The art of being different: exploring diversity in the cultural industries
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Citation for published version (APA):
Brandellero, A. M. C. (2011). The art of being different: exploring diversity in the cultural industries Amsterdam

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PARIS, CAPITAL OF WORLD MUSIC?
EXPLORING THE TRANS-LOCAL DYNAMICS OF MUSIC PRODUCTION

(Submitted for review. Co-authored by Ludovic Halbert)
5.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, a growing focus of the (urban) geographies of music production and consumption has highlighted the interaction between music production and place (Cohen 1991; Straw 1991; Hesmondhalgh 1996; Negus 1997; Scott 1999; Power and Hallencreutz 2002). Social processes are seen as having a significant influence on how music is produced, distributed and consumed: cultural, historical, geographical and political factors come into play in the mediation of music (Negus 1997, p.65). More generally, the music industry is often connected to local creative milieus and displays a tendency towards clustering in urban areas (Hesmondhalgh 1996; Scott 1999). From a more cultural perspective, the symbolic value of place in the making of a cultural product may reinforce the spatial clustering of cultural industries. It is argued for example that there is a specifically territorial value of a place which imbues the product with a particular form of authenticity (Scott 2004). In this sense, the concentration of cultural activities in cities with a reputation and a symbolic value would contribute to the success of locally made cultural products (Molotch 2002). As a result, the emergence of local ‘music scenes’ cannot be attributed only to serendipity, but rather can be seen as resulting from actively created and maintained coalitions and alliances between agents (Straw 1991).

However, the key role attributed here to urban networks should not lead to a conceptualization of music production as a bounded and inward-looking process restricted to city-regional level (Watson 2007). On the contrary, music production is increasingly be understood in the framework of wider processes of cultural globalization (Crane 1994), drawing upon multiple spatial dynamics of production and scales of cultural valorization.

Following a relational economy perspective (Bathelt and Glückler 2003; Boggs and Rantisi 2003), we view the commodification of creativity into cultural products as a contested yet self-reinforcing and reproducing process in which (contextually and historically) situated networks of agents are predominant. On a geographical level, this results in a dynamic trans-local socio-spatial system of production and consumption, simultaneously mobilizing multiple scales (Grabher 2002a; Wolfe and Gertler 2004; Wolfe 2009), connected via global knowledge pipelines (Bathelt, Malmberg et al. 2004b). The competitiveness of a cluster and the success of its outputs is also connected to the ability to draw upon globally dispersed markets, calling for an analysis which combines the unpacking of local production and wider access to buyers’ dynamics (Power and Hallencreutz 2007).

This approach invites us to explore both the trans-local interdependencies and the local specificities of cultural production, or in a more general perspective, the multifarious and interrelated scales and linkages of cultural production and consumption networks. In other words, the concentration of cultural industries in large city-regions does not merely result from positive externalities beneficially impacting production activities (as in the traditional cluster approach) but also reflects city-regional networks’ ability to draw upon and combine the multiple scales and territories of cultural production (Crevoisier and Jeannerat 2009). Be it in the very content of
cultural products (their symbolic value), in their clustered but nonetheless networked modes of production (between local and distant clusters), in the geography of cultural consumption that is spread between numerous and often fragmented markets, or even in the collective actions undertaken locally, large city-regions appear to have the unique ability to pull together geographically differentiated resources into a cultural product. The resulting hypothesis is that some city-regions develop a competitive advantage over other locations not only because they host heterogeneous resources (Jacobs 1969) that may be combined fortuitously (see the notion of serendipity Hall 1998, page 21), but also because they concentrate the trans-local networks that have developed the ability to match these heterogeneous resources to anticipate or meet market expectations (Halbert 2010).

The case of world music provides an illuminating example of how geographical scales and distanced places are intrinsically combined in ‘intermediary arrangements’ that constitute the networked nature of (urban) cultural production (Latour 1993:122). The genre is generally characterized by a multiple deterritorialisation of musical outputs: firstly, the transmission and consumption of ‘local’ music occurs far beyond the local, regional and national boundaries (Connell and Gibson 2003). The spatial distance between the loci of creativity and its consumption is a crucial component of the aura of authenticity often created around the marketing of world music products, and allows mostly post-colonial urban societies to experiment the illusion of a still preserved otherness (Connell and Gibson 2003). Secondly, the actual production and distribution of world music is highly centralized and structured around cities in Europe and the USA (Taylor 1997; Brandellero and Pfeffer Submitted). The co-location of actors specialized in researching, reviewing, producing and staging world music in the city creates a trans-local nexus of valorization, mediation and distribution of related musical output. Additionally, large urban areas become the stages where, through the vehicle of migration and more spontaneous (artistic) encounters, the boundaries between rural and urban, national and transnational, vernacular and religious music traditions become blurred and hybrid styles surface (Hall 1998). As a result of this fragmented geography, world music provides a case in point in analyzing the extent to which, in an era of increased (economic) globalization, cities are involved in a ‘continuum of relations in networks of varying length’ (Halbert and Rutherford 2010), calling for an analysis of local and trans-local dynamics of creativity, production and consumption.

The aim of this paper is to analyze how these relations and dynamics occur in practice, by exploring the evolution of the cluster and the complex ecosystem of production, valorization and consumption of world music in the Paris city-region. We first contextualize our paper by positioning it among recent work on geography and music. We then provide an overview of our fieldwork and data collection, highlighting the role of Paris as a pioneering city in the consumption and production of world music. Subsequently, we present unique empirical material on the geography of the world music industry in the Paris region and details the contours of the cluster. On this basis, the paper then sets out to deepen our understanding of the trans-local dimension of the world music industry and how it impacts the functioning of the cluster. Finally,
we analyze the critical juncture at which the cluster finds itself, against the backdrop of the wider music industry crisis, and the collective response by actors directly and indirectly related to the sector. While the cluster’s historical competitiveness may be tied to its ability to draw upon fresh talent, expert knowledge and a dense critical infrastructure of producers, venues and media, the future pivots around building upon established reputations and marketing the music more effectively.

5.2 MUSIC CLUSTERS AND THE CITY

The concentration of cultural activities in large city-regions is widely established in the recent literature (Zukin 1995; Hall 1998; Scott 2000a; Florida 2002; Lloyd 2004; Scott 2004). Major city-regions such as New York, Los Angeles, London, Berlin or Paris constitute both a site of cultural production and of consumption, where some districts are emblematic, thriving on social agglomeration and proximity (see Hall 1998; Lloyd 2006; Currid 2007a). Various forms of proximity (Rallet and Torre 1998; spatial but also organisational, institutional, cognitive, etc. Boschma 2005) account for the resilience and dominance of several city-regions as global cultural production sites in the world (Scott 2005; Currid 2006), as the density of cultural producers multiplies possibilities for career advancement and positive spillovers of agglomeration (Currid and Connolly 2008). The work of individuals and organizations is incorporated in a series of professional and social networks that coordinate an economy defined as ecologies of projects (Grabher 2002b), which, as a result, constitutes a highly vertically disintegrated but functionally integrated system of production (Piore and Sabel 1986; Caves 2000; Scott 2000a), combined with a highly networked ‘art world’ (Becker 1982; Leyshon 2001). In a more recent reading of the multi-layered forces shaping the symbolic and actual development of cultural products, Scott (2006) suggests an understanding of the city as a creative field. In this analysis the interconnections between social relationships shaping human ingenuity and inventiveness, the entrepreneurial and technological forms that ensue, and the related economic activities and institutional forms are mutually driven and reinforced (Scott 2006).

Within the cultural industries, the relation between music and place, particularly cities, has attracted considerable attention from a variety of disciplines (Watson, Hoyler et al. 2009). Some research has recognized the relation between music, place and identity (Stokes 1994; Bennett 2000; Hudson 2006). Numerous studies have looked at the association of specific types of music with particular places, exploring local music scenes and sounds (Cohen 1991; Kloosterman 2005) and the social coalescence around musical styles (Straw 1991). More recently, greater attention has been placed on loci of musical creativity and production (Scott 1999; Power and Hallencreutz 2002; Gibson 2005; Watson 2007; Florida and Jackson 2009), with recording studios embodying the musical reputation of specific places, as key sites of technological innovation and relational forms of creativity (Gibson 2005, p.194).

By providing access to other artists and audiences, and to a lesser extent to urban cultural diversity, cities provide actual spaces of ‘fixity’ for networks of creativity and
production (Connell and Gibson 2003; Gibson 2005). Moreover, they provide access to a critical infrastructure of individuals, who are connected with cultural production and influence trends and public taste (Zukin 1991). At an aggregated level, these multiple networks constitute a loose ecosystem of production, valorization and consumption that eventually manages to link cultural production to wider markets. Creativity is selected and transformed in a city-regional ecosystem through complementary but contested networks that ensure knowledge circulation (Bathelt, Malmberg et al. 2004a).

As suggested by Bathelt et al. (2004b), we acknowledge the limitations of the notion of clusters reduced as a spatially dense ecosystem of highly networked individuals, collaborating, in our case, in carving a niche for world music and competing in the production and valorization of outputs, while simultaneously constituting a pool of alert and knowledgeable consumers. We posit that the Paris cluster brings together local and trans-local knowledge networks, not simply in the form of the concentration of production and consumption activities, but also through the flow of information, the constant, renewed stream of foreign artists, and the (formalized or informal) connections with experts and organizations, providing invaluable creative inputs and outlets.

Place thus becomes a prism through which to look at relations among actors rather than an object of analysis separate from the economic and the social (Bathelt and Gluckler 2003). While the cluster is dependent upon the ability to draw on these multiple scales, it also seeks to secure its position as a key node of codification and value added, as exemplified in a nascent Local Production System centred around the genre, which intends to position Paris at the head of a global hierarchy as the ‘capital of world music’.

5.3 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Our research proceeded with a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. First, we developed our own database of over 700 Paris region-based organizations involved in world music in 2009 (firms, venues, festivals and associations). The addresses of all organizations were geocoded and the data were analysed using Geographical Information Systems. Moreover, where information was available, we recorded the organizations’ dates of establishment. This enables us to draw the first detailed map of the music industry cluster in the city-region and highlight the specific (and highly) selective locations of these organizations. Second, using general and specialized business directories (CIMT 2007 and the IRMA (Information and Resources for contemporary music) online database)², as well as online data and complementary data collection by phone and via the internet, we collected information on the number of employees and revenues for over 50% of the dataset. This allows us to size up the industry in terms of economic weight in the Paris region. The quantitative data were complemented in two ways. First, we analysed a corpus of primary and secondary sources and online documentation provided by the various organizations and institutions under study. This permits us to draw the major lines of the history and contemporary evolution of the world music cluster. Second, we conducted 38
in-depth interviews with key actors in the world music cluster (label managers, venue directors and programmers, promotion agencies, artist managers, sectoral and cultural associations, and journalists), providing a sample representing the core areas of the production of recorded music and live performance, and knowledge thereof (the full list of respondents can be found in the Annex). The interview material constitutes an important element as it represents a unique vantage point from which to look at knowledge circulation on different scales and the mediation processes at work in the production and consumption of world music, as seen in the Paris city-region.

5.4 A WORLD OF MUSIC IN PARIS:
FRENCH COLONIES AND MIGRATION FLOWS

For over a century now, ceaseless rejuvenation processes of adaptation, renewal and transformation (Menzel and Fornahl 2007), related to both colonial and post-colonial dynamics, have contributed to the (historical) embeddedness and resilience of the Parisian world music cluster. Once a capital of an empire that spread over five continents, colonial linkages and subsequent waves of migration have animated the nightlife and cultural scene of Paris for centuries, becoming an important centre of world music discovery and consumption and an imperative stop for musicians from across the globe.

Throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, as the French Nation-State aimed to assert its power by demonstrating the extent and wealth of its empire on the domestic and international arenas, asymmetric (i.e. predatory) cultural relations between the metropolis and its colonies played out in favour of the diffusion of what would later be coined world music (see the Universal Exhibitions of 1889 and 1937 or the Colonial Exhibition of 1931). The year 1937 marked the opening of a significant cultural institution in the field, the Musée de l’Homme, descendent of the Musée d’Ethnographie, which played an influential role in fostering and promoting a strong ethnographic tradition. Thanks to the study of (elusive) ‘primitive’ societies and the collection of extensive recorded sonic material in situ, the museum made ‘exotic’ sounds available to a Parisian audience and provided a significant repository of knowledge for local ethnomusicologists.

The public sector impetus for the discovery and preservation of cultural diversity was reinforced further by the arrival of a large share of the migrants that were settling in the metropolis, among whom numerous artists were to be found. During the mid-1920s, Paris was enchanted by Josephine Baker’s songs and dance, by Stellio’s biguine, first discovered at the Porte Dorée Colonial Exhibition in 1931, and by Creole rhythms, gypsy music, as well as tango and rumba tunes. During the inter-war period, the neighbourhoods of Montparnasse and Pigalle acquired a distinctive reputation with their dancehalls and cabarets beating to the pulse of Parisian nights (la Jungle, la Boule Blanche, le Jockey, le Tagada, le Mirage, la Savane, la Coupole, etc.). In the first half of the 20th century, Paris was also the burgeoning scene of many ‘Arab cafés’, where migrant-workers-cum-amateur-musicians, particularly from Algeria, would
give evening performances for their local communities (Daoudi and Miliani 2002). During the 1950s, music became an important medium of political expression for migrants from the Maghreb calling for national independence from France (Daoudi and Miliani 2002).

This thriving scene of musical consumption outlived the decline of the colonial empire and gradually became more institutionally structured. Two elements contributed to giving a fresh impetus to world music consumption and, even more so, to recording and production in Paris. On the one hand, from the 1970s, the demographic profile of the migrant population in France diversified, through family reunifications. Between 1982 and 1999, Paris’s migrant flows underwent a rapid increase, rising by 20.6 % (+ 275,000), thus at a higher rate in comparison to the overall regional population (+ 8.7 %) and France more generally (+ 6.7 %) (INSEE 2005). Moreover, in the latter part of the 20th century, the number of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa increased (INSEE 2005). Supported by pioneering journalists and producers, artists such as Pierre Akendengué and Francis Bebey reached an audience constituted of both migrants and French nationals. In the 1980s and 1990s, the North African raï music developed thanks to Paris-based recording studios and producers and met its early public among second and third generation migrants, before gaining an international recognition with Sting and Cheb Mami’s duo. The 1989 procession in occasion of the bicentenary anniversary of the French Revolution also aimed to highlight the universality of the ‘French spirit’, by bringing together artists from Senegal, France, Guinea and Benin among others.

On the other hand, inspired by the ideals of openness and tolerance of 1968, a generation of militant-type producers and journalists (such as Philippe Conrath, Martin Messonnier, Philippe Constantin, Rémy Kolpa Kopoul) actively engaged with and promoted world musicians, by showcasing their work in festivals, newspaper articles, albums (Brandellero and Calenge 2008; Halbert and Marelle 2008). The members of this ‘conspiracy of cool’ made a career in the sector and are highly esteemed repositories of knowledge and central contributors to the vitality of the cluster. They also contributed early on to launch the international careers of artists like Salif Keita, Mory Kanté and Youssou n’Dour. It was also in 1968 that the Theatre de la Ville launched its “affordable” and multidisciplinary programme, in which world music featured prominently. On the political level, a favourable institutional context helped to provide a nurturing and (often financially) supportive environment, particularly during the years of the Mitterrand presidency (1981-1995), when a fresh impetus was given to the promotion of francophone culture across the world. This presidency was also marked by an increase in cultural spending, notably under the ministerial guidance of Jacques Lang, who was also responsible for giving amateur music a significant stage with the yearly Fête de la Musique (Brandellero and Calenge 2008).

The institutionalization of world music is reflected in the data related to the date of establishment of organizations within this genre’s cluster in Paris and its wider metropolitan region. The availability of information for 300 organizations in our dataset shows a boom in the creation of organizations (including venues, labels, sectoral associations), starting from the late 1970s, with peaks in the 1990s and early 2000s. The growing attention for world music over the last century has resulted in the development of an industry cluster,
structured around numerous interdependent and competitive activities, in the public
and private sector. The cluster is nourished by the presence of multiple niche audiences
(migrant communities, informed amateurs, ethnomusicologists) and of a welcoming
mass market, as well as the constantly renewed pool of musicians who have managed to
work their ways through the numerous legal, social, economic and cultural boundaries
(Brandellero 2008; Halbert and Marelle 2008). We now turn to an analysis of the cluster
and its spatial anchoring in the Paris city-region.

5.5 UNPACKING THE PARIS WORLD MUSIC CLUSTER

The production, valorization and consumption of world music in Paris are structured
around several spheres of activities. Our data offer an overview into 712 contacts in
the cluster, covering the majority of businesses and individuals actively engaged in
the sector. A first circle of activity revolves around support for artists and musicians’
and includes a variety of occupations (agents, managers, tour agents, promoters).
The production sphere (including labels and editors, recording and mixing studios,
producers) is facing severe difficulties in relation to the digital revolution and
diffusion of peer-to-peer technologies whereas live performances (producers, venues
and festivals) benefit from the ongoing revival of the live scene. We also distinguish
technical auxiliary services (provision of musical instruments), and knowledge and
B2B services covering the media industry and research. Finally, education and training,
offers an insight into the opportunities for world music instruction. Numerous not-for-
profit organizations are also important in the daily workings of an economy in which,
additionally, the informal sector is far from being negligible. In addition to private
organizations, the Paris cluster counts on a number of sectoral organizations dedicated
(partially or entirely) to world music. While most of the organizations are privately-
owned, there are several public or third sector bodies actively engaged in promoting or
showcasing world music, be it as a primary or secondary activity.

Table 5-1 below provides a breakdown of organizations by sphere of activity. The
lines between these spheres are blurred, due to the frequent collaborations of actors in
different professions and the presence of a significant number of organizations with
multiple vocations, combining information and training or tour support with venue
and festival programming, for instance. Moreover, our interview material points
towards a high level of flexibility, with individuals taking up multiple roles across
spheres of activity (for instance, a label manager-cum-agent-cum-legal advisor-cum-
tour promoter). In addition, the narration of our respondents’ biographies highlights
the significance of serendipitous encounters and ad hoc opportunities in starting
collaborative ventures and business relations.

Our estimate is that jobs directly and officially related to the world music sector
amount to at least 3,000 in the Paris region, with yearly revenues between 100 to
200 millions Euros, and around 160 venues and 50 festivals programming world
music. In 2007, there were reportedly 478 musicians connected to the Paris world
music cluster, either through contracts with local labels, teaching institutes, agents
and venues (CIMT 2007). Far from being a unitary system of production, the world music cluster displays signs of fragmentation along the genre’s sub-categories (e.g. fado, reggae). Although there are cross-cutting recording studios, venues and distributors, we also see a high degree of specialization among managers, labels and producers by country of origin of artists or style (i.e. reggae, raï, Caribbean, etc.). Our cartographic analysis is thus based on the firms and organizations that directly contribute to the production, edition and distribution of world music in the Paris region, unveiling a distinct and multi-layered geography (see figure 5.1 below). We now turn to a more detailed geographical analysis of the Parisian world music cluster.

5.6 A TRANS-LOCAL WORLD MUSIC CLUSTER

In terms of live performance, the geography is relatively concentrated. 40% of the venues are located within the Paris municipality limits. The success of other more peripheral locations, especially in the inner suburbs of the Paris region, results from the incapacity of Parisian theatres to accommodate the needs of world music artists. Discussions with industry professionals acknowledge the key role of the Parisian scene at both ends of the market. First, it is the place where more junior artists can create some buzz around their acts, in small theatres and cafés, and possibly reach the attention of producers and independent labels. Second, the city offers larger venues for more established artists of international acclaim (nine out of 10 theatres with over 1,200 seats in the Paris region are located within the Paris municipality). The lack of large venues catering for lesser known artists was noted in the interviews as another contributing factor for this shift to the outer municipalities, particularly for the purpose of hosting events attracting wide migrant audiences.

The geography of the 50 festivals programming world music in the Paris region is fast-changing and more than half of them take place outside the Paris municipality, particularly in the inner suburbs locations. Longitudinal data show a burgeoning of festivals in the region between 1989 and 2004. The genre has benefited from local authority initiatives to strengthen social cohesion by programming cultural events reflecting the city’s diversity. The city-region comes to play a role in the acculturation of music: it plays a role in celebrating diversity, in forming ‘complex affiliations that cut across socioeconomic, religious and ethnic boundaries’ (Bohlman 2002, p.136). A degree of ambivalence towards this was reflected by some interviewees, who saw this as an instrumentalisation of world music for political purposes. Cultural policies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sphere of activity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artist support</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution and retail</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and training</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple use</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sectoral associations</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical support</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


aiming to showcase diversity are also seen to be at odds with the French republican model of citizenship.

Being in Paris or performing there gives status to an artist’s CV, opening up opportunities to launch an international career and gain further exposure (Brandellero 2008). Paris is seen as holding a privileged position, a springboard supporting the progression of musicians’ projects. Some venues are highly influential in establishing the reputations of artists worldwide: a performance at the Satellit Café, the Quay Branly or the Théâtre de la Ville or the Africolor festival can constitute a career turning point. However, the festival organizers and venue programmers pointed towards the increasing difficulties they face in attracting audiences to events. The genre suffers from staunch competition, in a city where a multitude of musical scenes are nurtured. In parallel, the traditional media and communication channels have re-centred in recent years on the more commercially viable artists, resulting in numerous world music columns and programmes being axed. As new means of communication are explored, there is an on-going ‘communication battle’ to ensure the visibility of events and woo spectators.

While the performative side of world music is relatively spread across the metropolis, the location of firms directly involved in the production, edition and distribution of world music shows, on the contrary, a high level of clustering within the Paris municipality (60% of the dataset) and in a very limited number of neighbouring municipalities. The geography of production is thus more selective than that of consumption (in the form of live performance here). Major record companies follow the more general geography of both business services and headquarters of global companies in the Paris city-region (Halbert 2004). As in many other sectors, the western business district of the metropolis (IIrd, VIIth, IXth, XVIth, XVIIth arrondissements as well as the inner suburbs’ municipalities of Clichy, Levallois-Perret and Issy-les-Moulineaux) host most of the command and control functions of the music industry, including world music. A second spatial tendency relates to the geography of creative industries and artists, displaying a high degree of clustering in the north-eastern gentrifying districts and their adjacent municipalities (Xth, XIth, XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth arrondissements of Paris, the municipalities of Montreuil, Les Lilas, Saint-Maur, Ivry-sur-Seine, etc.).

It is in these districts that new waves of immigration have also contributed to the emergence of specialized neighbourhoods and numerous ethnic businesses. In addition to Pigalle and Montmartre, the northern part of the Paris municipality has seen in recent years the emergence of Château Rouge and la Goutte d’Or as key nodes of West African, Caribbean and North African music respectively. The first community music shops began to appear in Paris in the mid-1970s (Winders 2006). Their emergence can be seen as connected to the importance of music in the experience of migrants in Paris: as a sacred ritual, leisure, entertainment element of their everyday life. The choice of neighbourhood is far from accidental: in the words of a local record shop owner “the decision to locate here was taken because we had a diaspora market, with easy access to our customers. They come; they discover things, Château-Rouge, the market, the community” (interview n. 19, record shop owner and music producer, 23 November 2007). These networks highlight the role of spatialized connections which pivot around the Paris region as a place of encounters and inspiration. This vibrant
Figure 5-1: World music cluster in Paris and the Ile-de-France Region
world of music production is however rarely featured in sectoral newspapers and magazines, and instead relies on community-based and country-of-origin media, as well as transnational diasporic links with music producers around the world. Diasporic networks connect metropolitan communities across continents and trace cultural flow to and from the homeland (Connell and Gibson 2003, p.144).

Furthermore, Paris counts upon the presence of a significant number of researchers, cultural and information centres, as well as journalists and DJs specializing in world music and playing an instrumental role in its valorization. These actors play a key mediating role, taking consumers across boundaries of taste they may have (Haynes 2005, p.368) and developing new trends and tastes (Currid 2007b). In addition to these locally-based experts, our interviews with label managers, venue programmers and the media pointed towards a number of individuals and organizations furnishing their contacts in the cluster with fresh musical knowledge and access to artists both locally and trans-locally. These mediators display expertise either as ethnomusicologists or through connections to ethnic or national groups and practices (Frith 2000). The Théâtre de la Ville and long-standing label Buda Musique count on a number of experts, referred to as 'friends more erudite than me' (interview n. 17, label manager, 12 September 2007), either based at or travelling frequently to selected geographical destinations, scouting for hitherto unfamiliar sounds. They are pivotal in maintaining the specific identity of the local production system through trans-local circuits, and in shaping opportunities and constraints for aspiring musicians. Within the more traditional strand of world music, a significant role is played by public sector organizations, like the Maison des Cultures du Monde, established in 1981 and pioneering 'ethnoscenology', a branch of anthropology specializing in live performances. The Auditorium of the Musée Guimet and Quay Branly also play a significant role in presenting a year-round programme of performances and concerts. Quite paradoxically, while supporting the transnational circulation of artists, these venues may remain relatively inaccessible to locally-based world musicians, as their migrant status leads to a questioning of their legitimacy as purveyors of 'authentic', traditional music (Brandellero 2008).

All in all, the added value of co-location in Paris lies in the multifarious trans-local mediation networks that support (and are reinforced at the same time by) the virtue of status and 'being there'. This is not only a question of being close to the site of production and consumption, but also a question of being part of a specific creative milieu, either by voluntary or serendipitous encounters (Currid 2007a; supported by own interview material). In recent years, however, the pivotal role of the world music recording industry in Paris has suffered from technological shifts and lower production costs in the artists’ countries of origin. A key figure in the festival and production milieu claimed that in a sense 'Paris doesn’t exist anymore' (interview n. 12, festival and label manager, 11 October 2007), referring to the increasing questioning of its status as a galvanic recording centre.
5.7 RENEWING THE CLUSTER: A (TRANS-LOCAL) STRATEGY FOR THE CAPITAL OF WORLD MUSIC?

Maintaining the competitiveness of the industry has resulted in a series of collective actions over recent decades. Indeed, the world music sector reflects the more general trend in the Paris cultural economy, in terms of the multitude of structures of formalized collective order and civil associations (Scott 2000b; Halbert Submitted). Table 5.2 below gives an overview of the principal sectoral organizations in the (world) music industry, including representative organizations and royalty collection agencies. A number of organizations have regional branches or contact people throughout the country, actively promoting the preservation and visibility of France’s regional musical traditions. The timing of establishment of the world music-related organizations followed the phase of flourishing of the cluster discussed earlier. This could be explained by a growing reflexivity in the cluster and an internal recognition of its significance, culturally and economically.

As early as 1990, professionals from France (and now around 21 countries in all continents) joined forces in an association called Zone Franche, the first world music network. Its mission is to bring together festivals, theatres, labels, editors, artistic managers, media, cultural associations and distribution networks for an open dialogue on the needs of various professions in the sector and the pursuit of related lobbying activities and joint initiatives. In recent years, the association has lobbied fervently on the question of artist mobility and visas, which our interviews confirmed as being one of the main concerns for music programmers and producers in the world music field.

The Information Centre on Traditional and World Music (CIMT), constitutes a central node in the sharing of information and resources on world music in France. The co-location of these organizations in the Ile de France region (Paris city-region) and the numerous information sessions and workshops ensures the frequency of contacts and closeness of relations among actors in different organizations and professions, encapsulating soft institutionalism and social capital (Amin and Thrift 1994).

However, a key innovation in the collective effort to meet sectoral needs has appeared more recently, in response to the repercussions of the wider music industry crisis. Our interviews pointed to shrinking retail presence of world music, with the closure of specialized shops and minimal exposure in mainstream and non-specialized retail. Estimates are that half of the world music industry’s revenues have been lost in the last 6 years in France. This has been combined with a slow transition to digital of many long-standing world music labels, the online purchasing seen by some label managers as damaging the integrity of albums as cultural goods and sources of knowledge on other cultures. This context contributed to the development of several collective actions between industry members and local and regional authorities (including the Paris municipality, the Ile-de-France Region), culminating in the launch of Paris Mix in 2008.

This association has the stated mission of bringing together the Paris-based world music cluster, and aims to position Paris at the top of a hitherto unsubstantiated global hierarchy. The initiative emanated from several individuals, under the leadership of a French world music media company specialized (Mondomix). Building on a report
written by academic experts, the original public and private organizations have rallied the support of around 50 firms and associations, in addition to the City of Paris and the Ile-de-France Region, to develop collaborative and collective actions so as to imagine a future beyond the current crisis. Moreover, successful artists Rachid Taha and Khaled are the faces of the project’s promotional campaign. Paris Mix has the financial support of the city of Paris’s departments for economic affairs and for social cohesion, and constitutes the first Local Production System centred on the music industry in France. The project has recently received further recognition and financial support by the

Table 5-2: Main (world) music industry organizations in France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Name of organization (date of establishment)</th>
<th>Nat. Reg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musicians and composers</td>
<td>National Federation of Traditional Music and Dance Associations (FAMDT, 1999)*</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centre for Traditional Music and Dance in Ile de France (CMDT-IDF)*</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regional Association for Information and Musical Activities (ARIAM)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centre for Traditional Music Ile-de-France (CMT-IDF, 1991)*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Society for the Collection and Distribution of Performing Artists (SPEDIDAM, 1959)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Music creation fund (FCM, 1998)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Society for the Management of the Rights of Performing Artists and Musicians (ADAMI, around 1960)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Society for Authors, Composers and Editors of Music (SACEM, 1850)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record companies, editing and production</td>
<td>Musical Edition Syndicate (CSDM)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Music Managers’ Forum France (MMFF, 1999)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>French Union for Phonographic Edition (SNEP, 1992)</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Society of Phonographic Producers (SCPP, 1996)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>Francophonie Diffusion (1993)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector-wide</td>
<td>Zone Franche (1990)*</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bureauxexport (1993)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paris Mix (2008)*</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centre for Popular Music, Chanson and Jazz (CNV, 1986)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>Music Observatory (Observatoire de la Musique, 2001)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Information and Resource Centre for Contemporary Music (IRMA, 1986)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Research Centre on Ethnomusicology in France (CIRIEF, 2007)*</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Information Centre on Traditional and World Music (CIMT, 1992)*</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Paris Mix is based on a three-pronged strategy that aims to associate the trans-local mediations on which the cluster relies with more locally-based initiatives. Firstly, it advocates stronger ties between local production and wider markets, by offering greater visibility for locally produced world music catalogues and a digital distribution and sale of content via an online platform. Parallel to a web-based approach, a pilot project involved the setting up of five 'musical totems' in public spaces around the city, allowing people to access content. Secondly, it offers workshops and training to foster the adaptation of local businesses to digital technologies. Finally, it anchors its activities firmly in place, through a positive discrimination recruitment strategy targeting young professionals from economically deprived suburbs. Its location at the heart of the XVIIIth arrondissement, a traditional migrant destination during the XXth century, symbolizes the desire to connect to the city’s history of diversity and strengthen the sense of a shared social context within the cluster. Paris Mix’s tag line ‘Paris Capital of World Music’ denotes an ambition to position the cluster not just locally, but globally, at the head of the hierarchy of world music producing centres. Moreover, a proposal is under discussion to accompany locally-produced albums with a ‘world music made in Paris’ symbolic denomination of Protected Geographical Status. This constitutes a clear illustration of the ongoing attempt to make use of the local dimension of the Paris world music production system by its own promoters.

While it is early days to assess the effectiveness of the Local Production System, Paris Mix reflects a spatially embedded and socially networked response, but which nonetheless mobilizes actors at various levels of the Parisian social sphere of world music production. The initiative denotes the signs of the reflexive disposition of “local” actors that recognize a critical juncture creating opportunities for the regeneration of the cluster in a new competitive format (for other case studies respectively on the New York garment industry and on the Paris Region Image Producing Industries see Rantisi 2002; Halbert Submitted).

5.8 CONCLUSIONS

This paper has uncovered the dynamics of world music production, valorization and consumption within the Parisian world music cluster, and highlighted the spatially multi-scalar and historically, socially and economically-embedded dimensions of the creative field. The cluster has evolved from an ad hoc display of the music of the world, alimented by the passage of musicians and the cultural scene connected to migrant communities, to a formalized and reflexive cluster, projecting itself through a local scene of networked actors, the symbolic anchoring to place and its self-positioning at the top of a global hierarchy and world music value chain. The cluster’s competitiveness is tied to trans-local trajectories of knowledge diffusion, its transmission and mediation through individual and collective actions, and the mobilization of public and private actors towards a unitary response to the critical music industry conjuncture.
Taking a long-term and multi-level perspective, our study reveals that the world music scene in Paris cannot simply be explained by the dense network of producers. The scene’s historical roots and the role of key actors, combining entrepreneurship with an understanding of the societal significance of world music in a diversifying society, are evident, creating a strong shared social context. The role of specific change agents (Rantisi 2004), represented by individuals and organizations embedded in a particular contingency, is clearly recognized. The 1960s marked a turning point for the previously rather informal Paris music scene, with growing recognition of the variety of music from the world by institutions like the Théâtre de la Ville and the newspaper Libération under the impetus of passionate individuals. A fresh impulse was given recently by the public-private venture Paris Mix, combining a valorization of cultural diversity with an ambitious commercial strategy, firmly anchoring the cluster in place while propelling it globally with a rebranding effort.

This attempt runs two major risks. One is to fail to reach a proper equilibrium in mobilizing the different local and trans-local scales. By focusing too narrowly on the Paris cluster itself, Paris Mix may miss out on the artistic and economic evolutions happening elsewhere. On the other hand, by actively opening up to other networks supporting world music production, this may reduce its visibility as a distinctive site of production and thus reduce the appeal of its unique location. The second risk is that it also raises the intricate issue of wealth appropriation in a global production/consumption creative chain. How will the (dwindling) benefits created by the trans-local networks be shared between, for example, musicians from rural Africa, a local club in Chateau-Rouge, and a major record company?

Our study has also called into question the role of the state in shaping, directly and indirectly, the fortunes of the cluster. Paris’s function as a turntable for world sounds is clearly influenced by the country’s migration and urban policies, as indicated by collective actions in support of artists’ mobility and less restrictive visa rules. Cultural policy has not only contributed to the development of a locally-based critical infrastructure, but also to the encouragement of audience participation, though a strong focus on the francophone world remains.

The study provides a further contribution to research on clustering and knowledge networks and further points to the need for a trans-local perspective on cultural industry ecologies. Moreover, it calls for further analysis in the (formal and informal) collective actions within cultural industry clusters, beyond the temporary project-based pooling of resources.

5.9 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research has received financial support from the Urban Development Construction and Architecture Plan of the French Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and Sea (M07.03 14/06/2007 / 0002662), from the French Ministry of Culture and Communication (3980/60653) and from the association Les Faubourgs Numériques. Previous versions of the paper were presented to public authorities on
19th December 2007, to industry professionals on 30th April 2008 at the *Lavoir Moderne Parisien*, to the academic community on 12th May 2009. We would like to thank the participants at these events for their interest and stimulating questions. We would also like to thank Pierric Calenge, Ulrike Waellisch, Michael Storper and Robert Kloosterman for their comments.

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PARIS, CAPITAL OF WORLD MUSIC?

1 at LATTS (Laboratoire Techniques, Territoires et Sociétés), Université Paris-Est, 6-8 Av. Blaise Pascal, Cité Descartes, 77455 Marne la Vallée Cedex 2, France.

2 Additional sources include Observatoire de la Musique, Export Bureau for French music, National Centre of Songs, Popular Music and Jazz (CNV), the Zone Franche association, the Syndicat National des Editeurs Phonographiques (the inter-professional organization for the French recorded music industry) and the Statistics Department of the Ministry of Culture.

3 where Debussy is said to have first heard the gamelans from Bali and Java that will later influence his work (Azoulay 1997).

4 Formally known as the Musée ethnographique du Trocadéro, founded in 1978 from the pooling together of various ethnographic material collected since the sixteenth century.

5 Music originating from Martinique.

6 Due to the limitations of data collection mentioned earlier, these figures should be taken with extreme care.

7 with the exception of the FAMDT.

8 The present authors were part of the research team which delivered the report.

9 Other initiatives which have based themselves in this municipality since 2007 include the MILA, affordable workspace and cultural centre for independent music labels and start-ups, and the Centre Barbara Fleury Goutte d’Or, offering rehearsal rooms and a venue for amateur and budding musicians.