

# The Great Music City

Exploring Music,  
Space and Identity

Andrea Baker



Pop Music, Culture and Identity



# Pop Music, Culture and Identity

Series Editors

Steve Clark

Graduate School Humanities and Sociology

University of Tokyo

Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tristanne Connolly

Department of English

St Jerome's University

Waterloo, ON, Canada

Jason Whittaker

School of English & Journalism

University of Lincoln

Lincoln, Lincolnshire, UK

Pop music lasts. A form all too often assumed to be transient, commercial and mass-cultural has proved itself durable, tenacious and continually evolving. As such, it has become a crucial component in defining various forms of identity (individual and collective) as influenced by nation, class, gender and historical period. *Pop Music, Culture and Identity* investigates how this enhanced status shapes the iconography of celebrity, provides an ever-expanding archive for generational memory and accelerates the impact of new technologies on performing, packaging and global marketing. The series gives particular emphasis to interdisciplinary approaches that go beyond musicology and seeks to validate the informed testimony of the fan alongside academic methodologies.

More information about this series at  
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14537>

Andrea Baker

# The Great Music City

Exploring Music, Space and Identity

palgrave  
macmillan

Andrea Baker  
School of Media, Film & Journalism  
Monash University  
Caulfield East, VIC, Australia

Pop Music, Culture and Identity  
ISBN 978-3-319-96351-8      ISBN 978-3-319-96352-5 (eBook)  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96352-5>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018968352

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Erik Witsoe / EyeEm  
Cover design by Akihiro Nakayama

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

*In loving memory of my parents*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

“Can you tell me some Australian jokes? I am trying to steer away from the South by South West topic”, grinned Casey Monahan when I began research for this book in Austin in 2013. As a former music journalist with the masthead, the *Austin American Statesman*, and then as the founding chief executive officer (CEO) of the Texan Music Office, like many locals living in the self-proclaimed Live Music Capital of the World, Monahan was weary as the 10-day annual musical mayhem associated with the SXSW Inc. festival had just finished. However, similar to other interviewees from Melbourne, Austin and Berlin who represented the media, the industry, government and the academy, Monahan was engaging, passionate and highly informative about his music city and I am grateful for everyone’s contributions as the seed of this project ebbed and flowed. Thanks to the former Dean of the Faculty of Art at Monash University, Professor Rae Frances, who approved the sabbatical and fieldwork to Austin and Berlin. At the University of Texas in Austin I met Associate Professor Rhonda Evans, Director of the Australian and New Zealand Studies, and Verena Blättermann, a former master’s student from Freie University’s Institute of Arts and Media Administration, both of whom were helpful. I am also grateful to my then Head of School, Professor Jenny Hocking, and former Head of Journalism, Professor Chris Nash, for their academic guidance, wisdom and encouragement to continue this project. Thanks to the journalism section for maintaining interest in the project and to communication scholars from the School of Media, Film and Journalism at Monash University, such as Associate Professor Mark Gibson and Senior Lecturer David Holmes for

their sage advice and support. Since 2010 when I began the seeds for this project idea, others from the academy and industry have run with the music cities baton, and I am grateful for the intellectual challenges that has brought. Thanks to Kristen Scott for being my seminal research assistant, to Alenka Csomor, Kaye Blum and Dominique Smith for transcribing the interviews, to Veronica Ward for proof reading and indexing and to Anne Marie Peard during the editing process. Thanks also to the team at Palgrave Macmillan, led by Lucy Batrouney. Lastly, many thanks to the St. Kilda Live Music Community (especially, its former president, Michelle Harrington), my local music community, the café society of Miss Jackson's and GB Espresso, and my family and friends for their love and support.



# CONTENTS

<b>Part I Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1 Introduction: <i>The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity</i></b>	<b>3</b>
<i>Introduction</i>	3
<i>The Urban Century</i>	4
<i>What Is a Music City?</i>	4
<i>Historical Look at Music Cities</i>	8
<i>Music Cities Events</i>	10
<i>Role of Urban Sociability</i>	13
<i>Algorithms to Define Music Cities</i>	15
<i>Algorithm A (Economics)</i>	15
<i>Algorithm B (4 Ts Creative Index)</i>	17
<i>Algorithm C (Heritage)</i>	19
<i>Algorithm D (Music Cities Definition)</i>	21
<i>Interdisciplinary Approach</i>	21
<i>Melbourne, Austin and Berlin (A “Purposive” Case Study)</i>	22
<i>Research Design</i>	24
<i>Academic Significance of This Book</i>	26
<i>Outline of the Book</i>	26
<i>References</i>	29

<b>2</b>	<b>Music Cities and the Discourse of Urban Sociability</b>	<b>35</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	35
	<i>1900s–1930s (Settlement Movement, Emergence of an Urban Ecology)</i>	35
	<i>1940s–1990s (Interwar and Post-War Years, Literary Urbanists and the Rise of Urban Sociability)</i>	40
	<i>2000s Onward (Post-Gentrification Versus Rejuvenation Ecology)</i>	44
	<i>Conclusion</i>	47
	<i>References</i>	47
 <b>Part II Hierarchies of Power and Influence</b>		<b>51</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Hierarchies of Power &amp; Influence in the Music Industry (London, New York City and Los Angeles)</b>	<b>53</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	53
	<i>Hierarchies of Power and Influence in the Music Industry</i>	54
	<i>Algorithm Analysis of Quantitative Studies</i>	55
	<i>Algorithm A (Economics)</i>	57
	<i>Algorithm B (4 Ts Creative Index)</i>	58
	<i>Conclusion</i>	65
	<i>References</i>	67
 <b>4</b>	 <b>London: Music Business Capital of the World</b>	 <b>71</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	71
	<i>Traditional Business Models and Algorithm A (Economics)</i>	72
	<i>Digital Business Models</i>	76
	<i>Obstacles to London’s Music Business Status</i>	78
	<i>Music Policy</i>	80
	<i>Conclusion</i>	82
	<i>References</i>	82
 <b>5</b>	 <b>New York City and Los Angeles, the Music Consumption Capitals</b>	 <b>87</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	87
	<i>US Music Hotspots: New York City and Los Angeles</i>	88

<i>Traditional Business Models</i>	88
<i>Digital Business Models</i>	90
<i>Issues Affecting the Music Cities of New York City and Los Angeles</i>	97
<i>Conclusion</i>	101
<i>References</i>	102
<b>Part III Life</b>	107
<b>6 Marvelous (Musical) Melbourne (1835 to 1980s)</b>	109
<i>Introduction</i>	109
<i>Stage 1: Indigenous Times to 1880 (Gold Rush to Marvelous Melbourne)</i>	110
<i>Stage 2: 1880s to 1930s (Rise of Music Superstars Melba and Grainger)</i>	113
<i>Stage 3: 1940 to 1950s (Jazz Scene)</i>	115
<i>Stage 4: 1960 to 1970s (Folk, Pop, Blues and Rock Scene)</i>	116
<i>Stage 5: 1970s to 1980s (North and South of the Yarra River)</i>	121
<i>Conclusion</i>	127
<i>References</i>	128
<b>7 Austin: Live Music Capital of the World, Deep in the Heart of Texas (1800s to 2002)</b>	133
<i>Introduction</i>	133
<i>Stage 1: 1836–1969 (City Status, Politics, Tertiary Education and the Tex-Mex Sound)</i>	134
<i>Stage 2: 1960s (Jazz and Blues Scenes)</i>	136
<i>Stage 3: 1970s to 1980s (Armadillo World Headquarters, Rise of Music Superstar, Willie Nelson)</i>	139
<i>Stage 4: 1980s–1990 (From Austin Chronicle to SXSW Inc.)</i>	143
<i>Stage 5: 1991 To Present (Austin, Live Music Capital of the World)</i>	146
<i>Conclusion</i>	148
<i>References</i>	149

<b>8</b>	<b>The War and the Wall: Berlin and the Divided Music City of Exiles (1700s to 1990s)</b>	153
	<i>Introduction</i>	153
	<i>Stage 1: 1700s to 1918 (Prussia War, Tenement Living, Wahlberliners and the Weimar Republic)</i>	154
	<i>Stage 2: 1919–1945 (Weimar Republic, Jazz Era, the Inter-War Years)</i>	156
	<i>Stage 3: 1945–1970s (Authoritarian Power, Impact of Musical Isolation)</i>	158
	<i>Stage 4: 1970s–1980s (Punk and Post Punk Scene)</i>	163
	<i>Stage 5: 1990s (Chaotic to Techno City)</i>	167
	<i>Conclusion</i>	171
	<i>References</i>	172
<b>Part IV</b>	<b>Death</b>	175
<b>9</b>	<b>Battle for the Melbourne Music Capital Title (1990s to the Present)</b>	177
	<i>Introduction</i>	177
	<i>Stage 1: Impact of Gentrification on the Music Scene (1990s Onwards)</i>	178
	<i>Stage 2: Territorial Issues in the World’s Most Livable City (1990s Onwards)</i>	186
	<i>Stage 3: Problematic Nature of the Live Music Capital Logo (2000s Onwards)</i>	188
	<i>Conclusion</i>	192
	<i>References</i>	193
<b>10</b>	<b>Keeping Austin Weird, Creative Resistance Against Homogenization of the Music Scene (1992 to Present)</b>	197
	<i>Introduction</i>	197
	<i>Stage 1: Global Music Branding (Since 1991)</i>	197
	<i>Stage 2: Global Expansion of SXSW (Mid-1990s)</i>	201
	<i>Stage 3: Selling or Keeping Austin Weird (2000s Onward)</i>	208
	<i>Stage 4: 2018 Onward, Death of the Live Music Capital of the World</i>	213

<i>Conclusion</i>	214
<i>References</i>	215
<b>11 Reunified Berlin, Battle for the City's Music Soul (1990 to the Present)</b>	219
<i>Introduction</i>	219
<i>Stage 1: Micro Issues in the Music Scene (1990 Onward)</i>	220
<i>Stage 2: Impact of Gentrification (1990s Onward)</i>	223
<i>Stage 3: Role in the Global Music Industry (1990s Onward)</i>	228
<i>Conclusion</i>	235
<i>References</i>	236
<b>Part V Rejuvenation</b>	239
<b>12 Melbourne, Live Music Capital of Australia to World Domination</b>	241
<i>Introduction</i>	241
<i>Impact of Music Advocacy</i>	242
<i>Local Council Governance</i>	249
<i>State Governance</i>	257
<i>The Livability Discourse</i>	260
<i>Conclusion</i>	261
<i>References</i>	262
<b>13 Revitalizing Austin as the Live Music Capital of the World</b>	267
<i>Introduction</i>	267
<i>Governance Support</i>	268
<i>Impact of Music Advocacy</i>	271
<i>Addressing Territorial Issues</i>	273
<i>Visibility and Music Heritage</i>	274
<i>Music Startups Global Link</i>	275
<i>City Twinning</i>	276
<i>Conclusion</i>	278
<i>References</i>	280

<b>14</b>	<b>Rejuvenation of Berlin, Music and Technology City</b>	<b>283</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	283
	<i>Governance and Music Advocacy</i>	283
	<i>Addressing Territorial Issues</i>	292
	<i>Music Heritage and Tourism</i>	292
	<i>Record Labels to Startups Culture</i>	293
	<i>Conclusion</i>	295
	<i>References</i>	296
<b>Part VI</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>299</b>
<b>15</b>	<b>Conclusion: Emergent Music Cities Discipline</b>	<b>301</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	301
	<i>Political Economy and the Superstar Music City Discourse</i>	302
	<i>Impact of the UNESCO's Music City Accreditation Process</i>	304
	<i>Dubious Nature of Branding of Music Cities</i>	305
	<i>Role of Music Advocacy</i>	308
	<i>Conclusion</i>	309
	<i>References</i>	311
<b>Index</b>		<b>315</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Image 1.1	Music cities convention (Melbourne, April 2018). Printed with permission from Music Cities Events	13
Image 3.1	Hollywood Walk of Fame (photography by Andrea Baker)	55
Image 3.2	New York City on route from Nashville (photography by Andrea Baker)	63
Image 7.1	Austin, Texas—Thousands of music fans congregate on the lawn of Zilker Park during the Austin City Limits Music Festival 2008. Peter Tsai Photography/Alamy Stock Photo	142
Image 8.1	Former site of David Bowie’s apartment, Hauptstrasse 155, Schöneberg (photography by Andrea Baker)	162
Image 12.1	Melbourne Music Week logo. Printed with permission from the City of Melbourne (photography by Andrea Baker)	249
Image 14.1	Club Commission logo. Printed with permission from Clubcommission	285
Image 14.2	Musicboard Berlin. Printed with permission from the Managing Director of Music Board Berlin	287

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	<i>Mastering of a Music City</i> report (Terrill et al., 2015)	6
Table 1.2	Algorithms A to D to assess music activity in an urban context	16
Table 1.3	UNESCO cities of music	20
Table 3.1	Summary of Algorithms A and B	66
Table 5.1	Twentieth-century timeline. New York City's music innovations	94
Table 5.2	Music algorithm assessment	101



PART I

---

# Introduction



## CHAPTER 1

---

# Introduction: *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity*

## INTRODUCTION

Today music cities, with its popular economy focus, is one of the world's fastest growing urban spaces. As the “music city paradigm” (Baker, 2016, p. 334) evolves, city-based journalists play an important role in highlighting the music value beyond the political economy and the policy-driven narrative of most urbanists. Primarily adopting a journalism lens, *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity* investigates how the discourse of “urban sociability”, mainly reported upon by journalists, emphasizes the social, cultural and emotional civic value of nurturing communities and helps to shape the music cities debate (Creed-Rowan, 2017, p. 113). This chapter introduces the book's rationale, scope and aims across the life, death and rejuvenation of the music cities paradigm. Firstly, the book asks what is the life of a music city and its social dynamics? Secondly, in regard to its potential death, it considers the urban processes and tensions that affect music cities' sustainability? Finally, concerning rejuvenation of the music city, the book explores what are the urban responsibilities to maintain and restore a music city, its venues, economy and culture? Primarily based on rigorous, place-specific case studies of music cities (Melbourne, Austin and Berlin), it explores the tensions and contradiction between a music city's natural and built environment, and the contradiction between the ways in which a music city fosters attachment, and the ways in which it facilitates, disenfranchises or encourages music activity.

## THE URBAN CENTURY

The United Nation's (UN) Habitat III meeting in Ecuador (South America) in October 2016 argues that the twenty-first century is "Humankind's great urbanization" period (Zenghelis & Stern, 2016, pp. 1–2). Attending the UN meeting for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), journalist Sean Coughlan (2016) notes that, with increasing urbanization by 2050, **more than 70 percent** of the world's population will live in cities. He asks, is there more meaningful comparison between cities than nations and states? In the terms of the power of music cities, this book suggests YES. Robert Ezra Park (1952, p. 79), city journalist turned sociologist and co-founder (with Ernest Burgess and Louis Wirth) of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology in the United States (US) during the 1920s notes, "Great cities have always been melting pots of race and of cultures". Author of *The Culture of Cities* (1938, updated in 1970) and long-time urban critic for *The New Yorker*, Lewis Mumford expands on Park's point, noting that "through a complex orchestration of time and space ... life in the city takes on the character of a symphony" (1970, p. 4). City journalist and author of the seminal text, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) Jane Jacobs concurs with them, adding that the city is a lively creative village. She argues that it is not the nation-state but rather the city that is the true player in the global economy. Today as the "nation-state" discourse collapses, music activity which is omnipresent and mobile appears to have no geographical heart (Garrett & Oja, 2011, p. 702). However, amidst this "post-national" discourse (Garrett & Oja, 2011, p. 702) mixes of music "fixity" and "fluidity" (Connell & Gibson, 2003, p. 7) *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity* highlights, that cities still have intense urban clusters of music activity, for example the case studies of this book, Melbourne, Austin and Berlin.

## WHAT IS A MUSIC CITY?

The vibrant cultural economy, with its links to music activity and urban sociability, has forced urban theorists and journalists to assess what is a music city? Is a music city a place of memory embedded in public and private spaces and venues? Is it a location in regional and global networks? Or is a music city an arena wherein music communities form and reproduce themselves? Tracing the discourse of urban sociability, primarily via a

US journalism lens, this book highlights that a music city is all of the above. As the first global industry report about music cities, *Mastering of a Music City*, published in June 2015 notes, the concept of music cities penetrates the global political vernacular because it delivers “significant economic, employment, cultural and social benefits” (Terrill, Hogarth, Clement, & Francis, 2015, p. 5). At the time of writing *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity*, there was no empirical study that combines “all these variables, and offers a comprehensive definition of a music city” (Baker, 2017, p. 1). This has partly occurred because the role of urban sociability, and its tie to journalism practice, has been overshadowed by the political economic focus on music city activity.

### *Economic Values*

The *Mastering of a Music City* defines a music city as an urban area with a “vibrant music economy” (Terrill et al., 2015, p. 5). Currently this economic driver is the most popular way to define music cities. As UK musicologist Sarah Cohen (2007) contends, music cities are melting pots where music is produced, performed, advertised and sold. Examining 27 “recognized music cities” (p. 10), which included the case studies of this book (Melbourne, Austin and Berlin), the *Mastering of a Music City* notes that “quite suddenly there is a lot of interest [about] how to make one succeed” (Terrill et al., 2015, p. 10) (Table 1.1).

Analyzing industry data and journalism coverage about music activity in urban contexts, this global industry report conducts in-depth interviews with 40 music spokespersons from the selected cities and had 2 international focus groups (Terrill et al., 2015, p. 11). The report is intended as a “universal roadmap that can be used to create and develop music cities anywhere in the world, both large and small” (Terrill et al., 2015, p. 5). However, because it focuses on the contemporary commercial music scene and the political economy, it only paints a partial picture of the “music cities paradigm” (Baker, 2016, p. 334). However, as academics (Homan, 2018; Homan, Cloonan, & Cattermole, 2016; Homan, Strong, O’Hanlon, & Tebbutt, 2018; Shaw & Porter, 2009) argue, critical attention should be paid to the socio-cultural consequences of music activity because it offers a wider perspective on the dynamics of consumption and production. This book highlights that music cities celebrating all their production genres are worthy of study because they are important drivers of not only economic but also the social and cultural growth in

**Table 1.1** *Mastering of a Music City* report (Terrill et al., 2015)

---

<i>The United Kingdom</i> (2)	<i>North America</i> (12)
London (UK)	<i>Canada</i> (4)
Liverpool (UK)	Toronto (Ontario)
<i>Europe</i> (6)	Montreal (Quebec)
Berlin (Germany)	Calgary (Alberta)
Cologne (Germany)	Kitchener (Ontario)
Paris (France)	<i>United States</i> (8)
Gothenburg (Sweden)	New York City (New York)
Stockholm (Sweden)	Austin (Texas)
Helsinki (Finland)	Nashville (Tennessee)
<i>Australia</i> (3)	Memphis (Tennessee)
Adelaide	New Orleans (Louisiana)
Melbourne	Boston (Massachusetts)
Sydney	Chicago (Illinois)
<i>Asia</i> (2)	Seattle ( <a href="#">Washington</a> )
Seoul (South Korea)	<i>South America</i> (2)
Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)	Bogotá (Columbia)
	Caracas (Venezuela)

---

music ecosystems. In a similar vein urban sociologist, Andy Pratt (2009, p. 4) notes that the “culturalization” linkage to “economization”, while “endemic in late capitalism”, offers a narrow view of cultural activity. As cultural economists Michael Hutter and David Throsby (2008) note, the cultural turn in the economization of the arts suggests that there is a cultural value beyond a price tag. Building on these claims, another cultural economist, William Jackson (2009) says that an economic focus on cultural activity offers a narrow concept of power and authority and fails to offer an evolutionary view of the world. Jackson adds that the focus on the economization of culture results in the failure to draw on qualitative, humanistic and interpretative fields of investigation. As noted later in the research methods section of this chapter this qualitative, holistic gap is addressed as a large empirical base of this book is drawn from interviews with music industry representatives and participant observation from the case cities.

### *Number of Live Music Venues*

The second most popular way to define music cities is according to how many live music venues they have. The *World Cities Cultural Report*, initially commissioned in 2012 (and in 2013) by then Mayor of London,

politician and journalist, Boris Johnston (2012, 2013), counts the number of live music venues in various cities. Examining the 31 cities, the 2015 edition of the report notes that Los Angeles has the most live music venues at 510, followed by New York City (453), Sydney (435), Tokyo (385), London (245) (Simons, 2015, p. 27). An updated edition of the *World Cities Cultural Report* is due out at the end of 2018; however these figures supports US musicologist, George Lewis' (cited in Garrett & Oja, 2011, p. 692) suggestion that the traditional location of the global music industry is "a Euro-American construct". As musicologists John Connell and Ross Gibson's (2003, p. 14) argue, if a city has a vibrant globally recognized live music culture, then local musicians will base themselves there and have a "home field advantage" in the synergy between local and global, that is, the "glocalization" of music. However, the *World Cities Cultural Report* is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, the number of live music venues is fluid; venues come and go and it is difficult to clearly define their number. Secondly, participating cities have to pay to be included in the report; therefore, international comparable results are not achievable. As music entrepreneur Martin Elbourne (2013, p. 15) argues, it is "difficult to gain a clear picture of the music industry both here and around the world due to a lack of facts and figures especially those that are comparable across states and nations". His contention is a reason why *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity* was written, to address a much-needed global deficit about the empirical measurement and context of the "music cities paradigm" (Baker, 2016, p. 334).

### *Superstar Music Cities to Global Music Cities*

The third way to define music cities is by the label, "superstar music cities", which was highlighted by US urban economist, Richard Florida (cited in Alder, 2015, p. 1). As the co-founder and editor of [Citylab.com](http://Citylab.com), Florida says that London, the capital of the UK, and US cities such as New York City, Los Angeles, Austin, Nashville and Toronto in Canada, can claim the superstar music cities title because of their abundant facilities and financial impact, musical histories, nonstop music events, cultural, economic and business power and influence in the global industry. These cities are "local anchoring points" in the cultural metropolises (Krätke, 2003) and are seen as the "imperial incubator" of the music industry (Garrett & Oja, 2011, p. 691). This superstar music cities discourse feeds off another term global music city, which United Kingdom (UK)

human geographer, Allan Watson (2008, p. 12) uses in his academic research to explore the “knowledge and geographical proximity in London’s recorded music industry”. Watson did not define what a global music city was, nonetheless he highlights that the cultural prominence of London, New York City and Los Angeles are linked to global capitalism (also see Krätke, 2003). Once again, the economic priorities of superstar music cities have cast a shadow over the local cultural mechanisms that sustain other vibrant local music scenes, their space, identity and urban sociability. As Cohen (2007, p. 85) notes, Music cities “are mortal, fragile entities that require constant nurturing and protection”.

London and New York City with populations in excess of 8.5 million are “mega cities” (Giddens, 2001, p. 86) which have higher densities, taller buildings and people in close contact increase energy levels, but are they sustainable, constructive and inclusive music hubs? In contrast, smaller cities, such as Melbourne, Berlin and even the superstar music city of Austin, with populations from 1 to 4 million, have more relaxed, natural environments for authentic music scenes to flourish. Like the superstars, these smaller cities also house clusters of talented musicians who “generate a human capital externalization of a musical kind [by] competing against each other for new sounds and audiences, combining and recombining with each other into new bands” (Florida, 2012a, p. 5). As Mumford (1970, p. 3) argues, urban spaces are socially constructed environments in which humans transform and control nature; hence a discussion about the importance of urban sociability is necessary. Florida (2012a, p. 5) notes that “It is a Darwinian process, out of which successful musical acts rise to the top and achieve broad success”. Similar to Watson’s (2008, p. 12) academic definition of “global music city”, Florida’s exclusivity of London, New York City and Los Angeles is also narrow in scope and elitist. Therefore, the hunt for a holistic definition of music cities is still wanting, a journey this book helps to address since historical times.

## HISTORICAL LOOK AT MUSIC CITIES

Music cities have been around for centuries, but the term was not popularized like it is today by city journalists, and less so by the music industry and scholars. Initial urban musicology studies examine the critical role of classical music venues in the nighttime economies of London, Berlin, Paris and Vienna (Carter, 2002; Weber, 2004). Building in this history, the development of music cities reflects that the current industry and aca-

demographic definitions are associated with half-truths about this paradigm for two reasons. Firstly, defining that music is a complex task because it is associated with diverse cultural practices in urban areas (Hesmondhalgh & Negus, 2002). The early years of music studies were dominated by easily defined genres such as classical, followed by jazz and then rock. With newer urban music genres, such as hip hop, techno, electronic, dance and world music, music definitions began to blur within the daytime and nighttime economies. Music is an art and in its purest form a means for self-expression; therefore it is highly dependent on the experiences of the creator. As Mumford (1970, p. 5) says, the city is “a conscious work of art, and it holds within it communal framework many simpler and more personal forms of art”. His comments offer a nuanced analysis of music cities because it also reflects that urban activity is also a hybrid of social, cultural and emotional relations, which can be explained by looking at the discourse of urban sociability. Secondly, there were “many conflicting meanings clustered” around the terms “music” and “culture” (Hesmondhalgh & Negus, 2002, p. 2). The academy and the industry have also challenged the cultural distinction between live music and recorded music. These incomplete definitions reduce music to “reductive and stereotypical representation” narratives associated with cities’ musical sounds (Cohen, 2007, p. 53). An example of this reductive approach to music cities analysis is a 2015 book *Popular Music Industries and the State* by musicologists, Shane Homan from Australia, Martin Cloonan from Scotland and Jen Cattermole from New Zealand (NZ). Conducted between 2009 and 2012, their book is a transnational case study of music policies of Melbourne (Australia), Glasgow (Scotland) and Wellington (NZ). However, Homan, Cloonan, and Cattermole’s (2016) book and other papers (Homan, 2018; Homan et al., 2018) are limited in their exploration of the “music cities paradigm” (Baker, 2016, p. 334) for three reasons. The first reason is that Homan et al. (2016, p. 3) focuses on popular music and “its everyday consumption, mode of (mass) distribution and primarily commercial aesthetics”. This quote offers an incomplete and narrow picture of music activity in urban contexts. In regard to the second reason, the authors did not provide a holistic definition for what a music city is, simply noting that “the cultural or creative city cannot be imagined without music” (Homan et al., 2016, p. 110). Concerning the final reason, Homan et al. (2016) examined the political economy of music, music policies, production and consumption, but did not explore the wider social cultural context of music cities. Homan et al.’s work in 2018 (pp. 467–482), “Uneasy



Alliances: Popular music and cultural policy in the music city”, along with other academics (Catherine Strong, Seamus O’Hanlon and John Tebbutt) and more discussions (Homan, 2018) fails to offer an in-depth discussion about the music cities paradigm. In contrast, *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity* examines the complex factors associated with defining a music city, historically, and well into the twenty-first century. It does not depend heavily on the analytic distinction between classical, contemporary popular, live or pre-recorded music. It argues that an analysis of music cities should include all genres. To do this the book builds on the City of Melbourne’s Music Strategy’s (2018–2021) broad and inclusive definition, where music was defined as

Any live or recorded performance by a singer, instrumentalist, group, Disc Jockey (DJ), busker or street performer, which took place in a traditional venue such as a bar, pub, theater, restaurant or club or in a traditional or non-traditional venue [such as a warehouse, house, shop, car park or other outdoor public space] or is experienced through digital technology, such as live streaming or virtual or augmented reality. (Leppert, 2018, p. 8)

Adopting the City of Melbourne’s definition of music, *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity* highlights that the relationship between a city and music is “not deterministic”, but “organic” and constantly evolving (Cohen, 2007, p. 68).

## MUSIC CITIES EVENTS

The genesis behind this book was mooted at a music industry conference panel titled “global music cities” (Baker, 2014, p. 1), which, myself, as a music journalist and journalism scholar organized as part of the annual South by South West (SXSW Inc.) music festival in Austin, Texas, on 15 March 2014. SXSW Inc., is considered the most influential and largest event on the global music calendar and is attended by over 75 percent of the world’s media and music industry. Profiling Melbourne, Austin and Berlin with experts from those cities (Don Pitts, the then head of music at City of Austin; Nick O’Byrne, the then Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Australian Independent Records; Christian Morin, Berlin Music Commission), the panel examines how these cities share a five-pronged matrix in relation to a live music culture, economic activity, branding, innovative music policies and music heritage (Baker, 2014). This matrix

helps to debunk what a global music city might look like. Building on Watson's (2008, 2012) work and identifying Florida's work in this area, the SXSW Inc. panel discussion in 2014 focused on "global music cities" (Baker, 2014, p. 1), a term that I coined to describe cities that make good use of the music scene in global urban contexts. As a city journalist, since 2013 I have written about global music cities in journalism features and scholarly articles published in the legacy and alternative press (see Baker, 2014, 2015). Global music cities is a broader definition than Watson's or Florida's because it is not restricted to London, New York City and Los Angeles, but also includes smaller globally recognized music cities, such as Melbourne, Austin and Berlin and others, such as Nashville. I revised the term (global music cities) to become "music cities paradigm" because the second reflects a wider "connection between music, space and identity, from city scenes to the music of nations" (Baker, 2016, p. 334). As *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity* highlights, a case study of Melbourne, Austin or Berlin emphasizes the historical importance "of place (the physical environment through which we move) and space (the practice and lived experience of place)" (Garrett & Oja, 2011, p. 709).

After the SXSW Inc. panel in 2014, members of the music industry from San Francisco, New York City and Georgia in the US, Toronto (Canada); Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and Belfast (Northern Ireland) asked how cities can play a vital role in the development and sustaining of urban music scenes. One audience member was Amy Terrill who is the Vice President of Public Affairs at [Music Canada](#), which is based in Toronto. Terrill asked about the mechanics of setting up a local council-based, music advisory board. As the academic representative on the City of Melbourne's Music Advisory Committee, which was established in August 2013, I offered suggestions about setting up a similar committee in Toronto, most of which is detailed in this book. In June 2015 Terrill, who co-wrote the *Mastering a Music City report*, discussed its findings during her keynote address at Australia's first music cities symposium titled *We Can Get Together*, which was held on 12 November 2015. Named after a hit single from Australian rock band *The Flowers* (later known as *Icehouse*), the symposium, which as the academic representative I help to co-organize with the City of Melbourne's Music Strategy Committee. The symposium brought together more than 100 representatives from the Australian music industry and explored "the challenges faced by music cities in the twenty-first century" (Baker, 2015, p. 1). As *The Great Music City, Exploring*

*Music, Space and Identity* highlights, not one music city is like the other, as “they all share strengths and weaknesses” (Terrill et al., 2015, p. 1).

Another panel at SXSW Inc. this time titled “Music Cities Network”, was held in March 2017, led by Dr. Shain Shapiro, the CEO of Sound Diplomacy, a music think tank which began in London during 2015. Members of the network include Australia (Sydney) and European cities, such as Groningen, Aarhus, Hamburg, and a case study of this book, Berlin (Shapiro, 2017, p. 1). The SXSW Inc. panel explored the Music Cities Network’s two-fold aims: first, “how to make cities wealthier, healthier, liveable and more international through music”; and second, how to improve urban music scenes “through music policies and collaboration” (Shapiro, 2017, p. 1). The other case cities of this book are not current members of the Music Cities Network, but at various times have been self-proclaimed or self-identified as live music capitals of the world, for example, Austin since 1991 (Rowling, 2015) and Melbourne in 2018 (Newton & Coyle-Hayward, 2018).

Shapiro from Sound Diplomacy also helped to kick-start the Music Cities Conventions, biannual events which explore how “cities can become more vibrant and sustainable through engagement with music and the music industry” (Bendix, 2015, p. 2). Co-founded with UK music entrepreneur Martin Elbourne, the first convention was held during the Great Escape in Brighton, UK in May 2015. It brought together leaders from different levels of government, academics, organizations and the music industry. After the Washington D.C. convention in October 2015 Aria Bendix (2015, p. 5), another journalist with [Citylab.com](http://Citylab.com), highlighted that successful music cities achieve a balance act between diversifying and uniting a music community with effective strategies that enrich neighborhoods, not drive them apart. Bendix notes that vibrant music cities increase financial revenue, retain talent, drive tourism and brand development, and are keys to sustainable music economies. She adds that “The growth of a music city” is not always positive and is sometimes an “uncomfortable paradox”, despite its “economic impact” (Bendix, 2015, p. 5), issues of which are explored in this book.

At the time of completing *The Great Music City, Exploring Music, Space and Identity*, the 7th Music Cities Convention had just been held in Melbourne between 19 and 20 April 2018, which was held for the first time in the southern hemisphere. More than 300 delegates from Australia, US, Columbia, Jamaica, UK, The Netherlands, Holland, China, Japan, Indonesia and Zimbabwe attended (Image 1.1).



**Image 1.1** Music cities convention (Melbourne, April 2018). Printed with permission from Music Cities Events

At this convention I was part of a panel which explored the impact of cultural policy on music cities of Jamaica, Melbourne and Montreal. Five other observations emerged from the biannual music cities conventions. Firstly, the notion of a music city is omnipresent, despite the lack of comparable research. The impact of urbanization, such as high-density living, residential development, local planning, regulation and licensing laws, has also threatened the survival of music cities (Baker, 2014, p. 1). Secondly, Europe, the UK and North America (the US and Canada) have a dominant presence at these conventions, which supported the view that the music industry is largely based in the western, northern hemisphere (Lewis, cited in Garrett & Oja, 2011, p. 692). Thirdly, music branding is a growing trend in the western world, for example, London is considered the “music business capital of the world” (Florida, 2015, p. 2). Fourthly, these conventions made some reference to the similarities and differences between music cities but did not expand on those details. Finally, the history and development of music cities were absent from the discussions.

## ROLE OF URBAN SOCIABILITY

Looking forward to a sustainable urban future, 100 Resilient Cities, a nongovernment organization (NGO) pioneered and funded by The Rockefeller Foundation, was established in New York City in December 2013. In this, the 100 Resilient Cities is dedicated to helping cities around

the world to become more resilient to the physical, social and economic challenges. With offices in New York City, London and Singapore, the list of cities under this NGO's umbrella span the western world, Africa, Asia, East Europe and the Middle East. As BBC journalist Coughlan notes from the UN Habitat III meeting 2016, successful urbanization is linked to innovative governance, sustainable best practice linked to urban sociality. The birth of urban sociability and its link to creativity dates back to Plato (Kahn, 1996), and later to journalists writing about urban sociability (Jacobs, 1961; Mumford, 1938, 1970; Park, 1952; Park, McKenzie, & Burgess, 1925). A creative city was first envisioned by Plato in *The Republic* who saw Athens in 400 BC, one of the oldest named and continuously inhabited cities in the world (for at least 7000 years), as the ideal city and the product of cultural and intellectual flowering (Kahn, 1996). As Plato laments:

Great thinkers and artists rarely come from nowhere. They cluster and thrive in places that attract creative people and provide an environment that fosters and supports that creative effort. Music gives a soul to the universe, wings to the mind, flight to the imagination and life to everything. (cited in Kahn, 1996)

Derived from Greek mythology and the science of natural ecology, in *Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology*, Park (1952) devises a term called urban ecology, which proposes that urban development and the distribution of creative communities or neighborhoods can be understood in similar principles interdependence to those found in the nature of ecology. Park contends that cities do not grow up in random but are a response to advantageous features of the environment. As Mumford (1938, 1970, p. 3) argues, urban spaces are not qualitatively different from agricultural spaces because cities are socially constructed environments in which humans transform and control nature, through the construction of permanent structures.

US urban economist Edward Glaeser (1998, cited in Florida, 2012b, p. 239) contends that the “future of most cities depends on their being desirable places for consumers to live”. As in Glaeser's work, this book builds on Jacobs's argument in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, which argues that cities are incubators of vibrant creative villages. Citing her own neighborhood of New York City's *Greenwich Village* as an example, Jacobs (1961) blames modernist urban planning for the monot-

onous projects, characterized by dullness and uniformity dampens the vitality and buoyancy of city life. Jacobs notes that urban renewal, which is broadly defined as urban revitalization, has in some incidences contributed to the death of neighborhoods and their social cultural fabric. Her ideas kick-started the New Urbanism, global movement in the 1960s, and left a legacy of empowerment for citizens to protect and rejuvenate their music activity in urban spaces. Jacobs foresaw the importance of urban sociability in Greenwich Village where individuality and creativity spurred innovation and economic growth. However, retrospective assessment of the accidental and planned music activity in urban areas has focused on popular music laced in a political economy discourse (Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Connell & Gibson, 2003; Lashua, Spracklen, & Wagg, 2014). Unlike existing research, this book highlights that music cities are not only linked to urban sociability but its activity can also be derived from a set of algorithms, as the next section reflects.

## ALGORITHMS TO DEFINE MUSIC CITIES

In recent years there has been a concerted effort to examine, cultivate and nurture musical activity as a key driver for urban development, music tourism and economic prosperity. Music cities like Melbourne, Austin and Berlin are examples of this. As music scholar Homan asked in 2015, Is there a formula for making a ‘Music City? Drawing on work by industry and academic work, this book uses a set of algorithms, which are defined as “mathematical flowcharts, which are “a step-by-step procedure of calculations” (Solórzano, 2014, p. 1) to assess the value of music activity in urban sociality. The algorithms include “Algorithm A (Economics), Algorithm B (4 Ts creative index), Algorithm C (Heritage)” and Algorithm D (Music Cities Definition) (Baker, 2017, p. 1) (Table 1.2).

The central argument of the book is that Algorithm D (Music Cities Definition) offers a much-needed, holistic assessment of music activity because, which while building on the popular political economy discourse, also includes the social importance of space and cultural practices.

### ALGORITHM A (ECONOMICS)

Algorithm A (Economics) is the current key definer of music cities. It is associated with uncovering the financial impact of the music industry across four variables: first, revenue profits; second, employment figures;