MAIA | Music & Arts in Action

Music and Migration: A Transnational Approach

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ABSTRACT

This special issue on the theme of Music and Migration addresses the highly topical theme of migration and the vitality of "cultural diasporas" through the prism of migrating musicians and migrating musical forms. All nine original articles, including our own, engage with broader questions of how new modes of mobility and sociality are borne out of the social, cultural, historical and political interfaces between migration and music. Through a transnational, comparative and multi-level approach to the relationship between migration, movement and music, this special issue focuses on the aesthetic intersections between the local and the global, and between agency and identity. By taking music as its specific focus, the issue seeks to contribute to ongoing theoretical and methodological debates within migration and diaspora studies, including those related to transnational networks, globalization and cultural flows.

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INTRODUCTION

This special issue on the theme of Music and Migration addresses the highly topical theme of migration and the vitality of "cultural diasporas" through the prism of migrating musicians and migrating musical forms. All nine original articles, including our own engage with broader questions of new modes of mobility and sociality which are borne out of the social, cultural, historical and political interfaces between migration and music. Through a transnational, comparative and multi-scalar approach to the relationship between migration, movement and music, this special issue will focus on the aesthetic intersections between the local and the global and between agency and identity. By taking music as its specific focus, the volume seeks to contribute to ongoing theoretical and methodological debates within migration and diaspora studies, including transnational networks, globalization and cultural flows.

WHY MUSIC AND MIGRATION?

Before we consider the main theoretical and conceptual issues at stake in this special issue, it is important to outline briefly why we have chosen to focus on migration through the prism of musicians' and artists' networks. There are several conceptual and methodological reasons for this. First of all, it allows us to tell a different "story" about south- to-north/east-to-west migration. The vast majority of academic research on migration is socio-economic in character. Most of the time migrants are seen as a source of social, cultural and economic problems for the "host" society and the migrants themselves are often portrayed as victims (whether they be political exiles, economic migrants, students or postcolonial "guestworkers"). Focusing on artists in general, and musicians in particular, allows us to render more visible other "types" of migrant stories, which are generally more positive, or at least more multi-faceted. Migrant musicians are by definition subjective agents whose mobility, whilst often determined by difficult socio-economic or political problems at place or country of origin, is nevertheless one of agency and self-determination. Many migrant musicians are also highly educated or highly skilled, without necessarily being part of a transnational elite class, and are able to adopt various strategies which allow many of them to turn their music into a full-time profession. Elsewhere we have shown in more detail the interrelation between musicians' cultural, social and economic capital – what we theorize as their "transcultural capital" (Kiwan and Meinhof, 2011; Meinhof, 2009; Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, 2006) – to make a living from their music in multiple locations, at "home", in diasporic or in other more diversified settings.

Another way in which music can help us to conceive of migration in ways which depart from dominant narratives is methodological: by following the life stories and career trajectories of migrant musicians as individuals, we are able to move away from discourses that essentialize ethnicity, which tend to emerge from research which takes as its entry point densely populated areas inhabited by migrant 'communities'. Instead, we are able to trace the experiences of migrants as individuals who are not solely identified in terms of their ethnic or national affiliations (real or supposed).

Glick Schiller and Meinhof in this volume argue in more detail for the need to move towards a transnational social fields and network approach to migration studies, whereby all types of people are seen to interact with one another, irrespective of origin and questions of who belongs where. In that sense, artists only offer one particularly potent focus for a much more generalizable perspective on such a complex area of study. Finally, the articulation between music and migration in this special issue explores the complex relationship between the arts and the everyday. All articles in this volume thereby consider the ways in which questions such as immigration and "integration" policies, the interface between cultural and social policy contexts, globalization, and capitalist neo-imperialism all impact on migrant musicians and music in a (post)-migration context.

THE TNMUNDI PROJECT

All articles in this volume were refereed and developed from papers delivered at a conference on Music and Migration at the University of Southampton in October 2009, which brought to a close an AHRC-funded project entitled *Diaspora as social and cultural practice: A study of transnational networks across Europe and Africa* (or TNMundi for short), co-directed by Meinhof and Kiwan, with Marie-Pierre Gibert (also in this volume) as a post-doctoral researcher. Before introducing the ways in which the different authors in this special issue engage with the very rich field of music and migration studies we would like to briefly address the ways in which our own work engages with the theoretical and conceptual contexts of migration studies, and introduce key aspects from our case studies to focus it empirically. The aim of our TNMundi project was to look at South-North, North-South relations between Africa and Europe, seen through the prism of musicians from North Africa and Madagascar and their complex networks within Europe, Africa and beyond. The project adopted an approach which foregrounded the life stories of individual musicians through which we encountered the multiple artistic, cultural and civil society contexts relevant to their lives and careers. The emphasis of the project was to focus on these musicians' networks across a variety of European and African spaces adopting a subject-centred, multi-sited ethnographic approach (Marcus, 1995; Rice, 2003). The significance in studying musicians as individual actors rather than as representatives of a particular ethnic or spatial community within the "host" and "home" countries and in following their personal and professional networks, lay in the revelation of much more multi-layered types of translocal and transnational links than are usually associated with migration and diaspora research. This does not underestimate or negate the often deep-rooted ethnic and national ties of many of the musicians we studied, but it creates a very different context for appreciating the complexities of their multiple identities and allegiances. Furthermore, whilst in recent years scholarship in the arts and humanities has increasingly focused on transnational networks and flows, there has been surprisingly little research which demonstrates empirically their everyday life realities and privileges the bottom-up perspectives of those involved. There has been even less work that looks at transnational networks and flows from a cultural or arts-based perspective. Indeed, the majority of research on transnational networks is part and parcel of a broader literature on the economic

and financial dimensions of globalization and the ways in which the latter is mediated and facilitated by large-scale corporate and institutional networks of transnational companies and organizations (cf: Appadurai, 1996; McNeill, 1999; Sassen, 1991; Smith, 1999).

A particularly significant feature of our network design brings with it a new perspective on migration which does not only focus on music and migration in the "new" country of residence; rather, we contend that in order to more fully understand the dynamics of north-south migration, we need to look at migration which precedes transnational out-migration (*i.e.*, internal migration within sending countries).[1] Often these cycles of movement which are internal to the sending country constitute the first steps towards transnational migration and, later, transnational return or circular (to-ing and fro-ing) migration. Our network model of migration allows us to demonstrate a wide variety of transnational connections between migrant musicians, their home countries, countries of settlement and other spaces and constituencies, and the ways in which the musicians themselves perceive and motivate these movements. Our main departure from existing network models (*e.g.*, Becker, 1982; Burnell, 2007; Castells, 1996; Collins, 1998; Holton, 2008; Landolt, 2001; Latour, 1999, 2005; Li, 1998; Pizzorno, 1991; Russell and Tuite, 2002; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998; van de Veer, 2002; Zhou and Tseng, 2001) lies in our mapping of multi-dimensional and multi-directional cultural flows. In using the concept of flows - and taking on board Pratt's insightful critique of the metaphor of flow as one of uninhibited movement (Pratt, 2005) - we do not wish to suggest that these trajectories run across easily accessible spaces. Rather, and as the life trajectories of musicians amply demonstrate, these flows need to overcome many obstacles and frictions. In order to describe these movements and the ways in which they are mediated, we have chosen to adopt the metaphor of the hub, which gives us both a horizontal perspective of channels of movements and their clustering at particularly salient points, as well as a vertical perspective of these clusters, where people, places, and institutions relate top-down as well as bottom-up in particularly potent ways. We argue that the transnational networks within which migrant musicians operate are facilitated through and by *human* hubs, *spatial* hubs, *institutional* hubs and, lastly, somewhat ironically by what we have called *accidental* hubs. Human hubs refer to extremely significant individuals (musicians or cultural organizers who work with musicians, *e.g.*, festival organizers) who are the main focus of the network; they are known by everyone in that network although not all the members of the network know each other. These human hubs not only connect horizontally a wide variety of spaces across countries of origin, settlement and beyond, they also link individuals vertically across a range of artistic, institutional and professional contexts. By focusing on the professional activities and life narratives of key individual musicians/cultural organizers, *i.e.*, by focusing on individuals, our work on music and migration allows us to avoid the dangers of "methodological nationalism" – a term coined by Wimmer and Glick Schiller to refer to a tendency within the social and human sciences to adopt a container model of society defined primarily as a national society (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003; Glick Schiller and Meinhof, in this volume). From that

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[1] For a detailed discussion of these different types of movements see Kiwan and Meinhof (2011).

perspective migrants appear as both outsiders to the nation and as internally homogenous ethnic groups. Much research on migration throughout the 20th and 21st century has indeed tended to focus on spatially- and ethnically-defined migrant groups, and has thus not acknowledged the enormous cultural, linguistic, social and political heterogeneity within any given migrant "group". Our focus on human hubs avoids this risk.

Spatial hubs refer to key spaces of cultural activity among migrant musicians, and, whilst there already exists an extensive literature on the importance of key cultural capitals (or commercial hubs) in the North such as Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna or New York (see Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, 2006), much less is known about spatial hubs located within the South – such as Dakar, Antananarivo or Casablanca. Institutional hubs refer to the key role played by certain organizations located both in the North and South which work to support the work of migrant, post-migrant and returnee migrant musicians. Examples include organizations such as the Institut Français, the Goethe Institut/ Goethe Cultural Centres or the British Council. Our network field design also allowed us to uncover links between musicians and civil society organizations such as NGOs. Some of these NGOs are based in the global North, some are diasporic in character, others are led and represented by non-migrant Europeans, and others again are based in the South. However, despite the varied nature of such civil society organizations, our research showed that one can regard these sorts of associations as representing alternative models of South-North-North-South mutual support and, thus, countering the notion that civil society NGOs based in the richer North are simply vehicles for giving to the poor South. Gibert and Meinhof (2009) have shown in detail how new and much more equal exchanges are made possible through the mutual respect and exchange of expertise between artists and civil society organizations.

Finally, accidental hubs are those where we, as researchers, became involved in the networks that we study. Artists tend to seek out multiple opportunities to practise their art and we as researchers also have multiple links with other academics, media and cultural organizations. Hence, it is almost inevitable that we as researchers became involved in the musicians' networks that we were researching. There is ample literature in social anthropology on the so-called "observer paradox" (Fisher and Marcus, 1986; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus, 1998; Armbruster 2008), and we decided to positively embrace our privileged links with the musicians whose lives we were researching, while all the time adopting a self-reflexive approach to the collection of data and data analysis. The three cultural events of TNMundi, in Antananarivo 2007, Rabat 2008, and Southampton 2009 (which included specially rehearsed concerts under the curatorship of TNMundi consultant and renowned musician Dama from the Malagasy group Mahaleo), not only demonstrated the potential of the artistic collaboration and cross-fertilization of musicians from different cultural and artistic backgrounds, and thus thematized and made visible some of our research findings, they also inspired a whole range of new and on-going collaborations between the artists, lasting well-beyond the reach of our own involvement through TNMundi.

By adopting a network field research design in order to study the multiple hubs and nodes of musical creativity in a migration context, our research has sought to demonstrate the ways in which many migrant musicians use *trans*cultural capital to make a living from their art. Transcultural capital theory was first developed by Meinhof and Triandafyllidou (2006) in order to describe the multi-layered nature of migrant artists' skills (types of capital). Building on Bourdieu's notion of cultural or symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2002) as well as Halpern's and Putnam's work on social capital (Halpern, 2005; Putnam, 2000), transcultural capital is a heuristic concept which allows us to describe and interpret the varied resources which migrant musicians mobilize so as to be able to make a living from their music in a migration context. In contrast to Bourdieu's notions of different types of capital, which capture the symbolic and social networking power of hegemonic groups in majority society (see for example Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), transcultural capital foregrounds the capacity for strategic interventions of migrant and minority groups. Transcultural capital captures the ways in which many (post-)migrant musicians maintain highly meaningful links with their countries of origin and the ways in which these links inform their creativity. By using the concept of transcultural capital we argue that rather than essentializing those artists who structure their creativity around their links with their countries of origin by describing them in ethnicized terms, we do not take such links at face value. That is not to say that these "ethnic" links are not sincere or genuine, but rather that they are often one of many ways in which migrant musicians identify themselves; at times they may play the "ethnic card", at other times they may position themselves in highly cosmopolitan and diverse creative contexts. Our observations thus resonate with other work which has been conducted on the commodification of difference within "world music", whereby it is argued that "ethnicized difference is both a matter of symbolic creativity and political economy" (Dwyer and Crang, 2002, p. 412, cited in Connell and Gibson, 2004, p. 345). Significant examples of musicians who have indeed felt constrained to play the "ethnic card" include Béninese artist Angelique Kidjo or Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour who, despite their "eclecticism and hybridity" (Connell and Gibson, 2004, p. 351), were required to be "musically and otherwise premodern [...] – because of racism and western demands for authenticity" (Taylor, 1997, p. 126, cited in Connell and Gibson, 2004, p. 351). In the case of Kidjo and N'Dour, Taylor argues that this engendered a kind of "strategic inauthenticity" on their part, since as Connell and Gibson point out both musicians - in a similar sense to Australian Christine Anu or Cap Verdean Cesaria Evora - had been engaged in fundamentally modern and transnational music-making long before the world music industry picked up on their work. In other words, transcultural capital describes the multiple strategies adopted by musicians who live and work in a migration context so as to reach as wide-ranging an audience as possible. Migrant musicians bring with them to the country of settlement substantial cultural capital. For example, the North African and Malagasy musicians we interviewed for our research project all drew on the musical and linguistic resources of their countries of origin and were inspired by the social, cultural and environmental contexts of their respective regions of origin. This "imported" cultural capital allows such artists to maintain links with their respective diasporas in the

country of settlement and in turn creates significant forms of social capital. The interface between imported cultural capital and settlement social capital also serves to create numerous creative opportunities for shows, festivals, recording, *i.e.*, it translates into economic capital. The musicians' continued links with "home" also create other creative and economic opportunities for artists in the originating country who may never have actually emigrated but who are nevertheless afforded performance opportunities within and through the diaspora. This gives transcultural capital a cyclical dimension as it links originating and settlement countries, but the fact that it affords multiple opportunities for migrant musicians both within and beyond the diaspora means that it is far from being an essentializing concept which locks migrant musicians into a bi-focal relationship between home and host society.

Finally, a key theoretical and conceptual concern underpinning our work and this special issue in general relates to the politics of globalization. Here, we understand the politics of globalization as the means by which ordinary individuals are able to critically engage with forces of globalization which are normally regarded as being out of their control. Much of the globalization literature privileges a top-down view of globalization. It is for this reason that Michael Peter Smith (1999) is critical of the type of research done by Saskia Sassen (1991) on global cities, since, according to Smith, the global cities literature of this type tends to focus too much on processes of globalization which emanate from above. Sassen's (2007) later work on global cities does in fact take into account the agency of migrants within the urban dynamics of globalization. Nevertheless, Smith's critique is valid to the extent that there is a risk that scholars of globalization ignore the crucial role played by individuals within processes of globalization from below (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998). Our work with migrant musicians, which involved the mapping of their transnational networks and of their impact on the cultural landscape of a number of localities shows how we should not lose sight of the human dimension of globalization. In this sense, our approach to music, migration and transnationalism resonates with Glick Schiller's concern for greater consideration within migration research agendas of global power perspectives and disparities.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

The main thrust of our transnational perspective on music and migration is centred on the presence of African migrant musicians who are located in cities and towns in Europe. Nevertheless, we argue that in order to more fully understand the "spatialities of transnational networks" (Featherstone, *et. al*, 2007, p. 383) and the creative practices of these artists in Europe, we need to be aware of the cycles of movement within their originating countries: cycles of movement which are often more significant for individuals than actual international out-migration, especially if these processes of internal migration involve a move from a remote village to the capital city with enormous socio-cultural and economic differences. What are the main motivations for people to uproot and leave their homes to migrate to the larger towns and cities of their country of birth? What kinds of networks facilitate such internal migration? And at what point does translocal (here, we mean country-internal) mobility become a stepping stone for transnational migration and how does

it spread out from there and in many cases back again? In order to answer these questions, the TNMundi project focused on the trajectories of musicians based in Madagascar and Morocco before expanding their networks into and across European spaces. Our book *Cultural Globalization and Music* (Kiwan and Meinhof, 2011) gives a full account of the complex movements and interconnections of these contemporary artists. Here we can only point to a few of the underlying concepts that informed our own work.

In our exploration of music and internal migration patterns in Madagascar and Morocco, irrespective of or prior to any transnational migration, we have chosen to underline the translocal characteristics of the interaction between cultural, social and economic capital – what we introduced earlier as transcultural capital. By translocal (networks), we are referring to interconnections within specific national boundaries as opposed to transnational movements/networks which go beyond national boundaries. We are aware that in transnational studies and globalization research, such a bounded distinction between the translocal and the transnational is not the norm. However, the advantage of such a distinction becomes evident when we discuss translocal and transcultural capital. Translocal capital also has cultural, social, and economic dimensions, but it works on a more local and regional level than its transnational counter-part. Translocal capital accrues by virtue of the musicians' ability to be part of and be able to express local styles and rhythms and thus appeal to regional rather than national identifications. In Madagascar the distinction between the regions of the Highlands with the capital city of Antananarivo in its centre, and the coastal provinces on its roughly 3000 thousand miles of coast, has a long history, with the music emanating from these regions being highly distinctive. Musicians in the provinces not only accompany the distinctive ceremonies of everyday life, such as birth, circumcision, marriage and burial rituals, they are also part and parcel of much more mundane events such as simple entertainment. Adherence to the cultural capital of the region may or may not overlap with an ethnic identification, and it often has a highly strategic dimension since musicians can access social networks connecting their regions with those who have migrated and settled in the capital city. In Antananarivo a particular district named 67ha after its size is the main port of call for incoming artists from the provinces and a vital source of support for them. Ethnic and/or regional backgrounds can thus provide artists with significant resources which may even translate into the highly exoticizing discourses of the so-called "world music" market.

In Morocco, whilst there does exist an urban-rural divide, in terms of standards of living, levels of education and cultural practices, the broader picture of internal migration of artists and musicians that we studied is significantly different. Whilst rurality was one predominant feature of Meinhof's research on Malagasy social life and the ways in which it intersects with music, Kiwan's research on new urban musical forms inevitably led to a focus on translocal networks and movements between provincial town and metropolitan city rather than between remote village and metropolitan city. Despite this difference, our Moroccan fieldwork did demonstrate multiple ways in which musicians from the provinces illuminate the

social and cultural dimensions of translocal capital. It became clear from the Moroccan field research which we undertook as part of the TNMundi project that being a musician in a provincial Moroccan town, *i.e.*, not in Casablanca or Rabat, poses key challenges in terms of access to crucial rehearsal and performance space as well as to recording studios, media and music professional networks more broadly. These obstacles were consistently mentioned when we interviewed musicians from towns such as Fez and Meknes, despite the fact that these two towns are two of the Morocco's imperial cities with a long history of nationally and internationally significant cultural production. However, the musicians we interviewed in these two locations were part of the hip-hop movement and their observations may also have something to do with the genre of music they represent.[2]

Examples of musicians in Morocco who sense that they are somehow on the margins include groups such as Fez City Clan (from Fez), H-Kayne (from Meknes) or Amarg Fusion (from Agadir in the south), who although successful groups in their own right, nevertheless highlight how some of the centre-periphery dynamics can impinge on the careers of other groups who are not based in either Casablanca or Rabat. Yet it would be misleading to overstate any marginalizing dynamics since most of the provincial groups we interviewed were also highly aware of the potentialities of their regional identities within the broader Moroccan cultural context. In other words, these musicians often played up their regional origins, by either underlining that they sung or rapped with a particular regional accent, by using their regional locations and affiliations in their group's names and identities, or by presenting their work as being part of a regional or localized cultural revival, for example through an adaptation and re-working of the Souss region *rwais* repertoire in the case of Amarg Fusion from Agadir.[3] One can argue that this tendency of certain musicians to play up their regional origins and to use them to promote themselves and their work is an example of one of the ways in which trans*local* capital has both a cultural and social dimension within national boundaries and in a sense reflects at an infra-national level, the employment of transcultural capital by musicians in a transnational migration context (that is, once they have left their countries of origin and moved to Europe). The centrality of metropolitan cities as cultural hubs within Morocco and Madagascar suggests that for musicians who aspire to migrate to Europe or beyond, they must first transit via Casablanca or Antananarivo, which are key cultural hubs bearing several similarities to the great cultural capitals and commercial hubs of the North such as Paris, Berlin or London.

Cities such as Antananarivo or Casablanca play dual roles in the cultural field: they are at once key creative hubs within Madagascar and Morocco and important nodes in wider transnational networks which link musicians to Europe. In both Madagascar and Morocco, Antananarivo and Casablanca house the vast majority of cultural resources such as recording studios, performance venues, rehearsal space and professional promoters. In addition, these cities are also home to the important network of European cultural institutions such as the Institut Français, the Alliance Française, Goethe Institut/ Cultural Centre and the cultural departments of national

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2 Kiwan is grateful to Marie-Pierre Gibert for her research assistance during fieldwork in Morocco.
3 Rwais refers to the sung poetry of itinerant professional musicians from the south-western Souss region of Morocco.

embassies. Finally, these cities are home to highly influential artists and cultural promoters, festival organizers, etc., who serve as human hubs in the sense that they are at the centre of significant translocal and transnational creative networks. Hence it is the interface between spatial, institutional and human hubs which gives these cities their specific role as key centres of cultural globalization and transnational networking. All of these developments suggest that metropolitan cities in the South have become a sort of *passage obligé* for aspiring musicians within Madagascar and Morocco, and not simply as a preliminary step towards transnational out-migration. In Madagascar, one of the most celebrated and long-standing musical groups, Mahaleo, consistently refuses to fully professionalize and settle abroad, instead using their considerable fame and social and artistic connections to support a translocal and transnational network of other artists. In Morocco in recent years, and in large part thanks to the dynamism of the *Boulevard des jeunes musiciens* movement, Casablanca is no longer necessarily seen as an inevitable stepping stone to greater things in Europe.[4] Often the end point is Casablanca itself, which invites us to call into question some key elements of our understanding of transnationalism, cultural globalization and migration.

Of course, one should not exaggerate this calling into question of transnational out-migration trends but such a perspective has an impact on the ways in which researchers should view the historically-established creative and commercial migration hubs of the North, such as Paris, since it may be that for some musicians based in cultural hubs in Africa, Paris or other European capital cities may no longer be such an irresistible cultural magnet as in the past. This is not to deny the very powerful pull that Paris exerts. Throughout the 20th century, Paris has occupied a central role as a key site for artistic and cultural creativity across a wide spectrum of genres and artistic endeavours. It has played a specific role as a cultural hub for musicians of francophone migrant background (see Winders, 2006 on sub-Saharan African musicians), and the presence of Malagasy and the much stronger presence of North African musicians within the city today is testament to a long and rich history of artistic migration. The influence of North African musicians in Paris dates back to the early 20th century. As Daoudi and Miliani (2002) have shown, the first recordings of Algerian (kabyle) music in Paris took place in 1910, and, by the 1930s, there was already a plethora of performance venues in form of the Latin Quarter's *cafés maghrébins*. With the advent of independence in Morocco and Tunisia in 1956 and Algeria in 1962, many Paris-based musicians returned to the Maghreb but this sense of optimism did not flourish in these newly independent states and many ended up returning to Paris, which continued to serve as a main site for North African migrant musicians. By contrast Malagasy migration dates mainly to the post-independence period, and is thus mainly restricted to first and early second generation flows. Throughout the 1980s, Paris underwent something of a cultural renaissance as far as migrant musicians were concerned since it marked a brief spell when the Mitterrand government experimented with a French-style multiculturalism which saw the liberalization of the airwaves and the subsequent creation of numerous

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[4] The Boulevard de jeunes movement with its Boulevard Festival in Casablanca was established in 1999 as a space to promote alternative urban music. For more detail see especially Kiwan and Meinhof (2011, pp. 63-77).

immigrant radio stations willing to broadcast migrant artists.[5] A 1981 law allowing foreign nationals to establish their own cultural associations also added to the growing dynamism of the migrant cultural scene in Paris. In the 1990s to the present day, Paris continues to flourish as a focal point for Francophone artists in general and Malagasy and North African ones in particular. Paris thus remains a key hub for migrant musicians since it allows them to perform, record, professionalize and develop networks with co-nationals from the diaspora as well as with musicians from all over the world. Paris is also a major site of importance for migrant musicians who live in France's provincial towns and cities and who visit Paris regularly. However, Paris is sometimes bypassed altogether both by those migrant musicians living in France's provinces, as well as by those living in and aspiring to leave their originating countries. For example, our research has shown that there is an increasingly significant North African music scene in London, despite the UK not having any postcolonial or linguistic ties with the Maghreb. The same can be said of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, although there is a history of labour migration from Morocco in that particular case. Nevertheless, what our research demonstrates is that if one adopts a network model of migration and traces the networks of musicians within originating countries themselves first, rather than using the metropolitan migration cities of Europe as one's exclusive entry point, it is possible to discover more about lesser-known types and locales of migrant cultural creativity, thus better illustrating the complexities of contemporary transnational migration.

Our research has shown that migrant and post-migrant musicians are not solely located within the dense ethnic clusters of major European cities such as Paris, London, Berlin, etc., but that migrant musicians often move between multiple locations beyond these highly visible urban milieus. Indeed, our work on migrant musicians' networks demonstrates that these individuals often straddle capital and provincial towns and cities across Europe or countries of origin, and sometimes also resettle in their countries of origin whilst still maintaining meaningful networks within their former countries of settlement. Such "multi-sitedness" illustrates well the spatial complexity of transnational networks and resonates with what Holton (2008) has called "multi-scalar complexity". This special issue as a whole thus illustrates how the study of music in a migration context invites us to re-think crucial issues such as the relationship between place and culture, local and global, the arts and the everyday as well as between globalization and human agency.

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

We have divided this special issue into three sections. In Part 1 above, we have set the theoretical, conceptual and empirical contexts for the volume, first through this article which focuses on our own work arising from the TNMundi project, and secondly through the following article by Glick Schiller and Meinhof. Building on Wimmer and Glick Schiller's (2003) work on methodological nationalism, Glick Schiller and Meinhof critique the units of analysis of contemporary migration theory

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[5] Examples include Radio Beur, Radio Soleil, Radio Nova but alsoas well as from 1992, several small country-specific programmes such as the Malagasy broadcast Echos du Capricorn which is part of the umbrella organization of Fréquence Paris Plurielle.

- the nation-state, the ethnic group, the transnational community - that structure discussions of migration, asking the question: how do we go about singing a new song about migration? In answering this question, their article gives a historical account of the ways in which migration discourses have developed, with a critique of their underlying tendency to pose migrants as a source of otherness and conflict. It argues that rather than approaching migration as the phenomenon of particular groups of people crossing borders from one territory to another where they subsequently face others who are indigenous or natives, thus reinforcing the us and them divide, an approach is needed that takes transnational social fields and transnational networking as its focus. This alternative optic allows any number of types or 'categories' of people - migrant or non-migrants in the past and the present - to be seen as occupying interconnecting spaces and networks. In its approach the article complements the theoretical and methodological premise developed by Kiwan and Meinhof (2011, and in this volume), where they show how the study of human, spatial, institutional and accidental hubs by definition creates a multiple and complex transnational field. In this way, the interconnecting and mutually enforcing - or the oppositional and contradictory - cultural influences can be studied at any level, vertically and horizontally, from the most specific to the most general, across and within social fields of shared or unequal power. Hence cultural production is based on the multiple forms of "transcultural capital" that can be activated by the different actors within the networks, including the strategic use of cultural expression arising from artists' engagement with their originating regions or countries , but it can also be studied as a form of exclusion through gate-keeping processes of differential power relations. The article concludes with a brief case-study of musicians of Malagasy origin at the very opposite ends of transnational mobility and personal agency spectrum, who whilst all originating from Madagascar exemplify the enormous diversity of cultural production and the different power structures of globalization at local, national and transnational levels.

After the largely theoretical and methodological reflections in Part 1, the remaining sections of this special issue engage with different case studies taken from the respective authors' empirical work in different transnational contexts. Part 2, with articles by Kabir and Fuhr, has a special focus on transnational rhythms and cultures, with the additional innovative perspective of both authors not only discussing their subject from an academic perspective but also as practicing participants in their research fields - as dancer (Kabir) and musician (Fuhr), respectively. The article by Kabir offers an intriguing and surprisingly under-documented comparison between two dance music complexes – Salsa and Bhangra - which whilst originating from different geographical settings show distinct parallels in their colonial and post-colonial histories. Whilst Salsa sprang from the rhythmic cultures of Africa and developed through the movement of people along transnational routes embracing the Caribbean and the United States, Bhangra connects the partitioned space of the Punjab, the UK and post-partition India and Pakistan. In their transformation to transnational dance practices, they have transcended their original localized identity as Afro-Caribbean or hailing from the Indian sub-continent/South Asian, to become much wider Latino/a and pan-South Asian identifiers. Kabir argues that in the global

sphere of what she calls the "ephemeral and promiscuous space of the dance floor", the two different yet comparable cultures that have arisen from a Hispanophone and an Anglophone post-colonial imaginary collide and transform. She argues that this process could easily elude academic analysis, but to the practising dancer it becomes obvious in moments of collective pleasure experienced by the dancing moving body. These experiences of desire and pleasure can unite migrants with very different histories and everyday life experiences, unleashing energies which may still echo beyond the momentary experience of abandonment in dance and thus challenge, however briefly, the market-driven hegemonies of the transnational worlds.

The article by Fuhr also involves the bodily and sensuous experience of creating music. Her paper challenges the prevailing view that treats musical experiences and discourses about music and musical experiences as untranslatable into the vocabulary of musical theory and description. Based on her field research and musical collaborations with musicians in and from Madagascar, an island where the different waves of migration over the centuries have formed what is often referred to by the musicians as a "cultural melting pot", Fuhr ambitiously integrates both analysis and performance into one framework, thus arguing the case for uniting ethnomusicological research with musical practices. Her specific case study centres on the way in which Malagasy musicians who are both located at 'home' and in diasporic settings constantly refer to the notion of a 6/8 rhythm, yet simultaneously contest it. Fuhr shows the paradox of using the concept of a particular metre and rhythm depending on musical notation in describing a musical culture based almost entirely on the oral tradition of "lova-tsofina" ("lova" = heritage, "sofina" = ear). Drawing on her own practices of experiencing rhythm whilst musicking, Fuhr shows the way in which the analysis of discourses about music and the experience of music in performance can create a new basis for a performance-based ethnomusicology.

Part 3 of the special issue offers three case studies, taken from African, Middle Eastern and Eastern European migration contexts, which all interrogate local and global intersections in the transnational field of music and migration. Knudsen's article makes the case for a postnational perspective in music scholarship in order to account more fully for the presence of "glocal" cultural formations where global and local motivations coexist and are developed in relation to notions of class, style, gender and ethnicity. Knudsen shows how minorities engage in transnational cultural expressions, or develop innovative practices that challenge national and ethnic boundaries and, in some cases, form completely new cultural and social configurations. To illustrate such articulations of minority experiences, Knudsen's article focuses on a case study of an ethnically diverse hip-hop crew in the centre of Oslo, Norway, which lends itself effectively to discussions related to the "postnational turn" in music scholarship (Corona and Madrid, 2008).

Gibert's and Carstensen-Egwuom's articles problematize the ways in which migrants' experiences and the way they are perceived in their localities can run counter to musical innovation, creativity and pleasure, but also how they can be strategically used and adapted. Gibert, drawing on her own research within the TNMundi project, studied North African musicians resident in the UK and in France who are

caught in a local policy context that treats their art as a means for multiculturalism and community cohesion - what Kiwan and Kosnick (2006, chap. 6) have defined as "socio-culture". However, rather than seeing this in a purely negative light, Gibert shows the ways in which artists and musical promoters can make strategic use of these limitations and turn them into cultural capital. Her specific case-study based on the activities of a London-based association, the North African Arts W10 in Ladbroke Grove, shows these transformative processes in action. In a related fashion, the article by Carstensen-Egwuom analyzes the strategic use of a stereotypical 'authentic' African identity by Nigerian migrants residing in the eastern German city of Chemnitz. Her field work took place in the comparative context of the Sefone project, which focused on several towns and regions in Europe.[6] Chemnitz, in contrast to other towns studied in the project, has only a small migrant population. The specific case-study presented here focuses on the performance and representation strategies of a Nigerian cultural association based in Chemnitz during the local "intercultural festival", where different migrant groups present themselves in various artistic displays. Carstensen-Egwuom discusses the ways in which members of that association present themselves in musical performances in their styles of dance and costumes, and act out what should suggest an authentic Sub-Saharan identity for the majority society. The article analyzes these self-presentations and the motivations of the Nigerian performers within the context of local power structures and prevalent discourses of inclusion and integration. Paradoxically, by pandering to the majority society's expectations of a 'true African' and in foregrounding their otherness and strangeness, the Nigerian performers attempt to integrate themselves in the local intercultural scene of Saxony and Chemnitz.

The final section of this special issue raises significant questions about agency, inherent in forms of music and people who inhabit them. Mueller's work arises from his fieldwork with a specific music-based sub-culture of "hardcore punk", which radiates outwards from Tokyo. He argues for an interrogation of seemingly uncontroversial classification modes such as local and global, and culture and subculture, with corresponding identities. Instead he proposes that these identities are being constantly reconfigured by those involved at different sites. By adopting a multi-sited ethnographic approach Mueller is able to analyze the mechanisms of global circulation of that musical scene. In so doing, he challenges a simplistic binary optic whereby hardcore punk in Japan might appear as a delocalized / relocalized phenomenon. Instead of such a delocalization, hardcore punk emerges as a network of different interdependent global social scenes.

An understanding of the interrelation between music and migration cannot be isolated from the ongoing global debate about cultural diversity and multiculturalism. At the point of our writing this article in early 2011, multiculturalism has once again been put out-front on the national and international agenda. Bohlman's article quotes the heated debate in Germany after the publication in August 2010 of German economist Thilo Sarrazin's book that attacked migrants,

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[6] Sefone is an EU funded 6th framework project, directed at Southampton University by Meinhof and Armbruster from 2007-2010, with a consortium of 6 partners, including the University of Chemnitz. Armbruster and Meinhof (2011).

especially those of Turkish origin, for undermining the culture of Germany.[7] German Chancellor Angela Merkel followed suit in October 2010 with a speech declaring that multiculturalism had failed, and in a highly controversial speech delivered at an international security conference in Munich on 5 February 2011, British Prime Minister David Cameron issued a sharp critique of "state multiculturalism". Cameron's (in our view) ill-judged identification of multiculturalism with terrorism and his call for a stronger British national identity once again raised the political temperature in a debate of many different agendas, which invariably strengthens the xenophobic and islamophobic fear about 'non-assimilating migrants' in Western societies. Bohlman's article also reminds us of the politicization of migration in two other contexts in 2010: one in Arizona relating to new anti-Mexican legislation and another in France which led to the expulsion of Roma to Romania. In all these contexts migrants are placed in the position of those who do not belong. Bohlman raises significant political and ethical questions in this ongoing discussion about cultural diversity and multiculturalism, and in what he sees as a public agenda which is moving towards acculturation and assimilation of otherness - a succession of "A-words" that aim to end migration. In contrast to this negative agenda, Bohlman celebrates the rich musical contribution that migration has made in a long history of global movements, where both musical forms and migrant musicians have shaped the identities of our culturally diverse societies.

With this special issue we have addressed the highly topical theme of migration and the vitality of "cultural diasporas" through the prism of migrating musicians and migrating musical forms,. We have engaged with broader questions of how new modes of mobility and sociality are borne out of the social, cultural, historical and political interfaces between migration and music. Through a transnational, comparative and multi-level approach to the relationship between migration, movement and music, the aesthetic intersections between the local and the global, and between agency and identity were theoretically presented and exemplified in specific case studies. By taking music as our specific focus we hope that this issue will contribute to ongoing theoretical and methodological debates within migration and diaspora studies, including those related to transnational networks, globalization and cultural flows.

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[7] Sarrazin, T. (2009) *Deutschland schafft sich ab. Wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

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