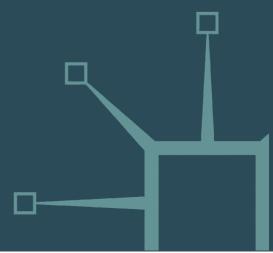# Cultural Globalization and Music

African Artists in Transnational Networks

Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof

Cultural Globalization and Music

Also by Nadia Kiwan
IDENTITIES, DISCOURSES AND EXPERIENCES: Young People of North African Origin in France

Also by Ulrike Meinhof
THE LANGUAGE OF BELONGING (*co-authored*)
TRANSCULTURAL EUROPE: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe (*co-edited*)
LIVING (WITH) BORDERS: Identity Discourses on East–West Borders in Europe (*edited*)
INTERTEXTUALITY AND THE MEDIA (*co-edited*)
LANGUAGE AND MASCULINITY (*co-edited*)
LANGUAGE LEARNING IN THE AGE OF SATELLITE TELEVISION
TEXT, DISCOURSE AND CONTEXT: Representations of Poverty in Britain (*co-edited*)
WORLDS IN COMMON: Television Discourses in a Changing Europe (*co-authored*)

Cultural Globalization and Music

African Artists in Transnational Networks

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Acknowledgements

This book bears the fruits of a rich and rewarding collaboration between its authors, which began in 2003, when we started working together on the EU-funded 5th Framework Project, directed by Ulrike Hanna Meinhof: *Changing City Spaces: New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Europe*. We would therefore like to express our sincere thanks to the European Commission for funding the *City Spaces* project. When *City Spaces* came to an end in 2005, we decided to continue working together in this area and extend our work on music in migration contexts to a research project on musicians' transnational networks (*Diaspora as Social and Cultural Practice: A Study of Transnational Networks across Europe and Africa* or TNMundi for short). Our own earlier work had hinted that artists in the diasporic 'hubs' of capital cities interlink with cultural and social 'movements' in their originating countries for various artistic, economic, social, political and ecological reasons. But it was only with TNMundi that we were able to study the underlying dynamics that bind artists and cultural agents from such cultural movements in translocal and transnational networks of similar motivations way beyond the reach of capital cities. For this opportunity to extend our work on music and migration, we are extremely grateful to the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (Diaspora, Migration and Identities programme) for the generous three-year funding which allowed us to conduct our research across Europe, Morocco and Madagascar. In particular, we would like to thank the DMI programme director, Professor Kim Knott, for her guidance and enthusiasm throughout our project's duration. We would like to express our warmest thanks to Dr Marie-Pierre Gibert for being an outstanding project research assistant in every way. Her energetic professionalism and friendship made our partnership an extremely positive experience. We would particularly like to thank Marie-Pierre Gibert for her research on the North African networks in the UK and for her valuable assistance in the fieldwork conducted in France, the Netherlands and Morocco. We would also like to thank the project consultant and musician Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo – Dama – for his sharp expertise, insight and companionship throughout both the *City Spaces* and TNMundi projects. Dama's involvement as consultant, musician and artistic director of the many cultural events which arose

Introduction: Networks and Transnational Movements: A Theoretical and Methodological Challenge to Migration Research

This is a book about South–North, North–South relations between Africa and Europe, seen through the alternative prism of artists from North Africa (mainly Morocco and Algeria) and Madagascar, and of their complex networks within and across African, European and wider global spaces: a decidedly 'bottom-up' view, which privileges the voices of people 'on the move'. Our study presents and analyses the personal narratives and practices of such musicians in different locations across Africa and Europe, and those of the people who constitute their networks within the wider artistic, cultural and civil society milieus of global or globalizing societies.

We suggest that artists who create or enter such networks follow a different logic of translocal and transnational links than is normally associated with diaspora and migration research on music. Thus we are widening the scope from 'bi-focal', ethnically and spatially defined communities in sending and originating countries to the more complex and fluid flows and networking of individuals. We are thus extending the groundbreaking work of ethnomusicologists such as Guilbault (1993), who have studied the movements of musicians between two locations, in her case the Antilles and France, by a multi-sited ethnographic model based on the networking of key individuals. While recently there has been a plethora of research which theorizes networks and flows in many different disciplines across the humanities and the social sciences, little empirical research has as yet emerged which studies these in closer empirical detail (see Holton 2005 for a review of some of the network literature). By contrast, our work offers original case-study material collected through ethnographic observation and narrative interviews with musicians and their associates. This will allow us to challenge established approaches to diasporas, while substantiating cutting-edge theories of transnationalism and translocalism through empirical data.[1]

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Of particular significance in our study is a new perspective on migration, which focuses on migrant musicians in their new countries of residence. But although this obviously constitutes an important aspect of our study, we do not purely engage with transnational movements between country of origin and country of residence. Instead, our contention is that many phenomena associated with migration and diasporas cannot be fully understood unless we analyse the processes of movement and interconnections within so-called 'sending' countries as well. Such initial moves often create country-internal movements and circuits of people which in turn underpin the first steps towards transnational migration, which in turn become part of transnational circular movements. Our network model thus embraces a much wider set of interconnections than is usually the case in migration studies.

This Introduction offers three main themes. First of all, we will present a theoretical framework for our translocal and transnational network model with four key parameters and show their methodological consequences for fieldwork design. Secondly, we will relate these debates to the more specific groups of musicians of Malagasy and North African origin, providing a rationale for the choice of these particular groups. Here we will also draw on a new theoretical concept, which we previously defined as 'transcultural capital' (Meinhof and Triandafyllidou 2006). Transcultural capital theory combines and integrates in one framework theories of different types of social and cultural 'capital', familiar since Bourdieu's and his associates' seminal work (for example Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), with the notion of 'social remittances' from migration studies (for example Levitt 1998, 2001). This will be explained in more detail below. Thirdly, we will give a chapter-by-chapter overview of the entire book, its aims, procedures and key arguments. In conclusion the Introduction will also show why a study of this kind challenges traditional approaches to diasporas and migration while complementing more contemporary but largely theoretical discussions of transnationalism by new empirical findings.

Transnational networks

Our main departure from existing network models (Becker 1982; Bunnell 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 with our mapping of four interconnecting multi-dimensional, multi-directional parameters. Borrowing a metaphor from electronic circuit designs we

define these as 'hubs' with specific properties. These are *human* hubs, *spatial* hubs, *institutional* hubs and – somewhat tongue in cheek – *accidental* hubs. Let us now explore this in more detail.

Human hubs

We begin with human hubs since these represent the key motivation for integrating the other three. Why this emphasis on specific individuals? There are different entry points into migration research which all have consequences. One of the most obvious problems for diaspora and migration research stems from the circularity of researching dense diasporas in specific locations, which seemingly reinforce the notion of diasporas as spatially defined, self-defining or even isolated and ghettoized communities. Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) have critiqued this approach as 'methodological nationalism', which reinforces the view of diasporas as displaced, 'neo-communitarian' people whose identities are formed by retention of ethnic ties to their 'homeland' and ethnic concentration at new place of residence. In our own work with African[2] musicians in a previous project on capital cities (www.citynexus.soton.ac.uk) we could easily find places, spaces and discourses which answered to this pattern. However, by pursuing individual artists across their different spaces of engagement, with different types of audiences, and by engaging them in long conversations about their life histories, it quickly emerged that ethnicity is only one, albeit powerful form of identification, sitting alongside more globalized cosmopolitan tendencies. This led us to suggest that musicians' identities were constructed through multiple discourses which simultaneously comprised registers depending on the context of the narrative (see Meinhof and Triandafyllidou 2006; Meinhof 2009). This analysis led us to a redesign of our subsequent work, where specific individuals rather than preconfigured spaces provided the entry point. Timothy Rice (2003) in addressing similar issues from the point of view of an ethnomusicologist promotes a 'subject-centred musical ethnography' as a way to create 'narrative coherence'.

> One of the goals of modelling these ethnographies would be to bring some narrative coherence to the complex and seemingly fragmented world that many social theorists, cultural critics, and ethnomusicologists are writing about. That coherence would be situated in subjects' biographies and in the interaction of people occupying slightly different subject positions but interacting in time and place. (Rice 2003: 156–7)

Rice subsequently develops a three-dimensional model for his ethnographic work, with the parameters of location, time and musical metaphor as a way of capturing what he calls 'musical experience' (Rice 2003: 158ff.; see also Fuhr forthcoming). Our own model shares with Rice the notion of the multi-dimensional context-dependent space, but follows a different logic by insisting on specific and highly significant musicians and cultural organizers as an entry point to these multiple spaces. Hence 'human hubs', as we would like to call them, differ from other less well-connected musicians in that they are the key nodes which link all the other parameters in our network model. They are the main agents who provide the focus for everyone in the network and it is they who know and are known by everyone, even though the other members of the network will not all be familiar with one another. Importantly, it is in the nature of 'human hubs' that their social networks cross over and link very different geographic spaces across sending and receiving countries as well as different types of social spaces in a variety of cultural, institutional, professional and other kinds of contexts. Gaining access to the life histories and live practices of such 'human hubs' redresses any danger of methodological nationalism, or 'ethnoaesthetics' (Erlmann 1993: 6, also quoted in Rice 2003: 156).

Examples for such key individuals in extensive transnational networks without having left their country of origin are for Madagascar, among others, the musicians from the group Mahaleo, most notably their eponymous founder Dama (Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo), Ricky Olombelo and Rajery, and in the North Africa context, the Boulevard des jeunes musiciens founders and activists, Momo Merhari and Hicham Bahou. Through their activities some translocal and transnational networks not only remain rooted in the capital cities of the South, but they also create South <> North circuits for migrant musicians. By contrast, the Paris-based Malagasy musicians Justin Vali and Régis Gizavo and the music promoter and director of Kanto Productions Lova Ramisamanana equally fulfil the role of transnational human hubs but now from the perspective of the North. The Algerian musician Hocine Boukella (aka Cheikh Sidi Bémol) and the Louzine artists' collective in Paris, the Algerian music promoter Mohand Haddar and his New Bled label and production company are just some of the North African examples which represent human diasporic hubs in the North. Chapters 2 and 3 in particular will present such artists and organizers and their networking in more detail.

Spatial hubs

From the discussion of human hubs it has already emerged that the analysis of specific individuals' movements leads us to a multiplicity of translocal and transnational routes across geographically dispersed spaces. While the unprecedented scale of physical global movements together with the explosion of virtual technologies allow networks to exist across locales of any kind, number or size, from the smallest village to the capital city, there are nevertheless spatial hubs which have a similar function to human hubs in that they bundle and focalize these flows. The important role of capital and metropolitan cites in the North such as Paris and London, Rome, Berlin or Vienna as key nodes for migration flows and migrant cultures has been amply discussed, our own work included (for just some examples of the extensive literature on urban globalization see Smith 2001 and the different city chapters by Kiwan and Kosnick, Aksoy, Robins, Kosic and Triandafyllidou, Busch and Böse, in Meinhof and Triandafyllidou 2006). However, the pivotal roles which capital and/or metropolitan cities in the South play as hubs for cultural and transcultural networking is far less obvious from the cultural/artistic research literature. This may partly be due to a more pronounced focus on so-called 'traditional' (music) cultures (for example Rice 2003 offers examples from Bulgarian, Baily 2008 from Afghan, and Schmidhofer 1994 from Malagasy traditional music), which are more easily located in village life than in the bustle of big cities. (The extensive research on global hip-hop provides the main exception to this.) Yet cities in the South play similar roles to those in the North for both the translocal movements of artists within their nations and the transnational multi-directional movements between North and South.

Transnational migration begins in the country of origin and is often preceded by translocal migration to the major or capital cities, often in repeated cycles of to-and-fro movements. These cities through their infrastructures and the concentration of 'human' and 'institutional hubs' within them can offer national recognition to aspiring musicians, function as hub for translocal touring and offer the potential to access the national and transnational music industry, and act as international jumping board and nodes for returnees. Antananarivo and Casablanca, alongside many sub-Saharan cities such as Dakar, Cape Town and Johannesburg, are hubs in their own right, linking musicians in the South as well as between North and South through migration, return migration and cyclic migration flows (see, for example, Hegasy 2007; Lemanski 2007). Once again, multi-sited ethnography on the nodes

created by 'human hubs' provides a privileged vantage point for studying these spatially defined interconnections in a more systematic way. We will return in Chapter 2 to this relatively new role of African cities in the directing and redirecting of artistic energy.

Institutional hubs

A third parameter which links human and spatial hubs in a multi-layered way is provided by particular key institutions and organizations that either help organize or are themselves integrated into artists' networks. Here we need to distinguish between three quite different but significant layers of artistic support: firstly, there are cultural institutions from the North located in the South, whose primary goal it is to engage with cultural dissemination. This first group is highly influential in both Madagascar and Morocco. The low priority of creating an effective cultural policy at national and governmental level in Madagascar for example has turned foreign cultural institutions, most importantly the Cercle germano-malgache/Goethe Cultural Centre, the Alliance française, the Centre culturel Albert Camus and cultural wings of some foreign embassies located there into the most important supporters of local and transnational migrant artists. In Morocco there is a similar dynamic in that many foreign cultural institutes (and particularly the network of French Institutes across the country) provide much needed performance and rehearsal space for musicians outside the highly visible festival circuit. Very many musicians in and from Madagascar and Morocco had their first opportunities of performing or touring at one of these 'institutional hubs'. Local cultural centres suffering from shortage of funds for their activities are often directly co-supported by these institutions from allied countries. Secondly, there is a plethora of expatriate associations in the North organized locally, nationally or globally via the internet as support organizations for the diaspora, and thus indirectly also for 'their' artists. Malagasy examples to be further explored in Chapter 6, include among others diaspora organizations in Toulouse and Nantes. North African examples include Mosaik Production in Geneva, Éclats de lune in Marrakesh and ASIDD in Tassemmitt (Morocco), all of which represent differing models of South–North mutual support. And finally there is the almost completely unresearched interconnection between artists and civil society movements devoted primarily to developmental causes of aid but which in some important instances interact with artists (see also Gibert and Meinhof 2009). All three types will be discussed in detail later, and their role in interconnection with our 'human hubs' further analysed.

Accidental hubs

Accidental hubs are those where we as researchers are implicated in building up the very network structures that we are researching. The anthropological literature on the 'observer paradox' is substantial, and differing solutions have been offered by major writers in the field (see among many others the various publications by Marcus, such as Fisher and Marcus 1986, Clifford and Marcus 1986, Marcus 1998 and Armbruster 2008 for an overview), all involving the need for self-reflexivity in the approach to the collection and analysis of data. In working with professional or aspiring artists, the chance of our turning into accidental hubs is arguably even stronger than in the anthropology of everyday practices. Artists by definition seek out any opportunity for practising and supporting their arts, and we as researchers of the arts also come with our own interconnections in academic, media and other artistic fields. Hence researchers such as ourselves, who come with an agenda of pursuing individuals in networks, cannot but involve artists in our own networking across the hubs identified. This may seem an irresolvable dilemma for constructing sufficiently independent scientific research methods. However, given the continuing links between ourselves and certain key artists and the involvement of some artists in our own research practices as co-interviewers, consultants, mediators and curators of events for disseminating and demonstrating what we are finding out (see Chapter 5), we decided to make positive use of these interactions in our network design, and turn ourselves into conscious and self-reflexive insiders wherever possible. Such 'friendship' or collaborative models for ethnographic research are not a recipe for all and every kind of research, and would certainly not work in cases where researchers do not share the ideologies, values or aims of those researched (for a discussion of this dilemma see Meinhof and Galasinski 2005). Their application in the field depends on a transparent and shared ethical agenda, and a continuous awareness of the need for self-reflexive and critical self-assessment. But they do offer a unique opportunity for more in-depth and personalized research than would otherwise be feasible. Hence, in our research practices, all new links created by our interactions with the artists were positively embraced and subsequently researched, leading to a chain of continuing networking which supported the artists as well as ourselves in about as equal a 'gift exchange' (Mauss 1997) between ourselves and the artists as one could envisage. And it is not only between ourselves and the artists we worked with that we noted this equality in gift and counter-gift, but this extended equally to some of the relations we have researched between

NGOs and artists, subject of Chapter 6.[3] Such exchanges between North and South were a topic that we have frequently discussed with some of those musicians that we encountered more frequently during the different stages of our fieldwork and who became friends rather than simply interviewees. Raoul, a doctor in Tamatave, brother of Dama and one of the four singer-songwriters of Mahaleo, described his relation to the NGOs as follows:[4]

> You know, we musicians, we are idealists. And I am very attached to the earth … So I would like to put into practice in the country-side what I'm singing, what I'm composing. And fortunately, we found partners to help us realize our dreams. The idea is that there is a lot to do in the South and a lot of money in the North. How to make the link? So I think, well, if the South can find serious partners in the North, and the North can find serious partners in the South, then you can talk about development … This is not help to make us dependent but to give a little push in the right direction. [1][5] (Meinhof's and Gibert's interview with members of the Mahaleo group, June 2007, Paris)

Transcultural capital and transnational artists

Transcultural capital theory was first introduced by Meinhof and Triandafyllidou (2006) in order to capture the highly integrated inter-action of different types of capital in the lives of transnational artists. Starting with Bourdieu's seminal writing (see especially Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), cultural or symbolic capital, contained for example in linguistic, artistic or intellectual skills, and social capital (see also Halpern 2005; Putnam 2000), contained for example in forms of social networks, represent powerful resources for those who possess them, comparable to the more traditional view of capital as an economic resource. Building on these insightful ideas, the concept of a *trans*cultural capital has the advantage of showing the interdependencies of these forms of capital in the lives of the migrant artists we have studied, and creates a frame for analysis where other notions from within diaspora and migration research, most notably that of social remittances (Levitt 1998), can be integrated. Transcultural capital is thus a heuristic concept to enable interpretation and analysis of resources typically associated with trans-national migrants who retain substantive links between country of origin *and* country/ies of settlement and who activate the continuing interdependencies between them in various flows and cycles of migration,

return and re-return. It is thus not an essentializing concept through which artists are frozen into their ethnic niches, but rather a strategic one, which enables us to describe the ways in which artists use the valuable resources acquired in their countries and cultures of origin to underwrite and develop their art *and* at the same time underwrite and support their commercial appeal to different publics.

In the case of migrant musicians, substantive cultural capital is brought from the country of origin to the new country of settlement. All interviewed artists from North Africa and Madagascar alike drew substantively on the musical and linguistic resources of, and were inspired in their lyrics by, the natural, social and cultural environment of their countries or regions of origin. The creativity unleashed by these continuing links is well understood by the artists themselves and was frequently articulated in their conversations with us (see also Chapter 3). This 'imported' cultural capital underpins the connection of migrant artists to their respective diasporas who in many cases constitute the artists' primary *social* capital through extensive infrastructures of physical and virtual means of communication and dissemination, which very often take place on the margins or completely 'under the surface' of mainstream society and its music industry. This is the case for the French Malagasy and the (Parisian) Algerian diaspora; but it is less evident for the Moroccan musicians in France and other European countries who constitute a less dense network. In that way the interaction between cultural and social capital creates the economic capital, which in turn enables artists to fully professionalize and gain a living from their art. The diasporas' retention of substantive links back to their country of origin in turn adds a cyclical and multi-dimensional element to transcultural capital, enabling artists who never before had left their country of origin to tour in Europe, and to join up with those who have taken up residence, and vice versa. We will discuss these interconnections especially in Chapters 2 and 3. The continuing movements from the South to the North and back again can be seen for example in the trajectories of musicians such as Dama and the other musicians from the Mahaleo group, or of Ricky Olombelo, Rajery or Jaojaoby, who never left Madagascar in spite of their frequent touring, or of Majid Bekkas, H-Kayne and Darga in the North African case. They complement similar cycles whereby first- or in many cases also second- or even third-generation musicians move from the North to the South and back again: Hindi Zahra and also Watcha Clan are typical examples here. In each scenario it is the transcultural capital of musicians which motivates and provides the key for understanding these continuing

cycles. Hence transcultural capital theory allows for a more dynamic and complex cross-fertilization between South and North and North and South than does Levitt's notion of social remittances. The latter captures very well the influence of the new understanding, values and know-how gained by migrants in their new societies which is flowing back to the country of origin through the continuing networking with people 'back home'. However, it ignores the ways in which migrants themselves have already imported substantive transcultural capital to their new countries of residence, so that anything flowing back has already emerged from such interaction (Levitt 1998, 2001, but see Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011 for a more updated account that takes note of this interchange). It also ignores the impact which people in the South who never left their country of origin can assert on migrants who come back to resource themselves (for example the story of DJ Amina and the influence of the Casablanca Boulevard des jeunes musiciens movement on her activities in Geneva; and various comments made by Justin Vali and Erick Manana) or on other members of societies in the North, such as those civil society activists who will be discussed in Chapter 6. We therefore propose an integration of social remittances into the more multi-directional scope of transcultural capital. Finally, as we will show in Chapter 1, transcultural capital theory also applies at the translocal level to the relations within a country of origin. Hence a musician such as Rakapo from the south-western Malagasy town of Toliara refers to his regular visits to the villages around Toliara which includes his own home village as the source from where he draws his inspiration when composing the music for his eponymous group. Translocally a group such as Rakapo links countryside with town, and through connections with other local musicians such as Teta, who are now working in Tana, with the capital city as well. Yet as the brother of Damily who has migrated to France with his French wife and who is much discussed in Julien Mallet's work (Mallet 2002, 2009), Rakapo also gains artistic and economic support through his frequent tours in France where he 'searches for the good grass' in playing with the group Damily ('chercher des bonnes herbes').[6] Many musicians rely on such combinations of translocal and transnational networking. We will discuss this in much more detail in the chapters to follow.

Transnationalism through the prism of 'African' musicians

Apart from its theoretical ambitions our study has a very specific empirical basis. For several years we have followed the trajectories of

individuals and groups of artists from the huge Indian Ocean island of Madagascar off the south-eastern shores of Africa on the one hand, and from the countries of the Maghreb, especially Morocco and Algeria, on the other. Whereas these countries are geographically assigned to Africa, neither the Malagasy nor the North Africans tend to identify themselves as such. The majority of Malagasies by origin, linguistic and cultural affiliation share more with their Polynesian ancestors than they do with their nearest sub-Saharan neighbours, whereas the majority of the people of the Maghreb identify more with transnational and local Arab and Berber (Amazigh) cultures. Living on the edges of Africa their cultural idiosyncracies are very striking. Our choice of these two regions was further influenced by their shared French colonial past, their strong diasporic presence in France and their global transnational networks. And, finally, the contrast between them is very striking indeed. Whereas the North African diaspora in France in particular extends several generations back, has high visibility and is often negatively identified, the Malagasy diaspora is mainly first- or early second-generation and remains largely invisible in public and unrepresented in the media.[7]

In this book we want to tell the stories of artists of North African or Malagasy origin who lead very distinctive but nevertheless representative lives. Their stories will throw light on the changing face of migration in a global context where physical and virtual interconnectivity has multiplied to such an extent that it is now possible to talk about transnational communities which are not geographically adjacent (Vertovec 2009) but which nevertheless sustain themselves by extensive networking.

In the first part of the book – in Chapters 1 and 2 – we introduce musicians who live in Madagascar and North Africa, but who move on different types of translocal and transnational circuits in pursuit of their art. This offers the perspective of those musicians who live in the 'South' but for whom moving 'North' is already either part of their imaginary or their professional practice. To begin a study on migration with musicians who never left their country may seem counterintuitive but makes good sense for several reasons. Most importantly, transnational migration – that is moving from one country to another – is only part and parcel of a much more fundamental form of migration – that of moving from one place to another. To move for example from a village in the south of Madagascar or a Moroccan mountain village or one in the Saharan desert to the nearest town, and from there to a big metropolitan centre, undoubtedly transcends more frontiers of

modern life than the move from Casablanca or Antananarivo to Paris. For many of our migrant musicians that first move to the city was the precondition of their eventual move to Europe. But even for those who remain in their villages, the knowledge of others who left or of others who came and visited already creates a consciousness which places their art in a translocal and potentially transnational (imaginary) space. As we will show in Chapter 1, this arouses both desire and fear. Provincial towns also create their own dynamics. Minor but nevertheless emergent opportunities for musicians offered up by cultural agents and institutions in provincial towns are stepping stones for rural musicians who may get the occasional contract to perform and meet up with the more urban artists who live in those towns. They in turn have often established connections with better-known artists from the big city/ies who pass there. Musicians are often caught between a wish to develop their local music industry where they can record, practise, perform and make a living as an artist, and the enormous pull of the capital city and its promise of an international career. One cannot overestimate the enormous significance which metropolitan centres in the South have as hubs in the networks of artists within their own countries. In Chapter 1 we will introduce artists who represent different stages in the migration story – moving across the translocal connections between village, town and metropolis or in some cases back again.

But those who never left also offer another quite different aspect to the story as well. In Chapter 2 we will introduce artists who live in the metropolitan cities of the South, making use of its emergent cultural industries – recording studios, media, cultural institutions, performance sites – and the transnational connections that affords, so as *not* to leave. Artists such as Mahaleo tour frequently in Europe and worldwide but resist any temptation to leave. At their most successful, these artists utilize all the facilities of global interconnections while remaining firmly rooted in their country of origin. Their role for the networks we are describing in this book is pivotal, since they are key nodes not only for the rural and provincial artists in their own countries, but also for those who have migrated but who want to retain creative connections.

Hence even though the emphasis in Part 1 is on artists in the southern hemisphere from and between village, town and city, they are already part and parcel of a globalizing world, however remote they may seem. Their perspective on the North[8] is multifaceted and ambivalent. Metropolitan cities such as Antananarivo and Casablanca are for many as distant or

as relatively close as any city in Europe. When Remanidry from Toliara joins the Justin Vali Orkestra to tour Madagascar, and then goes on to perform in Europe, however briefly, what matters is his access to a world beyond the traditional circuit of ceremonies of burial, circumcision, birth, marriage, to a very different (potential) public. This is one end of the spectrum. The young musicians from Fort Dauphin who take a leap to Tana, or the artists from Fez, Meknes or Agadir in Morocco who want to succeed nationally and internationally are another part of it. For them as for many of the most successful artists we will discuss in the other sections, Antananarivo and Casablanca is the *passage obligé*. This is another point of the scale. But when Mahaleo or the Boulevard activists decide to resist the pull of abroad and instead invest their energy in building and sustaining local, translocal and transnational connections for themselves and many other musicians, their view of the relation between North and South once more adds another dimension.

While Chapter 2 thus looks at networking and moving from the perspective of the South to the North, Chapter 3 reverses this and looks at the South from the perspective of the North. In both chapters the underlying theoretical thinking arises from current understanding about global cities and cultural globalization. Whereas with Chapter 2, and mainly basing ourselves on our own empirical observations and analyses, we are tracing the still underrated major significance of global cities as major 'hubs' in the southern hemisphere, Chapter 3 investigates metropolitan cities in the North. Here the theoretical discussion is well established and largely complementary to our own thinking and empirical work. Because of our concern with artists from former French colonies, the main city that we will focus on in the northern hemisphere is Paris, for most migrating artists a *passage obligé* in various ways: as home to the largest clusters of migrants, as a centre for cultural activities and opportunities, and as the focal point for individual migrants' diasporic networks. However, we will not neglect the role of other capital cities, especially London, which, apart from being its own post-imperial centre for artists from former British colonies, is also attracting artists from all over the world. Hence the role of London, and to a lesser extent of Amsterdam, especially for North African artists will also be discussed in Chapter 3. Whereas Chapter 3 thus foregrounds the global cities in the North as spatial hubs, Chapter 4 uses the transnational movements of individual migrants outside the capital cities and their diasporic cluster as its lens. It is here where the methodological innovation of following the path of individual artists across their networks rather than researching preconfigured centres of settlement or artistic performance pays off.

In Chapter 4 we pursue a series of multi-sited individuals or groups who are simultaneously located in metropolitan cities and provincial towns, straddling different regions in Europe, or across Europe and their countries of origin, and including those who embark on circles of migration as well as those who have returned 'home'. What Chapter 4 will add to the already highly complex picture of migration is an even more multi-layered picture where mono- or even bi-directional notions about migration have to give way to a much more multi-directional space. Whereas Chapters 1 and 2 already make the case for an inter-connection between translocal and transnational movements and a continuum between internal and international migration, Chapter 4 shows that seemingly clear-cut notions such as transnational migra-tion to and return migration from a specified place need to be equally complexified. Chapter 4 concludes the second part of the book. In both parts it was the artists themselves who were our main concern.

Part 3 focuses on the vital support structures that underpin artistic performances and networking and without whom most of the artists discussed in this book could not survive. Chapter 5 introduces what we have called key 'institutional hubs', official organizations funded by the wealthy nations of the North that are located in the South and which play a major role in cultural networking, not only transnationally between the North to the South, but also, and perhaps more surprisingly, also translocally in the South. In our interviews with artists, by observing the cultural activities in Madagascar and North Africa during our times there and through the internet links, we were easily able to identify the respective key players. In Chapter 5 we will discuss the most significant of these in Madagascar and North Africa, namely the Institut français/ Alliances françaises/Centre culturel Albert Camus, the Goethe-Institut/ Goethe-Centres/Cercle germano-malgache and the British Council, and their respective links to French, German and British cultural policy. If Chapter 5 highlights the institutional support for artists by agencies financed by governments and acting more or less in line with the cultural missions of their funders, Chapter 6 moves beyond the governmental or public sector into the larger or smaller associations of civil society move-ments and activists. We have already mentioned that our discovery of multi-layered, multi-sited networks of artists – the subject of Chapter 4 – owed a great deal to our person-centred research design and – thanks to the funding from the AHRC's DMI programme – our own ability to empirically pursue this across transnational spaces. Understanding the nature of the connections between civil society and artists depended even more on this research strategy. Chapter 6 analyses examples

of mutual support that exist between artists and civil society actors, from the diasporic or ethnically defined groupings and their aims to those that are not primarily related to the arts at all, but who in collaboration with artists have gained powerful mediators for their own objectives and purposes. The final part of the book thus challenges the more usual perspective of the rich North that gives and the poor South that receives, and allows a more optimistic outlook to equal relations between the North and the South, based on mutual support for each other's concerns – with the artists centre stage.

Part 1
The View from the South

1
Translocal Networking in Madagascar and Morocco

The main focus of our book is on migrant musicians whose main residence is at present in Europe. However, in this first part we start at the point of origin. More specifically, in this chapter we begin with the artists from the provinces, who live in or come from some of the rural regions and provincial towns of Madagascar and Morocco, and in Chapter 2 we add those in the countries' metropolitan cities.

Such an unusual perspective in migration studies has several good reasons. First of all, many artists whom we will encounter in this book have as the first stage of their departure for Europe a prior departure from village to town, and/or from town to capital. By inverse, artists who live in the metropolitan cities will in many cases be the hubs for artists in the more remote regions as well as for those who have migrated abroad. Thus if we want to understand the movements of artists across geographical spaces and the networking at physical or at virtual level that underpins and enables it – what Featherstone *et al.* have described as the 'spatialities of transnational networks' (Featherstone *et al.* 2007: 383) – we need to take note of the complex relationships that migrant artists have with their places of origin, the specificities of their local cultures and the enormous step that moving from the provinces to the metropolitan centres implies. Why do people leave home in the first place? Why do they settle where they do? What kinds of movements do they engage in? What kinds of networks enable and sustain these movements? And how and at what points of their careers does a translocal mobility – and by this we mean the movements from and between particular places in the same country – become a transnational jump away from their country of origin to Europe or North America? The distance – geographical and social – between rural villages in some parts of Africa, where people may live in small self-made huts of clay