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State of the Arts

Foreign Arts
and Where
to Find Them

Encounters between foreign art forms can create a new symbiosis – as long as one does not overgrow the other.
Focus starting on page 12

Nuances of Foreign & Familiar

As the world becomes more globalized, people more regularly interact with foreign art forms such as art, music or indigenous traditions. While non-Western art forms have long been perceived as "exotic", interactions today are more divers: appreciation up to admiration, critical examination in a post-colonial mode, uncritical consume or identification as part of a certain lifestyle, or even unmarked appropriation. So, is there a right way to interact with foreign art forms? Can and has an art form to be perceived as it was originally intended to? It is highly important for arts managers in a globalized world to find answers to these questions, especially since we often thrive for „openness" and new symbioses. As the examples in this issue show, there is no one-fits-all answer, but one part of every answer has to be that foreign art forms have to be treated equally – and this not as naturally as you might think.

State of the Arts

Dirk Schütz
(Publisher)

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KAMKA

CULTURAL POLICIES IN GLOBAL CONTEXT

Useful recommendations and the last Global Report of the 2005 Convention
Ratified international conventions are one of the most important instruments on cultural policies. For instance, the 2005 Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions aims to contribute to culture and development worldwide.
by Suelen Silva
http://bit.ly/CultPolicy_Conventions

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN BRAZIL

Two decades of a successful and challenging model
In a lot of countries, arts organizations seem to be publicly funded for their mere existence. At the same time, civil society plays an active role in the shaping of cultural policy. The learnings of the NPM models implemented in Brazil show how can combine both demands.
by Beth Ponte
http://bit.ly/NPM_Brazil

SOCIAL MEDIA NEWS

Arts Management Net
@amnweimar

`#Museum Activism' is currently a very popular, but yet undefined term. A new book wants to change that. And according to our latest review, it also offers a variety of inspiring examples and approaches from #museums around the world.

23:05 - 28. Juli 2019

BOOK REVIEW

Courageous Citizens. How Culture Contributes to Social Change
'Courageous Citizens' aims to address the 'role of culture in social change' through interviews, excerpts from speeches, photographs and scribbles. Rather than a practical guide, it is an almost philosophical collection of observations and experiences of arts professionals on the question of how arts and culture besides institutional structures can help reflect current societies and create more equal ones by courage and empathy.
by Suraj Prasad
http://bit.ly/Rev_CourageousCitizens

BULLYING AND HARASSMENT

Steps for employers and employees to deal with bullying
The damaging nature of bullying behaviour, which can have both psychological and physical effects, makes dealing with it in the workplace an enormous challenge. Therefore, I collected some tips for cultural organisations, followed by a few pointers for individuals.
by Anne-Marie Quigg
http://bit.ly/Steps_Bullying_Culture

CONFERENCE REVIEW

Brokering Intercultural Exchange Network: Creating a Level Playing Field
The Annual Gathering in May 2019 on „Democratizing the Arts and the Arts Sector" has once again put its finger on the wound and shown how far the international cultural sector, despite all its ambitions, is still from equal rights and participation.
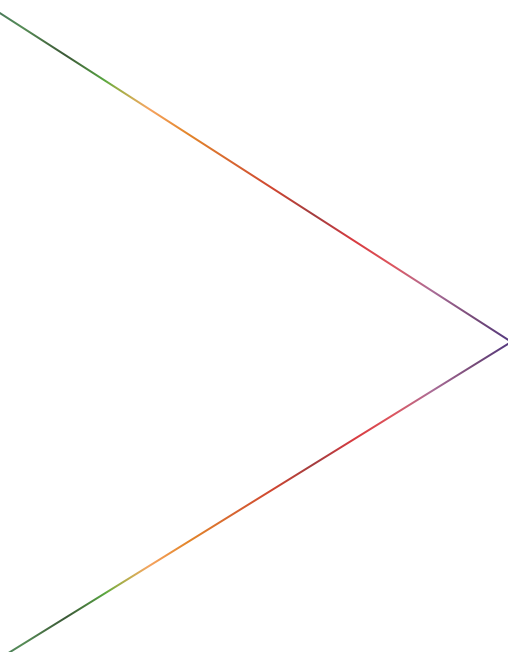**by Kristin Oswald**
http://bit.ly/Review_artsdemocracy19

The Unfinished Revolution

Arts Management in the Global Knowledge–Based/Digital Economy*

By Harry Chartrand

The differences between Anglosphere and Eurosphere Artist and Copy-rights should be a concern to arts management in the 21st century's KB/DE economy. These rights involve the management of literary & artistic property, creative and performing artists as well as administrative, archival, curatorial, stage and technical crafts.

Global arts management operates under two conflicting legal traditions: pre-revolutionary Anglosphere copyright and post-revolutionary Euro-sphere author's rights. These differences have significant implications for competitiveness, personal information including audience development and the future of the global knowledge-based digital economy itself. Why the differences? And what are the implications?

The Revolutions

The American Revolution of 1776 established by Natural Rights that we are all created equal and enjoy certain unalienable rights. But this 'Unfinished' American Revolution does not yet recognize or respect the moral rights of artists/ authors/ creators.

Six years later, the French Revolution of 1789 established through the Civil Code imprescriptible rights of every Natural Person or citizen. These rights included moral rights of artists/ authors/ creators as well as cultural pro-perty rights and reflect until today the Enlightenment precepts especially of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) that a created work is an extension of a human personality and as such subject to imprescriptible human rights including the right of paternity. Such moral rights have significant economic implica-tions.

The Kantian precept forms statutory author's rights until today in virtually all nation-States outside the Anglosphere including Latin America, much of Africa and East Asia. Collectively this multilingual cluster of countries shares the Civil Code and constitute what I call the 'Eurosphere'. The precept continues in the Eurosphere's law regarding personal information, copyright/author's rights and digital taxation.

Why the Differences?

If the Civil Code and imprescriptible moral rights are products of the 18th century Enlightenment then the Anglosphere's copyright is the product of the religious wars of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Until then – in the course of the efforts of church, crown and parliament to prevent anti-Catholic and heretical statements by means of censorship and licenses to print and publish books, i.e., copyright – all rights and revenues from subsequent printings went to the printer. Critically in 1534 by the parliamentary Act of Supremacy Henry VIII became head of a new Church of England, disestablishing the Church of Rome. By this Act heresy became sedition and sedition became heresy. Church and Crown censorship became one and the same. This was unlike on the continent where Church and Crown censorship remained separate in the Protestant North and Roman Catholic South.

If the Civil Code and imprescriptible moral rights are products of the 18th century Enlightenment then the Anglosphere's copyright is the product of the religious wars of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1710 that the British Parliament passed the first 'modern' copyright act. Perpetual copyright was replaced by a duration of fourteen years after the death of the author who was acknowledged for the first time as the original copyright owner. This matter was complicated by the legal fiction that a Legal Person enjoys the same rights as a Natural Person, including an author's moral rights. The American Revolution adopted this English Common Law of business.

Beyond the influence of religious wars on the evolution of copyright there is Jeremy Bentham (1747–1832). He was father of Utilitarianism and architect of the so-called Administrative State. In 1791 in his Anarchical Fallacies,

he noted: "Natural rights is simple nonsense; natural and imprescriptible rights, nonsense upon stilts..." He came to this conclusion based on his theory that the legislature can overturn any right including imprescriptible Natural Rights such as those of the author.

Taken together, the religious wars and Bentham's thinking shaped the Anglosphere's copyright into a law regulating trade of published works with no reference to Natural Rights and thereby excluding moral rights of authors.

What are the implications for arts management of this conflict of legal traditions?

First, the conflict between pre-revolutionary Anglosphere copyright and post-revolutionary Eurosphere author's rights breaks down into pre- and post-social media. Social media work multilane and bi-directional with professional and amateur artistic user generated content occupying more and more of a consumer's time and attention. Such online activity generates Big Data harvested by platform enterprises using a for-profit business model that does not recognize the moral rights of creator users including their personal information.

Pre-Social Media

The following are three implications that preceded and continue in the social media era:

1. Commerce vs Culture

Copyright concerns commerce (profit); author's rights concern culture (principle). In fact, the concept of the public domain only entered an Anglosphere lexicon with the 1886 Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Property. However, in the Anglosphere's rights of creators, inventors or scientists are almost fully appropriable by an employer just like "any other sort of property". This means that Legal Persons are favoured over Natural Persons.

2. U.S. Mercantilism

Given the commercial nature of copyright it is not surprising that after 1783 the U.S. adopted a merciless mercantilist policy. The United States did not

join the Berne Convention until 1989. Only then did Congress took steps, as required by treaty, to recognize moral rights of artists and creators. However, rights of paternity and integrity of one's work are still available only to works of judicially 'recognized' reputation.

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Under pressure from the U.S., the Trade Related Intellectual Property and Services Agreement (TRIPS), part of the 1995 WTO Treaty, did two things:

- First, TRIPS de-cultured copyright converting it into industrial property by exempting aboriginal heritage rights, collective or communal copyright and the moral rights of the author as a Natural Person.
- Second, the U.S. successfully pressed for inclusion of computer software as 'literary and artistic property'. Software is, of course, the foundation of the KB/DE. This made it the only 'work' of intellectual property protected three ways: by copyright, patent and trade secrets.

3. Uneven Playing Field

Recognition and enforcement of moral rights create a significant administrative burden with financial and other costs not imposed on arts management in Anglosphere countries. Differences between legal traditions on the supply and demand side of the global arts industry result in unfair competition disadvantaging Eurosphere's artistic productions. The result has been that the second largest export of the U.S. – entertainment programming – is built on the backs of creators who do not benefit from moral rights. Also Asian and EU entertainment companies have made significant investments in the more profitable U.S. market, which absolves them of moral rights to creators.

Post-Social Media

In the decades since the WTO's inception in 1995 the U.S. successfully innovated a global KBDE driven by mass consumption and production of organized, retrievable information. These constitute Content and Big Data business models. In the Anglosphere, personal information given through an electronic End Users Licensing Agreement is like any other piece of corporate property to be bought and sold according to corporate interest.

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The competitive disadvantage of the Eurosphere's arts management was exasperated by the emergence of social media.

The competitive disadvantage of the Eurosphere's arts management was exasperated by the emergence of social media. Without the Kantian precept, the Anglosphere is struggling with data mining. At the same time, the European Union's response to social media has been driven by the Kantian precept. Under the Civil Code, personal information is an extension of a human personality and subject to "inalienable, unattachable, imprescriptible and unrenounceable" moral rights. Three recent EU legal developments demonstrate this:

EU Court of Justice's "right to be forgotten," Judgement, 2012

The World-Wide Web is a giant reservoir collecting and preserving everything that is posted online together with an url. Sometimes the information contained is defamatory, simply wrong or otherwise detrimental to the welfare of an individual. The EU Court determined that in such cases an individual has the right to have such information 'forgotten' by letting search engines like Google Search delete the url from any search result. This right applies only to a Natural, not a Legal Person or body corporate.

General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), 2018

The EU's GDPR establishes property rights in personal information. Put simply, the entry of personal information into the public domain and its use by any and all third parties is subject to the informed consent of its creator, the individual citizen. But in the global KBDE the primary source of personal information provided by the users is the gathering and compiling by digital platforms. With the restriction of the use of such personal information, Eurosphere's arts management again faces an additional burden regarding audience development and marketing not imposed in the Anglosphere.

There, personal information remains the property of corporate collectors who wholesale and retail that information for profit. Quite simply the GDPR threatens to undermine, if not destroy the current Anglosphere's digital business model.

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EU Copyright Directive, 2019

Currently, the Directive transforms digital platforms from flow through utilities like the traditional telephone company into publishers responsible for the content presented on their platforms. Like the GDPR, the Directive threatens to undermine the current Anglosphere social media business model built on no legal liability for content.

What is clear is that the Eurosphere has been, is and will continue to be at a systemic disadvantage compared to the Anglosphere's arts industry. This is the result of differing legal systems advantaging either commerce or culture.

Conclusion: What could happen?

There are two possible outcomes of the legal conflict between pre-revolutionary Anglosphere copyright and post-revolutionary Eurosphere author's rights. First, the Anglosphere accepts the Kantian precept more nearly completing the Revolution. Why should the Anglosphere, especially the U.S., abandon copyright and accept the Kantian precept? The Kantian precept is consistent with the American Revolution's 'ideology'. The Natural Rights foundation of the United States is reflected in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution known as the "Intellectual Property or Copyright Clause". With respect to the Natural Rights of creators, the American therefore is truly an unfinished revolution. Additionally, ongoing controversy and irresolution in the Anglosphere about 'Big Tech' could be easily resolved if property rights to personal information were established, corresponding with the Kantian precept as in the GDPR.

ARTS MANAGEMENT IN THE GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE-BASED/DIGITAL ECONOMY

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Recognition of the moral right of paternity under copy-right for employees and contract workers, as in Eurosphere countries, would help re-balance the employment bargain.

And finally, in most Anglosphere countries self-employed artists and entertainers are among the lowest income employment categories, as the progress made by the KB/DE in the Anglosphere has led to an increase in general income inequality and precarious job situations. Recognition of the moral right of paternity under copyright for employees and contract work-ers, as in Eurosphere countries, would help re-balance the employment bargain. It would also create intellectual property rights in the job market, reduce alienation from the fruit of one's labour and enhance alternative employment opportunities.

The second and more probable outcome is that the Anglosphere continues to reject the Kantian precept. The world wide web will be partitioned into three distinct legal domains: the Anglosphere guided by copyright and Common Law; the Eurosphere guided by the Kantian precept and the Civil Code; and, the Sinosphere guided by Market Leninism and the thoughts of Chairman Xi.

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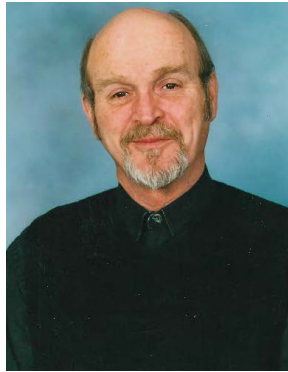
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Cultural Appropriation and Arts Management

This essay will distinguish between two types of cultural appropriation, subject and style appropriation. Here, I will focus on cultural appropriation practiced by painters, but the issues are similar for every art form. I will identify the conditions under which both types of cultural appropriation may be morally objectionable and who is responsible for it.

By James O. Young

Basically, cultural appropriation is only controversial when members of dominant cultures appropriate from minority, at-risk, and/or indigenous cultures. Eric Matthes has written that "no reasonable person thinks that, for instance, an indigenous person does something wrong by employing some Western artistic style. There are many reasons why this is true, not the least of which is that it is in the nature of a dominant cultural group to dominate and impress its culture upon others" (2016). Matthes may be right about this, but the reason he gives for believing so is a little odd. When indigenous or other minority people appropriate from a dominant culture, to some extent they adopt the dominant culture and are assimilated. This is something, one assumes, that Matthes finds objectionable. It seems then, according to his reasoning, that cultural appropriation ought to be objectionable when practiced by members of minority cultures. However, I will grant for the sake of argument that cultural appropriation is morally unobjectionable when practiced by members of minority cultures. Let us grant that there is a moral asymmetry: cultural appropriation is wrong when practiced by members of dominant cultures and unobjectionable when practiced by members of minority cultures.

Two types of cultural appropriation

In the art sector we can distinguish between two quite distinct sorts of activity that are classified as cultural appropriation. The first I called, in Cultural

Appropriation and the Arts (2008), subject appropriation because a subject matter is appropriated. Subject appropriation occurs when outsiders (relative to some culture) represent in their art the insiders (relative to that culture). A recent example of subject appropriation is found in Dana Schutz's painting Open Casket (2016), a work shown at the 2017 Whitney Biennial. This painting represents the mutilated body of Emmett Till, a young black martyr, murdered by segregationists in 1955. By the wishes of Till's mother, he was displayed in an open casket so that the world could see what had been done to her son by his murderers. Since Schutz is a white woman and she represented a black man, her act of painting counts as cultural appropriation and, specifically, as subject appropriation.

The second sort of appropriation may be called style appropriation. This occurs when an artist appropriates an art form or style developed by members of another culture. A recent example of style appropriation is found in the work of Amanda PL. The Woodlands style of some of her paintings is appropriated from Norval Morrisseau. Since Amanda PL is a white Canadian and Morrisseau is an Anishinaabe (a native Canadian tribe), when she appropriates his style she engages in cultural appropriation, specifically style appropriation. Damien Hirst is alleged to have engaged in style appropriation as well. A series of his recent paintings appear to be stylistically similar to paintings by the Australian aboriginal painter Emily Kame Kngwarreye. Hirst denies that he has appropriated from aboriginal art. He maintains that he was inspired by Seurat and other pointillists and that he was unaware of Kngwarreye's work. If Hirst independently developed the style of his dot paintings, he did not engage in cultural appropriation.

The problem of cultural appropriation practiced by members of dominant cultures

Here I will consider two proposals. According to the first proposal, adopted by Matthes and others, cultural appropriation, and in particular subject appropriation, is wrong because it silences and in this way harms members of minority cultures. Matthes writes that cultural appropriation is "harmful because of the way in which it interacts with dominating systems so as to silence and speak for individuals who are already socially marginalized" (2016). In this view, Schutz, for example, denied African Americans the opportunity to speak for themselves, silenced them, and, consequently, harmed them.

But I am sceptical about the claim that Schutz harmed African-Americans by painting Open Casket. I grant that America is a racist society that places limitations on the opportunities that African-Americans have to express themselves in art and in other ways. I seriously doubt, however, that the creation of Open Casket worsened the lot of African-American artists and other African-Americans. If Schutz had simply painted Open Casket and shown it to no one, her act of cultural appropriation would not have harmed anyone. The bare act of cultural appropriation is not wrong according to the proposal that we are considering. Moreover, Schutz's painting of Open Casket does not stop any African-Americans from painting Emmett Till's coffin or any other subject. If Schutz does not harm anyone by creating her painting, then it is wrong to condemn her for painting it.

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then it is wrong to condemn her for painting it.

A problem does, however, exist. This problem has already been identified: America is a racist society in which African-Americans are denied opportunities to express themselves. This is not Schutz's fault. The visual artist and writer Hannah Black in an open letter to the curators and staff of the Whitney Biennial asked that Open Casket should not be shown, that "Black people go on dying at the hands of white supremacists, that Black communities go on living in desperate poverty not far from the museum where this valuable painting hangs, that Black children are still denied childhood" (2017). All of this is true but it is hard to see how this shows that Schutz has done something wrong. She cannot be held responsible for a racist society, particularly when, in painting Open Casket, she was denouncing racism.

What can be appropriated

Hannah Black also made the claim that, "The subject matter [Emmett Till's coffin] is not Schutz's" (2017). Here she suggests that a subject matter is ownable, but it is unclear how this could be. Some subject matters, of course, are private. The members of a group have a right to privacy and to keep certain pieces of information to themselves. Most subject matters, however, are in the public domain. They are just facts. The fact that Emmett Till was brutally murdered by white racists is no more ownable that the fact that the atomic weight of gold is 79 is ownable. Here I agree with Adora

Mba, who on True Africa wrote with regard to the debate over Schutz's painting that "History, especially in America, is a shared experience." Something that is shared is not the private property of some people.

A culture can be harmed if it is deprived of something it owns. However, if a style like this is not ownable, then a culture cannot be harmed by the use of a style.

Let us turn now to a consideration of style appropriation. Styles are no more ownable than subject matters are. One of the reasons for that is apparent from the dot paintings of Hirst. I am inclined to believe that Hirst was influenced by Seurat and other pointillists, not by Australian aboriginal painters. Dot paintings have been independently produced in several cultural contexts, from nineteenth-century France to contemporary central Australia and in others as well. When this is the case, it is simply not possible to assign credit, let alone exclusive ownership, to one culture rather than another. A culture can be harmed if it is deprived of something it owns. However, if a style like this is not ownable, then a culture cannot be harmed by the use of a style.

When cultural appropriation offends

Another way in which cultural appropriation could be wrong remains to be considered. Sometimes cultural appropriation is deeply offensive to members of minority cultures. We live in fraught times. Right wing politicians are using racism and xenophobia as political tools. This has placed terrible stresses on members of minority cultures. Minority cultures have, understandably, responded by becoming protective of their cultures. At times this can result in a cri de coeur, such as Hannah Black's letter to the Whitney Biennial's curators. Boiled down to its essence, Black's letter says that she is offended by the display of Schutz's painting. Similarly, objections to style appropriation amount to saying that people are offended by cultural appropriation of styles. This means that the concerned people are put into a temporary, unpleasant state of mind. In contrast, people are harmed when their interests are materially set back. Often, as I say, people are offended by cultural appropriation rather than harmed by it.

Without a doubt, many people are offended by both subject appropriation and style appropriation. People do not have a right not to be offended, but nevertheless offence that is caused intentionally and gratuitously is wrong. For example, if Alan tells a racist joke with the intention of making Barbara feel uncomfortable, he has acted wrongly. Similarly, offence caused by insensitivity or wilful ignorance is wrong. For example, if Anna could have reasonably been expected to know that Boris was recently widowed, and Anna tells a joke about a spouse dying, she acts wrongly. Sometimes, however, when people take offence, no one has acted wrongly. Suppose, for example, Arlene is in Paris and speaks to a waiter in correct and intelligible but accented French. She could have spoken English, knowing that the waiter understands the language, but she chose to speak in French as a sign of respect. The waiter may, nevertheless, take offence at her poor pronunciation of French. In this situation, Arlene has not acted wrongly. Her intention was to be respectful and she has done nothing that could reasonably be regarded as offensive.

Without a doubt, many people are offended by both subject appropriation and style appropriation. People do not have a right not to be offended, but nevertheless offence that is caused intentionally and gratuitously is wrong.

Who is responsible for cultural appropriation and when?

Now we need to ask whether acts of cultural appropriation that cause offence are more like Alan's offensive joke or Arlene's accented French. The answer is that acts of cultural appropriation can be either. Sometimes an artist may, wilfully or out of culpable ignorance, perform acts of cultural appropriation that are wrong. For example, an outsider artist may, out of ignorance, retell a myth in a way that insiders regard as blasphemous and, consequently, offensive. Or an artist may depict a culture using offensive stereotypes. Examples of such depictions are found, for example, in old Hollywood Westerns. Other acts of cultural appropriation are unobjectionable, even if people are offended by them.

I am inclined to think that Schutz's painting of Open Casket and Amanda PL's appropriation of styles from Morrisseau are morally unobjectionable condemnation of the brutal murder of Emmett Till. The correct response is

to accept it as a condemnation and an expression of solidarity with African-Americans. If progressive people respond with anger to paintings such as Open Casket, they are divided against each other and racists laugh all the way to the White House. Similarly, Amanda PL's paintings were intended as, in part, an homage to Morrisseau. It matters that she acknowledges that Morrisseau is among the artists who have influenced her. An homage ought to be accepted as such. If, on the other hand, she was trying to pass off her paintings as the work of an aboriginal artist, that would be grounds for saying that she had acted wrongly.

If indigenous artists were widely denied opportunities, then one could understand why people are offended by Amanda PL showing her work. As matters stand, it is difficult to see why people are upset.

Indigenous artists in Canada have opportunities available to them. Morrisseau was one of the best-known artists the country has ever produced. He was a Member of the Order of Canada and, just prior to his death in 2007, the National Gallery of Canada presented a retrospective dedicated to his work. Buyers strongly prefer to buy indigenous style works that are produced by indigenous artists. If these artists were widely denied opportunities, then one could understand why people are offended by Amanda PL showing her work. As matters stand, it is difficult to see why people are upset.

Passing off is a serious problem in the artworld. According to one estimate, 80% of the so-called aboriginal art in Australia is not made by indigenous artists. Since 2000, Australia's National Indigenous Arts Advocacy Association has provided a Label of Authenticity for authentic aboriginal art. Such labels ought to be respected.

Cultural appropriation becomes a problem in the art sector when...

The conclusion of these reflections is that acts of cultural appropriation are not usually wrong per se. But the context in which they occur can be. It becomes a problem when arts management professionals do not take steps to ensure that the problems caused by racism in society do not disadvantage indigenous and minority artists. Arts management professionals ought to

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ensure that indigenous and minority artists have the opportunity to reach their audiences. And they ought to ensure that they do not provide a platform for works that are deliberately offensive or offensive due to the ignorance or insensitivity of artists. Additionally, arts management professionals ought to ensure that the provenance of artworks is accurately reported and artists have acknowledged any borrowings from indigenous or minority cultures. If they do their jobs, cultural appropriation by artists should not be a problem.

In the case of the Whitney Biennal, a problem would have been curators who did not take the time, trouble, and effort to identify and show works by African-American artists, either by acts of commission or acts of omission. In this case, an act of commission would be refusing to show a worthy work by an African-American. An act of omission would be failing to take reasonable steps to identify worthy works by African-Americans. The curators who exhibited Open Casket therefore made the right decision. The gallery owners who did not allow Amanda PL to show her work did not.

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Have you ever heard (about) Turkish funk or Nigerian rock music? If yes, did you enjoy it? Was it kind of foreign to you? And if you did not hear about such kinds of pop music from a different cultural background, that could still be a result of colonialism. We talked to researcher Holger Lund about why there is a need for an expansion and decolonization of current music history research, how this affects the global music market, and if there is a right or wrong way to perceive non-Western pop music.

Expanding the History of Global Pop

An interview by Julia Jakob

Dear Mr. Lund, you are in favor of expanding today's scholarly historiography to include global pop music. What is missing from the previous one?
That's what I started to ask myself after listening to a podcast episode of the American hip hop label Stones Throw Records in 2006. This episode was called „Turkish Funk Mix," and I didn't know until then that Turkish funk music existed at all, and so I was surprised and thrilled. At the same time, I became aware of a problem that I had already experienced in my school days. Back then, I always asked myself in German lessons why the required reading list only consisted of a specific canon of books in German literary history. Who writes this canon? For the history of pop music, I began to ask myself who prescribes what we should or shouldn't be listening to. What does this mean in a global historiography of pop music? The answer is that pop music from non-Western countries and continents is marginalized.

Who has been and is still responsible for writing the modern global history of pop music?

Bloomsbury, Routledge, Oxford University Press, all of which are based in the U.K., are the major publishers that accomplish this with their series of publications on global pop music. In the meantime, white male academics are no longer the only driving force behind this activity. Instead, some of the writing is in cooperation with or by the people from the countries that were previously absent. However, there is still a lot to be done. The publications are mainly written in English and not translated into the respective national languages, which would incur additional costs. This, in turn, means that only English-speaking scholars can participate in the discourse, and there remains an exclusive, Anglophone space in which the global historiography of pop music is advanced and defined. However, I consider this to be very problematic.

In this context, what is written about non-Western pop music? With which standards is it compared?

It's very difficult. My approach, which I also advocate in my article on „Decolonizing Pop Music", is to divide global pop music into two different forms: Western pop music and non-Western hybrid pop music. Hybrid pop music means there is a mixture of core elements of Western pop music (such as electrification and electronic instruments) with local elements such as instruments, rhythms, language/texts or compositional forms. There are many ways to combine these elements. These hybrids are different; sometimes they are quite similar to Western ones, sometimes they are more regional.

Hybrid pop music means there is a mixture of core elements of Western pop music with local elements such as instruments, rhythms, language/texts or compositional forms.

Unfortunately, it is necessary to say that the benchmark of many authors is still the same: how close does this hybrid pop music come to the supposed Western original? One likes to take the „white" variant of pop music, like the Stones, the Beatles or Elvis, and not the „black" one, which in principle is the lineage one could also see Western pop music descending from. I see this as a problem that even major music journalists like Simon Reynolds still are unable to solve.

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Odd meters like 9/8 or 11/8 are considered problematic, because in western pop music one is only used to even bars. The generalization „That's not as good as..." is what results.

If the „white" variant of pop music is the standard with which non-Western pop music is compared, then failure is inevitable. It is often criticized that the sound is not so good because the studio technique is poor, that the instruments are not so good, or that nobody understands the lyrics because they are in the respective native language. Likewise, odd meters like 9/8 or 11/8 are considered problematic, because in western pop music one is only used to even bars. The generalization „That's not as good as..." is what results. It is true that some of these musicians oriented themselves towards white interpreters and thus have possibly entered into a competition with them. But one development is wholly lost, namely that these musicians have not only dealt with Western pop music but have also tried to find their form for this confrontation and to develop their own hybrid pop form. And these peculiarities, which they remove from Western pop, are hardly perceived as independent musical values in the Western world. The same applies to the achievements of this hybrid pop music, which involves pursuing this coupling in entirely different ways, with different proportions and, of course, with different expressions.

Through all these problems, I have begun to deal with the theme of decolonization in global pop music.

What is that about?

There are several levels. On the one hand, the concern behind decolonization is to determine how far it has progressed and where colonization has perhaps become even stronger. Since the great wave of decolonization in the 1960s, for example, there have officially been no more colonies in Africa. However, not much has changed for the people in the former colonial areas; on the contrary, the situation has worsened. This is because colonial policy in the sense of „exploiting land" is, of course, being continued if one looks, for example, at the situation in commodity-exporting countries such as Nigeria or Congo. The same applies to music. Nigerian pop music, for example, was produced in the 1960s and 1970s by the EMI label. There's a good book on the subject, Wake Up You! The Rise and Fall of Nigerian Rock 1972-1977, which explains under what circumstances this happened. The local EMI representative was permanently drunk and didn't even

listen to the music. In retrospect, this can perhaps also be seen as positive, because the musicians were able to do what they wanted. On the records themselves the name of the African producer isn't mentioned, but that of the drunken representative as producer, who had in fact nothing to do with the process of creating this music. And the exploitation rights to this music do not belong to the Nigerian musicians either but to EMI. Therefore, these musicians do not own their music. And these are problems that decolonization directly addresses. The aim is to make music and the rights associated with it accessible again to its real creators.

The exploitation rights to this music do not belong to the Nigerian musicians either but to EMI. Therefore, these musicians do not own their music. And these are problems that decolonization directly addresses.

What effects does this have on the music market?
The examples of Turkey and Brazil, both of which have recently started vinyl record productions again with their own labels, illustrate this well. The respective national pop music of the 1960s to 1980s, which was produced before and during the military dictatorships, is being prepared and curated. There is a return to one's own power and sovereignty of interpretation over the musical past. The music market is already on the move. And I believe that this is a decisive point in which the vinyl record plays an outstanding role because the relatively expensive production makes curating even harder and stricter. In turn, this leads to an increase in quality. If instead, you were to upload everything unfiltered to streaming providers, the music would theoretically be accessible to many more listeners. And yet, it would probably also be lost in the masses.

And who then listens to this decolonized music?
I think there are two groups: the first group is made up of the locals of these countries, who can rediscover their own music and culture and even more importantly re-evaluate it themselves. Part of the colonialization is the occurrence of a hierarchical declassification. Of course, this also applies to culture in particular.

The second group consists of people in the western world who either have their roots in non-Western countries or are simply interested in other mu-

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sical cultures. For the latter, the club scene as well as the beat-making and hip-hop scene play a decisive role, because these often draw new impulses from non-Western pop music.

Does the latter group of listeners hear and understand the music as it is intended? How „cliché-free" is this able to work, even if you listen very openly and are „trained"?
DJane İpek İpekçioğlu from Berlin is an excellent example of this. She is of Turkish origin but was born and raised in Germany. She only uses Turkish music that is in 4/4 meter in the club because she thinks that people on the dance floor would reject the odd rhythm, which in turn means that she straightens the rhythmically very diverse Turkish music. I find that this approach is too reductive. So far, I've experienced in my activity as a D.J. that uneven rhythms don't have to disturb people while dancing. As a D.J., you have to be daring.

As a „foreign" listener, you first have to learn and under-
stand that your own presetting does not have to be fulfilled
to evaluate what you hear positively.

But what many people find difficult with Turkish pop music, for example, is the monophonic Makam sound. That is, as soon as the vocal part appears, the instruments fade into the background and become quite quiet, and vice versa. When first hearing it, „western" ears often think a mistake was made in the mixing. I thought the same at first. But this sound is a musical tradition that goes back a long way and also has its aesthetic that is justified. As a „foreign" listener, you first have to learn this and understand that your own presetting does not have to be fulfilled to evaluate what you hear positively. However, the „non-Western" element must not be interpreted as a mere „exotic condiment". Instead, it is a means of recognizing the rules according to which this music is constructed. Then one can also ask oneself where the specific beauty of this music lies. If you approach listening to music with this attitude, you are well on the way to expand your hearing ability. One of those who have recently succeeded particularly well is the Scandinavian musician Sven Wunder, who uses a pseudonym for his record Doğu çiçekleri. You can hear exactly how well he must have listened to Anatolian Rock to develop his compositions convincingly from its spirit.

What role does the label „Global Pop First Wave," for which you work, play?
This label is supposed to make a small contribution bringing the question of the writing of canons to the table. I've already done two series, one on Turkish pop music of the 1960s/1970s and one that traces the hippie trail of the same years that moved from London to India. For me, the question dealt with the musical experiences that these people had on this journey. What musical ruptures and permutations were there between Western music and local music? It is a reversal of the usual canon. In both series, I also chose lesser-known titles and musicians that make an individual musical statement and represent a unique mixture of hybrid pop.

The Turkish pop music market has been dominated purely by women and not by men in terms of quantity and no small extent qualitatively. However, the most well-known artists so far are men.

Furthermore, it is vital for me to bring more women than men into label work to show the „female side of pop music." Because one of the main problems of the historiography of pop music is that it was and still is very actively practiced by men. Unfortunately, this can also be seen in the choice of performers, who are more often male rather than female. But a change in thinking has started. The Turkish pop music market has been dominated purely by women and not by men in terms of quantity and no small extent qualitatively. However, the most well-known artists so far are men.

The general will to decolonize is initially very positive. But now it is the case – and here you are very critical – that the key centers of education and power are still in Europe and the USA. How can we deal with this contra-diction?
That is correct and also more than regrettable; in the end, we find our-selves in a paradoxical situation that we cannot resolve so easily. One can try to contribute to its dissolution and consciously reflect critically on it. This mindset is crucial. However, I think the decisive way is direct cooper-ation with non-Western countries and with the locals to identify, address, and work together on these problems. What we have in common must be central here, because it would be colonialist again to say from our perspec-tive: „We can solve that for you."

While this is a hubris, it is unfortunately precisely in this way that development aid – likewise in cultural management – is provided. Such cooperation is not easy, of course, because it takes a lot of time to build up contacts and trust. For this, you have to listen to the local people, take their problems and points of view thoughtfully, and appreciate them. Without this attitude, for example, I would not have been able to do my series on Turkish pop music.

Of course, music traditions must also be understood and taken seriously, such as the peculiarities of mixing Turkish pop music.

In addition to cooperation on an equal basis, observing and learning non-Western musical practices is equally important. For cultural managers, a look at the unique African festival culture, such as the Nyege Nyege Festival in Uganda since 2015, is recommended. This festival is trans-African in orientation and extends at the same time international beyond Africa, both in terms of musicians and audiences. Many of the festival ideas are extraordinary, but so are the difficulties in a homophobic country. Nevertheless, one can learn a lot from the specific festive culture and its ecology. But here, too, you have to understand the particularities and take them seriously.

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Batucada: Playing Together with the Differences

Perspectives and Experiences Outside Brazil

By Chico Santana

In this essay I depart from some personal experiences to make a small reflection on a Brazilian cultural phenomenon quite present in different parts of the world: The batucada, a collective percussion practice (drumming), usually associated with the musical genre of samba and Brazilian carnival. But what makes this kind of drumming so fascinating? What does it have to „infect" people in different countries and cultures? And how do people perceive and relate to batucada outside Brazil?

Batucada in Brazil

In Brazil, batucada is a practice performed by the ensemble called bateria, typical from escolas de samba (samba schools) and carnival groups known as Blocos, but is also present in political demonstrations, soccer stadiums, among other places and events, from north to south of the country. Thus, batucada can be seen as a form of collective expression through percussion. In a bateria the instruments are organized in groups, and in samba schools the most commons are surdos (a low tuned drum), caixas (a kind of snare drum), repiniques (medium drum), tamborins (small and high tuned drums) and chocalhos (rattles). They must be balanced in an specific proportion to each other in order to form a good set of instruments. A bateria can count on more than two hundred people playing simultaneously. It is also common the bateria of samba-reggae, typical from the Blocos Afros, traditional in Bahia State (Northeast Brazil).

The samba batucada has a powerful mobilizing force in the body - of who plays and who dances. Observing the cultural matrices of samba and batucada, it is clear that music, dance and party/event itself are inseparable.

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That is, samba is music, dance and party at the same time. Thus, batucada as a music practice is linked to a broader context.

Batucada in different contexts

The drumming action is a potent phenomenon because it is a form of collective expression that mobilizes the body and is associated with a playful context. The playfulness of the batucada, in fact, goes beyond the dimension of a game, encompassing the dimension of the sacred (according to Huizinga, 2014). But such "essential" aspects can be perceived and interpreted in various ways, taking into account the historical, social and political contexts.

Historical context

From a historical perspective, the batucada has reminiscences of the varied African descendent cultural manifestations, which resisted to the oppressive conditions of slave society (from the 16th to the 19th century), with reflexes to the present day, noticeable through a structural racism present in Brazilian society. Within a marginalized and peripheral condition, African songs, dances and rituals (sacred and profane) had to adapt and find gaps to stay alive. During Catholic celebrations, for example, black people could manifest their culture syncretically, transforming the ways of expressing themselves, using various musical instruments, adapting their choreography and dress, their songs and musical rhythms. Oppression and survival - human and cultural - affected the bodies themselves: the bodies suffered the punishment of slave status and at the same time expressed themselves through music, dance and celebration. In this sense, the party can be seen as a form of struggle and resistance.

One example of an ensemble performing a batucada: Bateria Alcalin © Chico Santana

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Social context

From a social perspective, the batucada conforms to a community log-ic, that is, it constitutes a network of interactions and shared meanings. The musical making becomes viable by the consonance of collective movements and articulated sounds. For a bateria to sound good, a good coexistence between its participants is necessary, aiming at a consonant musical practice. Differences in the level of musical proficiency between participants can coexist in relative harmony when individual efforts occur as a function of the ensemble, integrated to it. Thus, to play batucada deals with a kind of openness for the collective music making, in other words, it is „to play together". This interaction occurs, eminently, by the synergy and engagement of the bodies, by the mimetic willingness to learn from "the other", to play according to the fellows' rhythm.

Political context

From the political point of view, batucada can be understood as a form of resistance - as commented before - but also as a potent tool of occupation and transformation of the public space. During the carnival parade of street groups (blocos), or by the presence of baterias in demonstrations, the musical rhythm acts as a catalyst of collective force, promoting a body engagement, giving unity and consonance to people and their collective yearnings.

Batucada generates a kind of empowerment, creates an interactive space by fostering a meaningful musical practice, that is, imbued with meanings articulated by the practice itself, by the individual–collective relationship.

Batucada transforms the soundscape of the places it occupies. Moreover, batucada can transform the very perception of people who come into contact with it - especially playing - by allowing a fluid and engaged musical expression, in which musical technique is no longer restrictive to play together. That is, it is relatively "get-at-able" to play an instrument, because there is a huge set and several people that supports the individual musical performance - someone who alone would have difficulty to play the percussion, in a bateria can actively participate. In this sense, batucada

generates a kind of empowerment, creates an interactive space by fostering a meaningful musical practice, that is, imbued with meanings articulated by the practice itself, by the individual-collective relationship.

Perspectives outside Brazil

Considering all these aspects, we can glimpse some of the reasons that mobilize non-Brazilians to participate in drumming groups from all over the globe. It should also be noted that in foreign contexts, batucada is also fascinating by its "joy" and "spontaneity", especially by its close relationship with carnival - a globally admired party, a "glorified center point" (Bystron, Santana, 2019, p. 198). However, foreign people are not always aware of some meanings of this event, of its complexity as a Brazilian cultural manifestation.

In foreign contexts, batucada is also fascinating by its "joy" and "spontaneity", especially by its close relationship with carnival – a globally admired party, a "glorified center point".

A certain fascination with carnival is common due to its more "futile" side, for its „libidinous" and „brazen" character. Carnival, as a popular manifestation, goes far beyond just a libertarian party, it is enveloped by political issues ranging from logistics to improve a samba school parade, or the hard efforts to organize a bloco, the tensions with the government and sponsors, the carnival spectacularization under a capitalist bias and a supposed hierarchical inversion in the Brazilian social positions. The access of foreigners to tourism videos and advertisements, greatly increased by the Internet, hardly reveal the multidimensionality of this party. That is, carnival tends to be seen as a great social fraternization (sometimes with a sexual connotation, by a distorted prejudice perspective), when in fact it is a multifaceted event, with complex and different characteristics in each part of Brazil, with various socio-political tensions. Batucada can thus also be superficially perceived as a „just" joyous and festive manifestation - which is not.

Why people play Batucada outside Brazil

Understanding the human relations (social and cultural) that are established in batucada depends on a broader and deeper analysis, which would

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escape the objective of this essay. The samba batucada can be seen as a kind of experience that extends beyond the musical dimension. The musical aspects reflect how people learn, as well as some social issues related to the cultural context. Therefore, I present below some aspects of foreigners' engagement with the practice of drumming, from the perspective of the perception, motivation, difficulties and functions of playing samba outside Brazil. I share some personal experiences that made me reflect on the batucada's presence in a foreign context. These are supported by over 15 years as director of the "Bateria Alcalina" (Campinas, Brazil), 13 years as percussionist of the traditional samba school „Nenê de Vila Matilde" (São Paulo, Brazil), as well as in other Brazilian and foreigners samba groups.

How to make batucada swing

My first experience with batucada outside Brazil was in Croatia. In 2002 I was in the city of Bjelovar on the occasion of the International Percussion Ensemble Week (IPEW). Coincidentally, the festival took place on carnival days (which usually happens in February) and because of that I was invited to organize a bateria with the percussionists there. They were high-level performance musicians, with great instrumental technique and skills within European classical music (there were participants from Croatia, France, Portugal, Spain and the United States). As it was an improvised and spontaneous activity, I had about fifteen minutes to teach the basics of samba percussion in order to set up a batucada. Besides not having the right instruments, I quickly realized that it was not so easy for those musicians to expressively articulate the rhythm of samba – even dealing with percussionists well trained in symphonic and contemporary music. Obviously playing collectively cyclic rhythmic patterns was not a difficulty for the group. However, the sound of the ensemble did not, in fact, sound like samba (not only because of the instruments adaptation). There I wondered: what is it about samba that characterizes it as such? Or in other words, how to create the so-called „swing"[1] inherent in this type of music?

It was not so easy for those musicians to expressively articulate the rhythm of samba – even dealing with percussionists well trained in symphonic and contemporary music.

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On this occasion, during our brief rehearsal and public performance at the streets of the small Croatian town, I was surprised by the great pleasure of the percussionists during that experience. Some Croatian musicians told me that they could abandon classical percussion studies and go to Brazil "just" to play surdo during the carnival. Even with all the issues regarding the "quality" of our samba ensemble, for some musicians the performance that day was transformative, it opened a kind of insight into the beauty and relevance of a powerful musical making. The spontaneous collective practice and a strong body engagement, has aroused a new sensibility in relation to another kind of musical making, different from the repertoire, techniques and aesthetics of the classical music. In fact, batucada has its own complexity and it would be wrong to say that it is "simpler" - it is different, it has other forms of expressiveness. Mostly, non-Brazilian percussionists were fascinated, even though they couldn't play with "swing" (something they probably didn't even notice!).

The spontaneous collective practice and a strong body engagement, has aroused a new sensibility in relation to another kind of musical making, different from the repertoire, techniques and aesthetics of the classical music.

How to develop the inherent batucada's corporeality

A few years later, I started to work with batucada's groups in Berlin and Weimar. Historically, the political movement of the 1968 generation stimulated a demand for foreign popular music in Germany; the wish for a global peaceful society was reflected by the concept of world music, and many European musicians were inspired by foreign music cultures (Bystron, Santana, 2019, p.196). Dudu Tucci was one of the first Brazilian percussionists who founded samba groups in Germany during the 1980s. Today the samba festival in Coburg (Bavaria) is known as one of the largest samba events outside of Brazil. During three days, around 100 samba groups present themselves in front of 200,000 visitors. Then, it is possible to find several batucada's groups all around Europe and Germany.

While watching a Berliner batuacada's group in 2015, I had a dialogue with a Brazilian musician who was there. We got to the point that individually everyone played "well", but there was some difficulty on playing "together".

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That is, each percussionist in the group was performing "correctly" the rhythmic pattern of his instrument, but it was missing the „openness" to interact, that is, to flex each individual way of playing concerning the ensemble. And this was the core of the swing problem in that occasion. It is tempting to fall into the cliché of justifying this fact for a supposed „coldness" of the German people compared to the Brazilian people. But the question goes beyond this superficial level. More than a cultural stigma, what was evident at that time was the lack of openness to a fluid body engagement with musical practice. As much as the Germans enjoyed playing at that moment, what was quite evident, there was a „foreign corporeality", that is, a discrepant body engagement in relation to the musical and performance characteristics of the Brazilian samba.

Around that time, I started giving workshops and short courses of batucada in Germany. On these occasions, I noticed that the main focus of the work should be on the development of the inherent batucada's corporeality. I worked out several activities in order to create a body engagement with the musical practice, besides exercises to foster the interaction between participants. That is, more than working the musical technique necessary to play a Brazilian percussion instrument, we worked to develop a body awareness that could facilitate collective practice. And we got great results! People had to learn how to change their movements, how to acts concerning the others.

Batucada as a collective expression

I continued to have contact with German groups and batucadas from other parts of the world. I would say that one of the main aspects that attract

Batucada as a collective expression
© Chico Santana

people to these groups is exactly the opportunity for interaction and collective expression. A bateria allows people to interactively play, participate in something together with others, and become part of a group. This can be a transformative experience, either because of the possibility of expressing yourself musically within an ensemble with powerful sound, or for the very opportunity for social interaction. That is, playing in a bateria creates a social circle of friendships, and it is no coincidence that the greater group's sociability, better the musicality of the ensemble. Although this is not a rule, I have had several experiences that demonstrated how social interaction may reflect in musical interaction - fundamental to a good batucada.

In Weimar and its region, there is a good example on the social function of batucada's practice. "Escola Popular" is a project based on Lutheran Church that promotes percussion classes (mainly for children) using the collectiveness of samba to develop sociability and integration. Despite the different cultural context, this project has been working successfully for around 20 years (they also work with Capoeira, another Afro-Brazilian manifestation). Then, what we may think is that batucada goes further any kind of national border, and its utopic essence about harmonic coexistence of differences is one of its main aspect.

In Argentina there is another good example of „batucada without borders". In 2015 I have worked with a percussionist and teacher from the UN-CUYU University in Mendoza, Leandro Parés, and he has created a bateria

The bateria „Escola Popular" from Weimar as a good example on the social function of batucada's practice.
© Escola Popular

there. Since then, the group called „Batucada Puncuyu" has been working several social aspects through the collective Brazilian percussion, acting in the poor neighborhoods of Mendoza city, promoting extension projects in partnership with the University and communities.

If there is a huge discrepancy regarding the socio-political context of Brazil and Germany, batucada can be seen as an „utopian" practice, capable of creating an interactive space of equity where the motor difficulties on musical techniques are settled by the force of a powerful ensemble. That is, the collective musical making supports the expression of each one, which is transformed by the awareness of the individual's ability to play an instrument, as well as the integration into a group, into a kind of community. In foreigners groups of samba, it is common to find Brazilian people. Normally, who lives abroad consider the batucada practice an opportunity to be in contact with their own culture, to develop a shared sense of community.

Does batucada work outside Brazil as it intent to be?

Considering these perspectives on batucada, it would be possible to ask if there is any kind of cultural appropriation of this Brazilian manifestation by foreign groups. I believe that if there is an awareness of the historical aspects and other dimensions inherent to this type of manifestation, it is not an appropriation in the sense of usurpation, but rather a use of this practice as a form of expressive and social development. However, due to the factors discussed, the batucada performed in a different context will present other musical characteristics, with a relativized concept of swing

Another good example for „batucada without borders": The argentinian group „Batucada Puncuyu" © Batucada Puncuyu

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itself and, consequently, of the very enjoyment of this musical manifestation. Within a transcultural perspective, we may observe that the foreign context and the contact with other cultures transforms the batucada in terms of its sound, organization as a group, functions and perceptions.

Returning to the question of swing, I have realized that this quite subjective dimension can be accessed through the corporeality and interactivity inherent to the collective musical making of batucada. I believe that many foreigners can not feel the supposed lack of swing due to the difficulty for engaging corporally and expressively to this kind of musical making. Above all, it would not be correct to say that the Germans - or any other non-Brazilian - cannot play with swing. These is not a "national" issue, but cultural traits of societies with diverse socio-political and historical contexts. Batucada in foreign countries is not necessarily linked to dance and party, which narrows certain musical aspects that characterize it within Brazilian context.

It is worth mentioning that batucada, an expression of the African diaspora in Brazil, tends to be underappreciated as an art form. In some experiences I had in Europe, I noticed prejudiced ways of looking at this kind of musical practice, as an "exotic" music. To establish a connection with batucada it is necessary to relativize the perspective (of seeing, listening and feeling), seeking to understand several factors inherent to this manifestation - such as the dimension of corporeality itself (the main aspect related to the musical swing). Batucada has expressive characteristics and nuances very different from European classical music. This does not make it smaller or less complex, but rather shows how music is a socio-cultural phenomenon with varied expressive possibilities, which are reflected in various forms of engagement and enjoyment. A shift from the Eurocentric perspective is required for a real batucada's experience. The experience of batucada does not depend on where you are, but on your openness to other kinds of sensibility, to the awareness of the transformative force it has as a potent collective and communal cultural manifestation. In this sense, batucada is an important kind of practice, somehow revolutionary, specially in those days of social tensions, religious and political intolerance.

Batucada is more than an art form, it is a kind of community expression and we may perceive this in our own body, through the openness to be together with others, everywhere.

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In Flux

The Making of Indian Museums and Their Audiences

By Habiba Insaf

The first museum in India was established in 1814 following on the heels of museum-making that had swept Europe in the late 18th century. Though located closely in time, the reception, function and development of museums in India could not have been more different than its European counterpart. The survival of museums in India, a western import to the subcontinent, is characterised by remarkable shape shifting - from being important sites for the materialisation of colonial knowledge - gathering and later, the performance of nationhood, to its present day resurrection as places of memorialisation, community engagement, and scientific and cultural learning. The resultant increasingly complex, unique and vibrant museum landscape has not only changed the audience that visits it but has in turn been transformed by the visitors and their presence.

This article will explore the reciprocal relationship between museums and its visitors with reference to India; how the museum through its institutional regulations, forms of addressal and careful narrativizing shapes the visitor and her experience, and how the visitor actively negotiates, appropriates, and re-defines the museum to change its meaning, function and patterns of usage.

Beginning of Museums

Museums, as we know them today, were first conceived in Europe when the eclectic curiosities emerging from a private impulse to collect were granted public access. While histories of collecting date back to early human civilisations, it was during the Renaissance that a new passion for collection fuelled by increased travel, voyages of discovery, and the spirit of enlightenment emerged among European rulers and aristocrats. This led to the formation of specific spaces for collection and display called Cabinet of Curiosities or Wunderkammer, widely seen as the precursor of the modern museum (Macdonald 2006, p. 83).

The symbolic transfer of ownership of the collection, now reframed as 'heritage', from a single individual to the masses signalled the end of the feudal regime and offered a sense of partial citizenship to the masses (Singh 2019, p. 2).

While on the one hand, the universal, public access to elite European collections was a direct outcome of the demands of the people who, inspired by the values of the French Revolution, saw entrance to museums as a right, not a privilege, on the other, museums in India were colonial undertaking to 'store up in some place the knowledge and material that had been acquired by the investigators working in different parts of the peninsula' (Markham/Hargreaves 1936, p. 6). Museums in India were, therefore, grand storehouses of curiosities of its colonial subjects.

Response and Reception: The Ideal and the Incidental Visitor

By 1936, when countries in Europe had over hundreds, even thousands of museums, India had an abysmally low count of hundred and five (Ibid., p. 3). The colonial rulers saw this scarcity of museums as an indication of the low cultural level in the colony (Ibid. p. 3), which, in turn, provided rationale to British imperialist ideology and its 'civilising mission'. However, the slow rate of museum making in India was not indicative of the museums' unpopularity among the Indian masses that came to visit them in record-breaking numbers (Holbein Hendley 1914, p. 209).[1]

Interestingly, it was neither the collection nor the interpretive service offered by the museums that drew the subaltern visitors to them. Early

Left: A cabinet of curiosities © Jarek Tuszyński/ Wikimedia Commons

Right: Dr. Bhau Daji Laad Museum, formally known as Victoria and Albert Museum in the city of Mumbai © Muk.khan| Wikimedia Commons – CC BY-SA 3.0

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museum as Markham reports, were material embodiments of 'the Oriental manner and history … the peculiarities of art and nature in the East' (Ibid., p. 5) that served to advance colonial knowledge about India's natural and material resources. Moreover, most museums during this time used English for interpretative museum services like labelling and guide lectures making them inaccessible to a majority of visitors who relied on vernacular languages (Markham/Hargreaves 1936, p. 62). So what made museums so appealing to the poor and uneducated visitors forming a majority of its visitors despite the fact that the museums did not address them?

Museums in India were used entirely differently than museums in the West. While museums in Europe and USA were marked as elite spaces where one came to imbibe good taste and culture, museums in India, on the other hand, were perceived as places of carnivalesque pleasure by the masses who came to them to have the liberty to enjoy themselves within it (Singh 2019, p. 4).Under the aegis of the museum's subaltern visitors, the colonial museum established for a 'scientific research' purpose, became a *jadughar*[2] that entertained and welcomed visitors barrier- free within its magnificent modern setting. While popularity among the crowds brought large numbers to museums, they were not the museum's ideal or intended visitors. The incidental presence of the 'illiterate poor' who claimed their space in the museum pushed the educated classes, who thought of museums as places of vulgar entertainment, away. This apathy in turn led to reluctance on the part of the moneyed Indian class to donate, fund or sponsor museums in India.

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Even today, the majestic museums of the colonial period continue to receive the highest number of visitors than the smaller, more modest museums of the post independence era. The attraction of museums that were once the only set of well-ordered public spaces in India accessible to all, regardless of their class, gender or caste holds true even today among those who cannot find other inexpensive spaces for leisure and entertainment (Ibid. p. 6).

Visitor as Citizen: Nationalism in Museums

Independence from colonial rule dramatically changed the character, function and appeal of Indian museums. Like in many newly independent non-western countries, museums in India now served to strengthen a sense of collective identity through a carefully curated narrative of an enduring and continuous past (Singh 2003, p. 177). The mass appeal of museums was now mobilised to reach out to the crowds through objects and images. The colonial museums' hitherto 'incidental visitor' was now co-opted in the museum's nation building project. The Nehruvian idea of 'one nation, one people' was conveyed by exhibiting and embracing cultural diversity whose very richness and heterogeneity aimed to unite the people of India.

... the museum becomes a podium for the staging of collectivist desires and interest rather than individual stories and anecdotes.

In an illuminating study analysing visitor book entries by 532 visitors to a tribal museum in Bhopal, in Madhya Pradesh, Ina Ross notes how visitors are interested in the museum as a national project and what it says about their country or region. Under the museum's patriotic fervour, objects marked for usage by tribal groups now embody the unique Indian culture and fill the visitors, majority of who are non–tribals, with nationalistic pride (Ross 2017, p. 110).

Ross also found that most entries were written not in the first person but in the third, such as 'one should/must', 'there is a need', 'one little suggestion' 'advise'; or as a direct request: 'please do….', while some were written on behalf of a group with shared interests, problems or identities, for example, 'on behalf of the senior citizens' (Ibid. p. 104). While the lofty vision of nation building arouses a strong sense of civic responsibility amongst the visitors who express concern for its upkeep and maintenance, at the same time, it distances and de-personalises their experience such that the museum becomes a podium for the staging of collectivist desires and interest rather than individual stories and anecdotes.

Visitor as Devotee: Museums as Temples

The engagement of the audience with objects in the museums often takes unique forms of interactions different from those seen in the West. The circumscription of no-touching is subverted by the public in India for who museums filled with idols (sculptures) of their Gods become synonymous with temples to allow for the display and replication of religious behaviour like praying, sometimes even placing vermillion and sandalwood paste on the forehead of the idol (Elliott 2006, p. 68). The acting out of such devotional gestures in a secular place like the museum conflates the figure of the visitor with that of the devotee. In Hindu devotion, the concept of Darśan, the act of seeing and being seen by the deity, is central to the act of praying. This act of seeing is tantamount to the sense of contact such that seeing is touching and touching is seeing (Eck 1998, p. 9).

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In a hyper religious country like India, so intimate is the relationship between Gods and devotees that even the judicial system regards deities as legal beings having 'juristic personhood' – the idols of Hindu Gods have the right to own property, to enter into contracts and to sue. Within the Hindu belief system, the idols, though not flesh-and-blood persons are seen as living entities desirous of attention, care, devotion and sensory titillation. So entrenched is this belief that the transportation of the deities from the temple to the museums where they are now displayed differently does not necessarily translate into a difference in consumption by the visitor-devotee.

Towards a Newer Narrative

Beyond the trappings of the colonial museums and the narrative of the post independence nation-building museums, lies an emerging alternate museum model in India.

The inauguration in 2014 of Remember Bhopal museum, India's first people's museum and the first museum to memorialise the Bhopal gas tragedy – the world's worst industrial disaster – in many ways heralds a new era of museums in India. Within this community owned space, the exhibition of the artefacts, memories and oral histories of the communities affected by the manmade disaster is a survivor led effort. The visitor is, therefore, not only a witness to the colossal catastrophe framed within the lens of the state's failure to dispense justice but is also a participant-activist that tells the story of her own survival.

Another alternative museum is Conflictorium, a museum on conflict in Ahmedabad, Gujarat that contemporises the history and discourse of social conflict using participatory methods of engagement. Exhibits and realia in the museum are arranged into seven thematic installations that deal with different views on conflict - conflicts faced in society as well as people's memory and experience of conflict. The Memory Lab in the museum invites visitors to place an object they associate with conflict in a jar and write their story behind it, building up "an archive of memories that produces alternate and personal histories" (Seth 2019). The Pipal tree outside the museum is the 'Sorry Tree' where visitors can write an apology and leave its weight on the tree's forgiving branches. The museum also differs from existing history and ethnographic museums as well as contemporary art museums in the way it positions itself. Conflictorium defines its role as not just a space for staging thought-provoking art and ideas; but instead envisions itself as a social impact agent to 'reduce violent tension and to find creative community-led solutions to conflict' (Conflictorium 2019).

Conflictorium Museum, Ahmedabad © Shubh-sadhwani/ Wikimedia Commons – CC BY-SA 4.0

Perhaps the most radical change these alternate museums envisage is creating a close collaboration between the museum and its visitors – an idea historically kept outside the purview of Indian museum's mode of operation. These museums are designed and conceptualised to lead visitors beyond spectatorship and inhabit a new identity – the role of a participant-user - such that the museum becomes the community's benefactor and the community an equal partner in shaping the museum's programmes.

Visitor Engagement in Museums

The active transfiguration of the museum visitor to play multiple roles is, however, not a linear function of time and neither are these roles mutually exclusive. For example, the hedonistic crowds that came to the colonial museum to delight themselves in wondrous objects were offered within its welcoming compounds a glimpse of what it meant to be a citizen with undeniable rights to access public spaces and facilities (Singh2019, p. 6). Similarly, unmarried couples who take refuge in the museum's liberal, well ordered freedom to meet their social need of intimacy, whose public expression is otherwise frowned upon in a conservative society like India, are not devoid of the educational offerings of the museum (Ross 2018, p. 83).

But what continues to bring visitors to museums? And how does the visitor perceive, interpret and use the museum? Unfortunately, little audience research has been carried out in Indian museums to provide us with significant understanding about the Indian visitor's behaviour, needs and expectations. Historian Savia Vegas's study of subaltern visitors of CSM-VS museum in Mumbai is significant in this regard. She found that the

Left: Visitors at the National Museum, Delhi © Habiba Insaf

Right: Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (CSMVS) Museum, formaly known as Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai © Bernard Gagnon| Wikimedia Commons – CC BY-SA 4.0

arms and armour gallery in the museum attracted large groups of very interested and excited male visitors who spent relatively long duration of time looking at its exhibits than they did in other galleries and ritualistically took photographs next to the armoured casts (Viegas 2001, p. 18). A well circulated oral account ascribed the life size casts of Mughal rulers instead to local Maratha heroes Shivaji and Sambhaji; a belief that became so popular that it superseded the singularity of the museum's narrative to create an alternate object historiography (Ibid., p. 18).

Conclusion

Through its different stages of conception and development, Indian museums and their audiences have been (and are) in a constant state of flux influencing and reshaping each other. More often than not, the defiant act of appropriation by the audience is looked at with suspicion and met with strong behavioural and emotional regulation by the museum. Visitor behaviours that fall in line with Eurocentric ideas of museum engagement are classified as 'museum mindedness' while behaviours that do not adhere to these unwritten codes of conduct like touching and praying, for example, are discouraged. Such discrepancies between the visitor's needs and the behavioural script prescribed by the museum create a negative experience in the mind of the visitor who then abandons the museum as a final exercise of her agency.

The reception and journey of museums in India which stands in sharp contrast to that of museums in Europe has in turn lend it a character that is unique and vibrant. To judge Indian museums by Eurocentric engagement models disregarding the socio-cultural conditions in which the museum thrives offers little understanding of the rich and complex relationships that sustain it. When subversive visitor behaviours (with the exception of vandalism and other similar wilful acts of destruction) that are not in line with the Eurocentric engagement models are seen as transgressions that mandate strong disapproval, museums miss out on the opportunity to invite public participation in the process of institutional meaning making and create a new indigenous museum approach. It is only through an open and generous dialogue with the visitors that a foreign and fairly unpopular institute like the museum can be assimilated in the cultural landscape of its people.

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