the Colaba district of Mumbai. Tall, grand and imposing, it generates an almost mythical status in the imaginations of the people of the city. In the 1930s it was the epicentre of glamorous cosmopolitan society. Jazz bands from America played the latest hits in the Taj Mahal Hotel's glittering ballroom whilst wealthy Indians, Britishers, soldiers and foreigners from all over the world danced the latest steps. The first 'all-negro' (Fernandes 2012:40) band played in the hotel in 1935. Musicians lived nearby so as to be close to the centre of the action (Fernandes 2012).

Naresh Fernandes, in his book *The Taj Mahal Foxtrot* (2012), has documented the vibrant jazz culture that grew around the hotel, remarking on how aspirational musicians tried their best to get gigs there, and how the hotel played host to an exciting and varied lineup of visiting artists from Europe and America. The Taj Mahal Hotel would have been the obvious sponsor of a new orchestral venture; it would have had the economic capital, the space and the access to a ready and willing audience. The hotel was associated with modern cosmopolitanism and glamour, and its managers would have recognised the need for Bombay to have an orchestra: a globally recognised marker of culture and taste.

The conductor of the new Taj Light Symphony Orchestra mentioned in the above article was Jules Craen, a European man who was live out the rest of his life in Bombay. Craen was born on the 12th August 1888 in Belgium, and had studied violin in Antwerp and Brussels before forging a career as a conductor in Europe's major cities (The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation 2013). He had

been invited to Bombay by Edward Behr in 1933³² and within two years had garnered a reputation as being one of the most accomplished and active musicians in the city. Craen was the obvious choice as conductor of a new Symphony Orchestra; he was musically educated, European, and happy to work with local Indian musicians (ibid).

Archival sources indicate that The Taj Light Symphony Orchestra performed only one concert at the Taj Mahal Hotel under that name before being renamed the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, and switching venues to the Cowasjee Jehengir Hall (CJ Hall), located a short distance from the Taj Mahal Hotel in the Fort area of South Mumbai. Why the orchestra so quickly disassociated themselves with the hotel is unclear. Perhaps the glitzy ballroom did not provide a sombre enough atmosphere for an orchestra, or perhaps the hotel's manager wanted Craen to conduct concerts of light or dance music, which he would probably have been unwilling to do. Whatever the reason, the Taj Light Symphony Orchestra was dissolved after one concert, to be replaced with the Bombay Symphony Orchestra.

The review of the Bombay Symphony Orchestra's first concert at the CJ Hall pronounced it a 'great success' (Times of India 1935b, 10 Sept, p.3) despite the 'far from good' acoustic (ibid). The orchestra performed Lalo's *Overture to Le Roi d'Ys*, an *Air of Charpentier* sung by a lady named Mrs Seddon, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, Handel's *Water Music*, a further unnamed selection of songs performed by Mrs Seddon, and an old Italian folk song as an encore, which, the *Times of India* pointed out, was sung by Mrs. Seddon 'in England for the first time' (ibid). The audience was thus once again able to experience the high culture of Europe and to transport themselves, albeit only for the duration of the concert, to the concert halls of London.

32 I am unable to establish exactly why Craen was invited to Bombay or how he knew Behr. Perhaps threats of war in Europe were instrumental in Craen's decision to relocate to India, as was the case with Kaufmann.

It appeared that Craen was relentless in his mission to conduct the music he loved, to continue his career as an orchestral conductor in his new home, and to promote Western classical music. The force of his personality seemed to have driven the orchestra almost more than a demand from the public: one year after the Bombay Symphony Orchestra began *The Sunday Standard* reported the following:

“It can't be done” they said. And “they” ought to have known because they had years of experience of moronic Bombay and most of them had bitter memories of a previous attempt to provide us with a symphony orchestra. For that matter, Jules Craen ought to have known better himself; had he not been, a few years before, leader of that ill starred venture which was forced into disbandment by our lack of support? But he didn't know any better or, if he did, he refused to admit it. Fortunately for us! Because it really begins to look as though the defeatists were wrong and this indomitable little Belgian, right. Borrowing from the famous Ripley, you can “believe it or not” but the Bombay Symphony Orchestral Society is now a going concern, solvent, and under the guidance of a committee of enthusiasts as determined as Mons. Craen to make us like good music. Frankly I don't think we can resist much longer. (Sunday Standard 1936, Dec 6 In The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation 2013:14)

The above quotation provides a neat summing up of two key points about the Bombay Symphony Orchestra and the Western classical music scene in 1936, the time of writing. Firstly, it shows that, at least where orchestral music was concerned, not much was happening in the early 1930s, and that those who would support an orchestra were reluctant to do so due to the 'bitter memories' of what I presume to be Behr's orchestra the previous decade. Secondly, through the author's use of the term 'moronic Bombay', it indicates a prevailing local ideology placing Western

classical music as a higher and a more civilised musical form than the jazz which was prevalent and popular at the time. A further article in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* in 1936 reinforced this notion:

Many people, we know, avoid concerts of this nature, fearing they will have to listen to “highbrow” music which bored them because they feel they are unable to understand it. In this idea they are very mistaken. Admittedly the aim of the orchestral society is to provide good music, but it so arranges its programmes that nearly every item has a very definite appeal to all who have any pretensions to being in the least musical. The uninitiated will be surprised and delighted to find how much they appreciate good music as played by a really good conductor. (*Illustrated Weekly* 1936 in The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation 2013:15)

The term 'good music' used in the above quotation is one that recurs in many Indian newspaper articles both historical and contemporary³³, as well as being a term I heard used commonly in conversations in Mumbai during my own ethnographic research. The implicit insinuation carried is that other types of music are not 'good'. In the above articles, we can assume the writer in was implying that jazz, the popular music of the time, was not 'good'. In contemporary Mumbai many of my informants told me they preferred 'good' music (Western classical) over Bollywood music, which was considered 'not good'.

From the sources presented here, it is clear that, as in the decades before, Western classical music in the 1930s was driven by passionate individuals rather than by being supported and institutionalised by public funding. It was the strength of Craen's personality, and his belief that

33 A recent booklet, created in Mumbai by The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation to document and celebrate the lives of Craen and his wife Olga, suggested that Craen 'created a taste for good music' through his orchestral endeavours (The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation 2013:12).

Bombay's public should be made to appreciate *good music*, which kept the orchestra going over the next decade. Craen was to the 1930s what Behr had been to the 1920s: motivated, driven and energetic, with the will to create an orchestra despite a lack of money, a lack of a good concert hall, a supportive public and, of course, a supply of professional performers.

Who were the players? Did the Bombay Symphony Orchestra move any further towards building a professional body of orchestral musicians, or did Craen, like Behr, rely on amateur players or Governor's band players to fill his orchestral seats? Were Indian musicians making up the majority of players or was Craen relying on European-origin musicians? Did Craen believe, like Behr, that a symphony orchestra in India should be 'for the people and of the people?' (Behr 1920a).

An article written in the *Times of India* in 1939, four years after the orchestra's inaugural concert, provides evidence that Bombay Symphony Orchestra musicians came from a plurality of backgrounds, with Craen securing the services of 'regimental players, of professionals from local restaurants and hotels and of any keen and competent amateur players who happen to be living in Bombay during the concert season' (Times of India, Feb 8 1939, p8). Photographs of the orchestra show it to be made up mostly of Indian players. Like Behr's Bombay Symphony Orchestra, Craen's orchestra featured a number of women players which, even in the 1930s, would have been highly unusual in European concert halls. One *Sunday Standard* photograph of the orchestra was accompanied by the following tagline.

THE BOMBAY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA in which Parsis, Muslims, Hindus, Goans, Hungarians, Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians and Englishmen combine to produce harmony. Mon. J. Craen, the conductor, claims to lead the most cosmopolitan

orchestra in the world. (*Sunday Standard*. nd. in The Olga Jules Craen Foundation: 19)

(See illustration 3)

It is notable in the above quotation how Craen emphasised the multiplicity of ethnicities and the religious diversity of his orchestra. Perhaps he felt pride in the way in the way Indian performers were adopting Western culture; was this a marker of his success in making them like 'good music'? Certainly, I can find no record of Craen taking an interest in Indian classical music, so to see Indians dedicating themselves to what he considered good music must have been gratifying to him.



Illustration 3. Jules Craen's Bombay Symphony Orchestra in the *Sunday Standard*, no date.
(Image Source: The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation 2013:19)

1.5 Mehli Mehta

One of the players making his mark in the Bombay Symphony Orchestra was a Parsi gentleman named Mehli Mehta. Mehta, mentioned earlier with regards to his involvement with Walter Kaufmann', was renowned as a skilful and prolific violinist. It is Mehta, rather than Craen, most commonly mentioned in discussions about the Bombay Symphony Orchestra in contemporary Mumbai: despite all historical newspaper articles I have been able to view suggesting that it was Craen who was the driving force behind the Symphony Orchestra (newspaper articles which would probably have been written by Europeans and therefore biased towards Europeans – see introduction p--- for information about the *Times of India*), it is Mehta who is remembered most fondly in Mumbai today, and who is most often cited as the founder of the orchestra. Mehta served as both concert master, and, from approximately 1950 to 1954, as conductor of the Bombay Symphony Orchestra.

In 1940 Mehta formed his own string quartet, the Bombay String Quartet, featuring himself as the first violinist, Wilfred Forbes as violin 2, Rusi Mody as the violist and Anglo-Indian George Lester as the cellist (Times of India, Dec 15 1940, p9). The quartet performed prolifically, garnering a reputation as a highly accomplished ensemble, until Mehta's departure from India in 1945.

Mehta left India in 1945 to live and study the violin in America, returning to Bombay only for a short time before permanently emigrating in 1954, first to the UK and then to the USA, where he carved out a career as a conductor, violinist and teacher³⁴. Why did he leave Bombay? Mehta's

³⁴ Mehta returned to Bombay in the late 1940's after studying with Ivan Galamain in New York. He moved to England in 1954 after failing to obtain a US visa and joined the Halle Orchestra as a violinist, going on to become its concert-master. In 1959 he was offered a position as 2nd violinist in the Curtis String Quartet in Philadelphia and moved to the US where he remained for the rest of his life. He worked as director of the orchestral department at UCLA from 1964 until 1979 and conducted the American Youth Symphony Orchestra from 1966 until his retirement in 1998. His son is conductor Zubin Mehta. (Hall 2002)

obituary, printed in the *Los Angeles Times* after his death in 2002, suggests that the Western classical music scene in Bombay was perhaps not as vibrant and pluricultural as the historical newspaper articles referenced earlier in this chapter might suggest (Pasles 2002). Mehta, in a 1994 interview reprinted in the *Los Angeles Times* obituary, said 'I should have been born in Europe. In my 25 years of playing in Bombay not one Hindu, not one Muslim came to my concerts. Only the English and Americans came' (Mehta 1994 in Pasles 2002). Was the audience entirely made up of Westerners? Did Mehta's own Parsi community not attend concerts, nor the Indian Catholic community?

Oral histories that I collected throughout my fieldwork in Mumbai confirm that a large number of the Parsi community did regularly attend concerts, and photographs of Bombay Symphony Orchestra concerts printed in The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation's booklet show a majority Indian audience (The Olga and Jules Craen Foundation 2013). However, Mehta's memories provide a more nuanced understanding of the scene in the 1930s, and give an alternative version of the idyllic multiculturalism proclaimed by Craen and the British press.



Illustration 4. Mehli Mehta playing the violin, with Walter Kaufmann on piano and Edigo Verga on cello. (Image source: Fernandes 2013)

1.6 Cecil Mendoza and the Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society

In the northern suburbs of the city, Bombay's Catholic communities dominated Western classical musicking in the 1930s and 1940s. Goan Catholic Cecil Mendoza, a talented and dedicated pianist, conductor, arranger and performer from Bandra, formed the Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society in 1939. Mendoza was a highly motivated musician; he had achieved his LTCL in 1925 and came from a musical family, with his sister Hyacinth often accompanying his choir on piano or stepping in as guest conductor. He also worked as the music critic for the *Sunday Standard* newspaper, possibly writing some of the lines quoted earlier in this chapter.

The Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society gave their first concert in 1939 under the patronage of Sir Gilbert and Lady Wiles (*Times of India* 1939b, 3 December, p 8). The concert, which took place at the CJ Hall in south Bombay, received great critical acclaim, despite the noise from the busy tram terminus nearby (*ibid*). Drawing on the Catholic community's strong choral tradition, the program featured a number of short pieces which were adapted and arranged by Mendoza to suit his group of players and singers. These included the *Overture* to the *Marriage of Figaro*, an arrangement of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata* for choir, Brahms' *Wiegenlied*, a few shorter instrumental pieces including Grieg's *Elegiac Melody*, and Mendoza's own arrangement of *Adeste Fideles* as an encore (*ibid*). A review of the concert printed in the *Times of India* mentions one British name, Sgt. Hamblin, an oboist presumably on loan from the Governor's Band, however, later reviews cite almost entirely Indian, mainly Goan, names, with foreign guests featured only as soloists. Star local musicians included tenor Ceaser Coelho, violinist Dominic Perier and cellists Egidio Verga and George Lester, (the latter of whom had also played in the Bombay String Quartet with Mehta) (*ibid*).

By 1940 the Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society had a choral section of sixty voices and an orchestra of twenty five musicians, though whether players were shared with the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, or whether Mendoza and Craen competed for the loyalties of the city's top performers is unclear. Certainly one must assume that geography played a part in deciding which players were in which ensemble: in the 1930s and 1940s the distance between Bandra and the southern 'town' area was not easily travelled, meaning that people generally stayed within their own area of residence. From meagre accounts of performer's names printed in historical newspaper archives, I suggest that Craen's Bombay Symphony Orchestra employed a majority of Parsi and European players who resided mainly in the southern part of the city, whereas Mendoza's Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society was made up mainly of Goans, East-Indians and Anglo-Indians.

The Goan, East-Indian and Anglo-Indian communities were as keen as the Parsis to perform cosmopolitan and global identities, identities which had been long established through membership of the Catholic church. In 1940 the Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society articulated a clear allegiance to the British Raj (something contentious in what were the final days of the Raj), by hosting a concert of British composers in aid of the War Gifts Fund (Times of India 1940b, Dec 10 p3).

It did not appear, however, that Mendoza was as purist as Craen with regards to Western classical music as an art form. His concerts often included his own arrangements of Indian melodies, with one performance including Rabindranath Tagore's *Jana Gana Mana*, which was later to become the Indian national anthem (Times of India 1949, 3 September, p. 8). As much as Mendoza and his ensemble were staking their claim to Western classical music they were also, through their performances of Indian-influenced arrangements and through Mendoza's frequent unorthodox arrangements of canonic classical works, incorporating elements of Indian identities

into their musicking.

Whilst The Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society may have been changing the way in which Western classical music was being organised, heard and performed in Bombay, it continued the well-established trope of being driven by a passionate individual, and being made possible by the efforts of dedicated amateurs. Mendoza conducted (and often performed at) every concert, rehearsed his ensemble, sourced players, and generally put what must have been a huge amount of time and effort into the society. As far as I am able to deduce from archival sources, he received no funding from the Municipality and had no philanthropic sponsor.

Mendoza's Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society continued on into the early 1950s. A review of a concert in 1953 suggests that Mendoza was becoming unable or unwilling to direct his energies into the Society. The lukewarm review of the concert, conducted by Mendoza's sister Hyacinth Brown-Mendoza read as follows:

...the choir, directed and fired by Mr. Mendoza's sister Mrs. Brown-Mendoza, was a little patchy in parts and not yet as well knit as it will surely become if it performs more often. (Our Music Critic 1953 p 3)

This was the last review I can find of a Bombay Philharmonic and Chamber Society concert; presumably this musical society also drifted into obscurity.

Both Mendoza's Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society and Craen's Bombay Symphony Orchestra, alongside Kaufmann's and Mehta's smaller chamber ensembles, enjoyed what seems now to be a golden age of Western classical musicking. By the end of the 1940s though, the scene began

to slow down. Mehta left for the US in 1945. Then at some point in the late 1940s (one source mentions the year as 1948 but this is unclear) Craen and his wife Olga fell on the wrong side of the law. Olga had been offered a professorship at the Music Conservatoire in Brussels and the couple made plans to permanently relocate back to Europe: the atmosphere in India would have been tense in the final few years of the Raj and in Europe the war was over: the couple could have had a secure future. They decided to sublet their apartment, however, the law at the time prohibited subletting of a landlord-owned property and Olga was arrested. According to The Olga Jules Craen Foundation, Craen decided to take full responsibility for the crime, ensuring Olga would be free to continue her performing career (2013). Craen himself was imprisoned. The exact length of his sentence is unclear; what is known is that upon his release in the late 1950s he was unable to rekindle his conducting career. He was reported to have lost half his body weight due to the stress of his imprisonment, and had become a frail old man (ibid).

Craen died in Bombay in 1959 and was buried at Sewri cemetery in the south of the city. The Bombay Symphony Orchestra was conducted briefly by Mehta during a short return to the city before he finally left permanently in 1954, but without the force of Craen's driving personality, without regular funding, without state support, and without a star player, the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, like those before it, faded away.

The end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s saw somewhat of a demise of what had been, for two decades, a strong and thriving Western classical music scene in Bombay. The British, who had provided a willing audience, if not willing sponsors, had left. Key protagonists, Kaufmann, Craen, Mehta and Mendoza had left or were unable to continue on.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a history of the Western classical music scene in Bombay from 1869 until 1947. I have noted how musicking in the early part of this time period provided links between the Indian locale and European high cultures, before it gradually took on more complex and nuanced roles within the city. I have also highlighted how the scene always struggled in Bombay, with the ambitions of a few passionate individuals thwarted by the values and attitudes of the local government and, to varying levels, local audiences. I have shown that, up until India's independence in 1947, the primary communities involved in Western classical musicking in Bombay were European, Parsi and Catholic.

Chapter two will discuss how Bombay's local communities took over the curation and maintenance of the Western classical music scene following India's independence in 1947.

Chapter 2. The History of Western Classical Music in Mumbai

part 2: 1947 – 2014

One could hypothesise that following the British exit from India in 1947, Western classical musicking, concert-going, listening and performing, would fade from Bombay's social calendar³⁵. As independence had brought a drive to create and define a new Indian national identity, Western classical music could have been rejected as too heavily imbued with memories of imperialism. With the British and European residents largely gone from the city there would have been no need to supply an audience with a nostalgic taste of their homeland.

Western classical music, though, did not fade from Bombay's landscape. In this chapter I show that the Parsi and Catholic communities maintained Western classical musicking in Bombay throughout the second half of the twentieth century, and into the twenty first. However, I also outline how a continued lack of interest and support from local audiences and government, coupled with lack of funding, thwarted attempts to professionalise Western classical musicking. Ongoing disparities between the values of Western classical music's proponents and the cultural values prevalent within the locale continued to create tensions. This was typified by an entertainment tax introduced in 1996 by Bombay's ruling right-wing Shiv Sena Party³⁶. Western classical music concerts were taxed at a rate of 50%, in contrast to concerts of Indian classical music, which were not taxed at all. Whilst this taxation rate was later dropped to 25%, it had continued to thwart Western classical musicking in the city right up until the time of my own ethnographic fieldwork in 2014.

35 To note another example, Shope has suggested that public consumption of Western popular music in Lucknow faded away rapidly after independence, paralleled by the social, economic and demographic realities of the time (2004).

36 This occurred right after Bombay was renamed as Mumbai in what some criticised as a display of regionalist Marathi identity politics.

Western classical music in Bombay/Mumbai³⁷ in the second half of the twentieth century began to take on additional and more complex roles within the city, particularly within spheres of social development and cultural diplomacy, as notions of Western classical music being a site for intercultural unity, and a platform international collaboration, became bound up in local discourses and praxis. Notions of music as a universal and autonomous art form became more embedded in discourses of Western classical music, as I highlight.

Outlining the history of Western classical music in Mumbai by describing events chronologically (as I did in chapter one) has proven problematic as from the 1950s onwards the Western classical music scene diversified and multiplied, branching into various different, sometimes overlapping spheres. Orchestral activity continued but Bombay also saw a plethora of choirs, individuals, festivals, opera companies, music societies, chamber groups and competitions emerge. Some ensembles continue on to the time of my research, others were short-lived. Some decades saw flurries of activity, others very little. I have therefore organised this chapter according to broad genres, beginning with the orchestra and continuing on to choirs, music societies, the role of embassies and finally, music festivals and competitions. This chapter is based on archive materials supplemented with oral histories that I garnered in interviews during my fieldwork in Mumbai in 2014 and 2015. I was fortunate to meet several long-standing members of Mumbai's Western classical music scene, many of whom had lived through events covered in this chapter.

³⁷ Throughout this chapter I use the name 'Bombay' when referring to events which happened before the mid-1990s, and Mumbai when referring to events which happened after the mid-1990s. This is because many of my informants used the name Bombay when discussing historical events and I have instinctively followed their lead.

2.1 The Orchestra Continues

2.1.1 The Bombay City Orchestra

Mehli Mehta's departure from India in 1954 marked the end of the Bombay Symphony Orchestra and the end of the longest running orchestra in Mumbai's history up until that point. With conductor Craen imprisoned and Mehta unwilling to stay in the country, the orchestra had nobody with the skills and time to lead it. However, the end of the Bombay Symphony Orchestra would not be the end of orchestral music making in Bombay.

A few years after the Bombay Symphony Orchestra dissipated, a Goan lawyer by the name of Vere Da Silva decided to take control of the situation. Da Silva had played in the Bombay Symphony Orchestra in the first violin section and had been compared to Mehta in terms of musical ability (Dias 2016. Personal communication, 16 September), though his occupation as a lawyer had prevented him from devoting his full energies to musical life. Da Silva gathered together the old Bombay Symphony Orchestra players who had been drifting around the scene in Bombay and formed the Bombay City Orchestra.

The first concert, conducted by Da Silva, was at the Excelsior Theatre on the 13th February 1957 and featured Eleanor Steber, a Metropolitan Opera star, as the soloist. The orchestra played Beethoven's *Overture to Fidelio*, Berlioz's *Rakoczy and Hungarian March* and Strauss's *Kaiser Waltz* (Our Music Critic 1957:3), in a performance described by the *Times of India's* music critic as 'a very mixed offering' (ibid). Da Silva's real achievement with the orchestra however, was a concert on Wednesday 13th November 1957, when the Bombay City Orchestra accompanied visiting American opera star Marian Anderson.

Anderson was a globally recognised African-American contralto and had been the first black singer to perform in a leading role with the New York Metropolitan Opera in 1955 (The Metropolitan Opera 2018). Her visit to Bombay, which was sponsored by the United States Information Service and organised by Bombay's Time and Talents Club, was a huge event in the city's social calendar: the Regal Theatre packed to the rafters with concert-goers eager to listen to this groundbreaking international star (Our Music Critic 1957:3). Anderson, who performed a repertoire of American Negro Spirituals and popular arias, 'enraptured her audience' (ibid), received a standing ovation and was pressed to perform two encores (ibid). A black and white video available in the University of Pennsylvania library online archives captures the event at the Regal. In the short film Da Silva is shown, looking nervous and stern, conducting Anderson and the Bombay City Orchestra in a performance of *Mon cour s'ouvre a ta voix'* from Saint-Saens's *Samson and Delilah*. The ladies in the orchestra are wearing white saris, whilst the gentlemen are in white dinner jackets, and the percussion wind and brass section are predominantly made up of military and navy personnel wearing uniform, some with rows of medals pinned to their lapels. Audience members are shown listening attentively, some moving their heads with expressions of rapture at the music (Penn Library exhibitions 2017).

Anderson's visit can be situated within global political events at the time: during the cold war with Russia, the USA sent several African-American musicians (usually jazz musicians) to India as goodwill ambassadors, as part of an effort to win India as an ideological ally, and to counteract reports of American racism (Fernandes 2011, Perrigo 2017). As I discuss in detail in chapter four, Western classical music has played an ongoing role in India's transnational diplomatic relations: Anderson's visit was one of the first examples of the international community deploying Western classical music as a tool of coercion and persuasion within India.

Despite this high-profile concert, the Bombay City Orchestra's lifespan was short lived. Da Silva moved to London in 1959 to pursue a career in law, and there was nobody in Bombay prepared to take over as conductor or even as administrator. Once again, Bombay was left without an individual prepared to dedicate the time and energy necessary to maintain an orchestra.



Illustration 5. Marian Anderson and Vere Da Silva at the Regal Theatre in 1957
(Image source: Dias 2016)

2.1.2 The Bombay Chamber Orchestra

In 1962 a young Parsi lady named Jini Dinshaw arrived back to her hometown of Bombay. She had spent the majority of the 1950s in London, studying violin performance with teachers Gladys Noon and Antonio Brosa, and completing her diploma at the Royal Collage of Music. Upon her return to Bombay, Dinshaw was dismayed at the lack of musical activity.

I interviewed Dinshaw in February of 2014, when I visited her at her apartment in South Bombay. Her walls were hung with pictures of musicians and instruments, her desk overflowed with papers, and instruments were stacked on the floor. Dinshaw, a youthful energetic octogenarian when I met her, told me of her reaction to the lack of an orchestra in her city in 1962:

The Bombay Symphony Orchestra had died [...] So when I came back there was nothing at all. The players, of course, disbanded. When I came back I saw so much talent in the young people here so I decided to form an orchestra with all the older members of the Bombay Symphony Orchestra, and we formed an orchestra which was called the Bombay Philharmonia. (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 21 February)

Dinshaw described how she gathered together a group of like-minded individuals and formed a new society, the Bombay Chamber Orchestra Society, which in turn supported a new orchestra, the Bombay Philharmonia, which would later be renamed as the Bombay Chamber Orchestra (BCO). This new amateur orchestra would go on to be the longest-running orchestra in the city's history, existing at the time of writing with Dinshaw still at the helm as its administrator and upper strings tutor. In 1962, Dinshaw asked old members of the Bombay Symphony Orchestra

to join this new ensemble and, with the addition of some new younger players, began putting on concerts.

Dinshaw, in our interview, stressed to me that the orchestra was always primarily an educational venture, with the aim being to provide Bombay's youth with an opportunity to gain tutelage in their instruments and experience in orchestral playing. However, concerts were an important way to showcase the orchestra's achievements (ibid). It is unclear how many concerts the BCO performed during their formative years (there is a record of the orchestra performing Handel's *Messiah* alongside the Bombay Amateur Light Opera Sabha in 1962 (Our Music Critic 1962:7). A *Times of India* review published six years later in 1968 ran the headline 'Promising Debut by Bombay Chamber Orchestra'³⁸ (Our Music Critic 1968:6) which implies the orchestra was not very active up until that point, or at least that their concerts were small enough not to attract the attentions of the local press. The article described the concert as follows:

For more than a decade the First City in India has lacked a decent orchestra. From time to time a few score players had been rounded up to provide support to visiting soloists and so forth, but these scratch groups have never risen above mediocrity or produced the cohesion essential to symphonic music. The Bombay Chamber Orchestra in its first concert under the aegis of the National Centre for the Performing Arts, was a bird of an entirely different feather, leading to the hope that symphonic music in the city will, in the foreseeable future, rise phoenix-like from the ashes. Sunday evening's concert at the Ravindra Natya Mandir must, in fairness to the BCO, be judged not in terms of absolute but as an earnest of what lies ahead. The sound had still to establish a character of its

38 The Bombay Chamber Orchestra was, as Dinshaw testified, originally known as the Bombay Philharmonia, but was supported, somewhat confusingly, by the Bombay Chamber Orchestra Society. I have found records of the ensemble performing under the name Bombay Philharmonia *and* Bombay Chamber Orchestra until around 1980, when the orchestra split into two ensembles, the BP Saloon Orchestra and the Bombay Chamber Orchestra. From 1980 onwards there are no further records of the Bombay Philharmonia.

own, there were quite a few rough spots and a good many of the hurdles were surmounted on a hit-and-miss basis. But the players – most of them old familiars – displayed a new found zest and a responsiveness that sprang very obviously from respect for their conductor. (ibid)

The language used in the above quotation is strikingly similar to the language used in a *Times of India* report printed over half a century earlier in 1912, which reported that the then new Bombay Choral Society had 'risen from the ashes of the old Bombay Philharmonic Society' (*Times of India* 1912, December 19, p7). This draws attention to the trope of Western classical orchestras in Bombay being reincarnations of previous ones: each new orchestra, up until and including the new Bombay Philharmonia, did indeed seem to be made from the ashes of the last, with the same players, 'old familiars' as described in the above quotation, performing in each new ensemble. The Western classical music scene in Bombay would have been simply too small to have had different personnel in each new orchestra. We must imagine the musicians, those who sat in the ranks of the violin sections or played in the wind sections, as being ready and willing to give their skills to each new orchestra, but unwilling to instigate and propagate said orchestras, leaving that role to dedicated, passionate and determined individuals such as Behr, Craen and Dinshaw. In the times between orchestras many musicians would have played in the Bollywood film music industry or in function bands in hotels and clubs, or would have worked in non-musical jobs (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 21 February, and Doctor 2014. Personal communication, 13 August).

The conductor mentioned in the 1968 *Times of India* review of the BCO cited above was Professor Koellreutter, the Director of the Max Mueller Bhavan (German Cultural Centre, now named the Goethe Institut) in Delhi. Koellreutter had been the head of the music department of the Max Mueller Bhavan in Munich before being posted to Delhi (Behague 2001). He had studied

music in Berlin and Geneva specialising in composition and choral conducting, and had studied composition with Paul Hindemith. He also played the flute, saxophone and piano (ibid).

Until 1968, Koellreutter, on invitation from the BCO Society, travelled to Bombay from Delhi the week before a BCO concert and lead rehearsals every day, conducting the orchestra and tutoring the wind section. This system, though, was far from ideal: the orchestra needed a permanent conductor based in Bombay. In 1968 the Bombay branch of the Max Mueller Bhavan opened, bringing with it a young director named Joachim Buehler, who also happened to be a musician and conductor. Dinshaw suggested to me that Koellreutter had personally ensured a musician was appointed as director of the Bombay Max Mueller Bhavan in order to give the BCO and other local musical societies a helping hand (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 21 February). Buehler took over conducting the BCO, founded a choir named the Cantata Choir, and gave lessons in conducting to local musicians. He even attempted to spearhead an Indian National Symphony Orchestra in 1980, gathering together musicians from Delhi, Madras, Calcutta, Goa and Bombay for a concert in the Homai Bhaba Auditorium in Bombay (Our Music Critic 1980:17). The concert received a lukewarm response from Bombay's audience, and the Indian National Symphony Orchestra was not heard of again (ibid).

The BCO continued to perform with Buehler as conductor until around 1980³⁹, but battled many of the same problems faced by its predecessors: it struggled to maintain both membership and audience support. It provided a site in which historical arguments about the value of Western classical music in Bombay surfaced and were (re)examined. Discourses regarding the orchestra as an articulator of Bombay's cosmopolitan values, and its role in the projection of Bombay as a successful global city took place in the pages of local print media. The following extract is taken

39 Buehler left India in 1981 after being posted to South Korea. During his time in India he met and married Indian soprano Situ Singh Buehler.

from a letter printed in the *Times of India* in 1975:

Conductor Buehler expects Bombay musicians to attain international standards in a few years. To put a neglected local orchestra on a professional footing takes time, care and courage [...] The musical potential of this most cosmopolitan Indian city is great and promising indeed. (Nicholson 1975)

A further article written in 1976 by the *Times of India's* music critic bemoaned the poor quality of the BCO's woodwind and brass sections, and pointed to the lack of regular financial support as the primary problem in the substandard performance:

There is only one way out – for the city to create and support an orchestra as a civic duty, to stabilise the personnel, buy suitable instruments, enable it to train new players, and allow it time and exposure enough to evolve its own style and traditions. Given the facilities a man like Buehler could work wonders. Considering Bombay's importance, affluence and cultural pretensions, is this really asking for jam? (Our Music Critic 1976: 4)

Once again, the orchestra was bound up in discourses surrounding Bombay's development as a global cultural city, with the values of those who supported Western classical music conflicting with values of the local government, which did not recognise or support the notion that Bombay needed an orchestra.

In 1980, internal arguments over the future of the BCO occurred and the orchestra split into two; one half continuing on under Dinshaw as the Bombay Chamber Orchestra, and the other

becoming the B.P. Salon orchestra⁴⁰ under former BCO conductor and violist Parvez Doctor. Dinshaw, during this difficult time, was left with only five regular members and was nearly obliged to discontinue the whole enterprise (Dinshaw, 2014. Personal communication, 21 Feb). Her friend Josic Menzie, a musician, teacher and band leader from Bandra stepped in to help and sent his young pupils down to town to fill the gaps in the orchestra, as Dinshaw recounted:

This teacher from Bandra who was excellent, Josic Menzie, phoned me and said not to worry Jini. I will give you my pupils, I'll be there on Sundays to see that they work, I will take them through every day in the morning, and you bring your pupils. And we formed this junior orchestra. (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 21 February)

With help from Menzie, Dinshaw rebuilt the BCO's membership, but was soon faced with another problem; Buehler did not wish to continue on as conductor, and Dinshaw did not have anyone local to fill this particular gap. She called a British cellist friend to ask whether there was anybody willing to come to Bombay and conduct her orchestra on a short term basis. The cellist offered to provide the funds to support a conductor for a full nine months and, in 1983, sent out a young African-American conductor named Charles Darden. Darden trained the woodwinds and brass and conducted the ensemble, whilst Dinshaw trained the string section. They put on three concerts during Darden's nine month tenure in Bombay.

Dinshaw has continued to use small donations from regular philanthropic supporters to sustain the orchestra by bringing guest conductors from abroad, supplementing the wind and brass sections with guest instrumentalists, and bringing in guest soloists as often as four times a year. She informed me that often used her contacts from the UK to aid her in these pursuits, but also used a myriad of international links that she had built over the decades. At the time of writing the BCO

40 B.P. standing for Bharat Philharmonia.

continued to perform canonic Western symphonic works and drew its membership mainly from local amateur players, supplemented by wind and brass players from local police and navy bands and a few players brought from abroad. Many regular members of the BCO had been taught by Dinshaw and are fiercely loyal to her, going to great lengths to maintain their membership of the orchestra.

Dinshaw continues to describe the orchestra as an educational institution, with its primary aim the provision of orchestral training to young aspiring musicians. The orchestra does struggle, however, with maintaining membership, attracting funders, and attracting audiences. As is a trope in the history of the orchestra in Bombay, audiences are not always forthcoming; Dinshaw informed me that they had, in the past, filled the thousand seat capacity Tata Theatre at the NCPA. I played in three concerts throughout 2014, the last concert had an audience of only a few hundred.

2.1.3 The B.P. Salon Orchestra

The B.P. Salon Orchestra, after breaking with the Bombay Chamber Orchestra in the early 1980s, continued on under the baton of Bombay-born Parsi conductor Parvez Doctor. Doctor, unlike Dinshaw, did not wish to import guest conductors and instead set about building local membership for his new ensemble. The B.P. Salon orchestra played in concert halls and performed at functions, providing a mixture of classical, 'semi classical' and 'light' music, according to one archived advertisement (BWW News desk 2010).

The B.P. Salon orchestra, again unlike Dinshaw's BCO, drew many members from Bombay's Bollywood industry, supplemented with local amateur performers, younger students and

music teachers. Due to his use of professional Bollywood musicians, Doctor often paid members for rehearsals and concerts and was generous in providing post-concert meals, though at a personal cost to himself rather than due to regular financial support (Doctor, 2014. Personal communication, 13 August). It was a constant challenge for him to entice performers away from their work in the film industry for rehearsals and performances, though several ex-members of his orchestra assured me he was an excellent conductor. Doctor's use of Bollywood professionals sometimes attracted derision from members of Bombay's Western classical music scene, with one informant recalling being told that the B.P. Salon orchestra was 'full of filmwalas', and thus not worthy of serious attention (anon. 2014. Personal communication).

The tension between amateur and professional can be viewed through a somewhat different lens in the case of the B.P. Salon Orchestra: here was an orchestra not simply attempting to professionalise itself as an institution, but actually competing with Bollywood as the primary employer of professional musicians. Doctor did not see film musicians as unworthy of membership of his Western classical orchestra, rather, he was constantly attempting to entice musicians away from the lure of steady and well-paid studio work. Unfortunately, he was not able to provide the security and funds necessary to maintain loyalty in members despite the affection many held for him personally, and was often obliged to hold rehearsals and concerts at times which did not clash with the film work schedules of his members (Doctor 2014. Personal communication, 13 August). Fernandes has remarked upon a similar problem in Bombay's jazz band scene, whereby several highly regarded jazz musicians were drawn to the security and money associated with Bollywood, leaving the jazz scene bereft (Fernandes 2012).

Circa 2012, Doctor became too elderly to continue conducting. He had driven the B.P. Salon orchestra as conductor, organiser, administrator and provider of funds. Without him the

orchestra faded into obscurity.

2.1.4 Josic Menzie and the Pops Symphony Orchestra

Goan musician Josic Menzie was born Josico Menezes in the Seychelles (Date of birth unknown), and had changed his name on the advice of a jazz band leader who had suggested to him that Josico Menezes was “too much” to pronounce (Fernandez 2012:83). Menzie had learned to play the violin in England under Professor Sweeting, a violinist in the London Symphony Orchestra, before travelling to Karachi to lead a dance band. In the 1930s he moved to Bombay where he worked as a musician playing for silent films, for hotel jazz and dance bands bands, and for Craen's Bombay Symphony Orchestra (Fernandes 2012). A multi-instrumentalist, Menzie played reed instruments as well as strings. He also taught and arranged scores, and within a short space of time he had garnered fame in the city as one of the most talented musicians in Bombay (Cordo, 2014. Personal communication, 11 August). He was a resident of Bandra, the location of his Pops Symphony Orchestra, which he formed in the late 1960s and which continued until the late 1970s.

I spoke with Bandra resident Celeste Cordo, a musician and conductor who was an ex-student of Menzie. She described Bandra during the time of Menzie's orchestra:

...in fact in the place where Josic lived, that's not far from here, in a place called St Theresa's parish, every second house there was someone learning an instrument. Piano, violin, clarinet, every second house there would be someone learning an instrument. The Christian community but also the non-Christian community came in to learn. See

because his name spread far and wide that he was a teacher, and in those days there weren't many teachers. (Cordo 2014. Personal communication, 11 August)

Whilst we can glean from this statement the prolificacy of Western classical music making in Bandra during the 1960s and 1970s, Cordo stressed the amateur nature of this scene. As I have previously indicated, the Catholic community had assimilated Western classical music making into their own cultural practice but most did not become professional musicians.

Menzie put together an orchestra of local amateurs bolstered by professional musicians brought in from his work in the hotel jazz scene, including saxophonist Jonny Rodericks and clarinetist Jonny Gomes. He also brought in some Bollywood film music professionals, including violinist/arranger Uttam Singh. Cordo described the ensemble:

We had a full big symphony. In those days it was like the big band style, so we had violin A B C D, we had viola, we had cellos, and we had guitars, we had drums, we had the rhythm percussion section, we had a whole horn section, we had flutes, clarinets, saxophones, even trumpets, a trombone, so we had the whole works, we even called in a timpani player. (Cordo 2014. Personal communication, 11 August)

According to Cordo, the orchestra played a type of repertoire colloquially known as 'the pops' (ibid), which indicated a mixture of light classical, jazz and popular repertoire, a repertoire which reflected Cecil Mendoza's earlier relaxed attitude to Western classical repertoire. The Pops Symphony Orchestra performed in Bombay and in the neighbouring city of Pune, but was discontinued when Menzie died in the 1970s (exact date unknown).

2.1.5 The Symphony Orchestra of India (SOI)

Although throughout the twentieth century, Mumbai had played host to a plethora of visiting professional orchestras from Europe, America and Russia, it had not produced a fully professional symphony orchestra of its own. Both of the Bombay Symphony Orchestras had been semi-professional, as were The B.P. Salon Orchestra and the Bombay Chamber Orchestra. In 2006 the Symphony Orchestra of India (SOI) became the first, and only, professional symphony orchestra in Mumbai, performing its inaugural concert at the NCPA (National Centre for Performance Arts) in South Mumbai. I will not elaborate on the Symphony Orchestra of India here as I dedicate the entirety of chapter four to it. Within the history of Western classical music in Mumbai, though, the Symphony Orchestra of India represented a significant milestone.

2.2 Choirs

At the very end of my period of fieldwork in Mumbai I attended a Christmas concert of festive choral music where I observed, to my surprise, a multiplicity of local church choirs troop onstage to perform Christmas songs, all in fabulous outfits and many with choreographed dance moves. The concert lasted for four hours and another was scheduled for the following day. The enormity of the church choir scene became apparent, and, as my ethnographic fieldwork was focused more on orchestral and instrumental practices, I realised that to write an authoritative and comprehensive report on choirs in Mumbai would almost be a task for another PhD⁴¹.

Although choirs are not the focus of this study, I do consider it necessary to include an

⁴¹ Indeed, PhD scholar Sebanti Chatterjee is in the process of conducting doctoral research into choirs in Mumbai, Goa and Shillong (Chatterjee 2014. Personal communication, 25 May)

overview of choirs in this chapter as they have played a vital and ongoing role in the history of Western classical music in Mumbai, and they are a sphere in which huge numbers of individuals have become involved in music making. I have chosen, therefore, to write about *secular* choirs rather than those affiliated to churches or religious practices, and to limit my overview to choirs which I saw in performance and whose conductors I interviewed. All are amateur.

2.2.1 The Paranjoti Chorus

The Paranjoti Chorus is one of Mumbai's best known choirs. Since 1967 it has been conducted by a stalwart of the scene, Ms Coomie Wadia. Wadia, an elegant Parsi lady in her eighties, always impeccably dressed in beautiful saris, met me to recount the history of the Paranjoti Chorus, to describe its founder Mr Victor Paranjoti, and to outline her own role as conductor and global ambassador for Mumbai's choral scene.

Paranjoti, Wadia informed me, had moved to Bombay from Bangalore in the late 1940s after being posted to the city by his employers, All India Radio. He had previously lived in Bangalore and Chennai, and had grown up singing in church choirs and playing the organ. When Paranjoti arrived in Bombay the predominant choral society, Cecil Mendoza's Bombay Choral and Philharmonic Society (see chapter ones) was becoming less active, and Paranjoti saw an opportunity to create his own choir. In 1947 he formed the Bombay Madrigal Singers, and, a few years later, a supporting committee named the Bombay Madrigal Singers Organisation (BMSO). The Bombay Madrigal Singers initially performed sacred music (always Western), although Paranjoti himself was interested in Indian music and would later compose pieces drawing influence from both Indian and western musical traditions.

In 1950, the year that Wadia joined the choir, Paranjoti had great ambitions for his new ensemble. Wadia described his motivations:

He was a very black Indian from South India and he grew up in the British times where he was always put down for being an Indian. Inferior musicians to him were allowed to conduct the choirs and allowed to play the organ or conduct the choirs in the churches in Madras and Bangalore, and he was a very fine organist also, and a good tenor. So he was always stepped over and he had a huge chip on his shoulder about the British. Because, see this happened in other professions also, if you were an Indian you were not allowed to go over the British. It was always a white man on top. And that's what we grew up with. So when he formed this choir he wanted to show the Britisher what he could do. And he wanted to go to England, Europe and do a concert tour. (Wadia 2014. Personal communication, 4 July)

Here, Wadia's assertions of racism within Western classical musicking in colonial India chimes with Mina's Yang's more contemporary suggestions that Asian participation in Western classical music cultures is considered, by Europeans, as 'less than salutary' (Yang 2007: 1). Wadia's statement also adds an alternative lens through which we might consider earlier celebratory reporting of Behr and Craen's orchestras as cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural (see chapter one). Wadia's recounting of Paranjoti's experiences suggest that the position of Indian 'Western' musicians in colonial India was more undermined by ideologies of European superiority than archived resources (written by the British) indicated.

Wadia informed me that in 1955, Paranjoti began to talk seriously about taking his choir to Europe. His ideas, though, were not met with universal approval and many of the BMSO

committee felt that he would be better off staying in Bombay; Wadia recalled that some BMSO members suggested that he would be “laughed off stage” (ibid). Paranjoti was so hurt by the committee's refusal to back him up that he resigned, and, taking many of the choir members with him, formed a new group which was named the Bombay Light Opera Sabha (Sabha meaning society in Hindi). The Bombay Light Opera Sabha performed Paranjoti's own light opera and a few other concerts over the next few years before changing their name to the Paranjoti Chorus in 1960.

Despite discouragement, in 1961 Paranjoti achieved his dream and took the Paranjoti Chorus to Europe. There were, Wadia told me, “people in Bombay who took a bet that we would never leave the airport, that we would get tomatoes thrown at us. But we had flowers thrown at us” (ibid). The choir spent two and a half months on tour, visiting Italy, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and England, performing at the Wigmore Hall and at Truro Cathedral (ibid). Audiences were, Wadia recalled, surprised upon seeing the choir: “You saw a bunch of Indians in saris coming and singing Bach. And there were wonderful reports on that” (ibid). In 1966 Paranjoti undertook another European concert tour. In 1967 he died and Wadia took over, conducting her first concert on the 24th May of that year. When we met in 2014, Wadia was still the conductor, and never missed a year.

When she first took over the conducting of the Paranjoti Chorus, Wadia, like Paranjoti, was keen to take the choir abroad. In 1970 she received an invitation to travel to New York, USA, to compete in an international choral festival. Although the choir was unable to qualify for the festival due to not being affiliated to a university, Wadia was able to attend as a guest conductor, one of twelve invited from various international sites. Each invited guest conductor took repertoire to share with the others, and used the opportunity to network and create relationships. As a result of her attendance at the festival, Wadia formed friendships with conductors from across Europe, and in

1974 the Paranjoti chorus spent two weeks in Poland at the invitation of one of Wadia's contacts, followed by a tour of Europe.

The tour of Europe was highly prestigious and many of the choir members were allowed time away from their offices to attend, raising money to fund themselves by selling brochures. The choir performed a varied repertoire of canonic choral works, however Wadia was keen to showcase some original Indian compositions, in keeping with the choir's tradition of performing original compositions by Paranjoti, many of which blended Indian texts with Western style harmony (ibid). Wadia commissioned local composer Vanraj Bhatia to compose a piece for her choir to take to Europe. Bhatia produced a work for three choirs using text taken from the Bhagavad Gita.⁴²

Wadia had initially thought that German audiences would not want to hear Indian compositions, telling me, “it was very alien, and who wants Indian music?” (ibid). However, she recalled how Bhatia's piece was met with huge acclaim when the choir performed it during a recording session for a radio station in Germany, telling me, “There was a terrific response to it” (ibid). Ironically, Wadia had not intended to perform the piece on radio and was simply singing through it with her choir as they had extra time in the studio (ibid).

When I met her in 2014, Wadia took pride in ensuing that around a third of the pieces the choir performed were in Indian languages, although she insisted that they were just as comfortable singing in English or Latin (ibid). In terms of touring, the Paranjoti chorus had, at the time of writing, undertaken eleven international tours. They performed regularly in Mumbai, and had collaborated with both the BCO and the SOI, with Wadia being the only Indian woman to have ever conducted the SOI.

⁴² The Bhagavad Gita is a 700-verse Hindu scripture in Sanskrit that is part of the Mahabharata, a Hindu epic.

Wadia took pride in the international friendships that she had developed through the choir: the Paranjoti chorus' motto was 'International Music through International Harmony'. She saw music as having the capacity to break down borders and promote social harmony: she positioned her choir within spheres of conflict resolution and cultural diplomacy, telling me that her proudest moment came when she facilitated a meeting between Polish and German choirs who were both visiting India at the same time in 1975:

They became such good friends that they helped them through their difficulties. That was when they wiped out the hatred between them. And that was done by an Indian. That was done in India. So I feel that music does so much more, so much more than just entertain people. (ibid)

Wadia's positioning of her choir within projects of conflict resolution relies on ideologies of choral music being universal, stateless, borderless and autonomous, thereby allowing international ensembles to find common neutral ground upon which to practice common purposes. These ideologies were made clear to me in my interview with Wadia, during which she repeatedly posited a universalist position, refuting notions of Western classical music as culturally, nationally or ethnically specific, telling me: "Its ours. We have studied from being children, its one of our subjects, its our love" (Wadia 2014. Personal communication, 4 July). Wadia did, though, maintain that she was not given as much respect in her home town of Mumbai as when she was abroad: locally, her abilities as a conductor were doubted due to her status as an Indian woman. This admission provokes a consideration of how 'home-grown' Indian musicians working in the Western classical music scene are viewed by their home audiences. Are there still the echoes of the prejudices faced by Paranjoti in the 1960s? Is Western music seen as 'ours' or 'international' by Wadia's Mumbai-based audiences?

2.2.2 The Stop-Gaps Cultural Academy

The Stop-Gaps Cultural Academy, also known as the Stop-Gaps Choral Ensemble, was formed in 1984 by a charismatic conductor named Alfred D'Souza, who I met in August of 2014. Originally from Chennai, Anglo-Indian⁴³ D'Souza was brought up in a musical household playing the piano and singing in church choirs. The Anglo-Indian community in Chennai, he told me, tended to gravitate towards Western culture; they staffed the railways and the dance bands, and took little interest in Indian classical music⁴⁴ (D'Souza 2014. Personal communication, 12 August). As a child, D'Souza attended music lessons at school and was a member of, and then conductor of, a church choir. Despite his aptitude for music, D'Souza never considered becoming a professional musician, telling me: "Music was a social grace, you never really took it up as a profession [...] It never struck me or nobody ever encouraged it as a profession" (D'Souza 2014. Personal communication, 12 August). Instead, D'Souza studied zoology and social work. The Stop-Gaps Choral Ensemble began as a social project 1972, when he was still at college in Chennai:

One year in December, they have the monsoon in December there, there was a terrible cyclone and the river overflowed its banks, and you know you have all the washermen who live on the banks over there, and all their huts and everything were washed away. I always had this thing for social work, so I mobilised the whole community of the parish to come together and we all went carol singing that year. And we almost went round the whole of Chennai, for five or six night to collect funds to rehabilitate these people. And that's how the Stopgaps was formed. (ibid)

The name Stop-Gaps was chosen as D'Souza felt that there was a gap between the older

43 D'Souza's mother was of mixed European and Indian descent.

44 Here D'Souza's testimony chimes with Shope's research on Anglo-Indian musicking during the first half of the twentieth century (Shope 2004).

generation who had grown up in the Victorian era and the new younger 'hippy' generation to which he belonged. He felt that his choir had brought together old and young, as well as people from different communities and different social status and backgrounds, telling me, “Through music so many gaps were bridged” (ibid).

After moving to Bombay, D'Souza originally wanted to be a 'star singer' and took singing lessons from soprano Situ Singh Buehler, wife of Joachim Buehler (conductor of the BCO and head of the Max Mueller Bhavan) and from Hyacinth Brown, sister of Cecil Mendoza (mentioned in chapter one). D'Souza formed the Bombay chapter of The Stop-Gaps Choral Ensemble in 1984, recruiting new members from the Zonals, a local parish competition held annually in the suburb of Bandra. The Stop-Gaps Choral Ensemble had since developed into two groups: an adult choir and a children's choir, both of which were amateur but auditioned. The choirs' repertoire included a wide range of light, religious, popular and classical repertoire, “anything from Bach to the Beatles” (ibid), and D'Souza often composed original pieces and choreographed dance routines for the choirs.

D'Souza, in our conversation, stressed that the primary focus of his ensemble was social, with his choir acting as a space in which he could foster unity between otherwise disparate social groups in Mumbai, reflecting Wadia's notions of the power of music in bridging social divides (discussed earlier in this chapter). The social motivations of the choir were also made clear on their website, which read: 'Not only has the generation gap been bridged, but religious, economic and social barriers have also been broken down through song' (The Stop-Gaps Cultural Academy: nd). In our interview, D'Souza highlighted the multicultural demographic makeup of his ensemble:

.... a lot of Christian, but there are Parsis, Jains, which you would hardly get, Gujaratis,

we have a Muslim boy, we used to have a Sikh boy. They come from all communities. Religion is not an issue [...] you have to be prepared to sing just about anything in the choir. (D'Souza 2014. Personal communication, 12 August)

Western classical choral music is re-imagined here by D'Souza as a sphere in which people from a multiplicity of social and religious backgrounds might find common purpose and meaning. This reflects other similar projects such as the East-West Divan Orchestra, theorised as a 'contact zone', in which 'people geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other' (Clifford 1992 in Beckles Willson 2009:323), enabled by notions of music being apolitical and universal. However, in Mumbai, despite D'Souza's ideals and assertions of religious tolerance, local historical associations between Western classical music and Catholic and Parsi cultures did appear to undermine his ideologies, with membership of his choir being predominantly Christian. That D'Souza traveled from his own residence in an eastern suburb of Mumbai to conduct his choirs in the Catholic area of Bandra also spoke to the ongoing dominance of Christian communities within choral music. Despite this, through the Stop-Gaps Cultural Academy D'Souza aimed to demystify Christianity amongst the wider community in Mumbai, telling me, "Christmas is considered a very foreign or Western festival and I have tried to integrate it. St Thomas brought Christianity into India in the second century!" (ibid)

D'Souza, like Wadia of the Paranjoti chorus, highlighted the transnational/international nature of choral singing, pointing to how his choir had provided a means by which local singers engaged with international communities. He had taken the choir abroad eight times (the Stop-Gaps Choral Ensemble were the first Indian choir to perform in China) and had built an ongoing partnership with a choir in Germany. The choir's motto was 'Bridging the World with Song' (Stop-Gaps Cultural Academy: nd).

2.2.3 The Living Voices Choir

The Living Voices choir was another long running high-profile choir based in Bandra. Since its inception in 1982 it had been conducted by the formidable Blossom Mendonca, best known in the city as a piano teacher. Like D'Souza's Stop-Gaps Choral Ensemble, Mendonca's Living Voices began as a result of the Bandra Zonals. More local in character than Wadia's Paranjoti Chorus or D'Souza's Stop-Gaps Choral Ensemble, Mendonca described the Living Voices as, “an amateur choir, what you call a community choir” (Mendonca 2014. Personal communication, 9 September). The Living Voices choir originally met just once or twice a year, “for fun”, (ibid) but over the past seven or eight years, had been meeting more frequently and performing more challenging larger scale works with orchestral ensembles, for example Karl Jenkins' *The Armed Man* with the BCO and Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana* with the SOI (ibid).

Mendonca, rather like many of the conductors I described in chapter one, found the amateur nature of her choir difficult to manage. She had a membership of around 40 people, mainly from the Catholic community, but had a high turnover of singers; her members often had to work, travel abroad, get married and get jobs, and thus found it difficult to commit. I asked her what she thought of the nature of amateur music making. Her response was as follows:

Who is going to pay? Professional means you get paid, right? Now we are having a concert, you know how much is it going to cost, its going to cost? Two to three lakhs, the hall is so expensive, licences, printing the ticket. 20% you have to pay to the government, and to the agents. It's not like licences are so expensive, but the agents will charge us. Because you know, I don't have time to go to government offices, [they say] “come tomorrow, come tomorrow”. So now we are thinking we will get a brochure, get

some sponsors. Because we can't survive on gate money, because I don't know if we will sell a whole house. I don't think we can sell a full house of 1000 people. (ibid)

Mendonca's trouble in paying the government taxes, and in securing halls for performances, echo the tropes outlined in chapter one regarding the tensions created when amateur ensembles aspire to levels of professionalism. Mendonca's choir performed in large halls for fee-paying audiences, however they struggled financially, even with carefully chosen programmes: Mendonca explained that, "the lighter the music is the more we sell, it's silly but that's how it is" (ibid).

Mendonca's Living Voices performed regularly during my fieldwork in 2014. I attended one concert in November at the NCPA's Tata theatre, a thousand seat venue which was almost full to capacity. The choir sang light arrangements of famous Western classical works, and additional entertainment included a music quiz, a violinist dressed as a cowboy and other amusing skits. After the show, the NCPA's foyer was filled with Mumbai's Catholic crowd, many gathered round the piano for a singalong, others dancing, most taking full advantage of the wine that was on offer. Although I knew that Mendonca had struggled to put on the concert, the atmosphere was vibrant and jolly, suggesting that popular support for amateur music making in the choral world was, at least within the Catholic community, thriving.

2.3 Societies

As I discussed the history of Western classical music with informants, friends and acquaintances in Mumbai, two names kept recurring: the Time and Talents Club and the Bombay Madrigal Singers Organisation, most commonly referred to by its acronym BMSO. Older members of the scene would mention these names without explanation, as if it were inconceivable that I

wouldn't know who, or what, they were talking about. An internet search did not reveal much; both the Time and Talents and the BMSO had become inactive before websites and social media became prevalent. Still, the more time I spent in Mumbai, the more often I heard these names, and I realised that both societies had played an integral part in the history of Western classical music in Mumbai.

2.3.1 The Bombay Madrigal Singers Organisation (BMSO)

Upon asking at the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation who I should approach with regards to finding out a bit more about the BMSO, I was informed, “You must speak to Naval Havaladar. He practically *was* the BMSO!” (Lam 2014, Personal communication, 4 December). It turned out that I had in fact met Mr Havaladar already, he was a regular at concerts in the city and had attended the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation's teachers concert, at which I had performed. Havaladar, despite being in his eighties, took pride in attending, circumstances permitting, absolutely every concert that happened in the city, ignoring any rivalries which would keep others away from certain concerts (Havaladar 2014. Personal communication, 19 December). He was of the opinion that there was “no bad music” (ibid), and would happily go to an amateur concert or a student concert as well as to concerts by visiting professional orchestras. I was able to ask about the BMSO when I met him at the Bombay Gymkhana, an exclusive club in South Mumbai steeped in glamour and old-fashioned opulence.

Havaladar had grown up in South Bombay in a musical Parsi family. He had attempted to learn to play the violin at the age of six, but had quickly become bored and instead embraced music as a listener. In the early 1950s he had been a member of a gramophone society in Colaba, which

was run with the support of the British Council. In the mid 1950s he joined the Bombay Madrigal Singers Organisation, which had formed earlier in 1947 (Bombay Madrigal Singers 1950). At that point Victor Paranjoti, the original conductor of the Bombay Madrigal Singers, would have been in the process of leaving the organisation to form the Bombay Light Opera Sabha, leaving the BMSO in the hands of committee members who were led by conductor/tenor Cesar Coelho. Deciding that they were not content with simply putting on concerts of local singers, the BMSO turned to organising and promoting concerts by international visiting Western classical music artists, as well as organising and promoting some concerts by Indian artists. Havaladar was involved in a non-musical capacity, organising concerts, selling tickets, liaising with artists and embassies, and doing promotional work (ibid).

Havaladar told me that the BMSO, which was patronised by Sir Adrian Boult (Bombay Madrigal Singers 1950), and whose missions were 'to foster the growth of International Music in India', and to 'give free performances of Choral Music in aid of charitable or musical organisations' (ibid), worked closely with foreign embassies stationed in Bombay in the 1950s and 1960s, including the British Council, the American Consulate, the Russian Consulate and the Czech Consulate, who would support and sponsor artists travelling through Asia. They were also very dependant on the whims of individual artists who were travelling to either Japan or Australia; Havaladar would contact the artists' agents and ask if they would drop by Bombay on their way over. On such occasions, the air fare would be paid by the Japanese or Australian promoters. He explained how the BMSO would ask the artists to play for a reduced fee:

We would always beg and plead with the artists that would come that “please, we don't have money, so you have to perform for very little money or no money”. And a remarkable number of them, the greater artists, would agree. So in that process we got a

number of wonderful artists. We did very well, not financially. (Havaldar 2014.

Personal communication, 19 December)

Performers who came through Bombay and worked with the BMSO included Arthur Rubinstein, Mstislav Rostropovich, Marian Anderson, Isaac Stern, Herbert Von Karayan, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra and the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra (ibid). Artists were, Havaldar remembered, generally charming, gracious and willing to compromise for their Indian audiences. Rubinstein, for example, was happy to adapt his programme of Chopin to include requests by members of the BMSO, and did not complain when he was obliged to perform on an old Steinway piano borrowed from the All India Radio Station (ibid).

Putting on such high profile concerts was a huge amount of work for the BMSO committee, all of whom were working in their spare time and at weekends for no financial reward. After a while Havaldar became bored with focusing on foreign ensembles and suggested that the BMSO put on operas of their own, using local Indian musicians and singers and employing Cesar Coelho as conductor (ibid). Their first opera, in 1961, was staged using a full Indian cast but, according to Havaldar, the male soloists were not up to scratch, and so in following performances they imported tenors and baritones from the UK, as well as a British producer named Derek Bond. Indian female soloists included Goans Celia Lobo and Fay Sequeira. The choir was, according to Havaldar, mostly Goan with a few Parsis, and almost no one from any other community. The orchestra was collected ad hoc and was often formed of Bollywood musicians, which, Havaldar explained, was problematic as they would need to be coaxed away from the lure of paid employment in the film studios (ibid).

From 1961 to 1967 the BMSO staged *La Traviata*, *Tosca*, *Il Trovatore*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Faust*, *Norma* and *Rigoletto*, using the Tejpal Hall at Gwalior Tank as their concert venue (ibid). Each performance would run for five nights and were hugely popular, however, despite this popularity the society was relatively short lived. I asked Havaladar why the organisation ceased activities. He answered, “After a while nobody was interested, they didn't want to put in the time and effort. It takes a lot of effort to do these things” (ibid). I remarked to Havaladar that I had noticed that many musical ensembles, orchestra and organisations in the city had petered out in a similar manner. He replied:

What has been the common fate of all these organisations, as long as the person who is running it is there it is alright. But what happens after? This has been the common fate. It's not meant as a criticism. I have seen it in all my years. Organisations start, die. It happened to the Time and Talents, it happened to the BMSO. (ibid)

The BMSO was generally inactive throughout the 1970s was entirely defunct by 1980. Havaladar remembered his time with the organisation fondly and remained a keen musical connoisseur, telling me, “We had a lot of fun. And we are still having fun” (ibid).

2.3.2 The Time and Talents Club

The Time and Talents Club preceded the BMSO by nearly two decades and was still active in 2014 in a small capacity. I had heard whispers of rivalries between the Time and Talents Club and the BMSO, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s when each club competed to bring the best orchestras or the most famous artists to Bombay. In 1957, Vere Da Silva managed to get the two

organisations to work together to put on his Bombay City Orchestra concert with visiting American opera singer Marian Anderson.

The Time and Talents Club was started in 1934 by Parsi author Gool Shavkshar after a visit to London during which she observed ladies' clubs engaging in charitable activities. Upon her return to Bombay, Shavakshar, with the help of a group of likeminded Parsi ladies, began the Time and Talents Club with with the intention of raising funds for local charities in the city (Prabhu 2013). Over the decades the club became an institution, run by philanthropic Parsi ladies working to raise money for a plethora of causes (ibid). They did not at any point in their history focus only on concert promotion, indeed they were probably best known for their annual cookbook (which they were still producing each year at the time of writing). However, from the 1950s to the 1990s they were responsible for some of the most legendary concerts in Bombay's musical history.

Mehroo Jeejeebhoy, founder and director of the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation, sat on the Time and Talents Club music committee for many years. A pianist herself, Jeejeebhoy had studied at the Trinity College of Music in London in the early 1970s, and had made a name for herself as a soloist and accompanist upon her return to Bombay (Jeejeebhoy 2014. Personal communication, 19 August). Under her guidance, the Time and Talents put on an array of concerts by both local and international artists. She described the process of organising international artists:

Everything used to be done by letter, we would write and two weeks later we would get a reply. And then the fax came and the fax was a very big innovation, you could send something to somebody immediately. And now it is instant. All that has changed the landscape of music and presenting concerts. (ibid)

Much like the BMSO, the Time and Talents music committee would ask artists to come and play for free or for a very small fee (large ensembles such as orchestras would find their own sponsors) and would host them in their own homes, as Jeejeebhoy recalled:

They weren't put up in 5 star hotels, they stayed in people's homes. You see in those days people had large homes, they had staff, they had extra room, so they got home hospitality, and it was very nice because they were taken care of in an informal kind of way and they loved it. (ibid)

Concerts were, Jeejeebhoy informed me, well attended by a core group of music lovers. Some of the more famous events organised by the Time and Talents club include a concert by the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra in 1961 (where they performed at the Eros cinema) and a concert by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Zubin Mehta in 1994 (ibid). The New York Philharmonic played in the three thousand seat capacity Shanmukhananda hall in the suburb of Matunga, the only hall appropriate for the huge audience. It was at this concert that Jeejeebhoy met Mehta and began the friendship which would culminate in the opening of the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation (which I discuss in detail in chapter five).

It is unclear when and why the Time and Talents club ceased organising concerts. The government tax on Western classical music concerts made life harder, and everyone working for the Time and Talents Club was volunteering their time for free. When I met her, Jeejeebhoy was focused on running her own music school, the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation, and the Foundation's annual festival, Sangat.

2.4 The role of foreign embassies

During the first three decades of Indian independence, foreign embassies (particularly the British Embassy, the Alliance Francais and the Max Mueller Bhavan) were very much involved in propagating Western music in Bombay⁴⁵, often working closely with the BMSO and the Time and Talents Club. Havaladar of the BMSO explained how the British Council hosted a weekly gramophone club in their library: “The British Council was very keen because the British Council was an institution meant to propagate Western arts and music, anything you know” (Havaladar 2014. Personal communication, 19 December). The Max Mueller Bhavan (now Goethe Institut) was the most prolific Western classical music supporter in Mumbai; it provided the BCO with conductors and a space to rehearse.

In 1970 Professor Koellreutter, director the of Max Mueller Bhavan in Delhi, was interviewed in the *Times of India*. In that interview he expressed misgivings about the role of Western music in India:

The main problem for me was the sort of society that is generally attracted towards a foreign cultural institute. Most of them (and this does not happen only in India) approach such an institute because they want to become the 'favourite children' of the Germans. They are generally people who want to go abroad. And then in India, these people have a seeming interest in Western Music and culture, without having any inkling of their own heritage. I call them the 'widows of the British Raj'. It is extremely odd that for them a negation of things Indian seems to be essential for the acceptance of anything foreign. (Koellreutter 1970 in Batra, 1970:5)

45 The American Embassy was particularly prolific in bringing jazz artists to Mumbai in the 1950s during the cold war. Sending African-American jazz artists to Asia was part of a foreign policy initiative aimed at counteracting the Russian policy of highlighting American racial inequality in a bid to win Asian support (Gac 2005, Fernandes 2012).

Koellreutter's tone here is somewhat surprising considering the amount of energy he spent working on Western classical music performances in India: as well as conducting the BCO he performed as a soloist across the country and founded a school of music in Delhi. The interviewer then asked the following question:

It seems to me that the tradition of Western music can hardly strike roots in Indian soil. So while I can see the validity of learning about it, I see no reason why one should try and perpetuate Western concert culture in India. Why have you spent so much time working with Western music orchestras here? (Batra 1970:5)

Koellreutter replied:

I have done nothing in the field of music in India which was not desired by the Indians themselves. I have worked with your orchestras because they asked me to do so. [...] Besides I am first and foremost a musician and if other musicians ask me to do something in this field I will do it. And then I feel that every creative activity is a facilitator for the development of a society. For me music has never been an isolated field. It is valid only when serving man. (Koellreutter 1970 in Batra 1970:5)

It appears from this quote that Koellreutter was unhappy that he, or the Max Mueller Bhavan as an institution, might be seen as perpetuating an adventitious musical culture, or that they may be accused of foisting Western classical music on an unwilling Indian public. He stressed that his relationships with Indian musical organisations were always reciprocal.

Since Buehler left India in 1980 however, the Goethe Institut in Bombay had refrained from

giving much direct support to Western classical musicking in the city: in recent years that had not given any.

I spoke with Dr Martin Walde, director of the Goethe Institut in Mumbai, and asked him why, under his leadership, the Institut had not taken an active role in either the promotion of Western classical music in Mumbai or in the support of the BCO. He informed me that shifts in direction are very much down to the personalities and preferences of individual directors; the Goethe Institut have no official policy as such that would prevent him from channeling resources into Western classical music. However, as director, he saw ongoing support of Western music as problematic:

I would say that in India work in the field of music is a problem for us. I would say in the sphere of contemporary art, conferences, film, theatre, dance is very important. Music has been always a bit of a problem, in that sense, that we discuss, is it our task to intensify and support western classical music in India? Why should we do that? It is not indigenous culture in this country, it is colonial culture, in a way. And why the Goethe Institut shall promote the repertoire from Hayden from Bach to Mahler, in India? Is this what we have to do? It is a big question. (Walde 2014. Personal communication, 3 December)

Walde, echoing Koelreutter, conceptualised Western classical music as too imbued with colonial legacy to be a culture that he would feel comfortable promoting, thereby refuting universalist arguments from within the scene in Mumbai (Jini Dinshaw of the BCO was a particularly vocal critic of his position). Walde explained that the role of the Goethe Institut, as he understood it, was to plug gaps left by an absent cultural policy in local government and to provide

funds and support for local cultural projects and for Indo-German collaborative projects. He did not think that the Goethe Institut's role in India was to promote what he considered to be German culture:

Our philosophy is not image polishing or marketing Germany abroad, this is not our constituency, for this a cultural institute would not be needed. It is rather to engage with a meaningful collaboration and dialogue with the local communities. So this is the strength of the Max Mueller Bhavan in India, our history is continuously engaging and promoting, filling the gap of an absent cultural policy and filling the gap for support structures for culture in India. What is still very very relevant, so that makes it also easier for us. In that sense India is an easier place to work than Poland, than Warsaw and London, where everything is happening already! So what will the Goethe Institut do?
(ibid)

Walde's comments problematise the role of Western classical music in Mumbai, throwing the notions of universalism into question. My informants in Mumbai often felt that Western music was Western only in name, for example, Mehroo Jeejeebhoy commented:

I still don't like the term Western classical music. I think classical music is classical music anywhere, it is just something that has stood the test of time. Beethoven doesn't belong to Austria or Germany alone. Or, an artist like Picasso, just because he was Spanish, his legacy is something he has given to the world. Just like the music of Beethoven or Mozart, it is a legacy for the world to enjoy, not just the West.

(Jeejeebhoy 2014. Personal communication, 5 December)

Walde, though, was reluctant to support Western classical music in Mumbai because of his conceptualising of it as not indigenous to India. He firmly situated Western classical music as Western, in both geographical and ideological senses, and for him, it was important that the Goethe Institut not be seen as supporting something too 'German', or too 'Western', in order to avoid accusations of neo-colonial behaviour. However, in holding this view, was Walde actually reinforcing notions of Western classical music being linked intrinsically with geography, with Euro-American (in this context read 'colonialist') culture, and thus alien to geographical sites outside of Europe and North America? Was this attitude itself rooted in notions of Indian otherness within the culture of Western classical music? Walde's viewpoint was certainly unpopular within the Western classical music scene in Mumbai, particularly within the BCO, which had lost a key supporter for what Dinshaw considered to be unjustified reasons.

I was unable to gain an interview with anyone from the British Council in order to garner information on their policy regarding Western classical music in Mumbai, and no information is available on their website. The local British Council in Mumbai was, in 2014, absent from the Western classical music scene and appeared to offer no support, financially or nominally, to any local musical activities⁴⁶. Likewise, the American embassy appeared to have very little presence in the city, despite historically supporting musical events, an example being opera star Marian Anderson's tour of India in 1957. The French and Russian Consulates were the only foreign cultural institutes still actively supporting Western classical music on any significant scale during my fieldwork in 2014. The Institute Francais hosted several small local concerts and provided ongoing financial support for the Arties festival (discussed later in this chapter). Similarly, the Russian Centre for Science and Culture put on a number of small local concerts and hosted a few visiting artists.

⁴⁶ The British council in the UK was involved in cultural exchanges between Indian and UK-based musicians, however the Mumbai office did not appear to be an active partner in these exchanges.

Generally, however, embassies, foreign cultural institutes and consulates had, over the years, stepped back from the promotion of Western classical music in Mumbai. The NCPA plugged the gap left by foreign support, though its funding was predominantly from international private sponsors and not from government sources.

2.5 Festivals and Competitions

The history of Western classical music in Mumbai is peppered with music festivals and competitions. As with my section on choirs, I found that there were simply too many festivals and competitions to fully recount here, indeed, they also could be the subject of a separate thesis by themselves. Like choirs, though, festivals and competitions historically played (and continued to play) an integral role in Mumbai's Western classical music scene, and as such are worthy of mention in a historical overview of musicking in the city. Festivals and competitions have been a sphere in which local musicians enter the scene, and, once in, reify and develop positions within it. They have provided spaces in which tastes shift and develop and have been platforms for young musicians to experience public performance. As such, they are looked forward to as emotionally charged events in Mumbai's musical calendar. Festivals and competitions also provide a means by which local musicians engage with international visitors via performances, via education initiatives or via the process of being judged as competitors.

Here, I have chosen to focus on festivals that were ongoing during my ethnographic fieldwork. The data presented is informed by oral histories collected from festival organisers and performers.

2.5.1 Sangat

In 1993, pianist and Time and Talents committee member Mehroo Jeejeebhoy organised a committee to facilitate the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra's first visit to India. The orchestra, which was conducted by Bombay-born Zubin Mehta (son of Mehli Mehta), represented the opening of diplomatic relations between India and Israel, and the concert at the NCPA's Homi Bhaba auditorium was attended by a huge audience (Jeejeebhoy 2014. Personal communication, 19 August).

Jeejeebhoy and Mehta, who were already known to each other at the time of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra's concert, discussed the possibility of creating a musical venture in Mehli Mehta's name. They decided that Jeejeebhoy and her committee would use part of the proceeds from the concert to start up such a venture, which they did later in 1996. They named this musical venture the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation (MMMMF). When I was conducting my research in Mumbai in 2014 the MMMF was synonymous with education, being the name given to the music school Jeejeebhoy started a few years later. However in the mid 1990s the MMMF was synonymous with its first project: Sangat festival.

The first Sangat festival in 1996 was designed to take advantage of Jeejeebhoy and her committee's international musical contacts. She asked musicians who were living abroad, but who were originally from Mumbai, to come and play in the festival, telling me, “I thought there were so many Indian musicians living abroad, because there is a lack of opportunities here, they should come back and give back” (Jeejeebhoy 2014. Personal communication, 19 August). The festival, which was focused on chamber music, featured Indian-origin artists from all over the world, including London based viola player Ralph D'Souza, his brother violinist Harvey D'Souza, violinist

Jagdish Mistry who was also from London, siblings Farad and Dilshad Bilamoria who travelled from Germany and America respectively, Vienna based pianist Marialena Fernandes, and Scotland based pianist Fali Pavri (ibid).

Alongside performing, the visiting musicians gave lessons, lectures and workshops whilst in Mumbai, and for the first several years of the festival, Jeejeebhoy would assemble a small string orchestra of local musicians who would be intensively coached by string players Ralph and Harvey D'Souza and who would perform as part of the festival. This tradition had petered out by 2014, by which time the number of Indian-born musicians performing had been superseded by European or American players who were friends of Jeejeebhoy or of the D'Souza brothers. This drew some criticism from local musical communities, who felt that myths of European musical superiority were being perpetuated. The MMMF presented annual Sangat Festivals until 2015.

2.5.2 Con Brio

Con Brio, Mumbai's annual piano competition and festival, was started in 2010 by a charismatic pianist and conductor named Parvesh Java. Java had worked at the MMMF for several years and had been involved in their own short-lived piano competition, the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation All India Piano Competition, which had occurred only twice. Wanting to establish something more regular, Java decided to organise an annual event which would be part piano competition and part music festival. He was supported by Furtados Music Store, and in recognition of this named the piano competition 'Con Brio; The John Gomes Memorial All India Piano Competition' (John Gomes being the original owner of Furtados and the father of the current CEO of the store). The inaugural festival in 2010 was named 'Schumania' in celebration of Schumann's

birth centenary, which fell on that year. Subsequent festivals have simply been named 'Con Brio'.

Java gave each piano competition a theme (American music, for example) which competitors were to adhere to. He thus held huge influence in India's Western classical scene: Java was able to ensure that any pianist entering the competition (which was hugely popular and prestigious) learn a repertoire decided by himself and his committee. He used the festival to develop tastes and to expose Mumbai's audiences to a wide range of challenging musics; for example, in the 2014 festival that I attended Java presented a performance of Terry Riley's *In C*, which was considered a brave choice.

Java took a very different approach to Jeejeebhoy when recruiting musicians to perform at his festival, deliberately choosing local performers supplemented by a few international musicians rather than inviting a majority of foreign players, telling me, “I was not interested in this 'all white all foreign' thing” (Java 2014. Personal communication, 2 September). Here, Java articulated a common tension felt in Western classical music performances in Mumbai. In aspiring to international standards of performance, which many audience members expected and had experienced both in Mumbai and during their travels, foreign performers were often privileged, whereas local performers were often sidelined. This promoted notions of foreign musical superiority. Java was highly critical of such privileging and insisted that local performers were given opportunities in Con Brio. He was also critical of performers who aspired to leave Mumbai, noting a common tendency to fetishise the geographical West as a utopia for Western classical music (ibid). He felt that only through sustained local efforts would the ideological gap between 'international' musical standards and 'local' musical standards be bridged (ibid).

2.5.3 Arties Festival

The Arties Festival was one of the newest festivals in Mumbai, having been started in 2008 by French cellist Gautier Herrman. Herrman had visited India for the first time in 2001 and had fallen in love with the country (Hermann 2014. Personal communication, 23 November). A few years later he returned to play in a concert tour of the country sponsored by the Alliance Francais, and in 2007 he initiated proceedings to form a private limited company in India, which was named the Arties Event Management Ltd. By 2014, the Arties was a bi-annual chamber music festival which toured India, with concerts held in concert halls and auditoriums, as well as in schools and community centres in under-privileged urban and rural areas across India. In Mumbai the Arties was held at the NCPA.

The Arties employed no local performers, instead bringing players from Europe, particularly France. I asked Herrman why he did not use Indian musicians and he replied that the lower standards of musicianship (within the Western classical scene) in Mumbai would make it difficult for a small chamber performance such as a quartet to work (though in theory he would not object to using Indian musicians in a chamber orchestra). He stressed the effort musicians put into rehearsals before they arrived in India, implying that it would not be logistically possible to use musicians unable to attend these rehearsals (ibid).

Although the Arties could be seen as being simply an example of foreign artists visiting India, (something I have avoided writing about in much detail this chapter), Herrman articulated his imagining of the festival as “one hundred percent Indian” (ibid). For Hermann it did not matter that there were no Indian performers, or that the repertoire performed was entirely from the Western (Euro-American) art music tradition. In direct contrast to Goethe Institut director Walde, Herrman

considered music to be an autonomous universal language (Herrman 2014) and refuted national identities and ethnicity in favour of a cosmopolitan ideological belonging to an idealised borderless musical community. He viewed the Aries as Indian because the business was registered there and because his sponsors and supporters were based in India. The music and musicians, though, were not considered as nationally bound. Herrman and his Aries festival added a new lens through which notions of national identity within Western classical musicking may be viewed and debated.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that from 1947 onwards, the Western classical music scene in Mumbai took on layers of complexity and nuance. It was a sphere in which ideologies of universalism and autonomy were negotiated, as members of the scene re-imagined Western music as a site for international conflict resolution and as a tool for creating local social harmony. It continued to be bound up in the Parsi and Catholic communities, with key individuals mentioned in this chapter almost all hailing from these communities. Desires to join the international musical community, and to be of international standards, were tempered with the need to create and maintain a local Indian practice, which was in turn hampered by particularist ideologies imbuing Western music with colonialist meaning.

In chapters one and two I have used archive materials and oral histories to produce the first in-depth history of Western classical music in Mumbai written to date. This historical overview provides not only a retrospective look at the scene, but also deepens understanding of contemporary praxis. The rest of this thesis, informed by this understanding, is dedicated to exploring contemporary roles and meanings of Western classical music in Mumbai through ethnographic data.

Chapter 3. Locals, Nationals and Cosmopolitans: Western classical music and identity in Mumbai

This chapter explores Western classical music within the framework of identity. I argue that Western classical music plays a role in shaping, negotiating, and maintaining complex, nuanced and overlapping local (subcultural), national, and transnational affiliations and identities in Mumbai. I use three ethnographic case studies to shape and frame my arguments. First, I turn to the St. Andrews Bandra All Parish Zonal Talent Contest to point to the role of Western classical music within a deeply localised community. I show how transnational sounds are employed in a performance and reification of local identities, which, I argue, bypass national identities. Second, I take the Bombay Chamber Orchestra (BCO) as a site to explore national identities within cosmopolitan frameworks. Finally, I discuss the Cadenza Kantori, a choir locally associated with a local Westernised English-speaking Catholic community, but which actively constructs an idealised Indian identity to present on the transnational stage.

Mumbai's Western classical music scene was, when I arrived in the city in 2014, small and with the exception of the Symphony Orchestra of Indian (SOI), amateur⁴⁷. I noted how a small number of individuals, communities, and locations supported almost all activity; I would see the same faces again and again, at concerts, in rehearsals, at lectures, and so on. A city of upwards of twenty million people soon felt like a village, within which factions, smaller groups and communities with various allegiances were roughly grouped according to geographical location, to leading personalities, and, to a lesser extent, religious communities. Historical associations with Parsi and Catholic communities were still present in the scene, although many people told me that

⁴⁷ The SOI represented the only large-scale opportunity for professional music performance in Mumbai at the time of research. The Bollywood industry allowed a number of musicians to earn a living through performing, however, this was not regarded in the same light as Western classical musicking. Many musicians earned their living from teaching or from unrelated jobs.

this was changing and that Western music was attracting attention from Hindu and Muslim middle classes.

Bandra and South Mumbai (see illustration 2 in the introduction) were the primary hubs of activity, with Catholic and Parsi communities dominating in each area respectively. Bandra had a plethora of Christian choirs and was home to a large number of piano teachers working from home, 'Bandra aunties', as one of my informants fondly dubbed them. In Bandra, concerts were held in churches or in the large St Andrew's Auditorium. South Mumbai, meanwhile, was home to the BCO, the SOI, a few larger secular choirs, and the National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA), the last of which dominated the scene and played host to nearly all visiting orchestras and soloists. A few smaller venues further north had begun to host Western classical music concerts. The SOI chamber group had begun a monthly residency at the fashionable Prithvi theatre in Juhu, for example, but generally if one wanted to attend concerts or play in ensembles, Bandra or South Mumbai were still very much the hubs of these activities.

I noted that Western classical musicking appeared to be as much a 'cause' as a hobby for many of my informants, most of whom were passionate about their city's musical life and about their membership of ensembles. I heard many debates between individuals on the topic of India's 'need' (or lack thereof) for a Western classical music scene, and conversations regarding what should be done to promote wider interest generally. Despite celebratory rhetoric within public discourses positioning Mumbai as a pluricultural global city⁴⁸, many of my informants felt they had to push back against local suspicion and disapproval. Members of the scene felt they had to defend their tastes against imagined questions: Why do you want this music? Should it even exist in the country? Are you rejecting your Indian-ness? In a BBC radio 4 show entitled *A Bombay*

⁴⁸ Mumbai is described as a global city in a plethora of Indian and transnational sources. In 2008 it was named by *Foreign Policy* journal as an 'alpha world city', a primary node in global economic networks. (Foreign Policy 2008)

Symphony, presenter Zareer Masani's questioning⁴⁹ encapsulates some of the more accusatory attitudes many of my informants felt were levelled at them from within their locale. "Why did you not follow your mother into Indian classical music?" he asks one male opera singer, whose mother was a Hindustani classical performer. To a young woman he asks, "Do you get friends of yours, and relations, saying why are you doing Western music, you should be doing Indian music, this is you just selling yourself to some foreign culture?" She replies; "I do have someone saying that, but I tell that no, this is the music that I love, so I have my choice, so I can do whatever I want." (Masani 2014).

I spent some time talking with a local musician named Shirish Malhotra, another interviewee featured in Masani's radio show. A multi-instrumentalist, Malhotra had grown up playing the violin and flute in the BCO before playing the violin, flute and saxophone in the professional SOI. He had gone freelance a few years prior to our meeting, branching out into jazz and earning a living as a studio musician or by performing with Bollywood bands. Malhotra was frustrated that there was not a bigger Western classical music scene in Mumbai; he had found it impossible to progress in a career as a Western classical performer⁵⁰. One of the main reasons that the scene was so small, Malhotra suggested, was that Western music was not supported by the local government, who levied a tax of 25% on concerts of Western classical music: the city had not been able to develop a strong music culture (including important educational institutes or concert venues) without vital public funding. This was because Western music was not only associated with small but elite Parsi and Catholic communities, themselves marginalised, but also was viewed more broadly as "a foreign thing" (Malhotra 2014. Personal communication, 2 September), with the potential to contribute to Westernising socio-political trends and undermine Indian music cultures:

49 Masani's questions were seemingly asked in the capacity of Devil's advocate.

50 Malhotra here echoes Booth's film-musician informants who had struggled with the same problems in the 1940s and 1950s (Booth 2008).

...the music thing has always been very fiercely divided into Indian music and Western music, and the existence of our own classical music has always been seen as a reason to not encourage Western music, but I think that is a very narrow minded way of looking at things. I think there is an element of fear that if Western music is promoted by the government it will lead to the decline of Indian music. (Malhotra 2014. Personal communication, 2 September).

This sense of an Indian - Western musical dichotomy⁵¹ (with the latter representing a potential threat to the former), highlighted by Masani and by Malhotra, prompts a consideration of national identity within the Western classical music scene in Mumbai. In playing and listening to Western classical music, Mumbaikers were performing affiliations or identities, be it very local (Catholic, Parsi, economically elite) or global (cosmopolitan, aspirational, globally minded) that had the potential to be construed as oppositional to, or incompatible with, national Indian affiliations or identities as conceptualised by the local government and by right-wing nationalist or regionalist elements within Mumbai. Western classical music was therefore not simply a transnational music which existed and found meaning in small pockets within the locale: it was influencing debates surrounding what meant to be Indian.

3.1 Music and National Identity

In her edited book *Music, National Identity, and the Politics of Location* (2007), Vanessa Knights, called for a renewed insertion of the national into scholarly debate, criticising

⁵¹ Also noted by Clayton, who remarks that 'Western' guitarists find themselves in a kind of accidental 'oppositional limbo' to Indian classical musicians (Clayton 2009: 66), and by Arun Saldanha, who, in his ethnography of youth cultures in Bangalore, writes: 'if global youth identify with/through Western pop music, they disidentify with Indian musical forms. Indian classical music, regional folk musics, devotional singing, school brass bands and Hindi music are found to be archaic, annoying or insipid.' (Saldanha 2002: 346).

contemporary discourse as focusing heavily on a local/global binarism and bypassing what she deems the 'missing middle term of the local/global syllogism' (Knights 2007:2). The role of the nation within contemporary ethnomusicological scholarship is often minimised, especially with regard to what may be considered global or transnational musics in global pluricultural cities, as is the case with Western classical music in Mumbai. Many scholars have moved away from considering the nation and national boundaries, often leaning on Appadurai's notion of 'scapes' (1990) to shape post-modern understandings of global flows superseding national borders. Mark Slobin, for example, suggests that we should now think of groups and nations as 'volatile, mutable social substances rather than as fixed units for instant analysis' (Slobin 1993:x), and Martin Stokes suggests that, whilst earlier studies were implicitly or explicitly framed by the encompassing nation-states:

...more recent ethnomusicology has situated itself on border zones, in 'global cities', along pilgrimage routes and amongst diasporic communities, in spaces and places that challenge the logic of bounded culture and positively demand attention to multivalent and multi-directional kinds of musical circulation. (Stokes 2007: 4)

Stokes encourages a consideration of musical globalisation in terms of 'localities', 'regions' and 'worlds' (ibid), with 'nationalities' tellingly absent from his model.

As I have shown, within the Western classical music scene in Mumbai, national identities were fore-fronted as participants were forced by both local commentators and international spectators to consider their own identities as Indian Western classical musicians, as well as any number of interlocking or overlapping local identities.

How should we consider notions of an 'Indian' national identity? Within the Indian context discussions of nationality are made complex by the country's socio-economic plurality, its ethnic and religious diversity, its cultural diversity, variety of languages, large scale geography, population, and so on⁵². An 'Indian' musical identity, be it idealised or imagined, is harder to pin down than a local or indeed a cosmopolitan one. Certainly those I spoke with in Mumbai did not subscribe to a homogenous idea of 'Indian-ness', as outlined in my conversation with Lorna, a violinist and music teacher from Bandra:

You know, it's so difficult to speak for India, because I'm sitting here in Bombay, thinking like somebody from Bombay, which is very different from someone living in the interiors of India. So I would speak from the Bombay point of view. Bombay is my India. You know, it is so different, it is so varied. (Lorna personal communication October 2014)

Processes of decolonisation add further layers to the Indian context. Whilst some scholars suggest that considerations of musical encounters as colonially-rooted are now outdated and unsatisfactory (e.g. Slobin 1993 and Stokes 2007), Arun Saldanha, in his ethnography of musical youth cultures in Bangalore, has pointed out that unequal relationship between coloniser and colonised benefited, and continues to benefit, the hegemony of the coloniser's culture (2002). When colonisers left India, Saldanha writes, '...they left not only a yearning for further westernisation amongst certain Third World urban elites, but also the complex reactions against this in the form of new nationalisms and renewed regionalisms (Saldanha 2002:338). Saldanha shows that, in attempting to understand the roles and receptions of Western music in post colonial locales, it is important to take into account the historical route of the music, and the markers of colonialism that it carries.

52 India's national identity is the subject of an ongoing multiplicity of debate and discourse.

Western classical music, though, also played a role as a marker of, local, subcultural identities in Mumbai, which should not be overlooked. This chapter, then, considers the role of Western classical music within an overlapping and interweaving tripart of localism, nationalism and transnationalism (by which I mean to emphasise transnationalism within global processes).

3.2 The Zonals: Local competition, global sound

In this section, I frame the St. Andrews Bandra All Parish Zonal Talent Contest, known colloquially as the 'Zonals', a talent competition based in Bandra, using Mark Slobin's model of subcultures, affinity cultures and super cultures (1993). I aim to show that Western classical music, generally considered as a hegemonic super culture (Ross 1996), can be re-imagined in Mumbai as a subcultural sound, existing within a small subcultural community bounded by geography and religion; the Andean Catholics. I show how Western classical music acts, in this context, as a marker of deeply local subcultural identities with transnational affinities, which bypass the national.

The Zonals began in 1953 in the Catholic parish of Saint Andrews, which encompasses a swathe of the southern part of Bandra (See illustration 6). The competition was originally conceived as a means by which members of the Catholic community in Bandra might showcase their musical and performative talents. These talents were, in the 1950s, valued within the local community but not within Mumbai's wider society, which according to the Zonals' website, 'appreciated and acknowledged only those endowed with exceptional linguistic or numerical abilities' (Andean zonals nd: a). The Zonals continued on to become a highly anticipated annual event.

The name Zonals refers quite literally to zones. St Andrews Parish is divided geographically into four zones: north-east, north-west, south-east and south-west. In recent years neighbouring parishes have been allowed to join the competition by merging with the nearest possible Andrean zone. Parishioners living within each zone compete within their age range in a number of categories, which include vocals, instrumentals, dance, dramatics and elocution, as well as a poster competition. Each zone also presents a choir. Highest marked performances within each category are counted towards the final score, which determines the Zonals champion. A separate trophy for 'Most Musical Zone' is awarded to the zone with the highest marks in the Individual Vocal and Instrumental, Choral Group and Vocal Harmony categories. The whole festival is spread over four weekends and involves approximately 1200 people in various performative and supportive capacities (ibid).

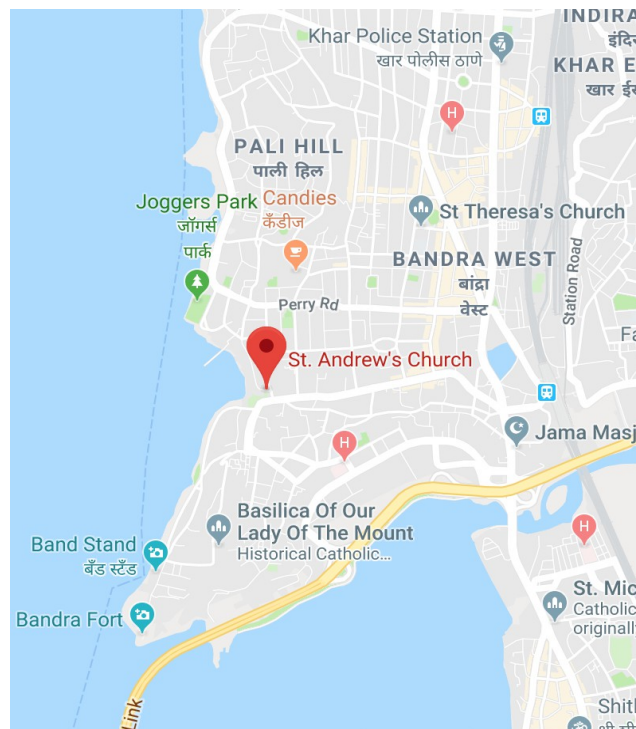


Illustration 6. Map of Bandra with St Andrews Church marked.
(Image Source: google maps)

It is perhaps a sign of the nature of the Andrean Zonals that I lived Bandra and actively participated in the music scene within the suburb for nearly a year before I became aware of the competition. The Zonals were not publicised online nor in print press, and were driven instead by word of mouth within the parish community (although there was a website and a Facebook page). One of my informants told me that the event did not seek to publicise beyond the local area, “Because it's very local, it's very Bandra and very Catholic, so its not something that comes in the newspapers as such” (Lorna 2014. Personal communication, 12 October). As the Zonals' website quoted above suggests, the Andrean Parish community did not feel as though their cultural performances were valued outside of the parish, and were uninterested in inviting the rest of Mumbai to the competition.

The Andrean Catholic community can be understood as a subculture within Mumbai's multi-layered cultural spheres. Subcultures are defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'A cultural group within a larger culture, often having beliefs or interests at variance with those of the larger culture' (English Oxford living dictionaries: 2017). I apply that definition to The Andrean Catholic community: the community is highly localised, bound by geography and religion, it operates within a wider society (Mumbai, Maharashtra, India) and has beliefs at variance with the larger culture – as I noted in the introduction to this thesis, Catholics in India are marginalised and often persecuted.

My informant mentioned above, Lorna, a Goan Catholic, was a lifelong member of the south-east zone, and had competed in the Zonals since she was a child. A violinist and pianist, she played in various local ensembles including the BCO, and earned a living teaching music at home in Bandra and at the homes of her students across the city. She was serious about the violin and had traveled abroad to study performance on several occasions. Like Malhotra (who I discuss in the introduction to this chapter), Lorna often felt frustrated about Mumbai's lack of musical

infrastructure, and about her inability to forge a career as a performer:

We don't have, unfortunately, the schools and the infrastructure and the resources for us to make music a substantial, a stable career, that we can live on and support our families with. I wish that we could go to a music school here and be as proficient as students from abroad. I wish that we have the same level and standard of teachers, and I wish that it could be made into a career. (Lorna 2014. Personal communication, 12 October)

Lorna, whilst acknowledging the cultural plurality of her city in our conversation, felt that Western classical music was not considered part of Indian culture, telling me, “Obviously Western classical music is not part of the culture, part of Indian culture. That's why we don't have the infrastructure” (ibid).

Lorna's own musical identity, though, had been rooted in Western music cultures since childhood, first at home, where her father listened to Western classical LP's and her mother, heavily involved in the church, would fill the house with choral music, and secondly through the Zonals (ibid). She found it difficult to live and work in a city where her musical passions and ambitions found no place and where her musical identity was not, as she experienced it, recognised. Lorna's marginalised musical identity was bound up in her marginalised religious identity as a Christian (see introduction for further information about Christianity in India), a Catholic, and as a professional musician, itself not considered a respectable career within Mumbai, or even within her own local community (the status of professional musicians in Mumbai is discussed in detail in chapter six in this thesis). However, when I asked Lorna about the Zonals her face lit up. At the Zonals her tastes, her skills and her experience as a performer and music teacher were not only accepted, but celebrated. Lorna described the Zonals as being an integral part of her own musical

and cultural identity, as well as a part of the identity of the Andrean Parish Catholic community in general. She told me:

Each zone is really enthusiastic to win the trophies even though there is no money at all.

The prestige of winning the trophies is something that is very very *in* everyone. (ibid)

Lorna was especially attached to the south-east zone, telling me, “You know, like, I feel very loyal to the south-east zone and I would not want to get into any other zone and compete against this zone and things like that.” (ibid), although she had, she admitted, accompanied on the piano a different zone's choir in the last few years. Lorna's sister had also accompanied a different zone's choir – it seemed that the Zonals were more about the community spirit of the event than any serious hard-headed competitiveness. The community spirit of the Zonals was shaped and maintained via a number of rules and policies regarding eligibility for admittance to the competition; the Zonals' website revealed an entry policy of exclusivity and exclusion, both in terms of who may participate and what may be performed. Entrants had to live within the Andrean Parish boundaries and must be Christian. Non-Catholic Christians were permitted to enter as performers, but only Catholics were eligible to hold office or to serve as a member of the committee (Andrean zonals 2009). The entire competition was conducted in English (generally spoken as a first language by Catholics); songs were to be in English or a European language. No Indian languages were allowed.

My interview with Lorna, during which she communicated the importance of the Zonals to her own sense of cultural belonging, prompted a consideration of the Zonals as a ritual within the Andrean Catholic community. Small defines a ritual as 'an act which dramatises and re-enacts the shared mythology of a culture or social group, the mythology which unifies and, for its members,

justifies that culture or group.' (Small 1987 in Cottrell 2004:151). Music events as rituals have been discussed by Stephen Cottrell, who suggests that an orchestral concert may be considered a 'rite of passage', during which concert-goers may experience '... *communitas*, the shared experience – mutual tuning in – and social anti-structure...' (2004: 159, allowing a temporary separation from everyday social structures and inculcating senses of belonging to a social group based on perceptions of shared values and belief systems (2004). I suggest that the Zonals function as a ritual within Andean Catholic community and argue that the Zonals are a space in which the community perform and reify membership of a subculture unified by shared values and beliefs: the Zonals provide a space and place in which Andean Catholics develop and deepen musical and community identities.

The repertoire presented in the musical sections of the Zonals was exclusively Western, as Lorna told me:

Lorna: [the music is]always Western music, yeah.

HM: Is that a rule or has it just worked out like that?

Lorna: Well I don't think they even thought of Indian music because it's only the Catholics of the Parish who can take part, nobody else. If you are not a Catholic you cannot take part. So obviously, I guess naturally, Catholics are only involved in Western music, and so there is no Indian music. (Lorna 2014. Personal communication, 12 October).

In suggesting, in the above conversation, that Catholics are only involved in Western music, never Indian music, Lorna echoed previous research linking the Indian Catholic community with

Western music in an exclusive capacity⁵³. Susana Sardo, for example, suggests that Goan Catholics 'attempt to insulate their music from all such indicators of Indian-ness, emphasizing tonal harmony and the use of western instruments.' (Sardo 1999: 741). Lorna's assertion that western music is 'not part of Indian culture' (Lorna 2014. Personal communication, 12 October) prompts further questions: are communities whose musical cultures are based in Western musics - Lorna's own communities (Goan, Catholic, Andean) - to be considered as not part of Indian culture? Or, conversely, does the presence of Western classical music a deeply localised subculture suggest that Western music has become integrated into 'Indian' musical cultures?

Western classical music is not locally bound, it is highly globalised, transnational, and not specific to the Andean community. How should we, then, re-frame Western classical music within the context of the Zonals? Mark Slobin, in his 1993 book *Subcultural Sounds: Miscromusics of the West*, sets out a framework for the consideration of musics existing as small units embedded within big musical cultures. These local musics, 'micro-musics', exist within small-scale bonded audiences, or subcultures. Could Western classical music thus be considered a micro-music in the case of the Zonals?

We are, in Euro-American sites, accustomed to considering Western classical music as a

53 It is problematic to suggest that a community, rather than an individual, has a musical taste culture, although some scholars have attempted to do so. In 1974, Herbert Gans conceptualized a framework of 'taste cultures' and 'taste publics'. Taste cultures are described as 'social groups which exhibit distinctive musical style preferences such as for jazz, country and western, folk, classical, or for subgroups within these broad genres' (1974:14) whilst taste publics are defined as 'unorganized aggregates of people sharing similar aesthetic standards'. (ibid) In Gans' system there are five taste cultures ranging from 'high culture' at the top to 'quasi-folk low culture' at the bottom. Each taste culture has a corresponding 'taste public', a group that comprises the 'users' of the particular culture. An initial reading could lead to a suggestion that Gans' theory chimes with the notion of Catholics being 'only' involved in Western music. It implies, however, individuals having a singular group identity, which Gans considers as class-bound, but in the Indian context we may translate as religion bound - Catholic in this case - which is unlikely to correspond with reality. An individual may have a multiplicity of group affiliations (for example, student, movie buff, gamer, social media follower), which may also influence music tastes on a range of levels. Sarah Thornton's notion of 'taste cultures', whereby members 'gather based on their preferences for people with similar tastes to themselves' (Thornton 1995:4), perhaps offers a less rigid theoretical framework. Most contemporary scholarship on music and identity, though, focuses on the agency of the individual rather than a group (for example, Slobin 1993)

dominant or hegemonic musical culture, what Slobin characterises as a 'superculture' (1993).

Slobin suggests a number of criteria for supercultures, which include:

1. An industry, with alliances to techno, media and finance scapes (Appadurai).
2. The state and its institutional rules and values (including music education as an arm of the state).
3. less flagrant and more indieous strands of hegemony. (Shared assumptions, stereotypes, career paths) (1993)).

Within the Euro-American context Western classical music could be deemed as a superculture – certainly within historical contexts (Ross 1996). However, within the Indian context Western classical music does not meet Slobin's criteria; there is no Western classical music industry as he outlines it (the film music industry, whilst being heavily influenced by Western music, is not considered as part of same culture), the state has no role (As I have noted, the local government appears to actively oppose Western music), and whilst there may be assumptions and stereotypes associated with Western music and elitism, status and aspiration (as I argue more fully in chapter 4), these assumption do not automatically lead to a position of hegemony. Western classical music cannot, I believe, be considered a super culture in India according to Slobin's criteria. I argue, then, that Western classical music within the subcultural setting of the Andean Catholic Zonals, could be re-imagined as a subcultural sound.

However, despite a seemingly simple re-imagining Western classical music as a subculture sound, one cannot ignore the transnational scope of Western music, even when acknowledging its re-shaped role as an identity marker of a very localised subculture in Mumbai. Can a transnational music be subcultural? Slobin's alternative concept of 'interculture', which he describes as '...transnational performer/audience interest groups' (1993: 68), whereby diverse groups or

individuals may feel an affinity to various local musics from a multiplicity of regions, made possible by 'contemporary global culture' (1993:68) also does not quite chime Western classical music and the Zonals. Slobin's notion of an affinity culture relies on musics being ultimately rooted in a specific locale and social group, which Western classical music, it can be argued, does not. Furthermore, Slobin implies that, in having an 'affinity' to a music from another subculture, one does not have an authentic connection to those sounds, something Lorna would certainly dispute.

Perhaps the role of Western classical music in the Zonals should not be considered in terms of musical tastes, affiliations, affinities, and so on, but more widely, as analogous to the role of Catholicism in the Parish of St. Andrews. This understanding hangs on a global/local dialectic, bypassing the national. Catholicism is a global faith which finds local meanings, hegemonic in some locales, subcultural in others. Within Mumbai it is a profound marker of individual and group identities. Western classical music, for the Andean Zonals, facilitated a performance of affiliation to a locally-rooted yet globally connected Catholic community, as the below illustration highlights.

In the introduction to this chapter I highlighted the nation state as an integral element within theorisations of the roles and meanings of Western classical musicking in Mumbai. However, my analysis here leads me to conclude that it is difficult to locate the national within the nature and rhetoric of the Zonals: the local/global binary appears to be most apt. The Zonals are an example of deeply local music-making, with performances serving as a annual ritual intended to unify the Andean Catholic community, to build, maintain and strengthen local affiliations and subcultural identities, and to perform affinities to the transnational (global) Catholic faith.

Each zone is filled with talent and its own identity. When they come together harmoniously to form something great - The ZONALS '17 is formed.

The same compass that demarcates each zone is also the melting pot into which the talent of Bandra congregates.

Divided by zones, united by passion.

-Dorlette Gomes

Mt. Carmel / SOUTH WEST ZONE



Illustration 7. Zonals Poster competition winner 2017 (Image Source: Andrean zonals website)

3.3 The Bombay Chamber Orchestra: cosmopolitanism, nationalism and patriotism

In *A Bombay Symphony*, the radio program discussed in the introduction to this chapter, presenter Masani is heard attending a private concert given by the SOI on the lawns of the Willingdon club, Mumbai's most elite gymkhana. "The orchestra has just come on to stage." Masani tells the listener. "From where I am sitting, they don't look particularly Indian" (Masani 2014).

Cue Jini Dinshaw, stalwart of the Mumbai Western classical music scene and founder of the BCO:

You think getting 70 people from Khazakstan, paying for their flights, paying for their board, paying them a thousand pounds a session for four concerts. Couldn't that money be given to Indians? We should have our own people. It would have taken perhaps ten or fifteen years but we would have had a truly Indian symphony orchestra. (Dinshaw 2014 interviewed in Masani 2014)

Dinshaw's own BCO was, according to her message published on the BCO's website, a 'truly INDIAN Symphony Orchestra' (Dinshaw's emphasis)(Dinshaw: nd). Here, I deconstruct Dinshaw's statement and ask, what makes a truly 'Indian' symphony orchestra? How and why does a transnational music carry national markers? Can a musical institution historically rooted in European high art cultures be considered 'Indian' locally? Where are the lines drawn, and who draws them? If Dinshaw aspires to produce an orchestra made up of ethnically Indian players, is such a aspiration rooted in nationalism? Is Indian participation in transnational musical networks a sign of cosmopolitanism? Are nationalist and cosmopolitan ideologies necessarily contradictory?

I take the Bombay Chamber Orchestra as a case study to explore Western classical music's role in discourses surrounding nationalism and cosmopolitanism, seemingly discordant ideologies which, I suggest, overlap, intertwine, and find meaning within the workings of the orchestra. I present ethnographic evidence to show how historical dialogues and arguments surrounding ideologies of Western classical music as universal, autonomous, or conversely, as imbued with colonial markers have unfolded within contemporary musicking in Mumbai.

3.3.1 The Bombay Chamber Orchestra: A local orchestra

Before discussing the BCO in relation to wider spheres of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, I first discuss its local roles and meanings and its impact on the lives of those who play in it, and on the local community. The BCO has since its inception in 1962 been a constant presence on Mumbai's Western classical music scene, running for nearly as long as the Andean Zonals, which began nine years earlier. I played the viola in the BCO for a year, during which we gave three concerts.

The BCO was mainly made up of local amateur musicians from across the city, some traveling from as far away as Borivali, a northern suburb over twelve miles away. Most were from Parsi or Catholic communities, although some of the musicians that were recruited from the Indian navy (generally wind or brass players) were Hindu or Muslim. I was the only regular foreigner, although Dinshaw would always recruit a conductor and several players from abroad to fill empty orchestral seats in concerts. These musicians would arrive for a week of intensive early morning rehearsals before a concert, and would have their flights and accommodation paid for by the BCO. They would not receive a fee. Often they would be young people from England: Dinshaw had a relationship with some of the music colleges in London, and would ask them to recommend recent graduates (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 21 Feb), although a contingent of musicians from Israel performed in a concert in 2014.

The BCO's repertoire included easier canonic symphonic works from the romantic or classical eras, concertos (which would feature guest soloists) and lighter pieces, including arrangement of popular songs or numbers from musicals. Rehearsals were held on Sunday mornings, except for the week preceding concerts, when they were held at 7.30am daily as the

orchestra worked intensively to prepare for the upcoming performance. Audiences were very loyal and were generally made up of the families and friends of players, as well as longtime supporters of Dinshaw and the orchestra.

Locally, the BCO had had a profound impact on the lives and identities of the people who regularly played in it. I talked with retired electronic engineer Freddy, a violinist and violin teacher who had played in the BCO since its very first concert in 1962. He shared the task of leading the orchestra with Zubin, a lawyer in his forties who had himself been in the orchestra since he was twelve. Freddy had not missed a year since joining the BCO, and had balanced the orchestra with his work commitments. Since retirement he had more time to devote to music and was teaching more seriously, coaching some of the younger violinists in the ensemble. When asked what the BCO meant to him Freddy replied: “It's a part of me. I don't know if I can do without it.” (Freddy 2014. Personal communication, 23 July)

Younger players also informed how important the BCO was to them, and how it imbued them with a sense of pride and belonging. “I'm honoured and privileged to be a part of it”, said teenager Param, his hand on his chest in earnestness (Param 2014. Personal communication, 29 August). 13 year old Anish described his experience in the orchestra as “absolutely awesome” despite his having to get up at 5.30am for the early morning rehearsals (Anish, 2014. Personal communication, 29 August). He was thrilled that the concert would be held the day after his birthday (ibid). Josh, a young violinist, told me, “I feel very proud to play the violin in the BCO because it has already completed 50 years. It is a great experience for me, and I feel that most of the young musicians should join BCO” (Josh 2014. Personal communication, 29 August). Many of my informants considered membership of the BCO as a signifier of a special and exceptional love of music and of orchestral musicking, as violinist Alannah, a student with pink streaks in her hair,

outlined:

Its just absolutely fun playing with everyone here because everyone is so nice and we all just play because we love music, and you can actually see that in our playing, so yeah, we play from the heart. Peace! (Alannah 2014. Personal communication, 29 August).

For many, membership of the BCO was an extension of their love for, and devotion to, Dinshaw. Many members, including Aleric, the stand-in conductor who led the orchestra through the first ten weeks of each concert session, had been Dinshaw's students as children. Eshvita, a young violin teacher, came all the way from Goa to perform, telling me, "I come to play in the BCO because of Jini, I love Jini" (Eshvita 2014. Personal communication, 29 August). Amir, a violinist in the Indian navy, played in the orchestra because, "Jini Ma'am is so kind with us" (Amir 2014. Personal communication, 29 August), and Alannah told me: "I am a student of Miss Jini and I absolutely love her. I have been studying with her since I was ten, and now myself I am a violin teacher and she is really proud of me" (Alannah 2014. Personal communication, 29 August).

For its members, membership of the BCO was as much an expression of a connection to Dinshaw, and a signifier of being a part of Dinshaw's community, as it was a performance of musical tastes, or a marker of membership of a wider transnational group of amateur orchestral musicians. For Dinshaw, however, the BCO meant more than a creation of a local community. Unlike the Zonals (discussed above), she did not want the BCO to exist as an insular unit within the city, a local subculture with global sounds. As I will show, Dinshaw's aim was that the BCO find meaning locally, as an integrated part of the musical fabric of Mumbai and, crucially, globally, as part of a transnational network of orchestras.



Jini Dinshaw at home, holding a picture of the Bombay Chamber Orchestra. September 2014

3.3.2 The BCO: Betwixt and between a national identity and a cosmopolitan ideology

Cosmopolitanism comes from the Greek terms 'kosmos' (world) and 'polis' (city). Cosmopolitan literally means 'citizen of the world' (Voronkova 2010). Whilst cosmopolitanism is an evolving concept carrying a plurality of meanings that are understood varyingly by different societies, scholars and individuals, it can be described as an idea of 'moving beyond one's own specific political, communal, territorial, cultural attachments to give allegiance to the wider human community' (Voronkova 2010), or as 'a way of being in the world, a way of constructing an identity for oneself that is [...] opposed to the idea of belonging to or devotion to or immersion to a particular culture' (Waldron 2000: 227).

Martha Nussbaum, a scholar who advocates educating American students from a

cosmopolitan perspective, draws on Stoic understandings of cosmopolitanism and suggests that we think of the cosmopolitan individual as surrounded by a series of concentric circles. The first circle surrounds the self, the second surrounds immediately family, the third extended family, and so on, with the last circle representing the whole of humanity (Nussbaum 1994). The task of the cosmopolitan is to 'draw the circles somehow toward the centre' (Hierocles in Nussbaum 1994: 4), thereby attempting to 'make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern, base our political deliberations on that interlocking commonality, and give the circle that defines our humanity a special attention and respect.' (Nussbaum 1994: 4)

The BCO's identity as an Indian orchestra (as posited by Dinshaw on the BCO's website (Dinshaw nd)) existed alongside a parallax cosmopolitan ideology made clear by Dinshaw's membership of transnational musical networks (the World Federation of Amateur Orchestras, for example), by her pride in her international supporters (the BCO was supported by, amongst others, the Japan Foundation in Delhi, the Russian cultural centre and the Israeli consulate), and by her belief in the role of the orchestra in bridging national and racial divides, as exemplified by the following quotation:

It is unfortunate that the Government of India does not realise that music and culture play an essential role in establishing a sense of value that transcends national barriers and brings the people of the World closer together. (Dinshaw 2016 in Sardana 2016).

In this discussion of music bringing together the people of the world, and through her transnational networks, Dinshaw displayed a cosmopolitan ideological connection to a world beyond her own specific locale.

Dinshaw's insistence on fore-grounding the BCO's national Indian identity could, though, be viewed as contradictory to a cosmopolitan outlook. As scholars have pointed out, cosmopolitanism and specific national identities are often held in tension (Turino 2000, for example). Can cosmopolitanism ideologies and national ideals co-exist?

Thomas Turino has suggested that nationalism and cosmopolitanism can exist as 'mutually constructing and reinforcing' (Stokes 2007:6). Using post-colonial Zimbabwe as an example, Turino suggests that the creation and maintenance of Zimbabwean national forms of rock and pop were made possible by a cosmopolitan recognition of the need national 'units of identity' (2000:15): national cultures that can be recognised as such transnationally. Turino argues that nations require units of identity in order to understand themselves and be understood in relation to other nations, writing:

New nation states require cosmopolitan institutions, roles, and emblems (diplomats, finance and foreign ministers, airports, national sports teams and dance companies, flags, anthems) homologous with those of the other members of the global family or nations so as to be recognizably like them. (Turino 2000:15).

Perhaps orchestras could be added to Turino's list of cosmopolitan institutions required by nation states? This would certainly be reflected in the view taken by Dinshaw, who, in one of our interviews, pointed to other developing Asian nations as having invested in orchestras as a matter of nation building:

The Chinese government of course started colleges and academies of music 20 years back, invited teachers from Russia, Yugoslavia, Chekovslovakia, to teach in China. And

unbelievable that in 20 years China has produced a hundred orchestras. India is *still* without a symphony orchestra of professional quality. (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 9 September)

Turino's cosmopolitan nation-builders in Zimbabwe were aware of the importance of a national identity within cosmopolitan structures. As shown in the above quote, Dinshaw similarly understood the importance of national identities within orchestras on the world stage, giving examples of other nations and ensembles which, she believed, curated and protected a national identity. The following quote highlights her belief that orchestras in a multiplicity of transnational locations actively develop national identities:

But don't you think that most orchestras in the world are, have, their own people, and perhaps one or two foreigners, because the conductor wants a certain sound? [...] You mean to say Berlin Philharmonic has all foreigners? Perhaps one percent. But, the musicians unions are so strong, even in England. They won't allow foreigners to form their orchestras, they want their own people. Perhaps one oboe, one bassoon or something, or the leader of the orchestra. But ninety-nine percent they are their own country's people, not like here. (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 9 September)

In the above quote, Dinshaw makes it clear that she considered national identity as integral to orchestras working in the transnational sphere: she often criticised the SOI's practice of recruiting players from abroad, suggesting that in their reluctance to build Indian membership they were compromising their own position as an Indian orchestra within the transnational orchestral scene, telling me, “ it [the SOI] is 70 foreigners, not Indians. And, world over, it is called the Kazakhstan Indian national symphony orchestra” (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 9 September).

Although Dinshaw considered a national orchestra as necessary for India take to its place within transnational orchestral networks, the local Maharashtrian government (the Shiv Sena Party) did not value membership of such networks, and had taken steps, typified by the 25% entertainment tax levied on concerts of Western music, to discourage orchestral musicking in the city. Dinshaw had rallied against what she considered to be punitive and unfair taxation laws:

And this is something the government of India is to blame. They don't encourage Western music. I mean, if I go and ask even for the refund of my amount which is due to me, they say, "play Indian music madam, we won't charge you". And they don't give me my money. And I tell them I am teaching, I am training young people, free. And if I don't get my refund how am I going to carry on? So this is something that I feel, I have written to Delhi, I have written to the chief minister here, I have been to Mantralaya⁵⁴, but nothing works. They are just, "leave the papers, go". And this is how we are treated. Hopefully if the entertainment tax goes that will be something for me. (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 9 September).

Turino has noted that 'A basic paradox of nationalism is that nation-states are dependent on cosmopolitanism, but are simultaneously threatened by it' (Turino 2000:15). It appears that for the Maharashtrian regionalist Shiv Sena government, Western classical music was a potential threat to its own local and national musical cultures, which were exempt from taxation (Masani has described the actions of the Shiv Sena as "Maharashtrian chauvinism" (2014)). In telling Dinshaw to play 'Indian' music, the Shiv Sena party indicated that for them it was musical content rather than the nationality of those performing which decided what was, or was not, Indian. Dishaw, though, refuted the notion that the BCO was 'other' within India. For her, the orchestra was absolutely Indian, indeed, she considered it to be a part of the social fabric of Mumbai, as evidenced in our

54 The administrative headquarters of the Maharashtrian government, located in South Mumbai.

interview, transcribed above, where Dinshaw pointed to the local rootedness of the ensemble and to social contributions that she made in the form of free musical training for the city's youth. The BCO's website and all its flyers bore the same slogan, 'support your city orchestra': the BCO styled itself as as much a part of Mumbai's culture as any other genre of music.

Taking Turino's theorisation of music making in Zimbabwe as an example, I suggest here that national identities and cosmopolitan agendas co-existed within the BCO as mutually reinforcing processes. This chimes with what Kwame Anthony Appiah describes as the key cosmopolitan ideology of 'universality plus difference' (Appiah 2006 in White 2012:2001). Dinshaw understood, as I have shown, that cosmopolitan orchestral networks depended on members displaying recognisable national identities. For her, though, the challenge was convincing the local government of the BCO's national Indian identity.

3.3.3 The BCO: Cosmopolitan patriots?

Dinshaw's ardent and unpaid activities surrounding the BCO, her strident (and very public) critique of the SOI as un-Indian, and her ongoing battles with the local government were suggestive of a passion running beyond the musical and into the political. Her frequent comparisons with the orchestral scenes in other developing Asian nations indicated that, for Dinshaw, India's lack of what she considered to be an authentically Indian national orchestra was bound up in wider issues of nation-building. But why were India's socio-political development processes important to Dinshaw? In the section above I framed the BCO within discourses of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. Here I suggest that Dinshaw and the BCO can be conceptualised within a third sphere of understanding: patriotism.

Like nationalism, patriotism is sometimes considered as antithetical to cosmopolitanism. It can be negatively associated with an unquestioning devotion to the nation and to an imagined homogenous national identity. Nussbaum, for example, argues, 'Obviously, patriotism in and of itself is not a good thing, and very often indeed it is a very bad thing' (Nussbaum 2011:37). She views patriotism as emotional, unstable, unreliable, complicit in abetting 'misplaced values, the stigmatization of minorities, and uncritical homogeneity' (2011:35) yet also understandable and 'certainly human' (ibid). Appiah suggests that 'Patriots seem especially sensitive these days to slights to the national honour; to skepticism about a celebratory nationalist historiography; in short, to the critical reflection on the state that we liberals, with our instrumental conception of it, are bound to engage in.' (Appiah 1997:619).

Appiah, however, opens his 1997 article *Cosmopolitan Patriots* with the line 'My father was a Ghanaian patriot' (1997:617). Arguing that cosmopolitans can exist in the world as rooted individuals, attached to their own local community, family and cultural particularities, Appiah suggests that, 'True patriots hold the state and the community within which they live to certain standards and have moral aspirations for them, and that those aspirations may be liberal' (1997:618), noting that cosmopolitan patriots must 'accept the citizen's responsibility to nurture the culture and politics of their homes' (ibid.) What right-wing nationalists desire, Appiah suggests, is not a society which chooses to be uniform, but the imposition of uniformity (1997:635). This, he writes, 'a cosmopolitan patriot must oppose' (ibid).

Within the context of Mumbai, the Shiv Sena party, through their taxation policies, were attempting to impose a uniform Indian, or Maharashtrian, culture, based on an imagined Maharashtrian cultural homogeneity at odds with Mumbai's actual

cultural plurality. This was something Dinshaw certainly did oppose. I suggest that Dinshaw be characterised as a cosmopolitan patriot: her actions rooted not only in a love of Western classical music, but also as an indication of her patriotic affiliation to India, her desire to improve her locale and to nurture its culture and politics, and her hope that India would soon take its place within transnational orchestral network.

3.4 The Cadenza Kantori: Creating Indian identities

As much as Dinshaw was aware of the gaze of the transnational community, and was disappointed (or even, it sometimes seemed, embarrassed) by India's lack of what she considered a 'truly Indian' professional symphony orchestra, she did not appear to think that her international supporters would question the Indian identity of her own amateur ensemble. For Dinshaw, the BCO was Indian because it was made up of Indians and based in India. She saw no reason to adapt her repertoire to produce a more 'Indian' sound, indeed, Dinshaw did not have a high opinion of the few high-profile Indian - Western fusion symphonic pieces composed (Ravi Shankar's sitar concerto for example), and preferred to perform canonic Western classical and romantic orchestral works (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 21 February).

For the Cadenza Kantori, a Catholic choir based in Bandra, a request to perform a more recognisably 'Indian' identity from an international Catholic choral festival based in Germany produced a very different response; a compliance with said request, and the creation of a new musical sound. In this section I explore how and why the Cadenza Kantori became creators and performers of a new musical genre, one which their conductor Celeste Cordo described as 'traditional Indian sacred choral music' (Cordo, 2015. Personal communication, 8 January).

The Cadenza Kantori was founded by conductor, teacher and arranger Cordo in 2004 as an extension of a pre-existing children's choir named The GleeHive, also run by Cordo. I observed a Cadenza Kantori rehearsal in 2014, having first interviewed Cordo about her prolific career as a music teacher, conductor and arranger⁵⁵. In that interview, Cordo had mentioned that the Cadenza Kantori sang in Indian languages and I was keen to hear an example of 'Western' musicians incorporating elements of Indian sounds into their performances, particularly in light of the apparent dichotomy between Indian and Western musics in Mumbai (highlighted in the introduction to this chapter). The Cadenza Kantori met weekly in Cordo's large living room on the first floor of her family home in Bandra. It was a large choir comprising of young men and women roughly between the ages of twelve and thirty, most of whom were from the local middle-class English-speaking Catholic community (the choir was explicitly religious, often performing for Christian festivals). Cordo's daughter Dawn, a graduate of Berklee college of music, sang in the choir and often assisted her mother as a co-conductor, pianist or arranger (D. Cordo 2014. Personal communication, 2 October). The rehearsal that I observed was lively and fun, with frequent jokes flying between Cordo and the singers.

In 2004, Cordo had seen an advertisement posted by an international Catholic organisation named the Foederatio Internationalis Pueri Cantores (known as the Pueri Cantores) in local Catholic magazine *The Examiner*. The Pueri Cantores were calling for choirs to perform at their annual choral festival, which was, that year, to be held in the German city of Cologne (Cordo 2015. Personal communication, 8 January).

⁵⁵ Cordo had lived in the suburb of Bandra since the age of one. As the daughter of a piano teacher, Cordo was surrounded by music as a child. She learned the violin from Josic Menzie and played in the BCO and in Menzie's Pop Symphony orchestra (see chapter 2). Menzie recognised her skill in arranging and enlisted her as an orchestral arranger. In 2014 Cordo conducted the Neuman choir, an adult amateur chorus, as well as the Cadenza Kantori and the Glee Hive, which was aimed at younger children. She was also a composer, writing several pieces a year, often with religious themes. (Cordo 2014. Personal communication, 11 August)

Established in France in 1944 and since then operating with a Europe-wide administration and a transnational reach, the Pueri Cantoris was a Catholic organisation which encouraged Christian worship through song. The Federation's main aim was the 'education of young people through Christian values and sacred music', and the promotion of liturgical music (Foederatio Internationalis Pueri Cantores 2009). Based in Europe and with mainly European and Northern American members, it actively sought to broaden its reach:

It is also very important to look for new choirs and new federations (in Eastern Europe, South America, Asia and Africa). The way of Pueri Cantories is the way of new evangelisation. It is the evangelisation of young people through sacred music and all the values it conveys. (ibid)

The Pueri Cantores held annual choral festivals named 'International Congresses' in various locations across Europe, and advertised across the Catholic world for choirs to attend. It was one of their advertisements in India that had caught Cordo's attention.

Having had her audition tape accepted, Cordo was asked by the International Congress organisers to present a program of Indian sacred choral music. This posed a problem; in India, whilst sacred and liturgical choral music in local languages did exist, large scale choral works arranged for SATB⁵⁶ choirs had generally been drawn from the European canon (Cordo 2015 Personal communication, 8 January). Cordo had always sung and conducted European sacred choral music; she did not possess a repertoire of pieces in Indian languages (being from an English speaking family and working in an English speaking community she had never sung sacred music in Indian languages herself). Cordo described the interaction with the German festival organiser as follows:

⁵⁶ Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, a standard choir setting for which many choral pieces are arranged.

Cordo: So he emailed me and he said, you know, would you like to do a few songs that are Indian, from your country. So then the emails went back and forth, would you like to do an Indian [song], represent music from your country. And so because he asked that I said yes why not, so let's explore something.

HM: So was he aware that was he was asking for something that didn't really exist?

Cordo: I don't know if he was aware or not. He asked because he might have assumed already that we would be singing already hymns in Hindi and Marathi. He may have not realised that Bombay is cosmopolitan and English speaking, you know [...] in fact when we went there they didn't know whether we would speak in Hindi. (Cordo 2015. Personal communication, 8 January)

The Pueri Cantores' request, outlined above by Cordo, for the performance of national identities within a transnational musical conference reflects a cosmopolitan ideology of 'universality plus difference.' (Appiah 2006 in White 2012:201): in order that their festival be reified as transnational, individual national identities had to be recognisable (here we see similarities with transnational orchestral networks, discussed in this chapter in relation to the Bombay Chamber Orchestra).

However, Cordo's assertion that the festival organisers did not know that her choir would speak English indicates that the German festival organiser's expectations of Indian identities were shaped by an imagined (or fetishised) version of Indian-ness rather than by an informed expectation of cultural differences. Cordo recalled that "They had called an Indian group before [...] and they had only sung an Indian melody, and they had danced. So when he asked for our choir he said 'Can you sing?'" (Cordo 2014. Personal communication, 11 August). The festival organisers, disappointed by the lack of SATB harmony in the previous Indian choir, wanted to make sure that,

whilst Cordo was welcome to sing Indian repertoire, her choral performance would fit with the established choral paradigms of the European tradition, again demonstrating a desire for the performance of otherness mediated by familiarity. Cordo was made further aware of the way in which her choir was regarded once she arrived in Germany: she was asked whether she rode on elephants, to which she replied, “no, we have cars, just like you” (Cordo 2015. Personal communication, 8 January).

The Pueri Cantores' request for Indian-ness was somewhat incongruous with the Cadenza Kantori's local identity: within their own locale of Mumbai Cordo's choirs were associated with an English-speaking Westernised Catholic elite; they sang works composed in tonal harmony in the English language. Their identity was far removed from that expected by the Pueri Cantores.

Cordo, though, was keen to produce Indian sounds, and decided to create an Indian version of the Lord's Prayer. To this end, she called in a Hindi translator named Satyam Tripathi and a Hindustani classical musician and Bollywood composer named Rajit Dolakia. Together they sat in Cordo's house for a 'session', a composition technique often used in the creation of Bollywood soundtracks whereby the musician and lyricist sit together and work out, through process of trial, error and adjustment, a finished piece of music (ibid). Cordo then transcribed the piece, and arranged it for SATB choir. The resulting song was *He Pita* (translation: Our Father). Based on sufi music, *He Pita* begins with a slow 'alaap' section over a chant of 'tu hi naam' (which translates roughly as 'be thy name'), before moving into a haunting main section⁵⁷. (See Appendix 3. DVD track 1)

The Cadenza Kantori took *He Pita* to Germany where it was a great success at the International Congress, heralding an ongoing membership of the Pueri Cantores. Bolstered by the

⁵⁷ To listen online to examples of the Cadenza Kantori's music visit <https://soundcloud.com/cadenza-kantori>.

positive reception of the Indian language song at the festival, Cordo decided to expand the choir's repertoire of Indian pieces and began to collect Catholic sacred songs in various regional Indian languages, and to arrange them for her choir. These songs were collected from sources close to Cordo in Mumbai, for example, she visited several novitiates in the city to record nuns-in-training from across India singing in their home languages. Cordo also learned songs from her domestic help, women originally from the central Indian state of Chhattisgarh. She described the process of collecting and arranging a song named *Alleluia*: (See appendix 3. DVD track 2)

This song is a folk song. The girls who work in my house, they come from this state called Chhattisgarh. They come from the tribe of the Chota Nagpur Plateau in India. So they sing in this language called Oraon, there is no script, only spoken. So I made her sing it, then I recorded it, and then I notated it and arranged it. (Cordo 2015. Personal communication, 1 August).

When I met Cordo in 2014 she had amassed a large number of songs in various Indian languages, and had performed them both abroad and in Mumbai.

In spite of her new repertoire of Indian language songs, in Mumbai the identity of the Cadenza Kantori continued to be that of a local, Catholic, English-speaking ensemble. They performed predominantly in churches in Bandra, often at religious occasions⁵⁸, and often for charitable causes. When abroad, however, the choir performed a stylised Indian identity, singing in a multiplicity of Indian languages (none of which, I presumed, members of the choir spoke as a first language, if at all). The choir also performed in costume: a recent picture published on their website shows them dressed in brightly coloured Rajasthani style outfits, their heads covered in

⁵⁸ Cordo organised an annual Festival of Religious & Sacred Choral Music at St. Andrews Church in Bandra, for which she generally composed several large-scale pieces for chorus and small orchestra.

veils and turbans (see illustration 8).



Illustration 8. The Cadenza Kantori Performing in Germany (Image Source: Cadenza Kantori 2017)

Questions arise. Are the Cadenza Kantori performing a stereotyped version of Indian-ness in order to satisfy a Western imaginary of their nationality? Are they obliged to fulfil to European notions of the exotic Other, in order to justify their presence in a transnational musical federate? Or, could they be exploring a previously untapped musical resource, creating new original musical works whilst building a brand which allows them to travel, participate, and be celebrated in a transnational choral community?

It is necessary to examine the layers of hegemony involved in this case study. Whilst the Pueri Cantores had the power to invite or exclude choirs, and had asked specifically for a certain musical offering, one that mixed the familiar and the other, it is worth noting that, within India, Cordo was herself a member of an elite socio-economic group. She was educated, relatively wealthy, and able collect and arrange songs from cultures far removed from her own, and to use

those songs to create and perform her own imagined version of local Indian identities. This was made clear in the following quote, where Cordo discusses the song *Alleluia*, from the Chota Nagpur Plateau:

The people of that plateau in the east are very musical. They have all hilly regions, they have like this and they call, the music echoes round the hills. From one we will see one, and then over from another here. That's the way I imagined it. And there will be, like, these people singing from there, and these people singing from there, and these from there, and all singing together. (Cordo 2015. Personal communication, 1 August).

Whilst Cordo was gazed upon (and was fully aware of that gaze), she in turn gazed, creating her own version of the other within India. This added layer of hegemony could prompt a rethinking of Saidian orientalism; representations of the exotic other no longer necessarily originate in and serve the hegemonic West.

I suggest a consideration of the identity of the Cadenza Kantori choir as fluid; controlled and adapted according to the expectations of various audiences. In Mumbai the Cadenza Kantori were embedded in the Westernised, English speaking, economically-elite Catholic community. Their church-based performances were aimed at an audience to whom choral music represented less a performance of nationality and more a performance of a subcultural and religious identity which spoke to the transnational as much as the Indian. In Europe, the choir represented India and Indian-ness, in a form which met expectations despite having little basis in the actual cultural lives of the choir members.

I finish with a quote from an interview with Cordo, which highlights the pragmatism at the

root of her musicking:

I said well, we are from India, and we retain our Indian-ness. But we have got to use that Indian culture. I can go straight into the proper Indian music and sing but then I will have lost some of my audience because they will not always understand what is happening, and we love western harmonies also, we also like the idea of choral music and a cappella music. And I looked at the reaction of the young people and they love it.

(Cordo 2015. Personal communication, 8 January)

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the complexities of Western classical music's role in shaping identities in the city of Mumbai. I have argued that Western classical music signifies overlapping and nuanced local, national, cosmopolitan, and transnational identities and affiliations, and speaks to wider debates and dialogues about what it is to be Indian.

Chapter 4. Symphonies, Status and Soft Power: The Symphony Orchestra of India

In 2014 the Western classical music scene in Mumbai was almost entirely amateur with one major exception. The Symphony Orchestra of India (SOI) was (and at the time of writing still is), India's only professional symphony orchestra. In this chapter, I explore the roles and meanings of the SOI. First, I situate it locally within the city of Mumbai, positioning it within discourses of social class, status, and globally-minded aspiration. I then move on to place the SOI within discourses of nation building, questioning the role of the orchestra as a marker of national development. Finally, I explore the SOI's transnational networks, looking at its role within cultural diplomacy and soft power.



Illustration 9. The Symphony Orchestra of India (Image Source: NCPA 2016)

4.1 The SOI: a background

The SOI was founded in 2006 by the National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA), a large arts centre located in South Mumbai. It performed two concert seasons per year as a full symphony

orchestra in February and September, as well as more regular small chamber concerts in the off-season periods. Each season typically included around six concerts spread over two weeks. The SOI employed a resident conductor named Zane Dalal, and invited a guest conductor for each season. A core group of musicians made up the SOI chamber orchestra and were resident in Mumbai all year round; freelance musicians were employed to make up the full symphony orchestra during the seasons. The full-time musicians were a mix of Indian nationals and foreigners (mainly from Eastern Europe), whilst the freelance visiting musicians were from various international locations, often Kazakhstan or the UK⁵⁹.

Repertoire generally focused on canonic works from the late classical and romantic eras and included symphonies and larger scale orchestral works, concertos with invited soloists, and smaller chamber concerts or recitals. NCPA chairman Khushroo Suntook, together with orchestral manager Xerses Unvala, conductor Zane Dalal and Music Director Marat Bisengeliyev, decided on the repertoire for each season, with input from British advisor Edward Smith. I asked Suntook about the decision making process, and about the tastes of the audiences in Mumbai:

If you have opera or ballet you are full! Oh they love it, they love big things. Opera is a passion for them. We did a *Butterfly*, we did *Tosca*, we have done *Cavalleria Rusticana*, lots of things. And full house. and you can charge as much as you want. Very popular, they love it. Because its really an extension of Bollywood you know. (Suntook 2011. Personal communication, 10 September)

Tastes tended to be rather conservative, as Suntook highlighted in our conversation, which took

⁵⁹ Marat Bisengeliyev, Music Director of the SOI, was from Kazakstan and often reached out to the community of musicians there to fill orchestral seats. NCPA Chairman Khushroo Suntook, meanwhile, had many contacts in the UK. At the time of my research, the NCPA employed a British orchestral manager, who also facilitated the sourcing of musicians from the UK.

place just before a concert in September 2014:

Tonight is going to be a difficult program, Britten and Bartok. They like a traditional concert, basically they do love their Bach, Mozart, Haydn Beethoven, Brahms. But that's true of everything. When you go to festival hall if it's a Beethoven concert its sold out, but if you are going to do all Bartok or all Berg, basically you can get tickets. (ibid)

The origins of the SOI are somewhat hazy: during my fieldwork I was presented with varying accounts and narratives. The official version posited by the SOI is that Suntook heard Kazakh violinist Marat Bisengaliev performing in London in 2004. Impressed by the performance, Sutook invited Bisengaliev to come to Mumbai and help to start India's first professional orchestra, which he did in 2006. They advertised for players and auditioned local musicians, filling gaps in the orchestra with professional musicians invited from abroad, many from Bisengaliev's home country of Kazakhstan.

An alternative narrative was put to me by a British musician who had spent many years as guest player with the Bombay Chamber Orchestra and, later, with the SOI. She suggested that the idea and the initial funding for the SOI came from a small group of UK musicians who had spent time in India playing with the BCO. The SOI was planned by these musicians as an educational institution first and foremost, with the majority of time and effort to be put into local education projects, supplemented by concerts. The goal, my informant suggested, was that the music education projects would result in the SOI being 50 per cent Indian in membership by 2015, something which was then sidelined in favour of producing concerts of international standards through an ongoing practice of employing foreign musicians (Jessica, 2014. Personal communication, 1 September).

In 2014, the Symphony Orchestra of India was in its eighth year. Within India it was very much embedded in the city of Mumbai and had not toured to any other cities, although it had performed abroad in Muscat in 2010.

What were the roles and meanings of the SOI for its local audiences, for its Indian musicians, and for Mumbai's wider communities?

4.2 Local meanings: The Symphony Orchestra and social class

The NCPA stands on the edge of the Arabian sea, overlooking the lights of the grand sweeping bay dubbed 'the Queen's Necklace'. It is arguably the centre of the Western classical music scene in Mumbai; it is certainly the most high profile venue, with the most funding, and the most prestige.

The NCPA is a large multi-venue arts centre comprising three large concert halls which host large scale performances, alongside two smaller venues, a cafe, a restaurant, an office block, a library, a practice block, accommodation for staff and several car parks. The complex is home to an organ donated by the German government, a classical harp and several Steinway grand pianos. Built on land reclaimed from the sea, the NCPA's size, the style of its buildings, its decor, and its location create an impression of wealth and status. From its plush red carpets, to its glimmering chandeliers, air-conditioned rooms, high-end restaurants, and the price of its tickets⁶⁰, the NCPA's

⁶⁰ There is some debate as to the relevance of ticket prices to classical music audience demographics. Andrew Mitchell has compiled evidence showing that opera tickets prices in the UK are in fact lower than many other cultural, sporting or tourist activities (Mitchell 2015). In Mumbai, the cost of ticket to Western classical music concerts does exclude a larger portion of the city's residents than comparable prices in the UK would (recently estimates suggest that 44 percent of Mumbai's residents live in slums). J.P.E Harper Scott, meanwhile, frames concert attendance within discourses of social class, pointing to football tickets as an example of high priced events popular with working classes (Harper Scott 2012).

opulence situates it firmly within the social spaces occupied by the middle and upper classes. It also reinforces associations between Western classical music and the middle or upper classes, associations rooted in European social and musical development and praxis, as I now outline.

Western classical music's affiliation with the middle classes can be traced back along a historical trajectory to the 18th-century Age of Enlightenment. Prior to the Enlightenment, music was very much bound up in the lives of the elite and the aristocratic, with wealthy aristocrats patronising composers and subsidising orchestras (Gramit 2002). With the Enlightenment came an emphasis on learning. The arts became more widespread across the general populace of Europe, the public started attending concerts, and patronage of musicians moved away from the courts and into the public sphere.

Richard Kurt Kraus has gone into some detail regarding the historical beginnings of Western classical music's social delineations, citing Max Weber's equation of the piano with middle class domesticity (Kraus 1989): the piano is described by Kraus as being a piece of 'middle class furniture' (1989:14). The role of the arts in Enlightenment Europe was, according to Kraus, to separate the classes, with the middle classes using music to aggressively maintain a border with the working classes, distinguishing themselves from the working classes by emulating the behaviours of the aristocracy (1989:14).

The inherent⁶¹ meanings of Western classical music originating from the Enlightenment period have also been theorised as being essentially middle class. Nettl proposes that art music reflected the political and economic elite not simply by being the music of that segment of society but also on account of its internal structural complexity and sophistication (Nettl 1995). It is

61 I borrow the term 'inherent' from Lucy Green. 'Inherent' essentially refers to inter-sonic musical meanings: pitches and rhythms. 'Delineated', meanwhile, refers to extra-sonic musical meanings: music's place in society (Green 2008).

unclear, however, whether Nettl is implying that the middle and upper classes moved in more complex social circles which were then represented by complex musical forms, whether they were to be viewed as having the ability to understand more complex and sophisticated pieces, or whether they enjoyed complexity merely as a signifier of sophistication.

As the centuries progressed, delineations of class continued, with scholars finding evidence of contemporary elitist practices and ideologies, often conceptualising the Western classical music aficionado as a member of an elite club, a club to which membership must be proven. Small suggests that those who attend Western classical music concerts, particularly those without any real affinity for the music performed, are 'staking their claim to a membership of a particular middle-class reference group' (Small 1987:20). Actions which give away one's lack of knowledge of appropriate concert behaviours must be avoided according to Small, who writes:

...even to move one's foot gently in response to the music's beat is to invite condemnation as an ignoramus or a boor. Audible expressions of opinion during the performance are regarded as an offence, not just against the piece being played but against the very event itself. (Small 1987)

Nettl has found that knowledge of concert programmes is of key importance in demonstrating belonging. He writes, 'recognising the composer of what one hears or sees on the page is the surest way of proving membership in musical society' (Nettl 1995:14). Leon Botstein, meanwhile, inadvertently positions the orchestra as the choice entertainment of the middle-class elite by lamenting, 'the new rich in America are not as interested in classical music as their predecessors', in his pessimistic 1996 article entitled *The Future of the Orchestra*.

Pierre Bourdieu is one of the most influential contemporary writers on the matter of music and class, indeed his theories find echoes in the writings of Small and Nettl. Bourdieu focuses on the cultural *consumption* of music rather than the actual musical product, famously suggesting, 'taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier' (Bourdieu 1979:6). Bourdieu, refuting the 'universal language' rhetoric, or arguments such as Julian Johnson's suggestion that classical music has 'distinctive value' (Johnson 2002:3), argues that a work of art has interest and meaning only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, or code, into which it is encoded (Bourdieu 1979:2). He positions music as the most 'classifying' of the arts, suggesting, 'there is no more 'classificatory practice than concert going or playing a "noble" instrument' (1979:18). Bourdieu describes musical knowledge as 'cultural capital' (1979). Music is thus to be viewed as a tool and a signifier of social class, rather than as having intrinsic classificatory elements within its inherent meanings.

Western classical music delineating wealth and middle class values is not confined to Western society (geographically speaking) but is an ideology that has spread globally. In Asia the piano has been shown to be a particularly notable symbol of class. Kraus, in his 1989 book *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambition and the Struggle over Western Music*, discusses how, in post cultural revolution China, the piano is an emblem of modernisation and positions Western classical music within social class boundaries: it is 'especially beloved by the middle classes' (Kraus 1989:ii). Yoshihara likewise notes that the piano symbolises class in South East Asia (2008), whilst Morcom has provided examples of the piano being used in Hindi films to symbolise wealth (Morcom 2002). Mina Yang, in her critique of Western music cultures in East Asia characterises the piano as 'the ultimate symbol of bourgeois Western culture' (Yang 2007:5). Gerry Farrell and Richard Leppert have pointed to instances of visual depictions of Western music or musical instruments symbolising a 'civilised' lifestyle in India (Farrell 1996, Leppert 1987) and Woodfield

has situated Western music within the lives of Anglo-Indians and wealthy Nawabs in India in the late 1700s (Woodfield 2000).

As I highlighted in earlier chapters, Western classical music in Mumbai has historically been bound up with middle class socio-economically elite Parsi and Catholic communities, although before the SOI these communities did not have access to a local professional orchestra and as such their opportunities to practice their taste cultures within their locale were limited.

The SOI's 2014 concert season brochure highlighted connections between the NCPA and the Mumbai's middle and upper classes. The following passage is taken from its 'Overview' page:

AUDIENCE PROFILE

The NCPA presents more than 600 events each year, encompassing the full range of Indian performing arts traditions, as well as international stars from a diverse range of genres including drama, contemporary dance, orchestral concerts, opera, jazz and chamber music. Audiences for these events comprise the cultural cognoscenti from across Mumbai, typically drawn from the city's educated professionals and business people, academicians, government employees, celebrities from the arts and entertainment sectors and students. (NCPA 2014:5)

Here, the intentional outlining of the middle and upper classes as the NCPA's core audience indicates both a celebration of this strata of society (perhaps there is an element of flattery intended, as this brochure was intended to be read, in English, by those attending the SOI season) and a lack of inclusivity with regards to less privileged audiences: the NCPA made no claims of egalitarianism. This is in contrast to initiatives in many Euro-American sites, whereby orchestras

actively attempt to reach out to, engage with, and include diverse communities from a range of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds (Ramnarine 2012).

I observed that audiences at the NCPA were predominantly English speaking, affluent and from the older generation. Parsis were in the majority, although Suntook and Unvala stressed that this was slowly changing. Unvala described the audience profile to me as follows:

There is a knowledgeable group who have travelled the world going to concerts. They are the core and have been there from the start. (Unvala 2014: Personal communication, 20 August)

A musician who had played in the SOI and who regularly attended concerts corroborated Unvala's assertion that audiences were affluent and internationally-minded, telling me, "Sometimes people go for concerts of Western classical music just to prove that they are international, that they have travelled abroad." (Malhotra 2014. Personal communication, 2 September). Many audience members were influential within spheres of business and politics; I observed business leaders and foreign ambassadors at several concerts and after-parties, their presence encouraged by the SOI: tickets were reserved for corporate sponsors.

In his 2004 research on concert attendance in London, Stephen Cottrell argues that quasi – ritualistic orchestral concerts scaffolded by a mythologically enhanced belief system provide a space in which attendees accrue symbolic and cultural capital. For Cottrell, this symbolic and cultural capital was synonymous with musical knowledge and activities: in attending concerts audiences could hypostatise their membership of a community of sophisticated imbibers of cultural production (2004). Here, I echo Cottrell and suggest that orchestral concerts at the NCPA provided

a space in which attendees accrued and displayed symbolic and cultural capital. In Mumbai this was synonymous with social status, and signified membership of an elite transnational musical community, an extension, often, of a transnational identity and lifestyle (with regards to education, travel and business).

To insist, though, that to be involved in Western classical music as a listener or a performer is to be a member of the middle or upper classes is problematic as it often disregards the experiences, status and class of the musicians involved. This has become particularly evident in recent years where scholarly and ethnographic focus has started to be levelled more at the musicians involved in performing and teaching Western classical music rather than at composers, repertoire or audiences. Yoshihara and Cottrell both highlight the discrepancy between the cultural status of professional musicians and their actual position in their local class systems (Yoshihara 2008, Cottrell 2004). Yoshihara, whilst admitting that the initial stages involved in becoming a professional musician – childhood lessons, expensive instruments - probably signifies some degree of established family wealth, points out that the economic lives of most classical musicians working in the US are fraught with contradictions. Musicians are, 'at once members of the cultural elite and workers selling their labour, they possess skills and expertise but generally have limited control in the workplace' (Yoshihara 2008:131). Yoshihara highlights a contradiction common in the case of many musicians - they are high in cultural capital but low in economic capital and as a result, their status as members of the middle classes is ambiguous. Yoshihara's Asian-American informants often see Western classical music as a ticket to upward mobility (or their parents do), but as Yoshihara points out, their social positioning is more nuanced than it immediately appears, with a high and steady income and job security rarely guaranteed. This area of debate was expanded on in a recent paper given by Institute of Education PhD candidate Francesca Carpos, in which she outlined the poor working conditions and economic insecurities that London based musicians must face (2014).

In Mumbai, the status and class of the audiences was entirely different to that of the musicians. Audiences were, according to my observations, almost all middle-class elites, transnational in both ideology and lifestyle. Musicians, meanwhile, were not in the same social sphere, as evidenced by their low pay and reputedly poor working conditions. This differentiation was outlined by Furtados Music Store director Anthony Gomes, who told me:

Western music is prestigious. Not being a Western musician. So learning music is prestigious, going for concerts is prestigious, but unfortunately it is, you're on the lower rungs of society if you are a Western musician, if you are a musician, period. (Gomes 2014. Personal communication, 14 Feb)

Whilst in some transnational sites Western classical musicians enjoy high levels of cultural, if not economic, capital (Yoshihara, Cottrell), the musicians of the SOI were bound by very local notions regarding the status of musicians within society, as outlined above by Gomes. To gain further insight into the social status and socio-economic backgrounds of Indian SOI musicians, I interviewed Deon, the youngest and newest Indian musician to be recruited to the SOI. A 25-year-old viola player from a distant northern suburb, Deon was a serious and committed musician. He was not from a wealthy family and was not a typical attendee of orchestral concerts: he had never seen an orchestral concert before the age of nineteen. Deon had taught himself the violin (there were, he informed me, no teachers available to him throughout his childhood), before switching to the viola when he joined the SOI. He had grown up listening to Bollywood and Indian classical musics, and had cultivated an interest in Western classical music at church, where he had sung and played the piano as a child (the family could not afford a piano; church provided Deon with opportunities beyond his own economic reach).

Deon had studied sociology at college but had decided to make music his career after meeting UK-based visiting musicians Harvey and Ralph D'Souza, who had provided him with inspiration and encouragement. Deon's family were, though, unhappy with his musical aspirations. For them, worries about the financial insecurities of professional musicianship were compounded by locally-rooted notions of the social status of musicians, as Deon explained:

They think I'm playing on the street basically. They say, “why are you wasting your time?” Even my parents think that. [...] In India to think about playing music and earning money is not very common. Very few people like me do it. It is all about studies. You finish your degree and you work in the office, in front of the computer. That is a job. This is not a job. This is what an Indian thinks. (Deon D'Souza 2014. Personal communication, 22 December)

As the youngest of the nine Indian musicians in the SOI, Deon was the only one to have begun his career by playing Western classical music. The rest had all started out in the Bollywood film industry, working as session musicians in Bollywood's signature large string sections until digital sounds replaced live orchestras and work dried up. Being a Bollywood musician carried additional stigma, both from audience members and from local amateur musicians themselves: many of my informants expressed their disapproval of Bollywood music, it was considered to be poor quality, with lyrics of questionable taste. The late-night lifestyle that had historically been associated with being a Bollywood musician (with many sessions stretching into the early hours) added to its shady reputation. Whilst the cultural capital associated with playing in symphony orchestras was somewhat higher than that of Bollywood orchestras⁶², the SOI players continued to

⁶² One of my informants, a musician who played both Bollywood and Western classical genres, told me that, when describing his work, he took pains to stress that he played in a *symphony* orchestra rather than a Bollywood orchestra. He believed that Bollywood orchestras were associated with poor quality music and low performance skills.

exist within a similar social sphere as their Bollywood colleagues, a sphere almost entirely disconnected to that of their audiences.

The disconnect between the social spheres of audience and musician was, in 2014, becoming problematic for the SOI, particularly with regards to its struggles to recruit Indian players. The NCPA had opened a small music school with the aim of training Mumbai's young musicians to professional standards, in the hope of producing a generation of local musicians able to join the orchestra in the future, thereby increasing the number of Indians in the ensemble without compromising on performance ability. The school was naturally attracting the children of regular SOI audience members, people with a keen interest in Western classical music who resided nearer to the NCPA (in the most affluent part of Mumbai), with the disposable income necessary to afford the school's high fees: the middle to upper classes. When I asked Zane Dalal, the SOI's resident conductor, what these parents would think if their child decided to become an orchestral musician, he responded as follows:

I think they would be distraught. Indian parents, most parents actually, it's wrong of me to generalise, but specifically Indian parents, are very keen on their children getting ahead and being successful. And the proven fields, psychologically left by the British, are to be lawyers, doctors and mathematicians, accountants, scientists. And music does not get a fair shot in terms of the psychological ranking it has. And for this reason even the Indian music masters, who are amazing icons, have a sort of secondary ranking in society. They shouldn't but they do. (Dalal 2014. Personal communication, 3 Feb)

Dalal's response suggests that the low status of musicians was not only deep-rooted, but unlikely to change, even if the employer was the SOI, with all its markers and signifiers of class,

wealth, and status. Professional musicianship in India was associated with neither economic nor cultural capital; it signified economic instability and low social ranking. Those moving in social spheres associated with concert attendance did not consider musical performance as a career option. For Dalal, this was all part of, “the differences and difficulties of setting up an orchestra in this environment” (ibid).

Local discourses were thus impacting on this very transnational practice, and tensions were occurring when ambitions to cultivate Indian performers of international standards were met with local ideas of status, class and cultural capital.

4.3 “Every great country should have a symphony orchestra”: Nation building and the SOI

An NDTV newsreader smiles into the camera as she reads the final piece of the day:

Ten years ago, a group of Western classical music lovers got together and wanted to achieve the impossible: Give India a symphony orchestra it could call its very own. Now, a decade later, they are a close-knit family with musicians from around the world. Here's their story. (NDTV:2016)

A video begins playing, an introduction to NDTV's regular 'Art Matters' segment is shown, followed by a shot of an orchestra rehearsing. A close up of a bow being drawn over a violin fades into a wider shot of a cello section playing together with gusto. A voice-over is heard:

Every great country should have a symphony orchestra, a simple thought that led to the

founding of the Symphony Orchestra of India. (ibid).

Should every great country have a Symphony Orchestra? What does the symphony orchestra signify to the global community? How should we locate the orchestra within discourses of national development?

Scholars have linked Western classical music with processes of nation building, which is often discussed within a lexicon of 'modernisation' in developing countries⁶³. Anne Rasmussen, for example, has noted that, 'The arts are used as tools for both nation building and for diplomacy throughout the world' (Rasmussen 2012: 64). She links initiatives by Sultan Qaboos of Oman to import European art music with 'similar projects of Europeanisation as a prerequisite to modernisation' (ibid). Rasmussen here echoes critiques of colonialist ideologies placing European society as the pinnacle of modern social progress and European culture as the pinnacle of cultural progress (Chakrabarty 2000).

The NCPA was originally conceived with an agenda of nation building, with a mission to preserve and promote Indian performance arts and culture. It was founded in the late 1960s by two Parsi industrialists: JRD Tata and Jamshed Bhabha. JRD Tata was the chairman of the Tata group, a multi-national business conglomerate founded by his uncle Jamshedji Tata in 1868. Jamshed Bhabha was the brother of Homi Bhabha, India's famed nuclear physicist. At the time of the inauguration of the NCPA, Tata wrote, 'The decision to establish the NCPA was promoted by the recognition of the pressing need to preserve for posterity and develop India's rich legacy in the arts, particularly those like music which depend for their survival on performance and oral traditions' (JRD Tata 1969).

63 Green 2003, 2011, Huang 2011, Kraus 1989, Kok 2011 Mach 1994, Nettle 1985, Philips 1969, Pieridou-Skoutella 2011, Small 1996, Yandi 2012, Yang 2007, Yoshihara 2007.

In the aftermath of colonialism, when the newly emerging independent nation was in the process of re-establishing cultural identities, and pushing back against a Euro-centric cultural hierarchy established by the British (Dwyer 2000, Booth 1996), it was in keeping with the political sentiment of the time to focus on national arts. Bhabha, writing in 1969, stressed the need for a focus on national music:

The art [Indian music] has been handed down by oral tradition and kept alive for centuries by teachers and masters [...] This category of hereditary teachers is fast drying out and disappearing [...] Thus, the proposed National Centre for the Performance Arts is necessary for the survival and preservation of a great heritage of music, dance and drama.' (ibid)

One of the first tasks the NCPA undertook between the years of 1969 and 1974 was to record for posterity a large number of performances of leading Hindustani and Carnatic musicians, and to create an archive holding of these recordings. During these years, visiting Western ensembles were invited to perform, although only at a rate of around one per year, according to the NCPA's website (NCPA 2013).

Throughout my year of fieldwork in 2014 the NCPA's musical programming appeared to be leaning towards the Western classical genre, with more Western classical music concerts programmed than any other genre, a departure from the centre's original mission of preserving and promoting Indian arts and music. Was this an indication that nation building was no longer a part of the NCPA's remit?

A SOI promotional video made in 2012 suggests that nation building continued to play a part

in the NCPA's activities, situating the orchestra within wider discourses of Indian nationalism. 'Come and hear the new voice of India', reads a caption, over a video of seemingly 'ordinary' Mumbaikers singing along to the finale of Beethoven's Ninth symphony. In this video, the orchestra's ambitions to contribute to shaping the future of India are made immediately clear. SOI concert brochures communicated a similar message. The following passage is taken from a brochure that I picked up at a concert in 2014:

As India continues to establish itself as a global economic power, the creation of first-rate cultural institutions working towards international recognition will be a vital component of the nation's growing prestige on the world stage. In creating the SOI, the NCPA is leading the initiative to develop India's international cultural profile alongside countries such as China, Korea, Malaysia and Singapore, all of which have established symphony orchestras. (NCPA 2014)

In my discussions with the managers of the NCPA, it became clear that they considered the centre as still very much entwined with India's progress as a developing nation, as well as with Mumbai status as an emerging global city. The SOI's orchestral manager Unvala pointed to a shift in focus rather than a move away from national objectives, with orchestral music now being considered as a major part of national development and as synonymous with India's economic growth. Unvala told me:

With any major donor for anything, its just sharing the vision and seeing the importance of having an orchestra the need to have an orchestra and the value of having an orchestra in India. And it goes parallel, as India has grown internationally, brand India has grown. I think alongside that, alongside the economy the culture grows as well and gets a more

international outlook as well, so, we try to balance at the NCPA, because of course one of our main missions is promoting and preserving Indian arts and culture, which is a never ending mission, I mean it's so vast and rich. But I also think that we have to have an eye to the international arts too, and from both sides. (Unvala 2014. Personal communication, 3 Feb)

Conductor Dalal similarly stressed the role of the SOI as a signifier of Mumbai's status as a global city. In the quote below, he draws parallels between the orchestra and developments within the city's extra-cultural spheres of trade and finance:

The idea of the SOI certainly was, why don't we have a professional standard orchestra in the city, as all these other global cities do? The global nature of the last 15 years has suggested that each of the cities from Mumbai to Osaka need to not be provincial island bound viewpoints, they need to be nodal hubs of trade, finance, in a sort of global setting. And it was a good idea to have a symphony orchestra. And we are going to talk in a little bit about how it is a symphony orchestra at odds with the ground it stands on. But it was worthwhile to say that if Mumbai was to be a global city, and a financial capital and a node point in South Asia that people would recognize as a modern city looking into the new millennium, then why doesn't it have an orchestra? (Dalal 2014. Personal communication, 3 Feb).

Links with finance highlighted by Dalal were made tangible by the SOI's corporate sponsors. International banking conglomerate Citibank provided the primary source of funding for the orchestra, supplemented by other corporate sponsors from the world of business and finance (NCPA 2014). Businesses interested in India's economic growth were, it was clear, also interested in

supporting the NCPA's mission to cultivate what it considered to be a transnationally recognised cultural marker of economic development.

Dalal also noted the presence of orchestra in other post-colonial and developing nation states as indicative of modernisation, telling me, “Singapore has one and Bangkok has one, and certainly there are three in Japan and twenty three million in China, and Australia” (ibid). Dalal here echoes historical arguments in favour of a symphony orchestra in Mumbai made in 1920 by Edward Behr, whereby Behr appealed to the competitive spirit of the Bombay municipality by pointing to Shanghai as an example of a nearby Asian locale proving their status as a global city (see chapter one). Dalal's contemporary comparisons with orchestral praxis in other developing Asian nations, as well as in developed countries, place the orchestra firmly within discourses surrounding modern nationhood. For Dalal (as well as for many others), modernity and economic development were signified by the presence of a symphony orchestra. The presence of the SOI was to be celebrated; it legitimised Mumbai as a global city and confirmed the success of India as a fast-growing global economy.

Dalal, in our conversation, hinted at some local resistance to the the SOI, noting that the orchestra may be considered “at odds with the ground it stands on” (ibid). As I noted in chapter three, neither the local Maharashtrian government nor the central Indian government provided support in any capacity for Western classical music, indeed, they appeared to be resistant to it. The SOI were subject to the same taxation regulations (25% on every ticket sold) as the BCO, or any other Western classical music performance. Did the government of India then not recognise the role of the orchestra in projects of modernisation and nation building?

Scholars have discussed the role of the nation state within spheres of nation building and

culture in India. The emphasis however, has been firmly on the development of India's own classical music cultures, with the classicisation of Hindustani and Carnatic music (Weidman 2009, Moro 2004) leading to it 'functioning as one of the key emblems of the nation's cultural inheritance' (Subramanian 2008:76). Lakshmi Subramanian has suggested that a re-imagining of Indian classical music, from entertainment within princely courts to high art concert music located among middle class public spheres 'not only appealed to the incipient nationalist imagination, it also gave the nation state an agenda of sorts for self conscious cultural engineering that provided its citizen subjects and its diaspora with a concrete set of markers to invoke images and imaginings of the nation' (2008:76).

A focus on indigenous Indian cultures within nation building has been criticised by Indian economist and historian Amartya Sen, who writes, 'The growing tendency in contemporary India to champion the need for an indigenous culture that has resisted external influences lack credibility as well as coherency. It has become quite common to cite the foreign origin of an idea or a tradition as an argument against its, and this has been linked up with an anti-modernist priority' (Sen 2005:131). However, could the Indian government's reluctance to embrace Western classical music be interpreted as an attempt to move away from colonial-era notions of cultural legitimacy? As Thomas Metcalf has pointed out, Indian music cultures under the British Raj were subject to denigration as one of many strategies used by the British to justify their rule over India (Metcalf 1994), whilst Subramanian suggests that nationalist's focus on Indian classical arts and culture during a period of classicisation was marked by a backlash against 'colonial critiques of native deficiency' (Subramanian 2008:76). Metcalf and Subramanian's work chimes with wider critiques of the role of Western classical music within narratives of nation building and modernisation in developing and/or post-colonial countries as demonstrative of ongoing cultural hegemony, a hegemony rooted in historical ideologies regarding Western culture as the peak of civilisation. To

draw in more contemporary case-studies from other global sites, Yoshihara has suggested that Japan's post-war adoption of Western classical music was indicative of Japan's need to seek recognition by the hegemonic West by mastering Western arts and culture (Yoshihara 2007), and Yang has argued that, 'Modernisation in Asia entailed negotiations not between class and ethnicity, although there are certainly elements of these as well, but even more, between colonising and local practices, and between the foreign and the indigenous' (Yang 2014:27).⁶⁴

Following on from Yoshihara's and Yang's research, the SOI could be re-framed within discourses of post-colonial anxiety, characterised by Sankaran Krishna as attempts by state elites to 'fashion their narrations in the image of what are considered successful nation-states. Both the past and the future become an imitative and thankless quest to prove that supremely unworthy maxim: "we are as good as"' (Krishna 1999:xix)? This prompts the question: is the SOI a means by which Mumbai's elites attempt to demonstrate that India is as good as other nations with established orchestras?

I discussed the issue of post-colonial anxiety with Joseph, a former SOI musician. His response suggests that Western classical music in Mumbai was a site in which nuanced and overlapping positions of post-colonial anxiety and of national pride were negotiated. Joseph told me:

We actually, you know, want to compete with the west in many field, we do value their recognition as well. At the same time Indians have kind of too much pride, because of the colonisation and that, we don't want to be that Stockholm syndrome country. (Joseph 2016. Personal communication, 2 September).

⁶⁴ These arguments by Yoshihara and Yang speak to debates surrounding Western classical music and notions of autonomy, rooted as they are in assumptions of Western classical music as synonymous with European cultures.

The role of the Symphony Orchestra of India within India's nation development is a complex one. Whilst its proponents argue that an orchestra serves as a marker of modernity and of economic development, historically rooted ideologies of Western cultural hegemony must be inserted into critical discourses. It appears for the time being at least, that whilst Mumbai's transnational middle class and elite communities and the SOI's multinational corporate donors consider investment in an orchestra a part of India's wider political and economic development, India's local and national government continue to resist this particular signifier of modernity, championing instead Indian arts and cultures as foundational to India's nationhood.

4.4 Symphonies and Soft Power: The orchestra and cultural diplomacy

The SOI, as I made clear in the above section, was about more than just music. Whilst for those involved in the running of it, and for its audiences, a genuine love and appreciation for orchestral music was always made clear, local pressures and questions constantly compelled it to justify its presence on a plurality of levels. It was not enough for the orchestra to provide Mumbai's Western classical music aficionados with regular concerts, it had to serve extra-musical purposes for its critics to be convinced of its usefulness, particularly in light of the high cost of running the orchestra. Why were funds being directed towards Western music instead of Indian music, and why were concert halls being given over to Western performances rather than Indian? These implied (as well as sometimes, direct) questions were often asked accusatorially, eliciting a defensive response, as I noted in my interviews with Suntook, Dalal and Unvala.

As I discussed above, one of the means by which the SOI justified itself within Mumbai was to argue that the symphony orchestra was a marker of modernisation, and was recognised and

celebrated as such transnationally. However, during one of our discussions, Suntook pointed to the SOI's role in further extra-musical spheres: soft power and cultural diplomacy:

It's not a money making business, it's something that's a part of your soft power as we call it. You've got to have an orchestra, you've got to have shall we say an attraction for the international community to come here. And so many of our German and Italian consular friends and business friends say, "Thank God, we would like a posting in Bombay because they have got the NCPA!" They really love it. (Suntook 2014. Personal communication, 10 September)

What is soft power?

Often considered as intertwined with cultural diplomacy, the term soft power was coined by Harvard professor Joseph Nye in 1990 to describe the ability of a nation state to attract and co-opt rather than coerce, use force or give money as a means of persuasion (Nye 1990). Nye suggests that soft power has three key sources: culture, political values and policies. It has been argued that culture is the most important of these three (Mazrui 1990).

Soft power can be either governmental or non-governmental in nature, with some suggesting that the role of non-state actors could overtake that of governments (Thussu 2013). Governments value soft power immensely, as evidenced by their funding of soft power quangos, examples being the British Council, the Goethe Institut, the Alliance Francais, and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Examples of non-governmental soft power could include national cuisine, educational institutes, entertainment industries, sports, transnational corporations, celebrities, and creative and cultural industries (Thussu 2013). Soft power can be considered essentially as things which

communicate a positive message about a nation to the world, making that nation more desirable and attractive and increasing its status and influence. The term soft power has acquired global currency and is widely and routinely used in policy and academic literature (Thussu 2013:4).

A recent report by Kings College London made a distinction between cultural diplomacy and soft power. Cultural diplomacy is characterised as 'reaching out', whereas soft power is 'standing out' (Doeser and Nisbett 2017:14). It is helpful to break down discussions of the orchestra into these two sub-categories.

4.4.1 Cultural diplomacy: Reaching out

James Doeser and Melissa Nisbet, authors of *The art of soft power: A study of cultural diplomacy at the UN Office in Geneva* (2017), suggest that cultural diplomacy, 'reaching out', has four foundational goals: 'unite, socialise, communicate and educate' (Doeser and Nisbet 2017:15). How do orchestras play a role?

Graham Sheffield CBE, Director of Arts at the British Council, has described orchestras as, 'a strange medium in which to conduct contemporary international cultural relations' (Sheffield 2016). Orchestras are, Sheffield points out, large, unwieldy, expensive, often playing repertoire unconnected to the orchestras themselves, and often disassociated from the community in which they appear (ibid). Despite this, orchestras have played, and continue to play an important role within transnational cultural relations. They have been discussed in relation to European youth integration in the Baltic Youth Philharmonic (Ramnarine 2014) and the European Youth Orchestra (Sheffield 2016), as well as in relation to conflict resolution in the Middle East (Beckles Wilson

2009), and attempts at fostering goodwill between the USA and North Korea (Wakin 2008). These examples all conform to at least one, if not several, of Doerer and Nisbett's notions of cultural diplomacy: they provide spaces for transnational unity, for socialisation, for cross-cultural communication, and for education.

The role of orchestras within diplomatic relations, though, is subject to similar critiques as to that of its role in nation building, in that it goes towards maintaining ideologies of Western cultural hegemony and superiority. Orchestras from nation states with comparatively newer or smaller traditions of Western classical music are in a disadvantaged position, forced to conduct cultural diplomacy within the cultural paradigms of hegemonic states. In this critique, cultural diplomacy is re-imagined, as developing nation states employ the orchestra as a tool to impress and to communicate their own cultural progress in a comparative sphere, echoing Krishna's notions of post-colonial anxiety (1999), discussed earlier in this chapter. This is highlighted in a 2016 article by the Financial Review, which criticised a concert in New York by the China Philharmonic Orchestra as 'not yet at Western levels of quality' (The Economist 2016), the Chinese promoter commenting, 'our tours are a way of showing our orchestra's standards, to show our colleagues in Europe that we're getting better and better' (Wu 2016 in The Economist 2016).

India has been on the receiving end of orchestral cultural diplomacy; in chapter two of this thesis I framed the visit of Marianne Anderson within 1955 within American cold-war diplomacy. In 1993 Israel sent the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Mumbai born conductor Zubin Mehta, to India following the two countries formally establishing diplomatic relations in 1992. Mehroo Jeejeebhoy, director of the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation in Mumbai, was a part of the organising committee, and described the magnitude of the event: "This was the first important event. The Israel Philharmonic are like the ambassadors of Israel. The first important

event was bringing this orchestra to India” (Jeejeebhoy 2012. Personal communication, 19 August). India-Israel relations were further deepened through orchestral musicking in 2014, when the BCO performed at the NCPA in honour of the 66th Israel National Day. The concert, conducted by Israeli maestro Leonti Wolf and featuring Israeli violinist Hadar Rimon, opened with the Indian national anthem and the Israeli national anthem, which the orchestra performed standing.

In 2014 the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra were in Mumbai as part of a cultural diplomacy tour of India organised in the lead up to the Commonwealth Games, which were to be held in Glasgow the following year. Accompanied by violinist Nicola Benedetti, as well as by several music students from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, the orchestra performed at the NCPA and ran several educational and outreach sessions across the Mumbai. The tour was funded by the British Council, the BBC, and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, with some contributions from India (Reid 2014. Personal communication 6 April).

The tour was much lauded, both in India and the UK. Commentators from the media and from the orchestra itself stressed the communicative nature of the event, pointing to attempts made at cross-cultural collaboration; Indian musicians had, prior to the orchestra tour, visited Scotland to participate in collaborative musical exchange, and a commonwealth youth orchestra featuring musicians from Scotland, India and Kenya, was planned for the following summer. Sheffield, in an article written about the exchange, suggested that, 'It was a concerted attempt to reach as many people through the collaboration as possible; and to share traditions from east and west' (Sheffield 2016).

I spoke with Gavin Reid, director of the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra. He had initiated the visit to India, partly because it chimed with wider projects of cultural diplomacy between India

and the UK⁶⁵ and partly for personal reasons; he had visited India in the 1980s and was looking for a reason to go back. Reid situated the orchestral tour within spheres of cultural dialogue and exchange, and was keen to highlight the communicative, social, and educational (as outlined by Doeser and Nisbet 2017) elements of the trip, as indicated in the following quote:

I certainly wouldn't like this to sound like the Brits coming into India, far from it, and we have always viewed this as an exchange, because we have learned so much by just coming here. It's a life changer for many people. But we also wanted to make sure that we were bringing something back to Scotland, which is why the opportunity to bring Rahman and his students and his music, which, to the best of our knowledge, there had never been an evening of AR Rahman's music in Scotland before. (Reid 2014. Personal communication, 6 April)

The role of the orchestral tour in building relationships between Scotland and India was further highlighted by BBC journalist Mark Tully, who reported, 'After the final concert the British Council, who generously assisted the tour, gave a reception at which it was widely agreed that this success should be the beginning of a lasting relationship between India and Scotland' (Tully 2014).

For its part, the Symphony Orchestra of India was, in 2014, taking steps to integrate itself within networks of transnational dialogue and exchange on a more proactive level. It was a member of the Alliance of Asia Pacific Regional Orchestras, thereby situating itself within Asian cultural integration. It had toured abroad twice, firstly to Russia in 2010, where they had performed at a festival of world orchestras, and then to Oman in 2013, where they had performed at the Royal Opera House in Muscat (Unvala 2014. Personal communication, 30 October). In terms of cultural

⁶⁵ The British Council maintains strong links with India. It ran a UK-India Year of Culture in 2015, and another in 2017. These initiatives provided opportunities for the UK and India to strengthen cultural and economic ties through programs of cultural events and activities (British Council 2018).

diplomacy, these tours were indicative of the positive diplomatic relations between India and Russia, and India and Oman. The NCPA had fostered direct links with a number of international cultural centres, including the Kennedy Centre in New York, the New York Metropolitan Opera, the National Theatre in London and the Russian Bolshoi Ballet. It also had established relationships with several embassies in Mumbai, including the British Council, the Alliance Francais and the Goethe Institut.

Within the sphere of cultural diplomacy orchestras do play a role, albeit one complicated by ongoing discourses surrounding cultural hegemony. For India, the NCPA has been a key player in fostering cultural relations with a multiplicity of cultural centres, aiding transnational and cross-cultural projects of unity, communication, socialisation and education (Doeser and Nisbet 2017). The SOI's role had, so far, been small but imbued with potential. As Unvala noted, "With the SOI at least our role as sort of cultural ambassadors is still growing" (Unvala 2014. Personal communication, 30 October).

4.4.2 Soft Power: Standing out

Doeser and Nisbitt discuss soft power - standing out - as having four sub-categories: Power, Business, Leadership and Identity (2017). Is the SOI effectively standing out as a purveyor of Indian soft power?

In his book *Communicating India's Soft Power*, Daya Kishan Thussu comments, 'Parallel to its rising economic power, is the growing global awareness of India's soft power – its mass media, popular culture, cuisine, and communication outlets' (Thussu 2013: 2). Thussu suggests that while

the first two decades of globalisation enabled 'the expansion of largely Western culture and consumerism around the world' (2013:3), in the second decade of the twenty first century, Indian cultures, 'from Bollywood cinema to Bhangra music. From mobile telephony to online communication' (ibid), were steadily growing in visibility, volume and value.

The cultures which Thussu suggests make populations in other countries highly receptive to India are characterised as nation-specific: Indian cuisine, Bollywood cinema, Indian arts and literature, Indian spirituality, yoga and Indian classical music are all given as examples (Thussu 2013). Indian politician and former diplomat Shashi Tharoor has also spoken about India's soft power. He argues that discussions surrounding India as an economic super-power or as a military or nuclear power should re-refocussed on India's 'power of example, the attraction of India's culture' (Tharoor 2009). Tharoor, like Thussu, gives examples of soft power which carry markers of a very recognisable Indian identity: Bollywood movies, ayurvedic medicine, yoga (ibid).

For Thussu and Tharoor, Indian soft power is bound up in cultures rooted in India, cultures recognisable as Indian to the rest of the world. Their arguments suggest that it is the the fourth pillar of soft power - identity - the ability 'to give a sense of identity, to reflect your identity, to identify you as a country' (Doeser and Nisbitt 2017:15) which enables Indian cultures to 'stand out'. It is here that I suggest the SOI's role as a purveyor of soft power is most problematic.

In chapter three, I highlighted discourses surrounding national identities, noting that Indian performers of Western classical music within transnational networks were often required to foreground national 'Indian' identities, thereby problematising ideologies of Western classical music as autonomous and universal. I also noted that many in Mumbai (and according to my informant Dinshaw, many transnational audiences) questioned the Indian identity of the Symphony Orchestra

of India, with a lack of Indian musicians and a perceived reluctance to invite Indian or Indian-origin guest soloists, being key complaints. I asked Suntook why the SOI employed so few Indian players. He replied:

You don't get in just because you are Indian – we have a certain standard and we interviewed God knows how many, dozens and dozens, of players and all I got from my Marat [Bisengeliyev, music director of the SOI] was “niete, niete, niete, niete”, because you have to be good. And now we have got eleven really good players. They can play string quartets, they are really very good. [...] We have constituted a world-wide search for Indian players. We have put it on the net, we have advertised, we have spent a lot of money. The problem is that we don't offer a full twelve month job to people who are only willing to play in the orchestra. A lot of people say, “we will only come back for the season”. But that's OK, just to show the face to the public that we have more Indians. But we would like to have them as permanent employees, which they don't want to do. (Suntook 2014. Personal communication, 10 September)

As this quote shows, for Suntook the quality of musical performance was more important than national identity. His local audiences were, he went on to say, more interested in hearing music of international standards than seeing more Indian musicians in the orchestra:

Everybody should hear this music. And when they hear it they are quite stunned. But it has to be well played, and that's been the problem here in India, because if it is badly played it is not nice. We want to maintain a certain standard. And that standard has to be international. We have got very good players from London orchestras, from Eastern European orchestras, our players are very good. (ibid)

Suntook was supported in his views by Dalal, who told me the following:

We wanted to remain with a quality based thing, and that is extremely important to us. A lot of people say why don't you have more Indians in the orchestra, this is not an Indian orchestra, and of course, its not a photo-op either, and its not a football club either, so people need to turn around and go away. (Dalal 2014. Personal communication, 3 February).

Other voices in Mumbai suggested that even if there must be a minority of Indian players, the SOI should perform more works by Indian composers. This was something which, again, the SOI management were were reluctant to do, citing their own tastes for Western classical pieces as well as the preferences of their core audience. Dalal told me, "I don't think fusion works" (Dalal 2014. Personal communication, 2 February), and argued that adding Indian musicians to orchestras "for the photo-op" (ibid) would result in both Western classical and Indian classical audiences being unsatisfied.

When touring abroad, however, the SOI were obliged to perform Indian identities⁶⁶, as evidenced by Suntook, who informed me, "And that is what the West wants when we take it for tour in Europe. They want a complete Indian first half" (Suntook 2014. Personal communication, 10 September). The SOI's management had as such commissioned special works for these occasions. For their 2013 tour of Oman, the SOI performed a triple concerto with Indian tabla player Zakir Hussain, American banjo player Bela Fleck and American bassist Edgar Meyer, and had commissioned a further tabla concerto from Zakir Hussain for an upcoming 2016 tour to Switzerland. Unvala explained how he and the other members of the SOI's management recognised

⁶⁶ This is not dissimilar to the way in which the Cadenza Kantori choir curate and perform stylised Indian identities when performing abroad, as discussed in chapter 2.

the need to demonstrate an Indian identity when abroad:

So we were trying to come up with a program that would have an Indian element in it. We have done these international performances but this will be our first big multi-city tour. We thought that having an Indian composer and an Indian musician with us was important for that. And Zakir Hussain is arguably today one of the biggest Indian names in the music world and personally I think one of the greatest living musicians today across all genres. So we were discussing of ways of how we get that India element in and Zakir's name came up. (Unvala 2014. Personal communication, 30 October)

Expectations that national pieces be included in a touring orchestra's repertoire are by no means uncommon; for their concert in Mumbai the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra played an arrangement of Scottish reels, thereby bringing to their performance a cultural specificity reflective of Scotland and Scottish musical cultures. Suntook, though problematised the notion of 'Indian' Western classical music, pointing to ambiguities and difficulties created in fusion compositions, as quoted below:

That's true because if you have a Japanese composer or if you have a Chinese composer they are not really, they compose in the Western style, some of them don't even do that, they have their own... well but the notation is Western lets put it that way. So its really international music. (ibid)

Suntook's conclusion here that orchestral music is 'international' hinted at a reluctance to attach national specificity to pieces of music despite the nationality of the composers. Whilst this reluctance may have chimed with the universalist values of his Mumbai audiences, it had the

potential to undermine efforts to create an Indian orchestral sound. The SOI thus added a further lens through which notions and ideologies of Western classical music as universal and autonomous, or as culturally and nationally specific might be discussed.

Efforts by Suntook, Unvala and Dalal to incorporate Indian-ness into the SOI appeared to be led by foreign demand rather than local protest or personal choice. Could their reluctance to cultivate an Indian identity, either in terms of ethnicity of players or in terms of repertoire, have compromised the SOI's role as an effective purveyor of soft power? Did their values retard the the SOI's ability to stand out, to reflect India's identity as a country?

Whilst the SOI appeared to be finding a place within transnational networks of cultural diplomacy, as I argued earlier in this chapter, its struggle to carve out an Indian identity suggested that it had yet to become a significant facet of India's soft power. The SOI did not 'stand out', the key criteria for success within soft power were hampered by ongoing tensions regarding its national identity. It did not, despite some efforts, reflect the identity of India in a manner that could 'shape, alter and impact the ideas and opinions of public communities' (Varma in Thussu 2013:128). Ideologies of universalism had shaped an orchestral praxis which failed to communicate a specificity of India's cultural prowess. To do that it would first have to become what local critic Jini Dinshaw suggested: a truly *Indian* symphony orchestra (Dinshaw 2014).

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have discussed the roles and meanings of the SOI, firstly in relation to social status and prestige within its locale, and then within transnational frameworks of nation

building and cultural diplomacy. These roles are newly established and still evolving, as the orchestra continues to find its place in India and to shape its identity, both locally and within the transnational sphere.

For some, the presence of the SOI is a cause for anxiety, a signal that Mumbai's elite communities subscribe to narratives situating hegemonic Western cultures as synonymous with modernisation and development, legitimising a notion that India is somehow culturally 'behind' other developing Asian nations, and must 'catch up' as it establishes itself as a global economic and political superpower.

However, it is possible to consider an alternative interpretation and frame the SOI within processes of decolonisation. Robert Holton has argued that the development of global cultures has moved away from a colonially-rooted core-periphery model, and is now driven through the emergence and interests of a cross-national global elite (Holton 2000). Cultural power has therefore become decentralised and multi-centred. Applying Holton's theory to the Indian context would lead to an understanding of the SOI as an example of the interests of cross-national global elites based in India, and as an indicator of Mumbai's position as a nodal city within cross-national cultural powers. Most optimistically, one could argue that the proliferation of professional symphony orchestras in Asia, of which the SOI is the only example from India, helps to decentralise orchestral praxis, which may in turn lead to a destabilisation of the West's historical cultural hegemony.

Chapter 5. Music and Development

This thesis has thus far positioned Western classical music as existing predominantly within elite and cosmopolitan social spheres in Mumbai. However, Western classical music could also be found within some of the most disadvantaged communities in Mumbai, including municipal (government funded) schools and community centres. In these contexts, music teaching and learning, praxes which would generally occur within the discursive realms of 'education', were reimagined as 'outreach', a semantic shift stemming from divergent theoretical and ethical motivations. Goals within 'outreach' musicking were usually socially rather than musically orientated, and many educators and music leaders working within these projects were volunteers. I observed and worked with several musical social development projects, led by both foreign and local music educators, which were targeted specifically at underprivileged communities.

This chapter will examine the role of Western classical music within social development projects in Mumbai and Goa. I suggest that the ideologies and values embedded in Western classical music development projects do not necessarily correspond with local ideologies or values, thereby creating tensions and compromising effectiveness in instigating positive social change.

I base this chapter on three ethnographic case studies. Firstly, I look at Muktangan, a municipal school in Mumbai which offered music as a classroom subject and employed local members of the community as music teachers. I question whether Muktangan's music education programs met the needs, or reflected the values, of the community it served. Secondly, I use Songbound, a choral initiative led by British musician Joe Walters, to problematise the role of foreign volunteers within local projects. Thirdly, I move over 350 miles out of Mumbai down the western coast of India to Panaji, the capital of Goa, to unpack the role of 'Child's Play', an El-

Sistema inspired strings programme. I argue that the programme's aspirations to produce professional orchestral musicians, based on the values of its founder, sits at odds with both local and national values and policies surrounding Western classical music.

5.1 Western classical music and Development: an overview

Links between musicking and social development are not new, rather they are rooted in the social history of Western classical music. David Gramit has outlined how Western classical music's claim to enhance the spiritual and moral cultivation and the intellectual development of the German population between 1770 and 1848 was developed within a framework of a larger Enlightenment goal of popular pedagogy (2002). Music education contributed to "the development of a population disciplined and therefore better suited to participation in a society characterized by the rationalised and the regulated" (2002:20). Despite practices which placed Western classical music in the social spheres of elites and middle-classes, this project of cultivation was aimed at everyone, whatever their background, and contributed to the wider aim of each individual becoming a full and literate member of society. Even at this early stage of music within a developmental sphere, the notion of music education was bound up in an economically orientated policy which sought to create a disciplined but docile population that operated within the perceived hierarchies and distinctions found within music's inherent meanings (2002:118 – 120).

Slightly further along a historical trajectory, the Tonic Sol-Fa system⁶⁷, developed in England in the Victorian era, allowed music to be taught easily by relatively untrained teachers and without the use of staff notation, thereby making elite music accessible to the general population. Music

⁶⁷ The Tonic Sol-Fa system is a pedagogical methodology using a system of musical notation named solfege, where each pitch in the scale is given a name: do re mi fa so la ti do. The 'do' is a movable pitch which always represents the tonic.

was described as a palliative for “poverty, slavery, prostitution, alcoholism, and excess of all kinds” (McGuire 2009:3). Charles E McGuire has detailed how music was not only employed to educate and improve the masses in the British Isles, but was also taken by its missionary proponents all over the world, providing a means by which to spread Western religion and culture to the colonies, “further leading to the civilization of the world” (2009:xiv). Like Gramit, McGuire points to Western classical music as being ideal for teaching hierarchy and obedience: “a tool of control for evangelism and civilization” (2009:115).

What is clear from both McGuire and Gramit’s findings is that even as early as the 18th century, before any of the quantitative studies of positive effects of music education which shape modern thinking had been undertaken, Western classical music was understood not only as a representative of Western morals and civilisation but as an active agent in the shaping and disseminating of said morals and civilisation.

Contemporary music-as-development practices echo Enlightenment notions of music as an agent in the development of society. As George Yudice has outlined, government funding for music (and most cultural) projects and institutions often depends on arguments supporting the notion that cultural activity will reduce social conflict and lead to economic development, problems previously the province of economics and politics (Yudice 2003). As Yudice explains, “...it is argued – if not really believed – that (gender and race sensitive) investment in culture will strengthen the fibre of civil society, which in turn serves as the ideal host for political and economic development” (2003:2). Simply put, if culture is developed, civil society will follow.

The orchestra now provides a primary site of activity with high profile examples being El-Sistema in Venezuela and the West-East Divan Orchestra in Palestine and Israel. Tina K.

Ramnarine's 2012 article *The Orchestration of Civil Society: Community and Conscience in Symphony Orchestras* outlines three case studies of UK-based orchestras attempting to engage proactively in civil society. Margaret Kartomi has researched Youth Orchestras with socio-political agendas, particularly those working against the causes of international conflict through music (2007). Rachel Beckles Willson has written extensively on the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, an orchestral initiative promoting peace in Middle-Eastern conflict zones developed by Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim in conjunction with Palestinian professor, theorist and critic Edward Said (Beckles Willson 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2013).

Why does classical music, particularly the orchestra, play such a large role in social development projects? The inherent meanings (Green 2008) of Western classical music have been theorised by Barenboim and Said as metaphoric of an ideal society. Said uses the musical texture of contrapuntalism - individual musical lines of equal import working independently yet harmoniously - as a model for an ideal post-colonial global society (Said in Etherington 2007). Beckles Willson and Ben Etherington, though, have commented on the contradictions apparent in Said's theory of contrapuntalism being discussed in tandem with an orchestra that plays almost exclusively harmonic pieces (Beckles Willson 2009a, Etherington 2007). Barenboim offers an alternative theory; that symphonic recapitulation and harmonic resolution can be compared to, and can represent, conflict resolution in the Middle-East (Barenboim in Etherington 2007). Etherington, however, is unconvinced, writing, "there is nothing essentially musical about the way in which this critical function of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra operates" (2007:129).

Ramnarine has expanded out from an examination of musical meanings to examine how the internal structures of an orchestra have led to various ways of it being considered a viable agent for social change. She notes Anthony Cohen's notion of the orchestra being a model of diversity

within coherence (Cohen 1994 in Ramnarine 2012:331) and John Rawl's use of the orchestra to promote a vision of social union (Rawls 1996a in Ramnarine 2013:330). However, the orchestra, as Spitzer has shown, is an institution which can be imbued with many contradictory meanings (Spitzer 1996): it is problematic to hold up a musical institution as model of an ideal society when it can also be employed as a model of a factory or of an authoritarian dictatorship.

Scholars offer varying theoretical arguments for music's value as an agent for social development in what is becoming a widening field of research which aims to draw in policy makers and practitioners⁶⁸. Practitioners meanwhile continue to develop projects based on a foundational belief in the value of music, supported by government funding and quangos such as the Arts Council in the UK. Within the UK at least, the notion of music being a tool for development is deep-rooted within the political establishment; in 2016 the UK government announced a 300 million pound investment in music and arts education. School Standards Minister Nick Gibb was quoted as saying, "Music and arts can transform lives and introduce young people to a wide range of opportunities" (Gibb 2016 in Burns 2016). Rhetoric is focused on the extra-musical benefits of music education, rather than musical output.

However, music as social development is not necessarily a globally recognised or supported phenomena, particularly when Western classical music is the vehicle for musical activity. Gramit has shown that in Enlightenment-era Germany, "music's claim to deserve public support depended on [an] assertion of universal public utility" (2002:20). However, the 'universe' as understood in Gramit's historical work was confined to a particular geographical area where universalist arguments were focused, at that time, more on the notion that Western classical music was suitable

68 An annual research symposium on the Social Impact of Making Music (SIMM), held in London in 2017 and in Portugal in 2018, is one example of cross-disciplinary transnational research networks in action. The aim of SIMM is to "bring together researchers, practitioners interested in research, and policymakers concerned with social welfare, to build and strengthen a network of professionals wishing to deepen rigorous and evidence-based understanding of how active participatory music making may be used to bring measurable social benefits to groups of individuals in diverse situations" (Guildhall School of Music and Drama 2017).

across class boundaries than across national or ethnic boundaries. Projects such as the West-Eastern Divan, El Sistema, alongside the projects in India that I discuss here in this chapter, provoke wider ranging critical discourse surrounding universalist notions of civil society in a global arena, particularly within post-colonial sites. Some scholars suggest that projects such as these can be viewed as being dangerously intertwined with neo-imperialistic practices that provide a contemporary replacement to old-style European colonialism, and as supporting negative constructions regarding the sites of these projects (Beckles Willson 2011).

Other scholars have shone a critical light on Western classical music based projects in various international locales, pointing to tensions between Western notions of civil society and musical values, and local notions and values. Adriana Helbig, Nino Tsitsishvili and Erica Haskell have criticised as neo-imperialistic local engagements with globalising notions of society that have been introduced through Western-led music initiatives (festivals, events, cultural competitions and concerts) in the Ukraine, Georgia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. They highlight the roles that Western-based supranational political, economic, financial and cultural programmes play in the policy making of these sites, roles enabled and proliferated by the tendency of non EU countries to look towards the EU as a model of 'modernity, progress and democratic values' (Helbig et.al. 2008:48). Helbig et.al. find that Western donors shroud their events in a rhetoric of cultural inclusion but more realistically promote Western style democratic processes that do not correspond to the landscape of class formation and inter-ethnic relations in a post-socialist society. Essentially, Helbig et.al refute the idea that Western notions of civil society are appropriate globally. The choice of musics promoted at Western sponsored events are also critiqued: Western styles tend to be privileged over local ones. On the basis of these findings Helbig et al suggest that international donors appear as neocolonialist, promoting foreign cultural forms over existing musical traditions (Helbig et.al 2008:55).

The central argument of this chapter can thus be viewed as an extension of the work of Helbig et.al. and their suggestion that the ideologies, or rhetoric behind Western classical music development projects do not necessarily correspond to local ideologies or values.

5.2 Muktangan

Muktangan is large a multi-site municipal school located in the Lower Parel area of central Mumbai. It is supported by charitable trusts and run in partnership with the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai. The school was, in 2014, run by a married couple, Mumbai-born Sunil Mehta and English-born Liz Mehta, who had had a career as an educationalist before setting up Muktangan in 2003. Catering to the local under privileged community of mainly Hindu and Muslim families, Muktangan provided child - centred education, with a focus on holistic learning, creative activities, and small class sizes with a high teacher to student ratio. Uniquely, Muktangan recruited teachers from the local community it served, and placed a special emphasis on teacher-training, with new teachers undertaking an intensive one year pre-service course followed by a further year of job-centred training alongside English language tuition. As the school provided the local community with a high standard of English-medium education, it was highly over-subscribed.

I became aware of Muktangan in 2012 when I was volunteering as a music teacher in a school in nearby Navi Mumbai. After being introduced to Muktangan's directors by the British Council's Mumbai representative, myself and another British volunteer would do 'outreach' work at Muktangan once a week, leading singing workshops with the children. When I returned to Mumbai in 2014 to conduct fieldwork for this thesis, I continued to volunteer for the school on an ad-hoc basis, leading a few teacher training workshops and helping teachers with keyboard skills⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ As a researcher asking to observe and ultimately write about Muktangan, I was motivated to undertake voluntary

Sunil and Liz valued music education⁷⁰, employing two part-time specialist music teachers alongside two teachers from the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation (who ran outreach sessions there once a week), and training a number of newer recruits in music pedagogy. Liz explained her philosophy:

I think it puts a different perspective on learning. Musicality is a part of life. Also singing is a way of bringing people together. We talk about harmony, but there is discipline in music also, and enjoyment....Leading to a more balanced life. (L. Mehta 2014. Personal communication, 13 December).

Sunil and Liz also encouraged visiting foreign musicians to work with their students. As members of the NCPA, with large and well-maintained networks of influential contacts and supporters in both the arts and corporate worlds⁷¹, Sunil and Liz were often able to invite musicians who were visiting the NCPA, the BCO or the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation, to come and run workshops⁷². Almost all the music workshops they had received, as well as the regular teaching they offered, were Western classical music orientated. Liz explained that she considered Indian music as inappropriate for school education contexts:

we tried Indian music.... But the problem with Indian music [teachers] is they like a small number of children. They tend to be a little serious on the theoretical aspects. And

work by the idea of reciprocity (as discussed by Hellier-Tinoco 2003 (see introduction)), of 'paying back' the generosity shown to me by Sunil and Liz in allowing me access to the school and children, in a way that was requested by them. I also felt that in building relationships with teachers and students over a period of time, and by spending time in the school in a different capacity to that as a researcher (this speaks to notions of a fieldworker's intersectional identity discussed in the introduction) I would be able to garner a deeper understanding of it.

70 This was unusual: as I explain in chapter six, music was not generally valued as a legitimate curriculum subject in India's schools.

71 Sunil had spend his career as an industrialist, running a textile and manufacturing company. As a member of Mumbai's wealthy elite, Sunil was able to use his contacts and influence to garner support and donations for Muktangan.

72 An example Liz gave to me was a project involving a flautist, a clarinetist and a bassoonist alongside a visiting conductor of the SOI conducting a workshop based on *Finlandia* by Sibelius.

the kids just love singing. (ibid)



Illustration 10. Myself and a fellow volunteer leading a workshop at Mukhtangan school in 2012.

Alongside the perceived educational benefits of music outlined by Liz (above), Sunil and Liz were very aware that their children's choirs singing in public spaces could increase the visibility and reputation of the school. Sunil explained:

It's been an organic growth, there have been more and more opportunities. So at Christmas we were invited to go and sing carols in different hotels. So they can carry the message of Mukhtangan. And it gives them outing and things. [The choirs] makes us more visible. And occasionally we have gone and sung for corporates. (S. Mehta 2014. Personal communication, 13 December).

I accompanied a Muktangan choir to one of these public awareness raising performances, an annual appearance at the Festival of Festive Music, a Christmas music extravaganza held at the NCPA each year. The choir, accompanied by myself on piano, performed popular seasonal songs such as *Silver Bells* and *Rudolph the Red Nosed Reindeer* for the audience as they arrived. Our position in the main foyer ensured that every concert attendee was saw us.

Muktangan had been to the NCPA before; in 2010 a documentary for Channel 4 had been made about the school's choir, which was aired on British television. *The Sound of Mumbai* film followed a group of children from Muktangan as they rehearsed songs from *The Sound of Music* musical with a visiting conductor from Austria. The children performed the songs, dressed in Lederhosen and accompanied by the Bombay Chamber Orchestra, on stage at the Tata Theatre in the NCPA. The documentary was touching and sad, and provoked international interest in Muktangan.

Geoff Baker has highlighted the importance of public performances in creating interest in, and encouraging donations to, the El Sistema program in Venezuela (Baker 2014). Similarly, with Muktangan's choirs, Sunil and Liz were able to advertise their school and show off their young students in a way that their wealthy, often international, donors would appreciate and respond to. For Muktangan it was a successful strategy: multinational bank JP Morgan had recently agreed to raise money for Muktangan's dance, music and theatre programme (S. Mehta 2014. Personal communication, 13 December).

Was music learning and performance valued by Muktangan's own local community of teachers, learners and parents as much as it was by Sunil and Liz, and by the school's financial donors? I asked Liz about the trainee music teachers at the school. I myself had spent some time

with them when I led a few days of teacher training courses, and had found them to be enthusiastic yet unskilled musicians, with little prior musical knowledge or training. Liz told me that the teachers had initially been reluctant to become music specialists:

The eight women we selected as music teachers, initially, they wept, “We don’t want to be music teachers, we want to teach maths and science and things like that”. And now they are absolutely committed, they thoroughly enjoy it, but they didn’t know what it was. (L. Mehta 2014. Personal communication, 13 December)

Music, according to this statement, was not considered to be a high status subject within the local community, and teachers were initially unhappy with their allocation to the music department. This echoes values found within the wider community served by Muktakan: music teaching was not considered to be a well-respected job⁷³. The Hindu and Muslim low-income working class communities did not have any links to the status and wealth associated with Western high art music and the world it inhabited; they saw music as low status and as an unreliable way to earn a living. Sunil informed me that parents of the children at Muktakan, despite often being in very low-income positions - “hawkers, taxi drivers, beedie makers⁷⁴, clothes makers” (S. Mehta 2014. Personal communication, 13 December) - would not want their children to become music teachers or professional musicians.

Sunil: “In India [...] generally they believe that anybody involved in the arts, like dance or music or anything, is not of a very good moral character... maybe it's to do with the dancing girls, maybe it's from the culture in the olden days.”

73 In chapter six I argue that music schools such as the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation and Furtados School of Music were legitimising music teaching as a career in Mumbai. However, these schools operated within a middle-class, globally aspirational strata of society. The local community served by Muktakan would have not been aware of any means by which music teachers could earn a stable living as offered by MMMF and FSM.

74 Beedies are hand-rolled cigarettes.

Liz: “The community now, because of the kind of education that these kids have got, are banking on these kids being able to do well in life. And they see the first stage as graduation, becoming an engineer or a doctor or a chartered accountant or something. You know, they have got very limited perspectives on careers. And that is something we have to deal with. They are now focusing on the aspirations of their children”

Sunil: “Those who eke out a living becoming music teachers – its not a very well respected profession.” (S. Mehta and L. Mehta 2014. Personal communication, 13 December)

Sunil and Liz articulate here that values of music held by themselves as Mukhtangan's directors, and by the corporate donors, wealthy supporters and musical volunteers, did not correspond with the values held by the local community. Locally, as Sunil outlined, music was of low repute; parents had no interest in their children learning musical skills, their ambitions lay instead in sciences and mathematics. JP Morgan's donation to Mukhtangan's arts programs was therefore inappropriate to the locale; it did not meet the needs, or reflect the values, of the local community. Instead, the donation supported Liz's ideologies about the educational benefits of music, and supported the couple's mission to raise the visibility of Mukhtangan by appealing to donors in a language transnational businesses and wealthy individuals would understand: Western classical music.

But what about the children? Did they benefit from the music education and the performance experiences, and did they value music differently to their parents? I ran an informal focus group with the children in the Christmas choir described above, and asked the young singers how they felt about performing in the choir. The group of nine to eleven year olds replied, “proud”, “nervous”, “very nice”, “we enjoy” (Focus Group, Mukhtangan school, 4 December 2014). When asked what

the best things were about choir they said, “we get so many opportunities to go out”, “we will get popular”, “we learn new songs”, “we learn new instruments”, “we enjoy”, “we go outside for performance”, “some new volunteers come and teach us” (ibid). It seemed that the children appreciated the extra-musical experiences as much as the intra-musical ones. They enjoyed going on trips and being admired by their audiences. They told me that their parents liked to watch them sing in the choir, although their parents were not invited to the NCPA concert that I observed, so I was not able to confirm this. The children, though, did not really listen to music in their spare time, although some told me they liked “Bollywood songs”, “popular music” and “sad songs, sweet songs, beautiful songs” (ibid). Still, they clearly enjoyed singing, with one child telling me, “I feel very free and I'm singing from the heart”, another saying, “my mind becomes fresh, all the stress is gone” (ibid). Many told me they wanted to be singers when they grew up, although whether they understood the concept of being a professional musician is questionable, and one must assume that my presence and the context of the focus group (right after a rehearsal for a concert), may have influenced answers. For the children, I concluded, singing in Mukhtangan's choirs was an overwhelmingly positive experience.

However, *The Sound of Mumbai* documentary hinted that musicking was perhaps, for some of these children living in extreme poverty, a bittersweet experience. Towards the end of the film we see a little boy, Aashish, talk about his excitement at the prospect of singing at the NCPA. Some wealthy person might see him, he thinks, and help him in life, perhaps paying for his education. He might become friends with the children from the private school he meets at the venue. His family suggest they are relying on him to elevate them out of the poverty they have lived in so far. The concert becomes the focus of all his hopes and dreams for the future (The Sound of Mumbai 2010).

After the concert, Aashish tearfully wishes the Austrian conductor goodbye and returns to his

home, where he is filmed sleeping on the floor. The conductor tells the camera, “I am a little bit afraid because on Monday it will do this [snaps his fingers], and the dream is over. And if they realise it has been only a dream... what then?” (Steinwender 2010 in *The Sound of Mumbai* 2010) Aashish then explains to the camera that the rich people he saw listening to him sing, people he thought should give him money and educate him, just thanked him and left. He is sad and confused. BCO founder Jini Dinshaw is then shown saying “I know some people say you have to fight your destiny. But sometimes it is not possible to fight your destiny” (Dinshaw 2010 in *The Sound of Mumbai* 2010).

Aashish had fully accepted the values and ideologies of the Western musical volunteers who worked to get him onto the stage. The notion that music would change his life and lead to social and economic development was clearly communicated to him (although we do not see anyone actually telling him that in the film), and he, being a young child, did not know how to manage the expectations that were cultivated in him. His society and community, despite the celebratory rhetoric, did not reward his musicking. Thus, the ideology of music as an agent of social change embedded in *The Sound of Mumbai* resulted in bitter disappointment.

5.3 Songbound

The Sound of Mumbai project was, for many of the children involved, the end of their association with the NCPA. Joe Walters, one of the British film makers and a French horn player with a long history of performing as a session musician with the BCO and the SOI, explained the response of many of the children as he experienced it:

Throughout the process of the filming it was very clear that these kids were experiencing their biggest transformative experience through singing, it was very good for them, their confidence levels were shooting through the roof, they were more focused in class, the usual kind of benefits that we know about in music were clearly being demonstrated. But the problem, as you see in the film, with these kids, who were somehow beginning to believe that their lives would change forever, they were totally distraught when the next day, reality kicked in and they realised that no rich benefactor was going to do anything for them, and the whole thing just kind of stopped and that was the end of that. (Walters 2014. Personal communication, 10 February)

Walters articulated a belief in the value of the musical project, focusing in particular in the above quote on the extra-musical benefits experienced by the children: increased confidence and focus at school. Walters, with his background as an educator and performer in the UK, accepted the role of music within development projects unquestioningly. To Walters the value of music as an educational tool was demonstrable in *The Sound of Music* project, with the primary drawback being a lack of continuity rather than, as I suggest above, a disparity of musical values. He informed me of the positive impact his own musical education had had on his personal development, saying, “The thing I have noticed as a Western classical musician is that it is really easy to take for granted the positive impact that music has on me as an individual. Here there just isn’t that provision” (ibid). Motivated by a belief in the value of music and by a sincere desire to put his own skills and musical contacts to positive use in Mumbai, Joe founded a charitable organisation in 2012, which he named Songbound⁷⁵.

By 2014, Songbound was in the process of becoming legally established as a charity. It ran

⁷⁵ Songbound was not officially registered in India when I met Joe in 2014, and had been working in India using 'guerrilla tactics' (Walters personal communication 2014). They became an official charity in 2016.

weekly children's choirs in various locations around Mumbai, mostly working with at-risk children from very low-income backgrounds.⁷⁶ The emphasis was on continuity, with Walters, mindful of *The Sound of Mumbai* project, stressing the need to provide stability and security and to guarantee weekly sessions and regular performances. The choirs were led by local Indian musicians who were paid an hourly rate. Joe and his small team of British volunteers set the curriculum, organised concerts, fundraised, and supplied regular volunteers from the UK in the form of individuals (professional musicians, educators or amateurs) or ensembles (choirs or chamber groups), generally drawn from Joe's extensive network of contacts garnered through his performing career. The job of volunteers was to lead workshops and to train Songbound's Indian choir leaders, either directly through training sessions, or indirectly by demonstrating excellent pedagogical practice.

Although the children, according to my observations, enjoyed the sessions and concerts immensely, Walters had experienced some local resistance to his choirs, and expressed frustration that the recipients of Songbound did not share what he regarded as universally applicable notions of the benefits of music education, outlined in his testimony below:

None of the municipal schools want music, it takes away from the curriculum, they are so keen and so anxious about getting their kids achieving the necessary results, they just think they have to plug away doing that, and any extra-curricular stuff just gets in the way [...]. What we are trying to prove is that actually by making time for music it will improve the classroom work, so by taking time out it will improve. (Walters 2014. Personal communication, 10 February)

Walters' frustration stemmed from the fact that his own beliefs, rooted in his experiences of

⁷⁶ Songbound worked with municipal schools and local NGOs. I observed choir sessions in a creche on a construction site, in school classrooms, and in a day-care centre for children of sex workers in Mumbai's red light district.

music education in the UK, and in research conducted in the UK supporting music education, were not recognised in Mumbai. As Songbound was relatively young, Joe had been unable to collect any data to reify the idea that singing improved overall academic achievement in Mumbai, and was relying on research from the UK to support his assertions. As I will argue in chapter six, music was not considered an academically viable subject, nor was professional musicianship a high status future job option, especially, as Sunil had told me, within the communities Joe was working in (see above). Convincing schools to allow Songbound to operate was therefore problematic.

My research into Songbound did not unfortunately provide meaningful insight into the benefits to the children participating in the project, as I did not spend enough time with either the children or the schools to fully understand their experiences. However, I was able to spend significant time with some of the British volunteers, and it is they that I focus on here. In our interviews I sought to understand the volunteer's motivations, values, and ideas of musical agency, as well as their notions about, and attitudes towards the local children and music leaders that they were working with.

Musicians and music teachers wishing to use their skills in an altruistic manner to help those less fortunate is a phenomenon one must consider to be entwined with, or perhaps even at the root of, the very notion of music as an agent for social change. In recent years, scholars have striven to understand the motivations behind socially driven music projects. A 2007 edition of *Music Education Research* journal, entitled *Music Education, Equity and Social Justice*, was dedicated to exploring concepts and practices associated with social consciousness, community music and identity politics within American music educational praxes. In the introduction, Randall Everett Allsup problematises the role of the individual educator, highlighting ethical questions they may face:

In times like today, the music educator is likely to ask herself, to what extent does my work impact the school I teach in and the larger problems I see around me? What remedy, if any, might I offer? Where can I do good? (Everett Allsup 2007:167)

In focusing on the individual, Everett Allsup shifts attention away from government or quango funded initiatives, organisational bodies or quantitative data, and acknowledges the importance of individual's own values within music and development projects. The individual's recognition of social inequality, of their own relative position of privilege and of their ability to 'do good' is pinpointed as a key catalyst for the instigation of socially conscious musicking (Everett Allsup 2007). Certainly Waters and his small Songbound team were acting as individuals (within a small collective), meaning that their own individual ideas regarding music as an agent for social development, as well as where and how such ideas were developed, were of primary importance in my attempt to understand their actions.

One scholar who has spent extensive time conducting ethnographic research into music teachers working in conflict zones is Rachel Beckles Willson. She equates music teachers (generally from the USA) working in Palestine with missionaries⁷⁷, a lexicon hinting at her informant's sincere belief that 'the changes that music brought were good ones, and would improve local peoples understanding both of music and of their very existence' (Beckles Willson 2011:319). Beckles Willson found, however, evidence of what she describes as a 'discourse of elevation' (2013: 215), the notion that Western classical music might 'elevate' Arab culture (2013:320), established in the critical attitudes that Western teachers in the area held towards the Palestinian lifestyle and the conflict in the region. She writes, "These attitudes recall Orientalist constructions

⁷⁷ I interpret Beckles Willsons use of the term 'missionary' as suggestive of an underlying sympathy for her music teacher informants, perhaps an attempt to genuinely understand people who are sincerely trying to do good. It is in this spirit that I discuss my informants in Mumbai - as individuals attempting to use their musical skills in the ways that they know how, to try and offer help.

of a region as primitive, conflict driven, religiously fanatical and childish” (Beckles Willson 2013:319).

Would I find similar beliefs in the power of music in my Songbound informants, and would it be tempered with constructions or notions regarding the children and their locale?

The first Songbound session I observed occurred at a night-care centre run by Prerana, a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) working to end second generation prostitution and to protect mothers and children from the threat of human trafficking. Situated in the Kamathipura red-light district in South Mumbai, the night-care centre operated out of a large old stone building with high ceilings and bare tiled floors. I was observing a new British volunteer named Emily, who was a freelance cellist and a friend of Walters. Emily was only in India for a few weeks, and was, that evening, working alongside the choir's regular leader, Tamara. As a high-level performer, Emily had not done much education work in the UK, and was a little nervous about how to lead the workshop. She had not been to India before and admitted she did not know much about Indian society, but she was using her time with Songbound to see something of Mumbai.

The short walk through the busy street to the centre was somewhat tense; we were told to walk quickly and keep our gazes low as the area was notorious for prostitution and sexually aggressive men. I had never been to the red-light area before, and the change in atmosphere as we made our way down the street was palpable. However, once inside the brightly-lit building we were greeted by around fifteen smiling children who were assembled ready for their weekly singing session. Tamara led them in a warm up, going through breathing exercises, scales, and a rendition of *What shall we do with the drunken sailor*, before Emily took over. She worked with the children on, *Ah poor bird*, one of the songs from Songbound's suggested repertoire, which was all, that term,

all on the theme of migration. All the different Songbound choirs across the city learned the same songs, meaning that when they came together for their termly concerts they could perform en masse. *Ah poor bird* was sung in English, was in a minor key, and was intended to be performed as a round, although Emily did not quite manage to get the group to sing in parts during that session. Getting out her cello⁷⁸, Emily accompanied the children's voices, and then allowed them to have a go at playing the instrument, which they did, giggling self-consciously and egging each other on.

I was then asked to join in and lead a song, which I did, and we finished by playing a musical circle game called *Who stole my chicken and my hen?* The children did not understand much English, relying on Tamara for translations, but appeared to enjoy the hour-long session. They had recently performed at a Songbound concert at the Blue Frog, a popular live music venue not far from the centre, and enjoyed that also, although they had to wear masks to protect their identities as children of sex workers, in case they were recognised in any photographs or videos of the event and subsequently subject to prejudice. We were all in high spirits throughout the walk back to the taxi, despite it now being fully dark outside. Emily especially was buoyed by having delivered a successful session, and was feeling more confident about the week to come, during which she would take her cello around to various Songbound choirs.

I observed several Songbound sessions over the course of 2014, including a choir on a building site led by recent graduate Maria, and a session in a municipal school led by Pete, a professional jazz musician and highly sought after amateur from London. Maria was spending a month in Mumbai, whilst Pete was only there for week. Maria, Pete and Emily were all volunteering their time for free, although Songbound helped to pay for flights and accommodation. As well as teaching, all were interested in experiencing Mumbai as a tourist (although Pete's week long visit and packed schedule resulted in him being, as he put it, 'in a work frame of mind' (Pete

⁷⁸ The instrument was not Emily's own but was borrowed from Furtados music store for the duration of her stay.

2014. Personal communication, 4 September)).

All three Songbound volunteers I observed and interviewed expressed a belief in the ability of musicking to promote positive emotional states and wellbeing amongst participants. Emily told me:

Music helps you to forget yourself a bit, and it opens your imagination, and it allows you to respond to situations that might be a bit difficult in a way that isn't directly dealing with them but deals with them nonetheless, so you can process a lot of emotion through singing, and it is specifically singing, as well as playing. It has a calming effect, it has a unifying effect, even if it is a very sad song it can have a very therapeutic effect to sing it... you are feeling soothed by the music you are playing. (Emily 2014. Personal communication, 16 January)

Pete suggested that "Music reaches parts of the soul that is too deep for words" (Pete 2014. Personal communication, 4 September), and Maria told me, "The idea of singing songs, does it make a difference to their real lives? And I would have to say yes, because music is a positive thing, like I really do believe in music, that's why I did it" (Maria 2014. Personal communication, 28 September). Maria added that she felt that the children's often chaotic local environment was improved by the highly structured nature of the sessions, and by the stability offered by regular weekly sessions (ibid).

In many ways their answers were predictable; one can assume that they would not undertake the voluntary work if they were not confident in what I consider to be essentially a core belief. Still, I wondered if any of the teachers would question the relevance of the English language songs,

or the suitability of the choir format, to the children. It was here that the concept of universalism was particularly significant; would all the volunteers subscribe to the notion that their ideas as to the benefits of music would be equally applicable in Mumbai as in their own home environments? Would they see Indian children as 'other', in the way that Beckles Willson's informants viewed Palestinian children?

Pete displayed a high level of universalist belief, telling me he believed that music was “absolutely” universal (Pete 2014. Personal communication September). He also, in an almost binary opposition to the concept of 'othering', rooted his practice in notions of sameness:

Do I see these children as different? I'm walking into these rooms and I'm not looking at children from.. I don't look through a lens of seeing children from Mumbai, I walk into this room with exactly the same expectations and hopes and anticipations as walking into a room in south Africa or in London, in Portugal, or wherever I'm working. What I'm looking at are human beings with an innate musicality which is absolutely in everybody no matter where you go. (ibid)

Pete, who had worked all over the world as well as in very diverse settings within the UK, chose to view all those he taught through the lens of sameness, as unrooted individuals unconnected to, or perhaps untouched by, their locale, rather than acknowledging difference, outlined in the quote below.

I think it is quite nice to be reminded that you walk into the room and it feels like so much of the world wants to celebrate difference. What's really nice is to go and be reminded is the human element... that you can walk into a room and you are just

meeting children, just meeting musicians, and it cements and confirms that we are just humans beings and have music absolutely in common. (ibid)

However, by refuting difference and celebrating sameness, an outlook rooted in a genuine desire to work towards idealistic notions of equality, Pete was able to obviate a more critical approach to music teaching; he did not have to justify any of the musical choices he made in terms of repertoire, nor did he attempt to adjust any of his teaching methods.

Emily offered a more layered view, temporally rooting Songbound's children within their locale:

It's a presumption to think that all the kids we have been teaching here have lived bad experiences but it's a fact that they have seen and dealt with things that English kids won't have seen and dealt with. (Emily 2014. Personal communication, 16 January)

Emily made several comparative statements, suggesting that children in Mumbai were generally more enthusiastic than children in London due to music being a fun and novel experience for them, although she did not suggest any underlying 'otherness' in their experiences of musicking.

Maria offered the most critically nuanced view, indicating an awareness of the colonial history of the British in India and the role music played in that history. She problematised her own position as a British music educator teaching Western music in vulnerable communities within that context:

It has a lot of cultural baggage with it. And when you bring over Western music you

are interfering with the culture, but it has already been interfered with so much that I don't think you can have those worries in the same way as if India was untouched by British influence. We are in a global environment now, where they can access the internet, and yeah, we have been there for 200 years already, and now it's a different kind of relationship. [...] But yeah, you do worry about the whole post-colonial thing, you think, are we just going in, are we just going back and telling them what to do all over again, is it a form of musical bossiness? I don't know. But Joe said, if you do take it in that sort of view, you have to look at it as following through with that help. Where you created a problem it's like readdressing it. I don't know. There is a lot of politics involved. (Maria 2014. Personal communication, 28 September)

Maria, in acknowledging Mumbai as a post-colonial site with a complex history, did not subscribe to the same notions of sameness that Pete did. She therefore questioned her own role in the city, and was perhaps the most critical of the Songbound project. She took comfort in the assurance from Walters that she was offering help rather than hinderance, but seemed unconvinced as to the ethics involved.

Before moving on, I introduce an alternative theoretical lens through which to view the musicking of my volunteer informants. I turn to scholarship surrounding volunteer tourism, also know as voluntourism⁷⁹.

Volunteer tourists have been defined by Stephen Wearing as 'those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment' (Wearing 2001:1). Although voluntourism as a

79 The term voluntourism was coined in 1998 by the Nevada Board of Tourism (Smith 2013)

field of research is relatively new, studies have allowed scholars to point to some general characteristics of volunteer tourists⁸⁰. They are often from a developed country and tend to volunteer outside of their home environment, often in developing countries or poorer areas of developed countries. This indicates a disparity in financial, educational and political situations of voluntourists and their host communities (Elliott 2012). A study by K.A. Carter found that the most common voluntourist activities were teaching and construction (Carter 2008).

Voluntourism tends to be associated with altruism - giving back - especially as work undertaken is unpaid. Is often marketed with celebratory rhetoric, particularly to younger people undertaking gap-year activities. A plethora of companies offer younger people the chance to help those in need, often at considerable cost to the volunteer⁸¹. However, a quick look at some of the websites offering gap-year volunteering placements reveals that experiences are marketed as having as much positive impact on the volunteer as on the recipients of the projects; volunteers get to experience a new community, make friends, build skills (and their CVs), and feel good about their ethical travel choices. Carter found that of 22 volunteers surveyed, 19 said they chose to volunteer abroad because they 'desired a new experience', whilst only 11 said they wanted to 'help people' (Carter 2008 in Elliott 2012:28).

Volunteer tourists being motivated by motives other than altruism is not necessarily problematic in itself (Elliott 2012), however, Daniel Guttentag has pointed to various negative impacts that volunteer tourism may have on a locale, impacts which occur when volunteer facilitators place the desires of their volunteers above the needs and desires of their host communities (Guttentag 2009). Similarly, voluntourism which places inexperienced volunteers in positions they are unqualified for has garnered criticism from NGOs and media sources.

80 Carter 2008, Guttentag 2009, Homes et al 2010, Zahra and McIntosh 2007 for example.

81 Examples being GVI, Original Volunteers, The Mighty Roar, Frontier, Projects Abroad, IVHQ and Real Gap Experience.

Geographer Kate Simpson suggests that voluntourists “get a level of experience and decision-making which they would not get at home, but also doing things in other people’s hospitals and schools that they would never be allowed at home” (Simpson 2003 in Brown 2003).

Simpson, in the above quote, was discussing obviously problematic examples of voluntourism, giving an example of unskilled 18-year olds attempting heavy construction work without proper consultation with the local community. My Songbound volunteers were all older, were all essentially self-funded (although Songbound did pay for accommodation), and were all skilled musicians, with some experience of teaching (Pete was the most experienced, with a reputation as being one of the best music educators in the UK).

Still, it is worth bearing in mind when discussing my Songbound volunteers and the manner in which they approached their work in Mumbai, that they were all, to a greater or lesser extent, approaching the project with a degree of non-altruistic motivations. Maria was the most outspoken about the benefits to her own personal development:

I wanted to kill two birds with one stone. You get to see more of the country, from a westerners perspective you get to see a lot more if you are working with the local people and its just a lot more interesting then if you are purely if a tourist. I don’t think you get really inside the country if you are just sightseeing without working with the local people. And from my own musical development I though it would be good as well, because you get to experience another musical culture, working with children is something that I’m interested in. You know now I’m training to be a teacher, so I thought it would help my teaching development, and I want to work with choirs so I thought it would be good to get some experience in that. Yes, just ticking a lot of boxes

really. (Maria 2014. Personal communication, 28 September)

Maria indicated that she considered the positive impacts to herself and her career as vital to her agreeing to volunteer for Songbound. As Vittoria Elliott (2012) has pointed out, non-altruistic motives are not necessarily a bad thing (they perhaps could be considered a positive thing if they encourage the volunteer to work in a happy positive manner), but are worth considering as they add layers of nuance to the position of the volunteer in the field, and to the ways in which volunteers interact with their host communities and with the organisations which facilitate their work.

Emily and Maria, both relatively young inexperienced teachers eager to build their own skills, and both interested in experiencing Indian culture as tourists, could be categorized as voluntourists, although I would suggest that their level of pedagogical skill did qualify them to do the job (they would both be able to work in the UK in similar positions without further training). Pete, meanwhile, with only a week in Mumbai and a packed schedule of workshops and concerts, was the least interested in tourism, although he did admit that being in India “adds so much to my life, it adds so much to my experience, it adds so much to me as a musician, that’s why I do this voluntarily” (Pete 2014. Personal communication, 4 September).

In many ways, the Songbound volunteers made a multitude of positive impacts: the children, in my observation, were subject to excellent teaching practice which helped to improve their musical attainment and promote enthusiasm and pride in their achievements. However, the role of the British volunteers in modelling good practice and training the Indian choir leaders was more problematic, based as it was on assumptions that British musicians were higher skilled practitioners than locals, assumptions which precipitated the volunteers receiving more deferential treatment than the Indian musicians. These assumptions and actions were in contrast to most criticism surrounding

vountourism, which places the skill level of volunteers as generally lower than that of the locals. In some cases the assumption that the British volunteers were indeed very experienced and skilled would have been a fair one; one must acknowledge the high level of teacher-training available in the UK, and the number of supportive networks and resources that British teachers are able to take advantage of. However, one Indian choir leader had been leading choirs in Mumbai for over 20 years yet was not ever asked to train new recruits, a clear indicator that the Songbound leadership did not feel her expertise and experience were of value.

The visits of the volunteer music leaders often culminated in a celebratory concert, during which the British volunteers would generally take a leading role supported by the Indian choir leaders. Drawing on Guttentag's critique of voluntourism, one could suggest that Songbound was working to satisfy the needs and desires of the volunteers (typified by the cathartic peak experience of a concert), sometimes over and above the needs and desires of the hosts, who were doing all the groundwork, but with less ceremony. I draw on Pete's visit to highlight this issue.

Prior to Pete's visit, the Indian choir leaders, supported by Maria, had worked for a term on the musical syllabus set by Walters and his British team. The songs, which were mostly in English, were difficult to teach, but the local choir leaders had stuck to the plan and were doing their best to get their children ready for the upcoming concert. Pete's visit was highly anticipated; he was coming just a week before the concert and was going to add some finishing touches to the performances. Pete, however, brought a whole repertoire of new songs, which he taught from scratch. These new songs were performed at the concert, rendering all the rehearsal time prior to his visit wasted, much to the consternation of Maria:

I got offended by it, because it felt like Pete and Ali from the UK were coming the last

week before the concert and they're just going to fix everything and they are going to change everything that the Indians have been doing for the last month. And then none of the songs from the syllabus ended up in the concert because Pete brought all new ones with him. So everything that we had been doing, except that the songs that I had been doing with them, got scrapped. (Maria 2014. Personal communication, 28 September)

Maria viewed Pete's behaviours as an indication that Songbound valued the input of the British volunteers more than that of the Indian choir leaders. This disparity could then lead to a reification of notions of British musicians being superior, and a reinforcing of the hegemonic positions Songbound were trying so hard to avoid.

I questioned Alison (mentioned above in Maria's quote as Ali), one of Songbound's British coordinators, on the organisational model that the charity employed. She, like Joe, was very aware that Songbound was open to criticism, and she displayed a genuine desire to be of help rather than hinderance, telling me, "we are here to help, not to impose, or to say this is superior, or this is better" (Alison 2014. Personal communication 14 September). Alison stressed that she did not want Songbound's structures to encourage dichotomous notions of 'us and them', and she did not wish for local choir leaders to be undermined. Ultimately, Alison and Walters both believed that the benefits of bringing in British volunteers was worth any potential skirmishes, and continued to do so.

5.4 Child's Play India Foundation

This chapter has thus far presented insights into two projects which were ultimately focused on the extra-musical benefits of musicking. Muktangam and Songbound justified their projects by pointing to the positive impacts on children's educational and social lives: the discipline, the increased confidence, the exposure to parts of Mumbai's public life otherwise closed to children from their socio-economic backgrounds. Neither the Muktangam nor the Songbound teams had particular aspirations of creating a generation of professional musicians, indeed, as I have shown, music performance and teaching were not considered as aspirational career choices within the children's communities. Walters suggested that he would love for the children in his choirs to become choir leaders in future (Walters 2014. Personal communication, 10 February), but he was aware that career options in India for choral singers were negligible at best⁸².

The next section of this chapter explores The Child's Play India Foundation (Child's Play), an El-Sistema inspired social development project based in Panaji, Goa, which, whilst proclaiming the extra-musical benefits of learning an instrument, had ambitions to produce professional musicians. I suggest that the project's aspirations to produce professional orchestral musicians, based on the values of its founder, sits at odds with both local and national values and policies with regards to Western classical music and, specifically, to the orchestra as an institution.

I travelled to Panaji in December 2014 to meet Child's Play founder Luis Dias, and to observe some of the work he was undertaking. He took me to a school in Santa Cruz, a village on the outskirts of Panaji, to watch a viola lesson that he was teaching. Dias, a medical doctor by profession, was a keen and accomplished amateur violinist and had taken on some of Child's Play's

⁸² There are a small number of professional and semi professional choirs in India, many originating from the North Eastern states, the Shillong chamber choir being a high profile example. Sebanti Chatterjee's ongoing doctoral research looks into choirs in India. At the time of my fieldwork there were no professional choirs in Mumbai.

teaching work due to a difficulty in finding regular teachers.

Dias drove us to the school, which was situated on a dusty road surrounded by palm trees and paddy fields. The lesson took place in a large, airy room on the top floor of the building. Desks and chairs were laid out in rows facing a blackboard, otherwise the room was bare and functional; as a municipal establishment serving the local under-privileged community, the school had no funds for air-conditioning, electronic teaching aids, or any of the other signifiers of wealth I had experienced in fee-paying International schools in Mumbai.

Three girls entered the room and smiled shyly as they took their violas out of their cases. They were around twelve years old, had matching plaited pigtails, and were wearing grey and cream school uniforms. It was lunchtime and in the room next door a group of children were chatting and listening to Bollywood music played at top volume from a portable stereo. The noise drifted through to us as Dias tuned the girls' violas and instructed them to stand in a line facing him. They slowly worked through a scale of G major before moving on to practising simple repertoire: *Ode to Joy*. Dias played with them, occasionally stopping to correct intonation or bowing. After about 20 minutes, the girls put down their instruments and sat for the theory part of the lesson, which Dias conducted on the school blackboard, chalking up a rough stave on which to draw notes for the girls to identify. Then it was violas up again, to go through some more repertoire. The girls were practising for a concert and Dias was anxious they perform well. A previous concert at this school had not gone down well due to poor intonation, and Dias wanted the Principal of the school to take music more seriously: he had ambitions of having a full orchestral project going here.

The three girls seemed to enjoy their lesson; they behaved very well and focused for the full hour with no difficulty despite the sweltering midday heat and the noise from next door. They were

unfazed by the camera I pointed at them. Dias praised their efforts as they packed up, and they smiled at me again as I thanked them for allowing me to film. The Bollywood music which had been playing throughout continued as we walked down the stairs and out into the searing December sun.



Illustration 11. Dias teaching in a school in Santa Cruz, Panaji, Goa. December 2014.

Child's Play described itself as:

A registered music education Trust that seeks to instil positive values and provide social empowerment to India's disadvantaged children through the teaching of classical music to the highest possible standard. (Child's Play 2017).

When I visited in 2014, Child's Play had been operating for almost five years and had around

120 children receiving lessons in violin, viola, cello, recorder and flute, at four different locations in and around Panaji. I visited two of these locations, the school described above, and Hamara School, a education and day-care centre for some of Panjin's most at-risk children. Typically, these children were from very low income families, with parents working as labourers or rag pickers, and were living in either the 'slum' areas of the city, or on the streets. Their aspirational levels with regard to educational achievement or future employment were very low (Dias 2014. Personal communication, 10 December).

Dias did some of the teaching himself and employed a small number of local strings teachers and a woodwind teacher. Child's Play had originally employed a Suzuki violin teacher and had continued to work with the Suzuki methodology after that teacher left the organisation. Although their own teachers were not fully Suzuki trained⁸³, they had ongoing support from a British professional violinist and accredited Suzuki teacher, who regularly spent time in Goa, training Dias' teachers. Finding and maintaining teachers was a constant problem for Dias, as was sourcing regular funding. He had initially received funds from UK based charity named *Musequality*, but they themselves were experiencing funding issues and were about to fold. He received no funding from Indian government sources, and only a very small amount from local private donors, something he found very frustrating. He also struggled to convince the principals of local schools of the value of his project:

But we have neither the space nor the teachers, nor the political will, if you like, among the heads of the institutions that we work with, the heads of schools, we just do not have people who have got the bandwidth to see that this is something good and it is not actually taking away from their studies but adding some life lessons that mainstream

⁸³ In order to be an official Suzuki teacher one must undertake an extensive (and expensive) training course lasting several years.

education is not ever likely to give you. (Dias 2014. Personal communication, 10 December).

Dias had decided to found Child's Play in 2007 whilst living and working as a doctor in the UK. He described to me how he had contemplated that a workforce of professional musicians was waiting to be discovered amongst India's under-privileged communities:

I remember speaking to my wife on a cold winter morning early 2007, and the conversation drifted to India, and I remember saying, “we will never know what talent lurks among our underprivileged in India merely because they haven't been given a chance.” And I remember saying, “God knows how many orchestras India potentially has just waiting to be discovered among India's impoverished millions.” (Dias 2014. Personal communication, 10 December).

Dias here, in discussing the use of music, particularly Western classical music, as a tool for the social development of India's 'impoverished millions', did not espouse the rhetoric one would expect. Unlike Muktangan's Sunil and Liz Mehta, and Songbound's Walters he did not, initially at least, highlight the social, cognitive and emotional impacts that music might have. Instead Dias pointed to Western classical music, specifically orchestras, as a potential economic solution to India's poverty: as a provider of jobs.

Dias was inspired by El Sistema and its flagship ensemble the Simon Bolivar Youth Orchestra, which he had watched at the BBC Proms a few months after making the aforementioned remarks to his wife (ibid). He discovered that economically disadvantaged young people were, in Venezuela, earning incomes as professional orchestral musicians, as well as experiencing

advantages associated with being in a touring orchestra: international travel, social mobility and so on. He explained his determination to start a similar project in India:

This is a win-win situation, not only are we getting music of the highest order from these children, but we are also keeping them out of trouble, giving them something to have good self esteem about, so why has something like this not been tried in India. So I began to look up El Sistema. (ibid)

EL Sistema, founded in 1975 in Venezuela, is 'a social action music program' (Sistema Europe 2017). It claims to be 'fundamentally social in nature' (Sistema Global 2017), using 'music education as a vehicle for social change' (ibid) with founding principles including a team-based approach to collective, cooperative education characterized by trust, discipline, empathy, commitment, structure, and support for self-esteem (ibid). El Sistema and Sistema-inspired education projects have been the subject of some academic research. In 2016, 'researchers from Sistema Global, led by Institute of Education scholar Andrea Creech, published a literature review of research, evaluation, and critical debates surrounding El Sistema and transnational Sistema inspired programmes⁸⁴. The report focused almost entirely on the extra-musical benefits of Sistema projects, with subsections including 'social, emotional and cognitive well-being, health, personal development, self esteem' (Creech et al 2016:4). Only half a page of the 224 page document discussed musical standards in any way, and this section cited no literature or research into musical standards, instead it simply problematised the issue of 'the juxtaposition of aspirations for musical excellence with a deep commitment to social inclusion', and suggested a need for further research (Creech et al 2016:115). No mention at all was made of any desire on the part of the Sistema inspired projects to produce professional musicians.

84 This was the second edition, the first being published in 2014.

However, one of Geoff Baker's key criticisms of El Sistema in Venezuela is an apparent prioritising of musical excellence over social goals (Baker 2014), as evidenced by the high musical standards of Venezuela's ensembles, including the Simon Bolivar Youth Orchestra. Baker's informants suggest that, 'El Sistema started as, and has always been, a musical project, but social and political changes led to a shift in rhetoric' (2016:164). Drawing on his ethnographic research in Venezuela, Baker suggests that the social aspects of El Sistema were 'elusive' (2014:169).

El Sistema has garnered attention from music educators transnationally, many of whom are inspired by the proclaimed social impact of Western classical music within disadvantaged communities. Imitative programs have sprung up in various locales: an online directory of El Sistema inspired or affiliated programs reveals that in 2017 there were nearly 300 programmes across all continents except Antarctica (Sistema Global 2017). These projects are, according to available literature, highly lauded, well funded and successful in their social missions. However, as an organisation producing professional musicians (capable of earning economic capital from their music skills) El Sistema has drawn criticism, even condemnation (Baker 2014). This prompts questions. Is it possible to produce musical excellence whilst also maintaining an integrity of social development goals? Must a project sacrifice one for the other? How does Dias, in Goa, negotiate such issues?

In a recent short documentary film made about Child's Play, Dias tackled the issue head on:

There are two things that we are really after. It is social empowerment, and social equality and community spirit and everything, and it is important, and it is not negotiable. But what is also not negotiable is the pursuit of musical excellence. And I feel that the two are not mutually exclusive, you can get both results at the same time.

(Dias 2017 in Video Volunteers 2017)

Dias here, articulates a belief that musical excellence and social empowerment can work together. He was aware of the importance of producing high-level performances in attracting funders to Child's Play, telling me in our interview that concerts were “visual and aural evidence of the work that we are doing.” (Dias 2014 Personal communication, 10 December).

Later on in the documentary film mentioned above, Dias suggests that his students could benefit economically from Child's Play by earning a living as teachers, downgrading his expectations somewhat from his interview with me three years earlier, when he suggested they would find work as performers. Dias though, was experiencing challenges, as local values tempered his ambitions. He was aware of the low status of music as a form of employment in India, telling me:

It [music] is seen as a frivolity, it is seen as something like embroidery, as a pastime. And rightly so to some extent, because it's not a decent career option. If you see anybody, they have to sell themselves to hotels and to the occasional recording gig. (Dias 2014. Personal communication 10 December)

Still, Dias believed that providing young, underprivileged children with specific orchestral skills would benefit them. This belief was based on two tenets. Firstly, that India's underprivileged communities had musical talents that were being squandered due to the class and caste structures. Dias felt that teaching music could be his way to “fight the system” (ibid): he knew he would not be able to provide the type of education that would allow them to become engineers or doctors, but, as he said, “music, I think is a kind of softer thing to aim at, and it is something I am passionate about,

so why not try it?" (ibid). The second tenet was the belief that India was on the cusp of embracing Western classical music, and that an orchestral scene would soon develop. When it did, Dias suggested, Western classical musicking would create a multiplicity of new jobs and employment for India's population:

So think about if every major city in India had something of that level, or even higher, so we have the Symphony of Delhi, Symphony orchestra of Chennai, or whatever, we begin to have all of those, and then you begin to have the smaller ones, just as you have, you know, the Bournemouth Symphony, the Portsmouth Symphony, so we begin to have all of that. Not only are we enhancing the life of those places, but we are creating jobs. So now, this is what I am very passionate about. So just think about the peripheral market, or job market that you are creating. Not only are you creating teachers, so that's what I have been telling my kids, I have said to those kids, you keep up your instrument and I guarantee you I will sign you up as a teacher, no matter what your grades at school are, if you can play to a good level I will take you on as a teacher. I promise you this. So you begin to have jobs as teachers, then they begin to have jobs as players, not only in the SOI, but you know, having yourself played various gigs in Mumbai, you can earn a decent living, it might not be so predictable but you can. And that can become more and more predictable the more people begin to start giving a certain respectability for music. [...] And what about the peripheral market? We are talking about basically luthiers, piano tuners, we are talking about people who are going to sell the instruments all over the place. We are talking about acousticians who will be able to build concert halls and turn existing halls into favourable places for classical music, we are talking about people who can own, and rent out, double basses and harpsichords. Instruments that are not so regularly played, but, so many early music

ensembles would have come to India if there was a harpsichord on hire. They don't come, and it's not possible to bring one so easily. So it opens up a whole industry. And I don't see any negative. (Dias 2014. Personal communication, 10 December)

The notion articulated in the above quote that India would soon develop its own orchestral scene was, in part, rooted in an understanding of the orchestra as transnationally recognised cultural capital⁸⁵:

Look at Singapore, look at Sydney. One of the things that makes Sydney stand out is its opera house. Singapore is taken a little more seriously because now it has got the Singapore Symphony. You know, you can go to that city and hear an orchestral concert, or a symphony concert. Until the SOI came along Bombay didn't have that. Bombay is going to be taken a lot more seriously. (ibid)

Dias was undaunted by the relatively low audience numbers Western classical concerts in India attracted:

And I don't believe the audience is not out there. I feel it is always a chicken and egg thing you know, the audience is not there because they don't realize what they are not having. Once they realise that, they will come. (ibid)

Dias replied to any accusations of Western music cultures encroaching on, or surpassing, Indian music cultures as follows:

'Bullshit, never will that happen, not in a million years. Whether it be Indian classical,

⁸⁵ I discuss the orchestra within spheres of nation building and soft power in chapter four.

or Indian pop, or Bollywood or whatever, that other music that's out there is so vibrant and so strong, Western classical music can only gain from it. I am already seeing that happen, you are seeing the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra giving Bollywood classics concerts. So you are going to have that happen. The RPO does ABBA nights. You are going to have more and more British orchestras playing for the British Asian community. That's going to happen here.' (ibid).

Ultimately, for Dias, Child's Play was much more than a local social development project. Although he truly believed in the power of music to affect positive change in an individual's social, emotional and cognitive life, he saw Child's Play's fundamental role as being at the forefront of the development of an entirely new cultural phenomenon: Symphony orchestras in India, a musical world not as yet in existence. He believed that orchestral music would help to "build a new India" (ibid).

Again, though, Dias was experiencing challenges posed by prevailing values and ideologies held within his locale, this time within India's political class of policy makers, who, as I outlined in chapter four, did not subscribe to narratives placing Western classical music within discourses of national development, and had not provided funding or support to Western classical music. With the SOI as India's only professional symphony orchestra (and, as I have argued, with musicians within that orchestra occupying relatively low social standing), Dias' aspirational ambitions for an India with a thriving Western classical music scene integrated into local music cultures and complete with a plethora of employment opportunities, was bound up in his own values and ideologies, not with those of his locale.

Dias was instead working in a locale where Western classical music occupied a marginalised

space within society, as I have argued throughout this thesis. In this way, Child's Play demonstrated the largest discrepancy of all three projects discussed in this chapter between the values and ideologies implicit in the musical project, and those of the local (or national) community it was attempting to serve.

Should one, then, pose questions as to the ethical groundings of Child's Play? Is it helpful to spend time working on skills that young people may find themselves unable to use, to build a workforce when there are no jobs, to gamble on a future that does not yet exist? Are the vulnerable young people involved in Child's Play going to garner any real economic gains from their involvement in the program?

For Dias, Child's Play was a way of attempting to develop the social, socio-economic *and* musical life of India. His thorough research into the benefits of music education suggested that the children would gain socially and educationally from learning to play a Western classical instrument, even if they did not become professional music teachers or performers: Dias described how many of his students had experienced increased confidence and had been inspired to study harder at school as a result of their learning an instrument (Dias 2014). I finish with a quote from Dias which, I feel, encapsulates his ideologies: "This is my patriotism. I want to build the next generation." (Dias 2014. Personal communication, 10 December)

Conclusion

This chapter has problematised Western classical music within praxes of social development. I have argued that the values and ideologies embedded in the social projects

discussed here do not necessarily correspond with the values and ideologies of the locale, thereby compromising their effectiveness.

This chapter has, I realise, painted a rather negative picture of musical social development projects in Mumbai and Goa. In my concluding thoughts I wish to highlight the positivity of all the projects discussed here. I emphasise the sincere and genuine intentions of my informants, all of whom were ultimately attempting to use their musical skills to improve the lives of others; as a former volunteer at Mukhtangan myself⁸⁶, I personally identified with many of the people I have written about in this chapter, and I shared and sympathised with many of their core moral and ethical positions. I also point to the clear pleasure in musical learning and performance that I observed in the child recipients of the projects, and note that all available research on music education suggests that they would benefit in a plurality of ways from being involved in these programmes. It is a flaw in this chapter that I was unable to garner evidence as to the extra-musical impacts the above-discussed musical projects had on individual recipients (other than the testimonies of informants quoted above), and without this data I cannot suggest that Mukhtangan, Songbound and Child's Play were not a force for positive change within their locales, indeed, they appeared often to create fun and happiness.

Whilst I have critiqued Mukhtangan, Songbound and Child's Play, I do not wish to criticise individuals, only to forefront and problematise the role of Western classical music in development in India.

86 Here I highlight the problematic and complex nature of writing critically about a field which one is also a part of, particularly when that field involves emotive subjects such as the ones described here. Whilst researching and writing this chapter, my position as an academic researcher sat somewhat uneasily with my other identities, as musician, teacher, activist, ex-volunteer and friend. I feel that these identities and relationships were perhaps compromised throughout and beyond the research process, as my academic critique took shape and my instinctive sympathy towards my informants in the field was tempered by critical analysis and framed by scholarly debates. However, I underline that that sympathy remains intact.

Chapter 6. Music education in Mumbai

In this thesis I have positioned Western classical music as existing within small pockets of Mumbai's society, noting how it has been historically associated with the city's Parsi and Catholic communities. However, in 2014 the place of Western classical musicking within Mumbai's society was dramatically evolving, as articulated by Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Furtados School of Music, Dharini Upadhyaya:

[Western classical music is] totally broadening out. I think it is changing, the dynamics are changing, the participation is a lot more. (Upadhyaya 2015. Personal communication 11 August)

This change was driven, according to Upadhyaya, by a new interest in music education from within Mumbai's aspirational middle classes:

Today you know I think Indian parents have become so ambitious and aspirational and everybody wants to offer the best, so you see more of other communities today participating and adapting to this whole new, you know, age of learning and music education. (ibid)

Based on Upadhyaya's testimony above, I suggest that music education should be considered as the most significant sphere of activity in Mumbai, with the potential to reshape and re-situate Western classical music in the city⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ Music education has been shown by a number of scholars to be integral to musicking within society. It has been discussed in relation to globalisation and localisation (Green 2011), to the cultivation of civil society (Gramit 2002), to social reproduction (Bourdieu 1979), as indicative of the attitudes and beliefs of a people or state (Ho 2003), as a reflector and generator of social and cultural meanings (Kruger 2009), and as playing a role in cross cultural co-operation (Drummond 2005).

This chapter explores Western classical music education in Mumbai. I focus on two spheres of praxis: music schools and music education within international schools. Firstly, I use ethnographic examples to show how the status and standing of music education and of music teaching in Mumbai was, through the activities of local music schools, undergoing processes of transformation and legitimisation. Secondly, I discuss music education curricula within Mumbai's international schools. I suggest that through education, Western classical music was becoming reified as a marker of global citizenship. Taking Lucy Green's argument that “music education participates in the construction and perpetuation of ideologies about musical values” (Green 2002: 208), I question the impact of Western classical music education on local ideologies about music values. I aim to show that music schools responded to shifts in local ideologies and values surrounding Western classical music education, and that through their responses they contributed to and reinforced these ideologies and values.

6.1 Music Schools: Lessons in legitimacy

During my ethnographic fieldwork in Mumbai it became clear to me that music teachers occupied a marginalised space in society. Many of my informants told me that music teaching was regarded as an economically insecure job, or informed me that music teachers were not taken seriously as professionals. Lorna, a self-employed violin teacher, explained how the parents of her students did not consider music teaching as a suitable future employment for their children:

Parents don't see music as something that would earn a livelihood or be substantial, or stable or anything like that, it's just that they want them to do it as a hobby. And I have one of the parents telling me, “oh when she grows up and gets married then at least

she'll have something to fall back on, if she doesn't go out to work then she can teach at home". (Lorna 2014. Personal communication, 12 October)

Lorna's testimony indicates that music teaching was, for some of her clients, framed by perceptions of music as a gendered amateur pursuit⁸⁸. Music teaching was regarded as a suitable pastime for housewives, not as a profession. Meanwhile, Leena, another Bandra-based music teacher, informed me that her students were new to Western classical music education, and as such she has to spend time attempting to communicate the value of her piano lessons:

They are all new to it, they don't know about music education at all. So it takes me ages to convince them, it's taken me this long to build up students and to get them to take it seriously and pay on time and practice. They are getting there, but loads of the parents have no idea about what is going on in my piano lessons. (Leena 2014. Personal communication, 20 August)

The attitudes of Lorna and Leena's students, and their parents, were a continuance of the local attitudes towards Western classical music which I have outlined throughout this thesis, and a further example of the dissonance between the values and ideologies of Western classical music practitioners in Mumbai and pervading values and ideologies within the locale.

David CH Wright, in his book *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural History* (2013), has shown how perceptions and receptions of music education and music teachers can evolve within a society. In Wright's case study, a programme of music

⁸⁸ One of the few self-employed male music teachers I met in Mumbai, a piano teacher named Kersi, explained that as music teaching was regarded as an economically insecure job, men, traditionally primary earners within families, did not generally go into teaching professionally. Kersi said, "Maybe the men don't want to take such a risk, they want a more comfortable or maybe a more secure job, because in India we don't have anything to fall back on if you fail in your career, you don't have the government supporting you. So maybe men don't want to take that sort of risk." (Kersi Gazdar 2015. Personal communication, 4 January)

examinations by the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) inculcated respectability and prestige within British Victorian-era music education cultures, thereby influencing societal attitudes towards music teaching as a profession (Wright 2013). Wright's historical research shows that prior to the educational standardisation brought about by examination cultures⁸⁹, music teaching in Victorian-era Britain was of low repute, with teaching practices being entirely unregulated and teachers untrained. Music teaching was not considered a respectable middle-class occupation (ibid). Wright argues that grades and diplomas became a means by which the public could ascertain independent assurance regarding the professional quality of individual teachers; success in examinations relied on pupils being properly taught which in turn emphasised the value of expert music teachers (2013:21). The ABRSM thus became 'the single most important factor transforming the status of music and the standing of music teachers' (2013: 33): it legitimised music teaching as a profession within Victorian-era society.

I argue that the status and standing of music teaching as a profession in Mumbai was, during my fieldwork, undergoing comparable processes of transformation and legitimisation, with music schools instead of examination cultures⁹⁰ playing a key role. In this chapter, I aim to show how music schools in Mumbai were providing educational facets indicative of a professionalisation of music teaching: regular secure employment, teacher-training programs and standardised educational structures (curricula and assessments). I use two music schools, the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation and Furtados School of Music, as ethnographic examples to highlight how these processes of professionalisation were contributing to a legitimisation of music teaching in the city. I show that this was driven by a recognition of music education as a growing and potentially

89 In the UK these cultures were dominated by the ABRSM which was founded in 1889, and by Trinity College of Music, which began offering examinations to external students in 1877.

90 This is not to say that examination cultures do not play a role in music education in Mumbai: almost all music schools and private teachers entered students for ABRSM or Trinity College of London grades. An annual 'high scorers' concert for successful examination candidates, held at the NCPA, provided a space in which teachers and music school publicly advertised their successes, compared the performances of their students, and built reputations as successful and reputable educators.

profitable sphere, as well as by a desire to imbibe music education with recognisable frameworks and structures reflective of mainstream schooling. I suggest that by reframing music as a formalised theoretical and practical subject, music schools in Mumbai were reshaping local ideologies about the value of music.

I begin by providing ethnographic accounts of the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation and Furtados School of Music.

6.1.1 The Mehli Mehta Music Foundation

On the ten minute walk from Grant Road train station to the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation one ran a gauntlet of noises, smells and some of the worst traffic in the city. After stepping out of the station, avoiding particularly bad potholes and the chaotic tangle of taxis picking up customers, one had to cross a busy traffic junction, dodging cars as they sped by, trying to avoid getting caught at the lights. At evening rush hour the cacophony of car horns tooting, and the crush of vehicles and people on the road could be almost overwhelming, with the heat, dust and semi-darkness adding to the stress of an already frantic atmosphere. Winding uphill towards Kemp's Corner (once a small intersection dotted with local shops but now a key traffic junction dominated by a huge concrete flyover), one passed a multitude of small local businesses, Iranian cafes and grocery shops, which sat on the ground floors of colonial-era medium height apartment blocks.

On the other side of Kemp's Corner, buildings became larger and grander: these were the mansion houses built by the British. The Mehli Mehta Music Foundation was located in a converted apartment on the first floor of one of these mansions. Once inside the atmosphere

changed completely: the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation was cool, airy, calm and quiet. The apartment had high ceilings, dark wooden panelling on the walls and ornate mosaic tiled floors. Two piano teaching rooms were set to the right, one small and one large enough for ensemble rehearsals. Down the corridor were two more large teaching rooms, each with a piano, as well as a kitchen, bathroom, and a bedroom for guest teachers. On the far side of the apartment was an office in which a small team of ladies, mostly volunteers, kept the Foundation running. The muffled sounds of piano or violin lessons could usually be heard from behind closed doors, although on Saturday mornings the building resonated with the sounds of children laughing and singing. I worked at the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation as a piano and music theory teacher for almost a year, and made the journey described above three times a week.

The Mehli Mehta Music Foundation (MMMF) is the oldest and arguably most prestigious Western classical music school in Mumbai. It originated in 1993 when pianist and Time and Talents Club⁹¹ co-ordinator Mehroo Jeejeebhoy organised a tour of India for the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Zubin Mehta, son of locally-famed violinist Mehli Mehta. On that occasion, Zubin Mehta informed Jeejeebhoy that he wanted to establish a musical foundation in Mumbai in honour of his father. Using funds left over from the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra concerts, Mehta, Jeejeebhoy and a committee of like-minded individuals established the MMMF (which I sometimes refer to here as the 'Foundation').

The MMMF did not begin as a music school; its first years were spent organising a music festival named Sangat⁹². Following this, the MMMF committee, recognising a local demand for music education, sourced an apartment which they converted into a teaching space. In 1996 the Foundation became a music school with eight to ten students. When I worked at the MMMF in

91 See chapter 2 for information about the Time and Talents Club.

92 See chapter 2 for information about Sangat festival.

2014, the school employed six piano teachers, three violin teachers and fourteen general music and singing teachers. It ran three choirs, an upper strings program, a 'discover music' program for young children, music theory classes, and an outreach program which delivered music lessons to local municipal schools. It was a not-for-profit organisation which relied on donations, which generally came from members of Jeejeebhoy's social and business networks. Sangat music festival was still running annually and the Foundation regularly invited visiting musicians to give performances and workshops. There was a waiting list for lessons of over six hundred names. Jeejeebhoy informed me that the growth of the school happened organically:

It gradually grew and grew without us really planning it, it just grew out of a need. And the need obviously was that people wanted this for their children. They wanted them to study, they wanted something outside of the school curriculum. (Jeejeebhoy 2014. Personal communication, 19 August).



Illustration 12. Mehroo Jeejeebhoy at The Mehli Mehta Music Foundation. December 2014

6.1.2 Furtados School of Music

Five children arrived into the large, bright classroom. Most were alone but one was accompanied by her ‘didi’, or nanny, a lady in a bright sari who carried the little girl’s book bag and smiled uncomfortably when I said hello. The children, all aged around seven, fanned out on the floor on the instruction of their teacher, a young man wearing jeans and a t-shirt. On the lemon yellow wall behind him, a large multicoloured mural of a tree, the Furtados School of Music logo, provided the backdrop to a row of white electric pianos, all of which were hooked up to large flatscreen computers. The room had pianos lining three of the four walls and was air-conditioned, clean and pleasant.

The teacher led the children in a Kodaly⁹³ warm up song, with actions. The song was taught and sung in English, and the children joined in readily. Next came a few minutes of solfeggio learning, with the teacher singing Do Re Mi, echoed by the children and accompanied by hand signals. Having completed the warm up, the teacher then instructed the children to go to the pianos. All seemed to know which was their regular instrument, and grabbed their bags en-route to their places. Sitting at the pianos, the children reached for the large black headphones that were hooked under the keyboards, and, headphones in place, grasped the computer mouse which sat under the large screen looming over them, ready to begin their lesson. The teacher helped them to get the digital lessons started, and then turned to me, explaining what was going on. For the next half hour, the room was quiet, the only sound being the teachers voice, either chatting to me or helping the children when they needed to move onto the next digital lesson.

Furtados School of Music (FSM) was started in 2011 by two women who continued to act as

⁹³ The Kodaly method is an approach to music education developed by Hungarian musician Zoltan Kodaly in the mid-twentieth century. FSM used elements of Kodaly's methodologies and teaching resources during the warm-up sections of lessons.

CEO's: Tanuja Gomes and Dharini Upadhyaya, both business entrepreneurs with no background in music performance or education. The name Furtados was already synonymous with Western music in Mumbai, being the name of India's oldest and most established music store⁹⁴, selling Western instruments, sheet music and electronic audio equipment. Gomes was married to the brother of the CEO of Furtados store, providing a family link between the two companies.

FSM, a for-profit business, opened in July 2011 with one premises in the affluent area of Nepeansea Road, located in South Mumbai. Children would come after school and at weekends to the small re-purposed ground floor flat to take lessons in piano, guitar or drums, either in groups of up to six, or with a one-to-one teacher. Once the Nepeansea road centre⁹⁵ had been established, FSM expanded to open centres in Bandra to the north west, and Chembur and Powai, both to the north-east.

FSM centres were all bright, clean and well maintained, with air conditioning as standard. One was obliged to leave one's shoes at the door in an effort to keep the dust of the streets out. Once inside, rows of identical white electric pianos, green electric guitars hanging from the walls and brightly coloured displays created an atmosphere of youthful energy. The difference to the grandeur of the MMMF was striking; FSM was aimed at the mass market, offering lower price points and group tuition facilitated by technology instead of one-to-one lessons.

6.1.3. Recognising a demand

FSM was opened following a recognition of a new demand for music education, as described by CEO Upadhyaya:

94 Established in 1865 and with retailers all over the country, the *Furtados* brand had been key in growing the FSM business.

95 FSM premises were all referred to as 'centres' by the FSM team.

Indian people now have travelled abroad, they have seen how things are done in the Western world. They want to look and behave like a global citizen and music is part of that skill set. Parents are very aspirational, they want an education system like overseas. (Upadhyaya 2014. Personal communication, 18 December)

Upadhyaya in the above quote, demonstrates an awareness of evolving values of music education: middle-class parents in Mumbai had an income, an exposure and a mindset synonymous with a higher valuation of Western classical music. She articulated local re-imaginings of musical knowledge as being a part of a skill-set required by aspirational global citizens, thereby reflecting neoliberal conceptualisations of education as an ongoing acquisition of skills (Urciuli 2010).



Illustration 13. Tanuja Gomes (left) and Dharini Upadhyaya at FSM's Bandra centre, August 2015.

Gomes expanded on Upadhyaya's statement:

...today, parents are slowly recognising it's not just academics, they want a holistic education. You know, in the last 20 years with the economy doing well, parents travelling more, we are more secure. Typically, 20 years back, parents would only focus on the normal academics, they would never spend money of any of the so-called extra curricular activities, so whether a child wants to learn football, cricket, music, it's all perceived as a hobby. So eventually you have to choose between whether the child should go and properly learn in school and these hobbies, they would always dismiss the hobbies. Today a parent is very open to giving exposure in all of this, though I must say Indian parents still tilt towards academics a lot, you know, we are like that. But more and more parents are getting aware, and they are really gratified when they see their children excelling in anything. You see a more educated lot tilting towards that. (Gomes 2014. Personal communication, 18 December)

Music education, therefore, was one of many hobbies and extra-curricular activities becoming legitimised as appropriate for middle class Mumbaikers. The language that Gomes used in the above quote, her suggestion that parents were 'getting aware', and that, 'you see a more educated lot tilting towards that', indicated a trajectory and an expectation that interest in music education would continue to grow.

I asked MMMF founder Jeejeebhoy her opinion as to the the growing interest in music education from Mumbai's middle-class parents. Her answer was tilted towards the perceived educational and musical benefits of learning an instrument:

I think they see the value of music, I think the kind of music that children are exposed to is only on television, or the rock and pop culture, and I think they see the value in something like Western music. And to play an instrument also is skill they like to see develop in their children. What they have to still learn is that it can't be just a hobby, that music is a discipline like any other academic subject, they have to put in hours of practice and work and children have to be supervised. So we are trying to change that. (Jeejeebhoy 2014. Personal communication 5 December)

6.1.4 Legitimation in theory and practice

As I have shown, the directors of MMMF and FSM recognised a shift in local values surrounding music education. This shift had led to an increased demand for Western music education, a demand which FSM and the MMMF were meeting. Both FSM and MMMF, however, were struggling to provide high quality music education; local teachers were considered by both schools to be lacking in pedagogical training and in musical expertise. FSM especially employed a large number of young teachers who were paid relatively low wages in order to keep up with the business' expansion. These teachers were often inexperienced pedagogues with few musical qualifications (ABRSM or Trinity College grades or Diplomas being primary signifiers of musical ability)⁹⁶.

FSM's Gomes explained why teaching standards were considered to be low in Mumbai, highlighting historical barriers to Western classical music education in the city:

⁹⁶ Laura Grime, a Scottish musician employed by FSM, described FSM teachers as, "either self taught or with limited music education" (Grime 2015. Personal communication, 6 January).

In the 60s, 70s and 80s import duty on Western classical instruments was really hiked, so if a piano cost 100 000 the cost of import would be 170 000 [rupees]. So if you can imagine, only real music lovers would go ahead and buy it, you know, the cost was that high. Things are better now, things have improved now. Now we have been able to import many brands, we have been able to therefore create that market. So Furtados have been pioneers in that. But we have lost out two decades of teachers who could have learned that. So if you look at it there is a huge gap. They are either very young teachers, like in our school, or the very established teachers who are all in their fifties and sixties. But you don't have the twenty-five to fifty lot. That's why, because it was not very easy to buy a piano to learn, or to get people to invest in one. So we lost out that bit. In the next 20-30 years, these teachers who are twenty-five will be there, and therefore there will be many more who also look up to that. (Gomes 2015. Personal communication, 8 August)

Gomes, in the above quote, points India's economic liberalisation in the early 1990s as key moment in the history of Western classical music education in Mumbai; previously unavailable instruments became affordable, leading to a boom in demand for imported Western instruments⁹⁷ and a resurgence of Western classical music teaching and learning cultures which had been largely dormant in the three preceding decades. These three decades of inactivity were, for Gomes, responsible for a missing generation of teachers.

Jeejeebhoy, however, suggested that local values regarding pedagogical qualifications were

⁹⁷ *Furtados* music store CEO Anthony Gomes explained the situation from his perspective as a piano salesman: "Until 1994 we weren't allowed to import instruments, from 1950s to 1994 there were restrictions on imports, due to India's fragile currency situation etcetera. So for all those years the hiring business thrived. We had this huge population of vestiges of the Raj that were being restored and re-restored, and basically flogging dead horses, and we had all these old pianos in circulation, some in excellent condition, some in very poor condition. At it's peak my dad had over 150 pianos on rent in only the city of Mumbai. So once we started getting new instruments we started to offer, we now have only about 20 to 25 old instruments still out." (Gomes 2014. Personal communication, 14 November). The market for pianos in India, Gomes informed me, was growing exponentially, in contrast to global trends.

primarily responsible for poor teaching standards:

There is a limited number of teachers without any particular qualification. So when a parent wants to have their children learn music they are not looking at whether the teacher is qualified or not, she may have just learned grade three and she is teaching. There are no standards. If people were more discerning and said we only want good teachers for our children then suddenly there would be a scramble in the teaching community to get some kind of accreditation, or diploma, or something from some kind of institution, so this is a big problem we are facing. Teaching is the biggest challenge. (Jeejeebhoy 2014. Personal communication, 5 December)

Here we find echoes of Wright's Victorian-era teaching cultures in Britain (Wright, 2013), whereby a lack of standardisation, exemplified by diplomas and grade examinations, led to perceptions of music teachers as unqualified and unprofessional. Jeejeebhoy, in the above quote, articulated a desire for teacher-training as a means by which local teachers might develop pedagogical skills and professionalise their practice. However, within India there were, at the time of our interview, no means by which a teacher might acquire training in Western classical music pedagogy, with the exception of a post-graduate certificate named *The Teaching Musician*, which was offered in Mumbai, Chennai and Delhi as an annual intensive week-long course by Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance⁹⁸.

Both the MMMF and FSM were attempting to raise teaching standards, in efforts to maintain their own positive reputations as pedagogical institutes in the city, as well as to inculcate ideologies

⁹⁸ In 2009 – 2010 a teacher-training program named 'Sur Sangam – Sharing Western Music' was initiated by the University of Music Wurzburg in Germany. This program comprised of series of practical courses in Western music pedagogy, which were held in various locations throughout India. Sur Sangam was discontinued after one year (Clausen and Chatterjee 2012).

of music as a discipline with frameworks and structures reflective of other educational spheres. They had done this through an introduction of music curricula.

At FSM piano teaching was conducted via technology, as described in my ethnographic description above. Throughout their lesson, children would sit at keyboards linked to computers and follow a digitised learning programme, with real-life teachers in the room providing minimal supervision. The software FSM used was called *Child's Music Journey (CMJ)* and was developed by Canadian company named Adventus. Aimed at children from the ages of three to eight, *CMJ* provided interactive 'lessons' given by animated cartoon composers (for example a cartoon Beethoven would teach a lesson), alongside practice sessions led by an animated cartoon character named 'Miss Melody'. In *CMJ*, children learned a repertoire of easy well-known pieces and had the option of playing some musical games. Teachers could plug headphones into extra sockets in the electric pianos and listen to what a student was doing, however, the programme essentially enabled independent learning.



Illustration 14. A student at FSM's Bandra centre. February 2014.

Children over the age of eight learned from a series of music books called *Piano Suite 1* and *Piano Suite 2*. These books, developed for FSM by their first Director of music, an English pianist and educator named Ryan Lewis, contained basic versions of melodies such as *Ode to Joy*. Drum-kit and guitar lessons were taught via a curriculum designed for FSM by a Scottish guitarist and educator named Rowan Parker.

Music theory was taught via a computer software programme called *Quaver's Marvellous World of Music* (referred to as '*Quaver*'), which was developed in the USA. *Quaver* provided a full music curriculum for classroom teaching from Kindergarten to Grade 5 (according to the American school system), complete with lesson plans, activities, songs with backing tracks, games and assessments. *Quaver* was designed to facilitate group learning: teachers would gather students in front of a computer screen and would lead them in various interactive musical activities.

Quaver and *CMJ* offered ready-made curricula, complete with a clear learning trajectory and assessment criteria, whilst compensating for any lack of experience or expertise on the part of the teacher. FSM therefore was able to offer a standardised music education programme which included many recognisable markers of mainstream education (structured lessons, assessments, homework), thereby encouraging a re-imagining of music as legitimate academic discipline and contributing to an increase in the status and standing of music education in the city.

The MMMF, meanwhile, was a smaller school focused on raising standards of one-to-one teaching. To this end, they had commissioned a piano pedagogue and graduate of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland named Silviyah Mihaylova to create a bespoke piano syllabus. Mihaylova, a Bulgarian national who had established relationships with the Foundation through her teacher Fali Pavri (a pianist from Mumbai), spoke to me about the process of creating a piano

curriculum:

What was completely missing from Mehli Mehta was the structure. So I started a syllabus from scratch, I created a program. There was no program for the piano before, so the children would come here for an extra curricular activity but as private pupils, in a place. So I said, you have so many students, such a huge waiting list, so for me it is time for you to start a structure. So we did that, we started last year, and now a year later we are putting the structure in place. (Mihaylova 2014. Personal communication, 22 April)

Here, Mihaylova articulates a belief that in order to differentiate between a 'music school' and a 'place in which music lessons happen', in order to legitimise a school as a pedagogical institute, a structure or syllabus which unifies teachers and standardises knowledge is required.

The MMMF piano syllabus included a list of proposed repertoire, technical exercises (such as scales and sight-reading) and music theory lesson plans. Mihaylova had also designed a practice diary which students could take home, and insisted on regular performance opportunities at the Foundation. Parents were expected to enforce practice routines and to attend concerts. Teachers were regularly observed and instructed by Mihaylova, thereby developing their own professional practises.

Whilst the curricula and syllabi set by the MMMF and by FSM were, as I argue, a means by which the schools contributed to a transformation of the status and standing of music education within the city of Mumbai, there is some debate amongst music educationalists as to the value of structured and prescribed teaching guides.

Small has characterised musical knowledge as taught in conservatoires in the UK as a 'product', suggesting that 'standards of production must be maintained, without much care as to the nature of the process by which it is obtained' (Small 1996:167). He criticises the notion of a syllabus as encouraging rigidity and substantiating myths surrounding the existence of some kind of absolute standard of merit (ibid). Western music education, Small argues, thus takes on the nature of Western society, in which the concept of 'product' is dominant, to the detriment of musical experience (ibid).

There is a danger that curricula and syllabi can lead to a restriction of both what is taught and what counts as musical knowledge. Nettl has commented that notions of musical 'purity' are perpetuated in American schools of music where Western classical repertoire governs value systems (Nettl 1995), whilst Simone Kruger has suggested that some avenues of musical exploration are 'excluded or silenced' in institutional settings (Kruger 2009). Within music schools in Mumbai, restrictions on avenues of musical exploration were evident: FSM teachers were bound entirely by software, whilst the MMMF did not allow any music outside the Western classical tradition to be taught, despite employing two highly skilled Hindustani classical singers⁹⁹. Whilst restrictions on musical knowledge taught at the MMMF and FSM could be framed as specialism, it is worth remembering that Mumbai was the home to a multiplicity of musics, including Indian classical, Bollywood, popular and jazz. The schools' reluctance to engage with local or national musical genres, or to allow teachers to impart knowledge of Indian classical styles, had been criticised within the local community as perpetuating negative stereotypes of Western classical music being elitist and insular (anon 2014. Personal communication).

However, for music schools to encourage or allow individualism in teaching they must first

⁹⁹ These singers were not allowed to teach Hindustani music at the foundation; they were employed to teach an early music curriculum designed for the MMMF by a Scottish educationalist.

trust teachers to deliver high standards and maintain the reputation of the school: this has been reported as problematic within institutions. Monika Nerland has argued that despite ideologies of individualism in academies of music in Norway, teachers 'assume pre-existing positions that are provided by and ordered to individuals within the system of professional music education [...] the rules of behaviour are shaped and sanctioned by the institutional culture in which the activity takes place' (Nerland 2007:400). Teachers at the MMMF and FSM were as yet not considered to have developed sufficient pedagogical skills or standards meriting an allowance of individualism within teaching styles: unqualified teachers were expected to work within prescribed boundaries.

These boundaries, however, were relaxed for international (non-Indian) teachers. Alongside a programme of music curricula, both the MMMF and FSM enhanced their status and prestige by employing foreign teachers (including myself), who were perceived by both the schools and by the wider community to be better qualified, more experienced, musicians and pedagogues, as Kamal Taraporevalla, administrator for the MMMF explained:

We look for teachers from abroad because we feel that the teachers who are coming out of a conservatory have had a solid training in music, have had formal teaching, whereas most of our teachers in India have only done grade exams. They haven't had a conservatory education. So therefore in terms of pedagogy, teachers who have gone through a conservatory education have certain things that they can take the children forward in ways that some of our teachers lack. So to develop the excellence that we feel that the children need after the initial years, we feel that having teachers who are conservatory trained benefits our teachers as well as our students. (Taraporevalla 2014. Personal communication, 5 December)

However, the employment of foreign music teachers at the MMMF, combined with the imposition of strict teaching curricula, compromised the status and standing of local music teachers, who were assumed to be less able than their foreign counterparts. I was made aware of this during my time teaching at the MMMF; the higher-level students were allocated to a visiting Russian piano teacher despite one of the permanent Indian teachers having previously been the Principal of the Calcutta School of Music. I myself was offered employment at both the MMMF and FSM without any form of interview or audition, and I was exempt from teacher-training sessions led by Mihaylova at the MMMF.

The status and standing of music teachers at FSM was similarly compromised; FSM's use of technology was often criticised within the music education community in Mumbai as inauthentic and as promoting a continuance of poor teaching standards, with teachers relying on technology rather than developing their own pedagogical practices. In this way, FSM could be viewed as not contributing to a development of the status and standing of music teachers in the city. Rather, through a policy of educating via technology, it could be argued that they were reifying perceptions of local music teachers as unprofessional, untrained and lacking in pedagogical skill. For Gomes and Upadhyaya, though, technology was the most reliable and efficient means of maintaining standardisation across their various centres. As a for-profit business, FSM were motivated to increase student numbers as much as possible; a lack of proficient teachers (as highlighted above by Gomes) necessitated that the gap in human resources be plugged by technology.

Whilst MMMF and FSM were contributing to music education becoming more valued as an educational sphere, it was less clear, as I have outlined, whether they were contributing to developing the status of music teachers. However, in providing regular secure employment, music schools were challenging and reshaping local narratives placing music education within amateur or

unprofessional gendered spheres, as indicated by Lorna at the beginning of this section. Music teaching in music schools was a legitimate form of employment, as outlined by Mihaylova:

At the moment there are a few schools in Mumbai, you have the Mehli Mehta, you have Furtados, you have NCPA. And I cannot speak about what is happening inside of any of them, but they are real schools, and they hire people, they are like institutions. In the past, I mean Mehli Mehta was created in 1996, so it was the first. So before that there was uncles and aunties teaching piano. So somebody taught piano, and their daughter learned a little bit up to grade five so she taught piano as well. There were people who had huge impact on the culture and they just kept it alive. But after that you know, there is no institutions, you don't have to show your teacher, you don't have to....no inaugurations. So there is no reputation in that work, and there is no security at all. (Mihaylova 2014. Personal communication, 22 April)

Mihaylova's statement underlines the importance of the institutionalisation of music education to the reputation of music teachers. The MMMF, along with FSM and other music schools in Mumbai, were providing vital institutional frameworks in which teachers could reify music education as a professional undertaking. Music schools were imbuing music teaching with markers of professionalisation, providing a workplace and economic security. Whilst the music schools' uses of technology and curricula were complicating the development of teachers' reputations, music schools were, I argue, ultimately developing the status and standing of music teachers in Mumbai.

The legitimisation of music education cultures in Mumbai was evidenced by the number of middle-class Hindu and Muslim students enrolled at FSM and at the MMMF. Both schools had found that the Parsi and Catholic communities traditionally involved in Western classical music

were very much in the minority. Notions of Western classical music as an academic discipline were driving a new market, as globally-minded aspirational parents and students valued music as an additional skill to add to college admission forms.¹⁰⁰ Music education had moved into the mainstream.

6.2 Educating global citizens: Western classical music education and school curricula

At the beginning of 2014, FSM delivered Western classical music lessons to around 2,500 children, most of whom attended after-school instrumental lessons at one of FSM's four centres. By the beginning of 2015, around 4,500 children were receiving lessons from FSM¹⁰¹, a huge growth which was the result of their expansion into Mumbai's International schools¹⁰².

In this section I explore Western classical music education in schools in Mumbai. I situate it within discourses surrounding global citizenship and national identity occurring within Mumbai's international schools. I aim to show that, through educational praxes, Western classical music knowledge was becoming validated as a marker of global citizenship. Taking Lucy Green's suggestion that “music education participates in the construction and perpetuation of ideologies about musical values” (Green 2002: 208), I question the impact of Western classical music education on local ideologies about music values, and on musical praxes within Mumbai. I suggest that Mumbai's new Western classical music educational spheres can be interpreted in a plurality of ways: from being an indicator of the ongoing hegemony of colonialist cultures through to being an example of the preparation of Mumbai's young citizens for their futures in a culturally plural world.

100Music grades can be converted to UCAS points in the British university system.

101At the time of writing FSM were delivering music lessons to over 25,000 students in Mumbai, Pune, Bangalore and Delhi (Furtados School of Music 2018).

102International schools generally follow an international curriculum (such as the International Baccalaureate), and tend to emphasise international education and global citizenship (Nagreth 2011)

6.2.1 Western classical music in schools: Global citizens, Indian nationals

FSM's CEOs Gomes and Upadhyaya, following on from their recognition of a demand from within Mumbai's new aspirational middle classes for extra-curricular music lessons, had identified Mumbai's international schools as a new and potentially lucrative market. Schools in Mumbai (both fee-paying international schools and local municipal schools) generally did not provide music education in any capacity other than singing sessions, and were focused towards more traditionally academic subjects such as mathematics and sciences¹⁰³. Upadhyaya and Gomes were aware of a demand within schools for more holistic educational praxes, reflective of education cultures in other transnational locales (Upadhyaya and Gomes 2014. Personal communication, 18 December). Having imbued music education with recognisable organisational frameworks and structures reflective of mainstream schooling, as I outlined earlier in this chapter, Gomes and Upadhyaya approached a number of international schools and proposed a programme of classroom music education, rebranded for the school market as 'International' curricula, delivered using the same pedagogical methodologies employed at their centres¹⁰⁴. In 2014 several schools had signed up, and the market was growing. Gomes outlined the type of schools FSM worked with:

In Bombay all the number one schools have signed up with us. So it could be Cathedral, it could be Bombay Scottish, it could be Jambhai, these are all top three schools in Bombay and all three have signed up with us. A lot of IB schools, that is International Baccalaureate schools, have signed up with us. So far it is this profile.

¹⁰³Recent research published by Indian musicologist Vishal Kumar concluded: 'Music education is not available for each and every school going student in India. Status of music education is not well-defined at schools of different states and students are missing an important part of their schooling. Education system in India does not provide an avenue for students to choose music as their career and the contents of music curriculum/ syllabus are not covering advances in technical areas of music.' (Kumar 2015:12)

¹⁰⁴Schools could purchase one of two curriculum music packages from FSM, an '*International Performers Curriculum*' (IPC) or an '*International Music Curriculum*' (IMC). The IPC was focused on instrumental tuition (piano, drum kit or guitar) and was taught via Canadian software package *Child's Music Journey* or via books developed for FSM by UK-based music educators, described earlier in this chapter. The IMC was focused on music theory, and was taught through *Quaver* software. School lessons followed a similar format to lessons at the FSM centres (described earlier in this chapter), albeit with larger groups of children.

(Gomes 2015. Personal communication, 11 August).

Western classical music was thus evolving from an extra-curricular hobby into a legitimate academic discipline embedded in Mumbai's elite education systems, and, through that, was taking on and negotiating a multiplicity of new roles and meanings in Mumbai's society.

Sanjay Seth has written a historical account of how Western epistemologies were implemented in Indian education systems during the colonial-era, noting that educated Indians experienced difficulties in reconciling what he characterises as, 'two incommensurable worlds; that of Western education and knowledge, and that of traditional beliefs and institutions' (Seth 2007: 10). Seth argues that in post-colonial India, education continues to be a sphere in which Western - now reimagined as global - epistemologies are negotiated alongside Indian values and traditions. He suggests that in shaping India as 'modern but different' (2007:176), education becomes a site in which tensions are created, as post-colonial desires to 'acquire the characteristics that make the colonial power strong' (ibid) meet desires to maintain a national Indian identity.

An examination of the websites of many of the schools that FSM provided music lessons to revealed a common trope reflective of Seth's findings: global citizenship tempered with local Indian values. Cathedral and John Connon school for example, proclaimed that its students became 'global citizens with a local vision' (Cathedral and John Connon School 2016). The website of the Jamnabai Narsee International School, located in the northern suburbs, reads: 'The aim of the school is to develop well rounded individuals, who are eco-conscious and will grow up to be global citizens with humanitarian values' (Jamnabhai Narsee School 2017a), whilst also maintaining that the school sought to inculcate 'Knowledge and appreciation of India's cultural heritage with a special emphasis on the culture of the community in and around the school' (Jamnabai Narsee

School 2017b). J.V. Parekh International school in the northern suburbs suggested that its vision was to produce 'global winners' (SVKM J.V. Parekh International School 2017a). That school's website included a section informing parents of the benefits of an international curriculum, which was immediately followed by a section entitled, 'Will this curriculum move my child away from our basic Indian value system?' (SVKM J.V. Parekh International School 2017b). This question was answered by assuring parents of the various ways in which the school helped children to 'maintain a balance between their global knowledge and cultural values' (ibid). It appeared that India's young people had to maintain a multiplicity of educational competencies in order to be viable as both global citizens and as nationally rooted Indians.

I visited Cathedral and John Connon School, a large grand old school situated in a tangle of narrow lanes close to South Mumbai's flora foundation landmark. As a highly regarded private school offering the Indian Certificate of Secondary Education, the Indian School Certificate and the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, Cathedral and John Connon School was one of FSM's most highly valued clients¹⁰⁵. It had been receiving FSM's piano curriculum (delivered via *CMJ* software) for over a year.

I met Mrs Ganguly, Principal of Cathedral and John Connon Junior School, and Mrs Bhattacharya, Principal of the Middle School, to talk about FSM's music programmes. When asked why they chose to buy Western music curricula from FSM, both principals pointed to a pre-existing demand for Western music education from parents and students. Ganguly suggested that some parents were relieved that the school was providing the piano lessons they would otherwise have to source themselves (Ganguly 2014. Personal communication, 26 November), whilst Bhattacharya noted that the children at Cathedral and John Connon school would already have had an interest in

¹⁰⁵Cathedral and John Connon school was named by the Hindustani Times as the third best school in Mumbai in 2017. It is historically considered to be one of the best schools in Asia. Notable alumni include scientist Homi Bhabha, industrialist Ratan Tata, and novelist Salman Rushdie.

Western classical music, due to their socio-economic status as English-speaking elites with access to a multiplicity of transnational musical cultures:

Bhattacharya: “It would have been a conscious choice because many more children opt to play the piano, I don’t see many children opting to play Indian classical. There are many more opting to do violin or cello, I have not heard of any children in this school opting to play sitar or santoor.”

HM: “Is that because of the type of children who come to this school?”

Bhattacharya: “I think so.”

(Bhattacharya 2014. Personal communication, 26 November).

Ganguly noted that the availability of Western classical music curricula influenced their decision to offer only Western musics, saying, “Piano was what Furtados offered. Now sometimes there is talk about other instruments. Why Western music? Again, availability” (Ganguly 2014. Personal communication, 26 November), but informed me that she believed children in her school preferred Western or Western classical music (ibid).

North of Cathedral and John Connon school, in the suburb of Vile Parle West, was the J.V. Parekh International school, which I mentioned above as having aspirations to produce 'global winners' (SVKM J.V. Parekh International School 2017a). I visited the school in August 2015, shortly after it had begun its programme of instrumental tuition with FSM. J.V. Parekh had bought several programmes from FSM, and was providing its students with lessons in piano, guitar and drum-kit, as well as with music theory sessions, taught through interactive software *Quaver*, in the school's Kindergarten through to its Grade two class. Unlike Cathedral and John Connon, J.V. Parekh was a new international school, inaugurated in 2008. It was, in 2014, in the process of

establishing itself amongst the plethora of new International schools in Mumbai.

Dr G Swaminathan Headmaster of J.V. Parekh, articulated perceptions of Western classical music knowledge as a signifier of aspirations to global citizenship: he informed me that qualifications in Western classical music (which he typified as Trinity or ABRSM Grade examinations) were useful to his students, 70 percent of whom were expected to study abroad, because they were units of achievement recognised by international universities. (Swaminathan 2015. Personal communication, 20 August).

Western classical music education was, I argue, playing a role within schools' missions to create global citizens with local values: musical knowledge was becoming a means by which schools were able to develop globally recognised 'international' educational capital. However, in what may be interpreted as a neglecting of local cultures, none of the above-mentioned schools provided any education in Indian musics.

I asked Gomes why FSM did not offer any Indian music education. She suggested two primary reasons; firstly that Western classical music was considered 'international' and was therefore appropriate for International schools, and secondly, that Indian music, traditionally transmitted via an intensively personal guru-shishya methodology, did not lend itself to a standardised curriculum, or to classroom pedagogy (Gomes 2014. Personal communication, 18 December). FSM had not created or commissioned an Indian music curriculum complete with standardised learning objectives and assessment criteria which would facilitate the teaching of Indian musics within school contexts: Upadhyaya and Gomes did not consider there to be enough demand to make such an undertaking profitable.

Ganguly, Bhattacharya and Swaminathan all suggested that their schools' decisions to purchase a Western classical curricula - decisions based on pre-existing demand from within the elite communities they served and on perceptions of Western classical music being a globally recognised educational unit - were also rooted in perceptions of Indian music education as unsuitable for the classroom, echoing Gomes. Ganguly told me the following:

There is this impression that Indian classical is tough. Children take to Western and Western classical. [...] Indian classical music comes with this whole 'guru-shishya' culture. [We] will get criticized for not showing respect, for trivializing the art form, for making it lesser than... we are not, we are trying to get the approach more palatable for the child. If the approach of teaching and the accessibility increases I'm sure children will take to it as much. (Ganguly 2014. Personal communication, 26 November).

Swaminathan similarly argued that Indian music education was limited as an option for classroom-based teaching and learning:

If we have to learn the traditional musical instruments, there are limitations. First of all the scope is limited, also you don't get the right people to train you, that is another limitation. In a place like Mumbai, where the Western culture is kind of getting shadow over the traditional culture, there is a lot more scope for Western instruments than the traditional ones. (Swaminathan 2015. Personal communication, 20 August)

Swaminathan here notes a dichotomy between Indian, which he reframes as 'traditional' cultures, and 'Western' cultures in Mumbai¹⁰⁶. His observation that Western cultures were

¹⁰⁶Swaminathan's conceptualisation of Indian cultures as 'traditional' chimes with Clayton's observations that, 'For many people in India, 'tradition' is assimilated to Indian-ness and 'modernity' to the West' (2001:26).

overtaking Indian cultures can be viewed as a marker of the significance of the development of Western classical music educational praxes in Mumbai: because Western cultures were dominant there was a demand for Western classical music education, which in turn enabled further Western cultural dominance.

6.2.2 Music education in schools: local impacts

As I referenced in the introduction to this section, Lucy Green has suggested that education systems 'participate in constructions and perpetuations of ideologies about musical values' (Green 2002: 208), and from my interviews with the principals of Cathedral and John Connon school and J.V. Parekh International school, I suggest that Western classical music education was constructing and perpetuating ideologies of Western classical music as a marker of global citizenship within Mumbai's elite middle class educational spheres, as well as perpetuating ideologies situating Indian music as outside of International educational spheres. I was curious to know whether the values and ideologies of Principals and parents were filtering down and influencing the musical values, tastes and praxes of students, thereby affecting the future role and valuation of Western classical music in Mumbai. I ran a series of focus groups with students at J.V. Parekh International school to discover how FSM's education was contributing to their own personal musicking.

In a small windowless classroom in J.V. Parekh's sprawling building complex in Vile Parle, a shy group of teenagers sat silently in rows, guitars on laps, music and music stands, one per child, in front. Wearing the school uniform of bright orange t-shirts, the children had just completed their weekly guitar lesson, what had been led by a young FSM teacher. They had worked through their musical exercises in a drill-like fashion, repeating two bar picked melodic phrases over a

synthesised drum beat, with their teacher providing a harmonic backing. I could not tell if the students were enjoying themselves; they neither complained nor smiled, but simply got on with what they were asked to do.

When asked if any students came from musical families, two girls informed me that their fathers played Indian classical music: harmonium and tabla. One had played the harmonium herself when younger, but had stopped because she had to concentrate on her academic studies. None of the students listened to Western classical music, preferring instead English-language rock and pop from Europe and the USA. When asked what kind of things they meant, they were silent for some time, before someone bravely offered up the term “band stuff”. “Coldplay”, another said, followed by “Maroon 5, Ed Sheeran, Westlife, Eminem.” (Focus group, J.V. Parekh International School, 20 August 2015a). They mainly listened to music on YouTube, and did not attend live concerts.

In the piano class next door, a similarly shy group of students (all girls), seemed confused when I asked them what music they liked, as did the rather louder group of drum-kit students working in the school basement. They were unused to being consulted as to their own musical tastes: FSM's standardised curricula did not allow for student's values to open any alternative avenues of musical exploration within lessons, and so they were not consulted about their likes and dislikes. Like the guitar students, none of these children listened to Western classical music or to Indian classical music, nor did they attend concerts. One child from the drum-kit class said he wanted to be a drummer when he was older, the others appeared to accept their music classes with a slight air of bemused resignation. Music appeared to be, to them, not really a big part of life (Focus group, J.V. Parekh International School, 20 August 2015b).

At Cathedral and John Connon School, I gave out a paper questionnaire to a grade four class

and a grade six class (see appendix 2). In the questionnaire, I asked the students whether they listened to Western classical music in their spare time. Of the thirty six respondents, ten said they often listened to Western classical music, seventeen said they sometimes listened, and nine said that they never listened to it. I also asked whether students attended concerts of Western classical music. Twenty of the thirty-six never attended concerts, and only one student indicated that they often attended. Twenty of the children learned an instrument outside of school: two girls at Cathedral were studying strings (violin and cello) at the NCPA school, and several children took private piano lessons. Students at Cathedral and John Connon School were, according to these findings, more involved in Western classical musicking outside of school than their peers at J.V. Parekh International School.

The increased levels of interest in Western classical music at Cathedral and John Connon School could be attributed to its geographic position in Mumbai: it was located in the South of the city, traditionally the most affluent area, and it was close to the NCPA. It could also speak to the values and behaviours already synonymous with the school's socio-economic spheres¹⁰⁷. However, one could also point to the contribution of formalised music education, and suggest that, in framing Western classical music as an aspirational subject reflective of educational praxes in other transnational locales, FSM's music curricular was influencing musical life outside of the school. Middle school principal Bhattacharya felt that this was the case:

What has happened is that it has created a lot of interest. A lot of children are pursuing music outside of school at the NCPA or the True school, as a result of our introducing it in the school. (Battacharya 2014. Personal communication, 26 November)

¹⁰⁷This reading would speak to Pierre Bourdieu's theory that education reproduces and transmits existing cultural values. (Bourdieu 1977)

Western classical music education in schools was therefore, according to Bhattacharya, impacting on local music cultures and promoting an increased interest in Western classical music outside of the school environment from Mumbai's socio-economic elites.

Conclusion

In this section I have argued that Western classical music education was, through FSM's classroom music curricula as taught in Mumbai's globally-minded international schools, becoming reified as a marker of global citizenship. I have shown that school principals considered Indian musics as unsuitable for classroom education, either because of a perceived lack of formal pedagogical structures within Indian music education cultures, or because of the pre-existing tastes and values of their student and parent communities. I have also suggested that music education in schools could affect ideologies and values surrounding music and influence musical praxes in Mumbai's wider society. As formalised classroom music education in schools was, in 2014, still in its infancy, further research will be required to deepen understandings of its ongoing and evolving effects.

Western classical music education in Mumbai can be framed within discourses of anxiety or discourses of celebration, reflecting similarly disparate framings of the Symphony Orchestra of India, as I argued at the end of chapter four.

One could interpret the hegemonic position of Western classical music within Mumbai's International school music curricular as indicative of a validation, through education, of ideologies positioning Western classical music as more valuable, and as more suitable for formal education,

that Indian musics. Theoretically, as education reproduces these ideologies (Green 2002), Indian musical cultures may be further consigned to extra-educational spheres, with potential further negative consequences. This reading reflects Seth's conclusions that, via the colonial implementation of Western education in India, 'western epistemology came to be seen not merely as one way of knowing among others but as knowledge itself' (Seth 2007). Within dialogues of post-colonialism, Western classical music education could be viewed representing an attempt to reproduce colonialist cultures whilst simultaneously compromising the development of Indian national cultural identities.

However, the introduction of Western classical music into Mumbai's schools could be viewed as the first step in what could be a long and multifaceted trajectory of formalised school music education, which, as I noted earlier, was generally neglected in the city in favour of subjects such as sciences and mathematics. The US National Standards for Music argue that 'to participate fully in a diverse, global society, students must understand their own historical and cultural heritage and those of others within their communities and beyond' (CNAEA 1994 in Drummond 2005:3), echoing research by a number of music educationists¹⁰⁸ who suggest that music pedagogies should incorporate a plurality of transnational musics in order that students deepen understandings of the cultural lives of others. Western classical music education in Mumbai could be interpreted as providing one facet of knowledge facilitating a participation in, and understanding of, a diverse global society.

In this section I have positioned Western classical music cultures as almost oppositional to Indian music cultures, and have suggested that the presence of Western classical music education systems may have an impact on perceptions and values of Indian musics within society. This may not necessarily be the way that music education cultures continue in Mumbai; as they evolve and

¹⁰⁸Drummond 2005, Green 2002, Green 2008, Schippers 2004, Schippers 2010, Small 1996.

develop the dichotomous positions of Western music pedagogies and Indian music pedagogies may relax and find some points of synergy. I point to a comparative example: In her research into Western music education cultures in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, Wai-Chung Ho has demonstrated that in China, Western classical music epistemologies have been used over the past century to develop and enhance understandings of Chinese music (Ho 2003). Ho suggests that Chinese music educational policy has been built around a tri-part paradigm of globalisation, localisation and Sinofication, thereby helping educationalists move away from a traditional Western-bias (2011: 2). She points to a plurality of music education in Hong Kong and Taiwan as an example of how music educationists 'integrate multiple cultures into their music curricular to enable students to understand how they are connected with people throughout the world' (2011: 16). An integration of multiple cultures, including Indian music cultures, into Mumbai's music education systems may similarly allow for India's students to develop similar understandings of their own cultural connections with people throughout the world.

At the time of writing, I had recently received a telephone call from Gomes, during which she communicated that FSM were attempting to integrate elements of Indian culture into their digital curricular. They had been made aware that Indian children sometimes struggled to relate to the Canadian and American software that FSM relied on, and as such Gomes and Upadhyaya were keen to develop new software tailored to the Indian market, incorporating elements of Indian musical as well as social cultures. As such, the market which had demanded a formalised music education reflective of the educational cultures in aspirational sites now demanded that those educational cultures be Indianised, and that they reflect social and musical cultures found within the locale.

In this chapter I have outlined the significance of education cultures to the development and evolution of Western classical music in Mumbai. I have shown that FSM and the MMMF have

responded to shifts in local ideologies and values surrounding Western classical music education, and that through their responses, have contributed to and reinforced these shifts. Music schools have gone some way to legitimatising Western classical music as an educational discipline and to legitimising music teaching as a profession. Meanwhile, music curricula in schools have, as I have argued, the potential to influence, or even reconstruct, musical values and musical praxis in Mumbai. Further research will reveal how much these new and developing education cultures will go on to impact Western classical musicking in Mumbai in the future.

Conclusion

This study has explored Western classical music in Mumbai. It has been an examination of the values and ideologies held by those involved in the Western classical music scene in the city, and has presented both archival and ethnographic data. The purpose of this study has been to provide original archival and ethnographic research into the Western classical music scene in Mumbai, and to consider how Western classical music is experienced in a post-colonial, economically developing, global city. This thesis contributes to discourses surrounding the roles and meanings of Western classical music within a multiplicity of transnational locales.

Core argument revisited

At the beginning of this thesis, I outlined my core argument, which was that the ideologies and values held by those involved in Western classical music in Mumbai did not always correspond with local ideologies and values prevalent in the city, thereby creating tensions within and surrounding the scene. This study has essentially been an exploration of these tensions, which have been considered through various lenses relating to identity, nation building, social development and education. Debates surrounding ideologies of Western classical music as a universal language and an autonomous art form, which I discussed in detail in the introduction, have featured as a key trope throughout. Below, I revisit how my core argument has been addressed throughout this thesis.

Chapter one explored the history of Western classical music in Bombay from 1869 until India's independence in 1947, and was based on archival research. I showed how Western classical

musicking in the city was not initially imbued with notions of universalism; it instead provided Bombay's British residents with a way to connect to European culture, thereby echoing previous research by Woodfield (2000) and Shope (2010). The Bombay Philharmonic Society, which ran for over thirty years, allowed the British community in Bombay to construct social distinctions and to perform British identities: Western classical music represented a cultural separation from the locale and an alignment with life in London. I noted how the Bombay Municipality, in their refusal to provide financial support to Western classical music, was an early example of how the values and ideologies held by supporters of Western classical music being were odds with wider values and ideologies in the city. Similarly, I demonstrated how arguments that Western classical music, the Symphony Orchestra in particular, was a signifier of Bombay's status as a global cosmopolitan city were not accepted by the Municipality, resulting in the first Bombay Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Edward Behr, being forced to rely on private donations and folding after only seven years, the first of many ensembles and societies in the city to follow a similar pattern.

Chapter one highlighted how Western classical music scene in Bombay from 1869 to 1947 was propelled by the efforts of passionate individuals – Edward Behr, Mehli Mehta, Walter Kauffman, Jules Craen, Cecil Mendonza – all of whom struggled to maintain their various ensembles or societies in a city which did not accept their arguments for publicly funded Western classical musicking. Chapter two explored Western classical music in Mumbai throughout the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty first. This chapter was based on archival research and on oral histories that I collected during my ethnographic fieldwork. As in chapter one, I highlighted how Western classical music in Mumbai was maintained by a small number of dedicated individuals and amateur musical societies, who did not receive public funding, indeed, from 1996, concerts of Western classical music were subject to punitive taxation policies put in place by the governing right-wing regionalist Shiv Sena party: this taxation being perhaps the

clearest indicator of ongoing tensions between the ideologies and values held by Western classical music's proponents in Mumbai and those of the local government.

I also noted how support for Western classical music from embassies, in particular the Goethe Institut (previously known as the Max Mueller Bhavan) was withdrawn: the director of the Goethe Institut communicating that, for him, Western classical music was too closely associated with European colonialist cultures to be a part of the Institut's cultural interests in Mumbai. I explored how throughout the second half of the twentieth century, Western classical music took on a plurality of roles in Mumbai, noting in particular its role within transnational cultural diplomacy, and pointing to international relationships and friendships that were developed through the activities of choirs. I also pointed to how desires to join the international musical community, and to produce performances of international standards, were tempered by the desire to create and maintain a local Indian scene, which was in turn hampered by particularist ideologies imbuing Western music with colonialist meaning.

Chapter three was based on ethnographic fieldwork, and focused on three case studies in Mumbai: the Andrean Zonals competition, the Bombay Chamber Orchestra (BCO), and the Cadenza Kantori choir. This chapter emphasised discourses surrounding Western classical music and identity. I showed how practitioners of Western classical music in Mumbai were subject to questioning from both the locale and from international audiences regarding their identities as *Indian* Western classical musicians. In the first section of this chapter I examined the Zonals competition, an annual music event located in the suburb of Bandra, noting that Western classical music in this context existed within a small subcultural community bound by religion and geography: the Andrean Catholic community. Using Slobin's framework of subcultures, affinity cultures and super cultures (1993) I argued that for the Andrean Catholic community, Western

classical music articulated both subcultural and intercultural identities, bypassing national identities: as my informant Lorna articulated, Western classical music in Mumbai was not widely considered to be a part of Indian culture (Lorna 2014. Personal communication, 12 October). I suggested that Western classical music within the Andean Catholic community should be viewed as analogous to Catholicism: a transnational culture which finds new meanings in each locale, subcultural in some, as in India, and hegemonic in others.

I then discussed the BCO in relation to nationalism, cosmopolitanism and patriotism. I asked: what makes a truly Indian symphony orchestra? I explored arguments surrounding national identities and orchestras, showing how Jini Dinshaw, founder of the BCO, considered an orchestra's national identity to be tied up with the ethnicity of its musicians. For Dinshaw, the BCO was an Indian orchestra because it was made up of Indian musicians, whilst the Symphony Orchestra of India, which was predominantly made up of foreign musicians, was not (Dinshaw 2014. Personal communication, 9 September). However, the BCO's own Indian identity was disputed and undermined by the local Shiv Sena government, which taxed BCO concerts at the same rate (25%) as any other Western classical concerts: it did not consider symphonic orchestral music to be Indian, despite Dinshaw's protestations. I aligned Dinshaw's ideologies with cosmopolitan patriotism (Appiah 1997), suggesting that she considered her orchestra to be a part of a cosmopolitan transnational musical community, whilst also maintaining its national identity, thereby complicating and adding layers of nuance to binary universalist/particularist positions.

In the third section of chapter three, I explored how the Cadenza Kantori, a Catholic choir locally associated with a Westernised, English-speaking economically elite community, constructed its own identity as an Indian choral ensemble whilst operating within a transnational Catholic choral network, the Pueri Cantores. Here, my thesis broadened out from being a consideration of Western

classical music in Mumbai to being an examination of Indian Western classical musicians within a transnational sphere. I questioned whether the Cadenza Kantori were performing a stereotyped version of Indian-ness in order to satisfy a Western imaginary of their nationality, but concluded that the choir's identity should be considered as fluid and adaptable.

In chapter four I discussed the Symphony Orchestra of India (SOI). Firstly, I situated the SOI locally within the city of Mumbai, positioning it within discourses of social class and global aspiration. I argued that the SOI was imbued with markers of prestige, status and class, but that locally rooted ideologies placing professional musicianship as a low status form of employment were complicating the position of the SOI within Mumbai's society, and impacting efforts to increase the number of Indian musicians in the orchestra. I then situated the orchestra within discourses of nation building, and outlined how the orchestra's proponents at the NCPA considered the SOI to be a marker of Mumbai's modernisation and economic development, reflective of the position of symphony orchestras in other developing Asian nations. I problematised the role of the SOI within projects of nation building, and argued that it could be framed as an example of a continuance of colonial-era Western cultural hegemony. I suggested that India's local and national government were resisting the notion that a symphony orchestra signified modernity and economic development, and were instead championing Indian arts and cultures as foundational to India's nationhood. Finally, I discussed the SOI in relation to cultural diplomacy and soft power. I suggested that, in relation to cultural diplomacy, the SOI and the NCPA were going some way to building and fostering relationships within international cultural networks, but that the role of orchestras within diplomatic relations was subject to similar critiques as to its role in nation building: supporting ideologies of Western cultural hegemony and superiority. In relation to soft power, I argued that the SOI did not carry markers of national identity, that it did not 'stand out' as a purveyor of Indian culture. I noted how the position of national orchestras as units of soft

power within transnational networks complicated ideologies of universalism and autonomy.

In chapter five I explored the role of Western classical music within projects of social development, looking in particular at three ethnographic case studies: Muktangan school, Songbound, and Child's Play. In line with the core argument of this thesis, I suggested that the ideologies and values embedded in Western classical music development projects in Mumbai did not necessarily correspond with local ideologies or values, thereby creating tensions and potentially compromising effectiveness in instigating positive social change. With regards to Muktangan, I demonstrated how the school's local community did not value music or music education as much as the school's directors, or its sponsors. In discussing Songbound, I focused on and problematised the role of foreign volunteers, outlining how tensions arose when the desires of the volunteers were prioritised above the desires of the local Indian choir leaders. With regards to Child's Play, I questioned the motivations of Luis Dias, who was aspiring to produce professional musicians, but whose ambitions were potentially compromised by the lack of a professional music scene in India.

In chapter six I explored music education. Based on the testimony of FSM's Dharini Upadhyaya, who informed me that demographic changes in the Western classical music scene in Mumbai were being brought about by “a new [...] age of learning and music education” (Upadhyaya 2015. Personal communication, 11 August), I suggested that music education had the potential to reshape and re-situate Western classical music within Mumbai's wider society, and as such should be considered as the most significant sphere of Western classical musicking in the city. In the first half of chapter six, I used ethnographic examples to show how the status and standing of music education and of professional music teaching in Mumbai were, through the activities of local music schools, undergoing processes of transformation and legitimisation. I noted how music schools were imbuing music education with recognisable educational frameworks and structures

reflective of mainstream education, and how they were providing Mumbai's teachers with frameworks and structures reflective of legitimate employment. In the second half of chapter six I argued that music curricula in Mumbai's elite international schools were contributing to the reification of Western classical music education as a marker of global citizenship. I questioned what the impact this reification might have on local Indian musical cultures.

Throughout this thesis I have argued that the ideologies and values held by those involved in Western classical music in the Mumbai do not necessarily correspond with local ideologies and values prevalent in the city. However, in conclusion, I suggest that Western classical music education in Mumbai may, in future, subvert this argument. Taking Green's argument that 'music education participates in the construction and perpetuation of ideologies about musical values' (Green 2002: 208), I hypothesise that, as Western classical music education and professional music teaching undergo processes of legitimisation, and as Western classical music knowledge becomes embedded in Mumbai's international school curricula, prevailing ideologies about the value of Western classical music will change. The disparate values and ideologies that I have pointed to throughout this study may, in future, find some points of synergy.

Reflections on research methodologies

In presenting archival research alongside ethnographic data I aim to emphasise how a detailed knowledge of a music culture's history can inform and deepen understandings based on ethnographic research into contemporary praxis.

A history of Western classical music in Mumbai had, prior to this study, never been written,

and as such it was important to undertake archival research in order to discover how the ideologies and values imbued in the Western classical music scene in Mumbai in 2014 and 2015 had taken root and been shaped over the generations. As I noted in the introduction to this thesis, many of my informants in Mumbai had been directly influenced by historical events, or had known individuals who, since their deaths, had taken on an almost legendary status within the scene. My historical chapters shed light on these events and individuals, and will be, I hope, of interest to members of the Western classical music community in Mumbai, many of whom contributed to this work by telling me the story of Western classical music in Mumbai through the lens of their own personal memories.

In the introduction I also discussed my ethnographic research in some detail, highlighting my participatory methodologies, problematising my position in the field in relation to emic and etic perspectives, and suggesting that my positionality in Mumbai could be considered as intersectional, as I took on varying roles and developed multilayered relationships. I outlined how I contributed my own skills to the Western classical music scene in Mumbai by teaching, performing and providing teacher training. In the conclusion of chapter five, I pointed to the complex and sometimes difficult nature of writing academically about people with whom I had developed personal relationships, either in terms of working relationships (employer/employee) or in terms of friendships. Echoing Hellier Tinoco (2003), I considered it to be ethically necessary to engage in reciprocal relationships whilst undertaking fieldwork, and to 'pay back' (Sheehy 1992 in Hellier Tinoco 2003: 20) in any way I could the generosity that my informants showed me.

Suggested further study

Throughout this thesis I have pointed to a number of avenues of exploration which could contribute to broadening the knowledge of the Western classical music in Mumbai, as well as to deepening understandings of the ways in which Western classical music is experienced in geographical locales outside of Euro-American centres.

As I noted in the introduction, a wealth of archival resources exists which would shed further light on, and deepen knowledge of, the history of Western classical music in Mumbai. Newspapers archived in the British Library and in other libraries (for example, *The Sunday Standard*, referenced in chapters one and two, is held at the Library of Congress in Washington DC), alongside documents held in the British Library's India Office Records and Private Papers collection, are yet to be fully explored. This thesis did not discuss the role of radio: *All India Radio* has broadcasted various Western classical music programmes over the years, and a study investigating the construction and reception of such programmes, particularly from a historical perspective, would provide a further lens through which to view Western classical music in India. Church choirs in Mumbai, as I noted in chapter two, were abundant in Mumbai, and have yet to be documented or researched with the exception of an unpublished MPhil thesis by Sebanti Chatterjee, who discussed choirs in Mumbai as sites of musical leaning and pedagogical practice (Chatterjee 2012). As my research into the Cadenza Kantori revealed, Christian sacred choral music exists in a plurality of locations across India. Conductor Cordo's collection of regional Indian-language liturgical music could form the basis of a fascinating research project. In chapter five, I suggested that research into the impacts of music projects initiated by Muktangan, Songbound and Child's Play would provide meaningful insights into Western classical music's role in social development in Mumbai. Any data relating to this sphere of musical activity would contribute to transnational

scholarly debates within the field of music and development, and be of use to the organisation's themselves: as I noted in chapter five, Songbound's director Joe Walters did not have any data evidencing the positive impacts of choral singing in Mumbai, and as such was struggling to convince local school principals of the value of music within educational contexts.

This thesis adds to recent and ongoing doctoral research into Western music in India. Sebanti Chatterjee, a PhD scholar from the University of Delhi, is currently researching choral music in Goa and Shillong, and University of Durham researcher Rupert Avis has recently submitted a PhD on Western classical music in Chennai. Within India, a yearly symposium at the Ketevan World Sacred Music Festival in Goa provides an interdisciplinary platform for scholars and musicians to discuss sacred music, both Indian and Western, in India. This festival also aims to promote artistic dialogue between Indian and European musical traditions (Ketevan World Sacred Music Festival 2018). Western classical music in India, however, remains under-researched. Studies focusing on other Indian cities would broaden knowledge: Bengaluru, Panaji and New Delhi in particular have Western classical music scenes that would benefit from historical and ethnographic investigation.

Final thoughts

Throughout the process of writing this thesis I discussed Western classical music in Mumbai with several scholars, musicians, and interested persons, in India and in the UK. I noted when I suggested that Western classical music was undergoing a period of evolution and growth in Mumbai, and that it was becoming valued by larger and more diverse sections of society (as I outlined in chapter six), that my suggestions tended to elicit responses rooted in either anxiety or celebration. For some, Western classical music in India was indicative of the continued

transnational reach of European cultural hegemony, and was a potential threat to Indian music cultures (this viewpoint was particularly prevalent amongst European and American scholars). For others, Western classical music in India was indicative of India's cultural plurality; it was to be celebrated as a signifier of India's status as a culturally diverse, transnationally connected country, and accepted as a musical culture existing alongside, rather than in conflict with, local Indian music cultures.

In researching and writing this study I attempted, as much as possible, to maintain a pragmatic and impartial stance. This was sometimes difficult: throughout my ethnographic fieldwork many of my informants steered conversations towards what 'should' be done to promote Western classical music in India, or discussed India's 'need' for an orchestra, perhaps intending that I publish a thesis explicitly advocating for the Western classical music scene in Mumbai. Whilst I hope that I have communicated the sincere love for Western classical musicking that was demonstrated and communicated to me by many of my informants in Mumbai, I have also questioned and critiqued the roles and meanings of Western classical music in India from a multiplicity of theoretical perspectives.

I recently asked Joseph, a member of Mumbai's Western classical music community, to read this study and give his opinion as to the nature, tone and accuracy of it. I was surprised when he suggested that this thesis presented arguments which were overly critical of Western classical musicking in the city. He proposed that a more thorough examination and critique of attitudes prevalent within the locale would provide a more rounded analysis of my ethnographic data. Joseph noted in particular how a prevalent nationalist political climate in India, compounded by a general distrust of overtly Western cultures, had created difficulties for the Western classical music community. He recommended that I focus more on unpacking local receptions and perceptions of

Western classical music in relation to the socio-political climate in the country, rather than focusing on critiquing those involved in the scene, as highlighted in the quote below:

I definitely feel that there is room for a lot more Western music in India, and it just has to be adapted a little bit to local ideologies. [...] The fact that you haven't critiqued the local ideologies and values in certain places where I would critique them, probably because you don't want to take that as the subject of your thesis, I mean, that would be opening a can of worms. But you are critiquing the practice of Western classical music and right now, how I feel is that, as it is, it is such a struggling practice, that to critique it and not critique the local ideologies and values... you can see that India right now is in the mood of anti-Western influenced rhetoric, and that is leading to people wanting to remove all Western influence from India, whether it is Christians or Muslims or Parsis and the music that they practice, their cultural practices [...] There is room for both. (Joseph 2018. Personal communication, 27 May)

Joseph here is correct in his reading of this thesis as being focused on the Western classical music scene in Mumbai: as I was unable to gain access to representatives from the local government, and because of the participatory nature of my ethnographic fieldwork, I became embedded within the Western classical community in the city, and as such returned to the UK with somewhat of an insular experience. Perspectives from outside of that community were therefore not explored and critiqued as thoroughly as perhaps they should have been in order to present a more balanced argument here.

In acknowledging this criticism of my work, I aim to point to potential avenues of further research and scholarly analysis, and suggest that the roles and meanings of Western classical music

in Mumbai could be re-positioned within discourses of nationalist political movements in India, and that Western classical music could be reimagined as an actor in broader socio-economic and socio-political spheres relating to globalisation.

For now, this thesis reveals how a transnational musical culture finds meaning within this particular locale. I have painted a picture of a music culture deeply rooted in Mumbai's history, one which has been propelled by a small number of passionate individuals, and one which exists despite many challenges it has faced, and continues to face.

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Appendix 1: List of Interviews

* indicates a pseudonym

Name	Date of Interview	Recording method
Alannah	29/08/14	Video
Alison	14/09/14	Zoom recorder
Amir	29/08/14	Video
Anish	29/08/14	Video
Bhattacharya, G.	26/11/14	Zoom recorder
Chatterjee, Sebanti	25/05/14	Whatsapp message
Cordo, Celeste	11/08/14	Zoom recorder
Cordo, Celeste	08/01/15	Zoom recorder
Cordo, Celeste	01/08/15	Video
Cordo, Dawn	02/10/14	Zoom recorder
Dalal, Zane	03/02/14	Zoom recorder
Dias, Luis	16/06/18	Whatsapp message
Dias, Luis	10/12/14	Video
Dinshaw, Jini	21/02/14	Zoom recorder
Dinshaw, Jini	09/09/14	Video
Doctor, Parvez	13/08/14	Zoom recorder
D'Souza, Alfred	12/08/14	Zoom recorder
D'Souza, Deon	22/12/14	Zoom recorder
Emily	16/01/14	Zoom recorder
Eshvita	29/08/14	Video
Freddy	23/07/14	Video
Ganguly, S.	26/11/14	Zoom recorder
Gomes, Anthony	14/11/14	Zoom recorder
Gomes, Tanuja	11/08/15	Video
Grime, Laura	06/01/14	iphone recording
Havaladar, Naval	19/12/14	Zoom recorder
Hermann, Gautier	23/11/14	Zoom recorder
Kersi Gazdar	04/01/15	Zoom recorder
Lam, Khursheed	04/12/14	Zoom recorder
Leena	20/08/14	Zoom recorder
Lorna*	12/10/14	Zoom recorder

Malhotra, Shirish	02/09/14	Zoom recorder
Maria	28/09/14	Zoom recorder
Mehta, Liz	13/12/14	Zoom recorder
Mehta, Sunil	13/12/14	Zoom recorder
Mendonca, Blossom	09/09/14	Zoom recorder
Mihaylova, Silviya	22/04/14	Zoom recorder
Param	29/08/14	Video
Pete	04/09/14	Zoom recorder
Reid, Gavin	06/04/14	Zoom recorder
Suntook, Khushroo	10/11/14	Zoom recorder
Sutton, Hedley	31/10/18	Notebook
Swaminathan, G.	20/08/15	Zoom recorder
Upadhyaya, Dharini	18/12/14	Zoom recorder
Upadhyaya, Dharini	11/08/15	Video
Unvala, Xerses	20/08/14	Zoom recorder
Unvala, Xerses	30/08/14	Zoom recorder
Java, Parvesh	02/09/14	Zoom recorder
Jeejeebhoy, Mehroo	19/08/14	Zoom recorder
Jeejeebhoy, Mehroo	05/12/14	Video
Jessica*	01/09/14	iphone recorder
Joseph*	02/09/16	iphone recorder
Joseph*	27/05/18	iphone recorder
Josh	29/08/14	Video
Wadia, Coomi	04/07/14	Zoom recorder
Walde, Martin	03/12/14	Zoom recorder
Walters, Joe	10/02/14	Zoom recorder
Focus Group Muktangan choir	04/12/14	Zoom recorder
Focus Group J.V. Parekh	20/08/15a	Video
Focus Group J.V. Parekh	20/08/15b	Video

Appendix 2. Cathedral and John Connon School Questionnaire

Student Questionnaire Cathedral School November 2014

Age:

Standard:

Gender: **Male** **Female**

Religion: **Hindu** **Muslim** **Christian** **Zoroastrian** **Other (please specify)**

Do you take any other music classes, attend ensembles or learn any other styles of music outside of your classes with Furdados?

No Yes (Please specify)

Do you listen to Western Classical Music in your free time?

No Sometimes Often **Please specify:**

Do your parents listen to Western Classical Music?

No Sometimes Often

Do you listen to other types of music in your free time?

No Sometimes Often **Please specify:**

Do your parents listen to other types of music?

No Sometimes Often **Please specify:**

Do you attend concerts of Western Classical Music?

No Sometimes Often **Please specify:**

Do you attend concerts of other types of music?

No Sometimes Often **Please specify:**

How do you feel about music education at school?

Very positive Fairly PositiveNeutral Fairly Negative Very Negative Unsure

Why

Do you think formal music education should be available in schools/universities?

Yes Unsure No

Why?

How motivated are you to take music examinations?

Very motivated A little motivated Not motivated at all Not sure

Why?

What are the benefits of learning music?

Are there any drawbacks to learning music?

What are your career goals?

Would you aim for a career in music?

Yes Unsure No

Why?

Many thanks. Hannah Marsden, PhD candidate, Royal Holloway, University of London

