Book Section:

1   Cosmopolitan Musicology

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It is my belief that musicology matters not only for the understanding it can bring to the meaning and purpose of music-making, but also because it can play a role in the development of social justice and a democratic culture. I will briefly retrace my footsteps along the path that led to the arguments I am putting forward in this chapter. I set out with a commitment to multiculturalism and cultural relativism, and so an early research interest of mine was in Orientalism, in the sense in which Said and postcolonial theorists used that term. Because I have always leant to the left politically, I was ever ready to stress the link between Orientalism and Western imperialism. I was satisfied with doing this for a number of years, but then I started to have troublesome thoughts about non-Western imperialism: what about the Ottoman Empire or the Japanese Empire? Was there an Occidentalism that existed as an inverted form of Orientalism? Finally, I began to have difficulty with a whole range of concepts from cultural hybridity to globalization. Sometimes, I thought social theorists underplayed human agency, and sometimes I thought they exaggerated it. In this way, I began to conclude that if musicology engaged with cosmopolitanism rather than national narratives about music, it would solve many of my problems—I would like to call them *our* problems—and I will explain why.

In recent years, the optimistic vision of a multicultural society has become clouded over, and even the vigorous efforts made to create such a society in Canada have met with disappointment. The Trudeau government passed its Multiculturalism Act in

1971 with the aim of establishing a Canadian citizenship that embraced diversity and tolerance. Unfortunately, this has scarcely been achieved, and the question of whether or not efforts to attain multiculturalism in other countries have built bridges or created social divides is now hotly debated. Among critical commentators on this subject, Kenneth McRoberts has acknowledged the strength of the argument that the policy of multiculturalism 'has impeded rather than facilitated the integration of immigrants into Canadian society' (1997: 131), and Trinidadian novelist Neil Bissoondath, who lives in Quebec, has put forward a strong critique of multiculturalism in Canada in *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (1994). Donald Cuccioletta has called for a cosmopolitan citizenship that 'recognizes that each person of the nation-state processes multiple identities that not only link him or her to their own cultural heritage, but also to the host country, continent, neighborhood, street, etc.' (2001/2002: 4). In the twenty-first century, these words are more relevant than ever. As the number of people who have links to more than one country by descent, marriage, or other important ties constantly increases, personal identities are less and less characterized by a relationship to a single nation. Canada now stresses shared values rather than national values.

Multiculturalism never asked anyone to be open to the culture of others, or to recognize themselves in others. It merely demanded tolerance and acceptance of diversity. Charles Taylor's *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (1994), for example, demanded only recognition of the identity and rights of others. Slavoj Žizěk has argued that multiculturalism follows the logic of globalization, which has seen multinational companies colonize the world (1997: 43–44). I would want to add, however, that some countries cope with this situation worse than others depending on their constitution and legal system. Multiculturalism's contribution to an

enrichment of social life on a large scale has been disappointing: it has been quite
acceptable for people to occupy distinct cultural quarters within a city and hope that a
cordial relationship might spring up between one quarter and another. It increasingly
looks like a vain hope. A report on community cohesion produced for the UK
government in 2001 stated:

> Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places
> of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate
> on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any
> point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges.
>
> (Cantle 2001: 9)

A report produced for the UK government fifteen years later indicates that those
parallel lives continue:

> Taken together, high ethnic minority concentration in residential areas and in schools
> increases the likelihood of children growing up without meeting or better understanding
> people from different backgrounds. One striking illustration of such segregation came
> from a non-faith state secondary school we visited where, in a survey they had conducted,
> pupils believed the population of Britain to be between 50% and 90% Asian, such had
> been their experience up to that point.
>
> (Casey 2016: 11)

I believe the time has now come to stop encouraging the packaging of culture into
distinct ethnic boxes. Where music history is concerned, I would argue that we should
offer interpretations that question the extent to which critics and historians have
prized ethnicity and nationality in artistic works. No branch of the arts furnishes more

examples of borrowing, re-using and appropriating across cultures than does music, and this is evident today in forms of popular music on all continents around the world. Professional musicians now find themselves interpreting and performing music from a large number of different cultural traditions, and in doing so are able to create something that speaks meaningfully to our own times.

Scholars working in urban studies have in recent years been increasingly interested in exploring transcultural exchange, examining transformations across cultures, and interrogating the meaning of cosmopolitan culture. A focus on cities offers an alternative to 'methodological nationalism', a term coined by Ulrich Beck (2002). In the twenty-first century, the movements of people and the existence of transnational structures have challenged the focus on nation-states in social criticism and theory. With hindsight, we can now see the beginnings of a transcultural entertainment industry in the nineteenth century, and how it grew eventually into a globalized entertainment industry. In the UK, for example, nineteenth-century transcultural exchange was seen in the import of French operettas and American blackface minstrelsy, and in the export of music hall, Gilbert and Sullivan, and musical comedy (Scott 2008).

Cosmopolitanism has returned to the agenda in the context of debates about globalization. Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande argue not for the 'world citizenship' model of cosmopolitanism; instead, they call for the goodwill felt toward one's own country to be extended to other countries (2007: 70). This presents an attitude distinct from both the nationalist and the universalist outlook, which strives to make otherness universally compatible by the exercise of tolerance based on shared norms. It is no surprise that they look to Jürgen Habermas for ideas on how to achieve consensus on

norms. The necessity of raising validity claims that can be accepted across different cultures is crucial to the arguments concerning communicative action that Habermas put forward in his magnum opus *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (1981).

The global and the local are not the oppositional entities they once were, and a reworked concept of cosmopolitanism could aid in their analysis. The experience of the global touching the local and vice versa has been characterized as 'glocalization' by some writers (for example, Roudometof 2005). Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider contrast cosmopolitanism, as something that happens within individuals, with globalization, which takes place 'out there' (2006: 9). Cosmopolitanism helps us to recognize the everyday relations of interdependence that link people in various countries around the globe. Examples of cosmopolitanism that exist here and now are the campaigns that involve human rights or the environment.

Motti Regev argues that in the twenty-first century there has been 'a process of intensified aesthetic proximity, overlap, and connectivity between nations and ethnicities' (2013: 3), so that some cultural practices that once signified particular identities have become part of a complexly interconnected entity. Regev describes this process as aesthetic cosmopolitanism. It does not follow that culture is used and consumed in the same way in different countries, and this is evident in the various adaptations made during cultural transfer and exchange. The local plays as much a part in cosmopolitanism as in globalization. Aesthetic cosmopolitanism requires a disposition of openness towards new cultural experience (see Szerszynski and Urry 2002: 468, and Urry 1995), but it also calls for the sense of recognition of the Self in the Other. It does not succumb to the temptation of Orientalist discourse in which the Self is defined *against* what is assumed to constitute the Other. Nevertheless, the

political economics of consumption play a role, and Regev acknowledges that 'the emergence and consolidation of aesthetic cosmopolitanism is closely associated with the rise and expansion of middle- and upper-middle-class fractions' (2013: 15). That is certainly the case in the early twentieth century with regard to the cosmopolitan appetite across many of the world's cities for adaptations of operettas from the German stage (see Scott 2017).

Regev also notes that aesthetic cosmopolitanism can be linked to the broadening of tastes that Richard A. Peterson and Roger Kern first analyzed as those of the 'cultural omnivore' (1996). Regev frames his ideas within the concept of 'late modernity', but there are arguments to suggest that the concept no longer applies, and that there has been a paradigm shift in modernity, rather than an aging process. Ulrich Beck employs the term 'second age of modernity' to assert a paradigmatic shift into a new conceptual landscape, and to distance himself from the idea of an end of modernity found in postmodernist theory. Beck's new modernity is characterized by the development of '[a] new kind of capitalism, a new kind of economy, a new kind of global order, and new kind of politics and law, [and] a new kind of society and personal life' (2000: 81). Whether these are all quite so new is, perhaps, debatable.

A history that focuses on cosmopolitanism resonates with the world in which we now live: a world of migration and tourism, involving the constant transfer, exchange, translation, and adaptation of different cultural practices and artifacts. Cosmopolitan theorizing has become an important means of addressing the new challenges that sociology faces in the twenty-first century, when existing concepts of society and the social are being challenged by what John Brewer describes as 'fluid mobilities and networks of exchange that render the idea of social structure irrelevant' (2007: 173).

In fact, fluid mobilities and networks of exchange can be found emerging in the previous century, through the cultural transfer of operetta from Europe, and jazz from the USA. Cosmopolitan art does not disregard local culture, but makes that culture available to others, and is open to the culture of others, too. The local is often just a part of something that is bigger than the local. Jazz is played around the globe, but there are local types of jazz even within the USA itself, such as the well-known varieties associated with New Orleans, Chicago, and New York.

In the twenty-first century, jazz, pop music, and film are the most likely candidates to feature in accounts of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan taste (Beaster-Jones 2015, Farrer and Field 2015, Feld 2012, Schindler and Koepnick 2007), but operetta was a forerunner. Once it was evident that the stage works of Offenbach were attracting widespread international attention, operetta became part of the new transcultural entertainment industry that developed in the nineteenth century. Long before jazz and syncopated dance music arose as cosmopolitan pleasures, the waltz and polka had become part of a music industry that was broadened and consolidated in the twentieth century. Martin Stokes remarks that record companies 'became the dominant institutional site of global musical exchange' (2007: 2), but well before this occurred city theatres and dance halls had played a major role in cultural transfer and exchange. That is why a focus on cities offers a productive alternative to methodological nationalism. Let us take the remarkable case of *Die lustige Witwe*, produced in London as *The Merry Widow* (1907). In the twelve months since its Vienna premiere, London's *Daily Mail* (3 Jan. 1908) claimed that this operetta had been performed 450 times in Vienna, 400 times in Berlin, 350 times in St Petersburg, and 300 times in Copenhagen. The article continues: 'It is playing every evening in Europe in nine languages,' and, in addition, it was playing in New York and other cities around the

globe (see Frey 1999: 87). It should be added that adaptation to the demands of the local involved more that language translation: scene changes, interpolated numbers, and even structural revisions were common.

Cosmopolitanism embraces cultural artifacts that may be marked with place, as long as they can be uprooted and moved elsewhere. The Viennese waltz offered this possibility, but not the Ländler. Some cultural goods appear to be marketable only in the local shop for local people. Other local culture has an ability to change in becoming part of cosmopolitan culture: think of Balti curry as a dish developed in Birmingham, UK, or think of English blend tobacco with its mixture of Virginia leaf and Latakia. If the idea of cosmopolitan consumption of tobacco sounds fanciful, I should point out that adverts appeared in the early twentieth-century theatrical periodical *The Play Pictorial* for imported Havana cigars, sold under the brand name 'la cosmopolitana.'

<INSERT FIGURE 1.1 NEAR HERE>

Turning to music, we see how German operettas by Eduard Künneke and Paul Abraham catered to cosmopolitan consumption by taking on American features in the 1920s and 1930s. Other examples are found in later popular music, such as Caribbean ska and reggae, which took on new features in the hands of the British group Madness and punk group the Clash. Reggae includes an element of Trenchtown, Jamaica, but belongs to the world. Similarly, the Viennese waltz retains a Viennese dimension, but belongs to the world. I will give a couple of examples among many. There are Cockney waltz songs, such as 'Pretty Polly Perkins' of 1863, with words and music by Harry Clifton (Ex.1.1).

<INSERT MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1.1 HERE>

There's an Irish waltz song about a Dublin fishmonger, Molly Malone (Ex. 1.2), often known by the words of its refrain, 'Cockles and Mussels.'

<INSERT MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1.2 HERE>

There are also African-American waltz songs, such as 'Black Girl' and 'Goodnight, Irene', both of nineteenth-century origin, but made well known in recordings by Lead Belly [Huddie Ledbetter] in the 1940s (Ex. 1.3).

<INSERT MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1.3 HERE>

The polka, too, belongs to the world. 'Immenseikoff,' with words and music by Arthur Lloyd, is a Cockney polka of 1873 (Ex. 1.4).

<INSERT MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1.4 HERE>

An African polka can be found as early as the 1880s (Ex. 1.5), in *Dobson's Universal Banjo Instructor* (1882: 36). Objecting that this polka does not seem African does not change the fact that the polka could only be given that title if strong markers of nationality had disappeared from this dance. The simple fact that this polka is for banjo is enough to rationalize the title.

<INSERT MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1.5 HERE>

Some musical forms do not possess this mixture of local and cosmopolitan. The Ländler, for example, is an Austrian genre, just as the Strathspey is a Scottish genre (although it did migrate to Donegal and develop a varied character). Both of them can, of course, give pleasure to the cosmopolitan consumer, but they are not cosmopolitan genres. A cosmopolitan genre is one that is open to international musical influences, as European operetta showed when responding to jazz. Jazz, like operetta, appealed to people from differing social and cultural backgrounds and offered them opportunities for participation as both listeners and creative artists.

Cosmopolitanism has a relationship to diasporic experience: a Diaspora can make great efforts to retain cultural traditions, but can also assimilate other cultural knowledge and practices. In the twentieth century, many displaced artists were attracted to modernism, which might be regarded as a form of high-culture cosmopolitanism. Twelve-note music, for example, was to become a transnational style of composition from the 1920s on. Some displaced creative artists, however, are difficult to categorize. Brigid Cohen has coined the term 'migrant cosmopolitanism' to describe the transnational and disparate cultural affiliations found in the work of Stefan Wolpe and Yoko Ono (2014: 215). She links her ideas to Homi Bhabha's writings on 'vernacular cosmopolitanism', a practical cosmopolitanism bound up in the everyday existence of dislocated individuals (Bhabha 1996). At the same time, Ono does not appear to have taken issue with the universalizing and utopian cosmopolitan message of her partner John Lennon's song 'Imagine' (1971).[1]

> Imagine there's no countries,
> It isn't hard to do,

Nothing to kill or die for,

And no religion, too;

Imagine all the people

Living life in peace …

In these lines from the song, Lennon envisages a world without countries or religions, in other words, without the ideological entities that have so often motivated people to kill others or die themselves. In the aftermath of the terrorist atrocities in Paris on Friday, 13 November 2015, one of the most moving and memorable reactions to these events consisted in the playing of this song on the following Saturday morning by a man who set up a piano outside Le Bataclan (the scene of the worst of the three attacks). Although the performance was entirely instrumental, the recommendation to imagine no religion as part of the quest for peace must have been in the minds of many who watched, especially given the mass murder that had just been perpetrated by religious extremists.

In January 2015, a symposium was held in China focusing on Jazz cosmopolitanism. Recognizing that jazz was both a national and transnational cultural practice, the symposium aimed to examine 'the ways in which jazz networks are constructed and established in various cultures, how music is translated, and serves as a driver for social and cultural change'.[2] There was a desire not only to investigate how jazz cosmopolitanism challenged stereotypical distinctions between nations, but also between concepts of East and West. Shortly before he died in 2012, Dave Brubeck said that the most interesting version of 'Take Five' he had heard was that by the Sachal Studios Orchestra, based in Lahore, Pakistan.[3] Perhaps we should bear in mind that the music of the Dave Brubeck Quartet on the *Time Out* album (1959), which includes 'Take Five,' is already cosmopolitan. The very title of the album alerts the

listener to the presence of irregular metres, which were a musical response to those heard on the group's tour of Europe and Asia the year before.

To broaden the discussion, we can consider Western composers who took an interest in interpreting and adapting the music of the Asian subcontinent. I say 'interpreting' because I want to distinguish their efforts from Orientalism. To put it briefly, an Orientalist art work is not characterized by the wish to interpret another culture but, rather, to represent it as strange. Orientalist art asks us to see difference, whereas the art I am thinking of here emphasizes common humanity—it asks us to recognize ourselves in the workings of another culture. In the late eighteenth century, composer William Hamilton Bird published *The Oriental Miscellany*, a collection of the melodies of Hindustan, adapted for the harpsichord. A review of a recording of these airs in 2015 described them as 'a testament to the powerful forces of assimilation, distortion and translation that governed the Western appropriation of Eastern art and culture' (Kennicott 2015: 57). I wonder if that criticism is fair (see Example 1.6). Would we use negative terms such as 'distortion' and 'appropriation' when speaking of the Pakistani version of 'Take Five'?

<INSERT MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1.6 HERE>

To understand the cultural adaptations going on today, perhaps we might adopt the term 'transcreation', which is used in advertising. Whether it began as an advertising concept, or as a way of understanding how to adapt computer games for different cultural environments is a matter of debate. Creative works cannot simply be translated for another culture, they need to be adapted in a manner that ensures their emotional resonance is retained for the consumer within that other culture. That

means taking account of the values, stylistic idioms and particularities of the other culture. The Bengali poet and composer Rabindranath Tagore argued in a public lecture 'Music and Feeling', given at the Calcutta Medical College in 1881, that traditional Indian music was unable to make the quick changes of mood that dramatic stage works often demanded (see Pritchard 2013: 207–8). In a remarkable example of cultural adaptation, he incorporates some traditional British airs into his Bengali opera *The Fatal Hunt* (*Kālmrigayā*). Rishi Kumar's song 'Come close to me', তুই আয রে কাছে আয় (Tu'i āẏē rē kāchē āẏē), which is sung in Scene 1. uses the melody of 'The British Grenadiers,' which is surely one of the most unlikely tunes a British listener would expect to hear in this context. If alerted to its presence in advance, the British listener would surely expect some kind of parody. But no, Tagore has adapted and shaped it to appeal to a Bengali audience and 'transcreation' does not seem an inappropriate word to describe what he has achieved.[4] He transcreates other songs in the same opera are with equal skill: for example, 'Auld Lang Syne', পুরনো সেই দিনের কথা (Puranō sē'i dinēra kathā), and 'Go Where Glory Waits Thee', ওহে দয়াময় (Ōhē daẏāmaẏa). When Tagore turned to original composition, Swapan Gupta argues that 'his internalization of both western and Indian music gave his own melodies their unique individuality and richness' (2012).

The world was shrinking fast in the 1930s and 1940s, and it is no surprise to discover that there were cultural flows between American and Chinese popular music. The young Shirley Temple scored a success with the song 'Polly Wolly Doodle' in the film *The Littlest Rebel* of 1935.[5] The next year the song became a hit for Zhōu Xuán in a Chinese version, 薔薇處處開 ('Qiáng wēi chù chù kāi' – 'Rambling Roses Everywhere'). Cultural transfer also moved in a reverse direction. In Shanghai, in

1940, Yáo Lì recorded 玫瑰玫瑰我愛你 （'Méiguì méiguì wǒ ài nǐ' – 'Rose, Rose I Love You'), words by Wú Cūn and music by Chén Gēxīn. The song was a hit in the USA for Frankie Laine as 'Rose, Rose, I Love You' in 1951 (lyrics by Wilfrid Thomas and Chris Langdon), and, in the same year, was recorded in the UK by Petula Clark as 'May Kway' (words by John Turner).[6]

At this point, it is prudent to add the caution that it is certainly necessary to be aware that cultural sharing and borrowing is wrapped up in power relations that are seldom equal. In the 1990s, a theory of cultural hybridity proved a useful tool for emphasizing this power imbalance. Postcolonial critics, such as Homi Bhabha and Robert Young, employed the term hybridity (in preference to syncretic) in order to suggest the idea of political friction within the mixing of the cultures of the colonizer and the subaltern. However, in the twenty-first century the mixing of musical styles that carry associations of different ethnic contexts has reached a point where a theory of hybridity is doomed to failure. For the *Strictly Ballroom Dancing* BBC television show of 29 November 2014, viewers were promised an around-the-world special. It included a couple dancing the Argentine tango to *Zorba the Greek*. I leave readers with the question: what is the cultural meaning of that? Perhaps our cultural theory has yet to catch up with cultural practice.

I am fully aware that negative images of cosmopolitanism abound. In Stalinist Russia, the contemptuous description of 'rootless cosmopolitan' was directed at Jews (see Botstein 2014: 133). Stalin was reacting against an increase of cosmopolitanism in Soviet literature, theatre, and film: 'cosmopolitanism that we all fought against from the time of Lenin, characteristic of the political leftovers, is many times applauded'.[7] In more recent times, British Prime Minister Theresa May threw out the challenge, 'If

you believe you are a citizen of the world, you're a citizen of nowhere'.[8] We might also take into consideration the apparent increase in nationalism in Europe and the USA, which goes hand in hand with a desire to build new walls around national borders. Nevertheless, when, in April 2016, the BBC World Service released the results of an eighteen-nation poll, which surveyed 20,000 people between December 2015 and April 2016. It showed that 47% of Britons felt they were more global citizens than UK citizens.[9] The average for this response across all the countries in the survey was 51%, the highest percentage since the GlobeScan surveys began in 2001.

Some people believe cosmopolitanism, or world citizenship, is a naïve concept, but I can rationalize my own view about this. I know what a helpful person is, and I can recognize a friendly person, a kind person, and a tolerant person; but I'm not sure I know what an English person is, or, for that matter, a Polish, German, or Chinese person. I should stress that this does not mean I know nothing of the *culture* of people who self-identify in this way, but, for me, cultural history and national historical narratives are not the same thing.

At the beginning of this chapter, I may have implied that I would be able to outline a future direction for musicology. I am afraid I am still grappling with too many questions to do so. However, I will end with a question I think I *can* answer. Where do we find today a type of music practitioner who has in large part embraced musical cosmopolitanism? I would answer, in digital music production. In substantiating my answer, I am indebted to a doctoral dissertation of 2012 written by Heidi Partti, which bears the title 'Learning from Cosmopolitan Digital Musicians'. She draws upon Etienne Wenger's idea of musical 'brokering' (1998: 108–10) to explain how the competent digital musician 'travels through as well as *between* communities,

transferring ideas, styles and interests from one practice to another' (Partti 2012: 151), a skill found especially in music studio production. Partti describes one of her interviewees as moving fluently between different musical genres, and talking about his projects 'with the same passion,' whether it involves a grunge band, an acoustic group, or recording trip-hop tracks (150).

I know it may be objected that such musicians occupy privileged positions, but that does not mean we cannot learn from them. In being prepared to share in multiple identifications, rather than occupying themselves with vain searches for musical roots, authenticity, national identities and all such fabricated imaginings, digital musicians are prominent among those opening up a future of musical cosmopolitanism. We should welcome it.

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ENDNOTES

[1] When interviewed after the song's release in 1971, she commented that it was 'just what John believed' and not 'what we believed' (*Rolling Stone* interview quoted in Walker 2007: 108). However, as I write, there are moves by the National Music Publishers Association to credit her as co-author. Lennon acknowledged, in a BBC interview given before his death, that "the lyric and the concept" were deeply influenced by her poetry collection *Grapefuit* (see Beaumont-Thomas 2017: 11).

[2] Abstract for Jazz Cosmopolitanism Symposium, Ningbo University College of Arts, China, 9–12 Jan. 2015. <http://www.rhythmchanges.net/international-symposium-jazz-cosmopolitanism-from-east-to-west/>. (Accessed 16 July 2017.)

[3] It is an arrangement for sitar, tabla, guitar, violins and cellos. See YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GLF46JKkCNg>. (Accessed 16 July 2017.) I became aware of this version thanks to the poet Imtiaz Dharker who, in July 2015, was a guest on the BBC Radio 4 programme Desert Island Discs. She chose this recording as one of her discs for the island. Brubeck's comment on the Sacha Studio Orchestra version is quoted on the YouTube web site by Bill Arthur.

[4] It is, in fact, the term used on an album of recordings of similar adaptations, *Transcreated Compositions of Rabindranath Tagore*, HMV STHVS 24269 (Calcutta [Kolkata]: The Gramophone Co. of India, 1991). Whether or not the term was intended in the manner I am using it is, of course, debatable.

[5] The original song dates from the 1880s. The 'Polly Wolly Doodle' excerpts from the film can be seen on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-dKLQSjxWHI>.

[6] The various recordings can be found on YouTube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wQxJ1oELfo0> (Zhōu Xuán);

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eYvlqNLXA90> (Miss Yao Lee);

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xpEGTSed1lI> (Frankie Laine);

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mNFoU29mRYY> (Petula Clark).

[7] Stalin on Art and Culture <http://www.northstarcompass.org/nsc0306/stalin.htm>. (Accessed 15 July 2017.)

[8] Theresa May's keynote speech at the Conservative Conference, Birmingham, 5 Oct. 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/theresa-mays-conference-speech-in-full/>. (Accessed 16 July 2017.)

[9] BBC World Service Poll (conducted by GlobeScan Inc.), 27 Apr. 2016, 4. <http://www.globescan.com/images/images/pressreleases/BBC2016-Identity/BBC_GlobeScan_Identity_Season_Press_Release_April%2026.pdf>. (Accessed 16 July 2017.)