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STUDY

Policy Department B Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURAL DIASPORAS

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

May 2008

EN



ΕΒΡΟΠΕΪΣΚΙ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ ΕΥΡΟΠΕΟ ΕΥΡΟΠΣΚΪ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤ ΕΥΡΟΡΑ-ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΕΤ
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Directorate General for Internal Policies of the Union

Policy Department B: Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

CULTURAL DIASPORAS

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Directorate General for Internal Policies of the Union

Policy Department Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

CULTURAL DIASPORAS

STUDY

Content:

This study examines the contribution that artists from a non-EU background make towards cultural life and cultural industries in Europe and beyond. In particular, it looks at how such artists form "diasporas" which in turn create networks of cultural exchange inside the EU and with third countries. It provides examples of these activities in three broad diaspora groups of African, Balkan and Turkish background.

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Executive summary

Artists and associated cultural actors from non-European countries are playing significant roles in enriching the cultural diversity and cultural industries of Europe, and are providing vital links across Europe and between Europe and the rest of the world. To associate the many tens of thousands of first, second or even third generation musicians, film makers, visual artists originating from specific countries with a cultural diaspora is problematic, unless we understand the term diasporas as a highly complex phenomenon, comprising a pluralism of personal and artistic identities and social networks, and expressing itself in a vast diversity of genres, styles and activity spaces.

The comparative data at our disposal were drawn from the expertise of a group of experts on different aspects of the diasporic cultural field, focusing on three overarching networks of artists with an African, a Turkish and a Balkan background. Each of these large-scale regions were further sub-divided into more specific case studies of artists, mainly but not exclusively North African, Malagasy, Turkish, Kurdish, and ex-Yugoslavia. Our research and the results of a workshop we conducted in the preparation for this study suggest three interrelated factors that illuminate the similarities and differences among actors in the diasporic cultural field. These categories enable us to understand types of networks, creative economies and the potential of policy impact:

- Migration histories and their effects on experience, identity politics and types of artistic expression (this includes aspects of generation, class, gender, race, and education)
- Activity spheres in high culture versus community culture/socio-culture fields (and their respective infra-structural conditions)
- The barriers and opportunities offered by the cultural industries and wider (often nationally specific) cultural policies.

The report addresses these issues in three sections:

Part 1 introduces the complexity of the diasporic field by introducing the different diasporas under investigation and explores their relation to significant ethnic and non-ethnic networks which are generating **creative industries from ‘below’**. We differentiate these further according to demographic factors, artistic genre, and cross-cutting links with civil society associations. In all cases we are able to describe typical cases of individual artists with whom we have conducted interviews and whose cultural productions we have observed and analyzed. What emerges is a highly differentiated picture of an immense wealth of cultural expression by many different individuals which cover the entire spectrum of the arts, but whose creativity and artistic expression is all too often assigned to an albeit vibrant and translocally effective niche culture.

Part 2 addresses thematic issues arising from the **cultural diversity and creative economies amongst and across diasporas**. We identify some of the key sites where the diversification of artistic creation manifests itself ranging across different festivals and scenes with their associated publics. It is here where the ethnic or national backgrounds of artists can play significant roles for networking and the promotion and distribution of art, but also where the often multi-ethnic taste and style cultures create different scenes and audience cultures. Most

artists we spoke to almost always aspire to be represented in as many cross-cutting scenes as possible. Highly relevant in this context is the role of gate-keepers, since visibility in the media and at festivals are key factors for artists wishing to cross-over from an exclusively ethnic ticket. Equally significant are the funding structures that exist at local, national and European level which are available for artistic support. Whilst most artists are unaware of direct funding possibilities, and very rarely apply directly for funds, art promoters do depend on these to co-finance their activities. Right across the different activity spaces and national contexts we identified a bifurcation into so-called ‘high-art’ and ‘socio-art’, produced at the confluence of different policy levels (e.g. cultural policy with immigration policy) and perceptions about migrants in domestic European contexts. Immigrant artists often find themselves in the second category and tend to face more obstacles in entering a ‘high culture’ circuit.

Regarding the effects of EU Activities on cultural diasporas, this is unfortunately still in its very early stages. Rather than directly influencing cultural policy discourses and funding programmes, EU cultural policy initiatives work indirectly at best. A number of cultural organizations and promoters have benefited from EU funding for co-operative projects at the European level. EQUAL and XENOS programmes that finance initiatives that combat discrimination are likely to positively influence the climate in which migrant cultural producers can work. The new EU approach to Cultural Diversity that invites member states to promote cultural diversity aims to recognize migrants as cultural producers in their own right rather than as representatives of a specific ethnic identity is an excellent departure at policy level, but this has yet to translate into practices on the ground. In many EU policy approaches there seems to be still an identifiable contradiction between surpassing national identities and emphasizing them at the same time. This is present, for instance, in funding schemes for cultural producers that still locate ‘European value’ in the nationality (i.e. passport) of applicants. We would also like to emphasize at this point that the ‘diasporas’ and their representatives we looked at cannot be justifiably labelled as ‘non-European’, despite the fact that many of them may not hold EU passports. This is so, not only because many of the second, third and fourth generation cultural producers have long become Europeans, but also because domestic diversity and cultural fluidity are so much part of what characterizes contemporary ‘European societies’. This means that we envision a future in which defining people through European/ non-European labels will no longer be neither meaningful nor useful. ‘Diversity policies’ should reflect this situation.

Finally, third country initiatives by the EU such as programmes directed towards the so-called ACP – the African, Caribbean and Pacific – countries are vital for the continuing cross-fertilization between cultural diasporas (whose networks are global rather than purely local, national or European) and the creative industries in these countries of origin. The need to approach the field of culture in a much more holistic way than has hitherto been the case is recognised by the European Parliament’s own analysis of the Commission’s communication ‘A European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World’ (August 2007 PE 389.592) when they stress the need for ‘mainstreaming culture in all relevant policies’. This not only affects culture in the sense of specific cultural industries and artistic creativity, but culture in the much broader sense of everyday life. Communications such as the Commission’s proposals for an EU-Caribbean partnership {Sec (2006)268} address economic and political strategic issues, socio-economic growth and good governance to prevent fragility in the region but do not address the vital role which culture plays right across all these sectors. We understand that there are now initiatives being worked out which specifically address the cultural component in this partnership. This should be a welcome addition, but does not alter our general perception that there is a need for more cross-cutting initiatives where culture features in all its different manifestations.

Part 3 addresses the question of the **barriers on artists and the cultural industries of the diasporas** which exist at national and transnational level and which prevent a full realisation of the enormous potential of artists and cultural actors. These barriers can be traced to conceptual and policy level, but they also work themselves out on a daily basis of regulations and restrictions. There is a genuine paradox between the needs of highly mobile groups of people who require transnational mobility to function as artists, and the highly restrictive, expensive and time-consuming immigration and work permit regimes which make such mobility impossible for all but the best connected. As particular hurdles we identified immigration and work permit regimes, including the administrative and financial problems with visa applications, and a series of problems with existing funding models. The latter in particular comprise a series of difficulties, ranging from divisions within the funding models themselves to poor accessibility, poor communication with the target groups, an over-bureaucratization and segmentation of the procedures, and a general lack of imaginative approaches to the funding of creative people across all sectors of engagement.

We therefore conclude with a **series of policy recommendations**.

Overall there is a general need for more transparency of procedures, more clarity of expression, less cumbersome application procedures, and more involvement of all types of users and stakeholders within and beyond Europe in the relationship between cultural diasporas and EU initiatives. Below are some of the key ideas identified through our work with artists and other members of the creative industries.

- Policy makers should observe how artists are already operating transnationally without public support, and follow and give support to existing and often self-determined networks and activities of artists that cut across cultural, geographical and artistic pigeon holes.
- There should be a great deal more support for artists in transnational networks that exist between countries of origin and across Europe. Our work has shown that links between artists are multi-directional, and do not stop on Europe's borders. Artist in non-European countries have a great deal to offer to the cultural dynamics within Europe, whilst artistic exchanges with third countries strengthen the role of culture in developing countries. One further positive effect of a stronger involvement of the European Union in artistic development in poorer countries could be the strengthening of authors' rights which requires an imaginative approach to the widespread piracy which affects all artists in the world.
- Create a more holistic approach towards culture by including cultural activity within the Commission's other funding streams. The segmentation of many funding models into creative/ artistic, NGO/policy, and academic sectors needs to be further undercut by encouraging more targeted cross-cutting initiatives.
- Create a more participatory shared platform between all agents in the intercultural dialogue, where artists themselves are involved at least in part in some of the decision-making processes, especially where they affect policy and funding structures.
- Break down rigid infrastructures for funding models that pre-suppose rather than follow proactive and innovative work.

- Simplify application procedures, create a better system of information, local support and pro-active dissemination to reach and support small scale cultural operator, e.g. encourage the European Cultural Foundation to take a more proactive role.
- Relieve barriers to movement and interchange, for example by creating a Schengen-type space of free circulation via a special artists' mobility scheme, by creating an Artists in Residence scheme across the entire European Union as well as between European and non-European countries and importantly encourage South \leftrightarrow North AND North \leftrightarrow South exchanges. Such schemes have potential impact across all the sectors: artistic performance, education and training, media dissemination, intercultural and cross-cultural information.

In summary:

Whilst one would not wish artistic endeavours to become instrumentalised by government policy and financial backing, there is a case to be made for governments to invest more in cultural collaborations as a result of the impact they can have in terms of encouraging participants and audiences to think differently about identity, community cohesion and other key issues. It is often through artistic collaborations that intercultural dialogue comes to life. This recommendation should not be read as an instrumentalisation of artistic creativity for purely social reasons, but rather comprise the recognition that cultural creativity has a holistic impact right across the many areas which make up the quality of life of citizens.

We would therefore recommend to the European Parliament to take a broad and flexible view of cultural diasporas and to recommend a perspective that goes beyond notions of ethnic separation and essentialism, as these notions mostly serve to underpin social exclusion. At the same time European policy should welcome and support the strength of transcultural roots which may well constitute the transcultural capital and the innovative potential inherent in many of those artists that constitute Europe's cultural diversity.

Contents

Executive summary	iii
Part One - Introduction - The Complexity of ‘Diaspora’	1
1. Cultural Diasporas	3
1.1. Description and justification of our choices	3
1.2. ‘African’ Diaspora	3
1.3. The ‘Turkish’ Diaspora	5
1.4. The ‘Balkan’ Diaspora	6
2. Networks and cultural production	7
2.1. Categories of networks	7
2.2. Demographic Variation	11
2.3. Artistic networks – Networking through genre and taste, festivals, events, record labels, civil-society initiatives/socio-political issues	22
Part Two - Thematic Issues - Cultural diversity and creative economies amongst and across diasporas	31
3. Effects of Cultural Diasporas on the Diversification of artistic creation in different European contexts	31
3.1. Festivals and Scenes: Key sites of artistic mobility and production	31
3.2. Media Access	38
3.3. Internet	40
3.4. Evidence of Cross-Fertilisation between different sectors, e.g. community projects, policy initiatives, NGOs etc.	40
4. Effects of EU Activities on Cultural Diasporas	43
Part Three - Policy Issues	47
5.1. Barriers on artists and the cultural industries of the diasporas	47
5.2. Policy recommendations	49
Bibliography	53

Part One - Introduction - The Complexity of 'Diaspora'

When looking at the sphere of cultural production the notion of 'Diaspora' reveals itself as complex. Cultural production by (post)migrant actors in Europe is marked by an incredible variety, expressed by a pluralism of genres, styles, activity spaces and identity politics. At the same time, artistic production takes place in specific environments that influence and inform the nature of the product and the creative potential of the producer. On the level of genre and style, inter-diasporic and intercommunal encounters give rise to cross-fertilizations and the mixing of styles, ensuing in artistic creations that cannot be aligned to one particular 'diaspora' or ethnic category. In addition, the opportunities and barriers that are generated by the cultural industries, by national or transnational cultural policies, and by immigration regimes directly inform the content and scope of artistic creativity.

Apart from the complex identity of the 'product', the producers, too, are multiply positioned. 'Diaspora' in its original meaning suggests a history of dispersal whereby the dispersed maintain an imaginary or real link to the original homeland to which they aspire to return. However, actual migration histories have not borne this out, and even a 'diaspora consciousness' that is built on a strong link to an original 'homeland' can fluctuate between being claimed on the one hand and altogether discarded on the other. Migration histories that link country of origin and settlement, migration motives, the ethno-historical experience of migrants in their home nations (e.g. minority experience; racism; conflict) and host nations (e.g. immigration status; racism), or the length of stay (e.g. first, second, etc. generation) all generate positionalities of identity and difference within and across diasporic communities. The status of class and gender further create lines of social differentiation and may align and separate individuals who share and do not share the same ethnic background.

Clearly, the wide range of artistic creation and the diverse constituency of artistic producers we have included in this study represent the complexities just outlined. There are similarities and differences within what may be conceived of as a single 'diasporic community', which makes the task of an exhausting and comprehensive representation of 'a diaspora' difficult if not questionable; at the same time, diasporic artists share a number of similarities that are not linked to specific ethnic categories, but to other factors that condition their work and access to a cultural market.

Both the complexity of diasporic cultural production and the lines of similarity and difference within and across diasporic fields are key to the understanding of networks, creative economies and policy impacts. Rather than presenting a seemingly coherent 'diaspora' as a 'type', we will foreground specific genres of cultural production that have their origins in a particular history of migration, but that cannot be seen as confined to that history or its immigrant constituency. Instead, they have a transnational and 'creolizing' significance, including more than the country of origin and more than one language of artistic expression.

From each of the diasporas we have chosen and broadly labelled 'African', 'Turkish' and 'Balkan', we will present a number of case studies that reveal both, links to a specific migration history and to a varied and complex post-migrant experience.

The creative fields of music, visual art and film in which our case studies are based allow insights into the specifics of these fields and the conditions of their production, and suggest a clearer vision of parallels and differences in the experience of migrant artists who may have different ethnic backgrounds but work in similar artistic fields of production.

The comparative data at our disposal and the workshop we conducted suggest three interrelated factors that illuminate the similarities and differences among actors in the diasporic cultural field. These categories enable us to understand types of networks, creative economies and the potential of policy impact:

- Activity spheres in high culture versus community culture/socio-culture fields (and their respective infra-structural conditions).
- Migration histories and their effects on experience, identity politics and types of artistic expression (this includes aspects of generation, class, gender, race, and education).
- The barriers and opportunities offered by the cultural industries and wider (often nationally specific) cultural policies.

In the section below we will describe the rationale for the three diasporic contexts we look at and the case studies we have chosen, and set them broadly in relation to these topics. The case studies will be further examined in the following sections.

1. Cultural Diasporas

1.1 Description and justification of our choices

Our initial choice addresses specific 'diasporas' as identified by three regions of origin: African, Turkish and Balkan. This choice is directly related to transnational networks which we consider to be highly relevant for the requested study. They comprise musicians, film-makers, visual artists and other cultural actors from the following distinctive groups of migrants:

- 'African' diasporas, with a main focus on musicians and visual artists from different regions.
- 'Turkish' diasporas, with a main focus on musicians, visual artists and film-makers of Turkish and Kurdish origin.
- 'Balkan' diasporas, with a focus on musicians and film-makers from the former Republic of Yugoslavia.

Together these diasporas form a spectrum of cultural diversity unique to recent immigration patterns into and across the EU.

1.2 'African' Diaspora

African diasporas are spread right across Europe and are active across the full range of cultural production such as music, film-making, literature, and the visual arts. Apart from the obvious need to restrict and deepen our report through a case-study approach, our elected main focus on African musicians from specific areas is determined by several key factors: the extraordinary vitality of musicians of African origin, their strong presence across the European festival scene, their influential role right across the music industry, and the continuing relationship between diasporas and originating countries. To strengthen our comparative approach and allow for both similarities and differences to be highlighted we will restrict our initial samples to Francophone musicians and cultural operators from two distinctive regions: North Africa, mainly represented by artists originating from the Maghreb, i.e. Morocco, Algeria and to a lesser extent Tunisia; and the Indian Ocean islands, mainly represented by artists originating from Madagascar. The diversity of the musical styles and genres emerging from these artists are very striking, though when performed in diasporic contexts these musics are often classified by the majority society as 'world music', a strategic marketing device which as we will show, offers both advantages and restrictions.

To complement the two main case studies we will include in part 2 and 3 further examples from:

- a. well-established major 'world music' artists and their networks from Sub-Saharan Africa, since musicians from Senegal, Mali, and South Africa probably make up the largest group of successful 'world music' artists worldwide;
- b. a case study of visual artists.

The latter will allow us to reflect on differences within the arts sectors themselves.

1.2.1 North African diaspora

Regarding the North African diaspora there are two main differences to account for:

- the very different North African immigration histories in France and in the UK;
- the differences across the regions of origin of North African diasporas, e.g. between Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian diasporas.

In France, the North African diaspora carries a post-colonial legacy. Algeria was a département of France from 1830 until 1962, when it became independent. Morocco and Tunisia were both protectorates which came under French rule from 1912 until 1956 in the Moroccan case, and from 1881 until 1956 in the Tunisian case. The vast majority of migrants in this diaspora came to France as migrant (male) workers in the post-war period from 1945 to 1974. In 1974 non-European immigration was formally suspended and attempts to block family reunification were made but failed, so that wives and children from the Maghreb continued to join the predominantly male workforce. The last census in 1999 recorded 574,000 Algerians, 522,504 Moroccans and 201,561 Tunisians living in France. Algerians along with Portuguese nationals make up the highest proportion of foreign nationals (13.3% respectively). Moroccans make up the second largest proportion of foreign nationals at 12.1%. (Insee, Recensement de la population, 1962-1999), www.insee.fr. Because of the Republican universalist tradition, the collection of statistics relating to people's ethnic origins is forbidden by law in France and the census does not question people about the birthplace of their parents. This means that when the descendants of immigrants born in France obtain French nationality (in most cases, at the age of 18), it becomes difficult to ascertain their ethnic/national origins as they subsequently 'disappear' from the 'immigration' statistics (Hargreaves, 1995).

In the UK, North African immigration is not linked with a former colonial or protectorate experience, therefore it is fairly small and recent. Algerian immigration is mainly linked to the political events in Algeria in the 1990s when many left the country and dispersed all over the world. Prior to those events, the Algerian community constituted about 3000 people, whilst more than 10 000 Algerian-born residents live in the UK today. The Moroccan community counts a few thousand members, mainly guest workers who arrived during the 1960s-1970s and students.

1.2.2 Malagasy diasporas

By comparison to the North African diaspora, the Malagasy diaspora in Europe is much smaller. There are no statistics regarding their number overall. France, the former colonial power hosts more Malagasies than the rest of Europe put together. Their number was estimated by INSEE at 41,000 in 2005, excluding bi-national or naturalized Malagasies. In relation to the total population of Madagascar - approximately 17.8 Million inhabitants- this makes a sizeable figure. Most Malagasies arrived in France and Europe after independence was gained in June 1960. Hence at present, the majority belong to the first generation, about 70 per cent of which are professionals and 30 per cent students, whilst the oldest of the second generation are only starting to reach their teenage or early adult years. Elsewhere in Europe the figures are small - estimates suggest about 200 in the United Kingdom, and approximately 600 in Germany with no specific density in specific cities or neighbourhoods.

1.3 The 'Turkish' Diaspora

Like the other 'diasporas' that are represented here, the 'Turkish' diaspora is vastly heterogeneous. In fact, a look into the cultural creativity that has grown alongside the history of Turkish immigration into the EU reveals the diversity 'within'. Strictly speaking, 'Turkish' may be a misnomer in itself, as minority communities from Turkey often do not perceive of themselves as 'Turkish' and the Turkish nation state's long and troubled minority policy has not ceased to have its effects on the exile communities in Europe, including their creative activity. In this report we will retain the label 'Turkish' but use 'Kurdish' or 'Syrian Christian/Aramaic' where the individuals we talked to put emphasis on these ethnic categories.

Our choice of the 'Turkish' diaspora is influenced by their large numbers right across many countries of the EU, numbering nearly 4 million (Crul, 2007). Two thirds of this population live in the two countries we focus on, Germany and Austria. In both locales Turkish migration histories have their roots in the guestworker policies of the 1960s, and the consecutive immigration regulations that allowed Turkish citizens to settle (e.g. family reunion rules). This includes asylum legislation that enabled entry for members of Turkey's minority populations such as Kurds, Syrian Christians and others. Asylum became particularly important since the 1980s, when large numbers of Kurds began to flee their homes as a direct result of the escalation of the Turkish-Kurdish conflict in the mid 1980s.

This diaspora has produced many well-established and lesser known artists who are second and third generation immigrants, often with host country or dual nationality where national immigration laws permit these. Artists of Turkish and Kurdish origin have responded to the migrant experience in Europe with a diversity of voices, particularly in the music, visual arts, cinematic and literary field. Turkish migrant cinema in particular has produced a growing body of works which deal with the Turkish and Kurdish migrant experience, draw on different cultural resources and often point towards new forms of post-national, post-migrant and multicultural belonging. This cinematic oeuvre in particular has gained wider acclaim through access to established national and international film festivals (e.g. Berlin Film Festival, Cannes Film Festival). Languages used for their art may be the different languages of the immigration country, new hybrid forms (e.g. Feridun Zaimoglu's 'Kanak Sprak' in Germany), Turkish, Kurdish, Aramaic, or bi-lingual. The focus on the Turkish diasporas allows insights into a well-established diaspora as well as one which has given rise to many debates and anxieties about integration, assimilation, 'parallel societies', Islam, and the identity of Europe.

In this report we will draw on film and visual arts as well as music in both Austria and Germany. Generally speaking there is little empirical research on diasporic, transnational or migrant cultural production in both countries. The available literature (on migrant literature and cinema for instance) often approaches these themes from a specialized literary and visual theory point of view; the 'bread-and butter' issues surrounding funding opportunities, immigration and cultural policy impacts, or transnational mobility aspects have rarely been subject to research. Our case studies in Austria and Germany almost exclusively refer to second- and third-generation artists whose work reflects post-migrant and multicultural subject positions; who straddle the community arts sector and are only beginning to make modest inroads into the 'high arts' field. Their presence in the respective country's cultural industries is still relatively recent, and largely marginal. In Germany we will particularly focus on the new 'migrant cinema' which has begun to have a trans-European reach.

In addition we will look at HipHop as a genre. HipHop is a distinct second and third-generation musical phenomenon by which the children of the former 'Gastarbeiter' claimed a voice. It is a highly 'mobile' artistic product, that circulates across borders (including between Turkey and Germany) and it is part of a creative economy whose 'bottom-up' direction has found its way into the more established cultural market.

In Austria where migrants have made little inroads into the cinematic field, we will look into music (World and Balkan music as well as HipHop and electronic music) and the visual arts spectrum. The formation of the world music scene throughout the 1980s allowed musicians from the Turkish / Kurdish diaspora to perform at various small venues and festivals in Austria and abroad. Today's most popular Balkan music scene found its inroad into the world music scene which was initially partly connected to the political self empowerment of immigrants from Turkey. The formation and persistence of contemporary electronic music scenes and club cultures including HipHop allowed second generation musicians to become important actors.

1.4 The 'Balkan' Diaspora

By 'Balkan' diaspora we refer mainly, but not exclusively, to artists from the regions of former Yugoslavia. 'Balkan music', 'Balkan film' and 'Balkan art' have become labels for a lively and creative scene which is not defined by countries of origin or a single common language but by stylistic elements and references to a larger cultural space.

In the context of cultural production and consumption, the 'Balkans' as a long-standing, yet contentious and contested label has undergone a terminological renaissance. While its meaning is usually extended beyond the space of former Yugoslavia and even beyond South-eastern Europe, the geographical and cultural fuzziness of the term seems to make it a particularly useful marketing device in the cultural economy. The definition of the 'Balkans' varies from one cultural event to the other and the definitional issue itself forms almost routinely part of an event's promotional and/ or conceptual context. Because of the large presence of the Balkan diasporas in Austria we will mainly build on our previous work in Vienna, where the Balkan scene has a very diversified migration background. Nexus links to Austria encompass different histories; the former monarchy, political emigration after 1945, guest worker migration from the 1960s onwards, refugee migration from the war in the 1990s (also intellectuals and cultural workers), and contemporary elite professional mobility. The Balkan diaspora also comprises a second and third generation. The special significance of this diaspora lies in the fact that a former relatively integrated political, social and cultural space has been fragmented along ethnic and national lines. This is also visible in the EU status of the successor states of Yugoslavia: e.g. Slovenia (full member of the EU), Croatia (candidate country), Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia (potential candidate countries). We will examine the influence of these divisions on the diasporic cultural scenes and will focus on the network nodes that figure as focal points in the creation of a wider Balkan scene. This encompasses not only artists who perform in the Balkans and Western Europe, but also so-called second and third generations of migrants and 'Balkanophiles' who often associate the Balkans with a life style. Among these focal points in Vienna figure the following: the annual Balkan fever music festival and DJ-line-ups, the Balkan summer film festival, the literary award 'Writing Between Cultures' and independent radio stations which open a public platform for the expression of Balkan languages and culture. This includes the increasingly active Romany (Gipsy) scene. We can build on previous research in the framework of the 'City Spaces' (www.citynexus.soton.ac.uk) project as well as on follow up projects in Austria.

2. Networks and cultural production

Artists' networks fully reflect the diversity of the people and their cultural production outlined in the first section. Whilst these can be classified under different headings (see below), many, if not most of the artists we researched belong or cross-over between two or more of these. Hence, whilst the publics attracted to the cultural manifestations generated by our artists' networks may be more homogeneous and belong to typical demographic or taste cultures, most artists try to work across these sectors, and form multiple networks. As a general comment one can observe that the most successful artists manage to combine affiliations to both non-ethnic as well as ethnic networks, and are represented in local, national and transnational European groups as well as in the transnational networks formed between diasporas and countries of origin. In the case of the artists this corresponds to two main motivations: on the one hand, their desire to attract as diverse an audience as possible for their art across diverse scenes and to maximise their opportunities to support a full-time artistic career; on the other hand, networking can be seen as a strategic move to maximise their impact within particular scenes. Where live music is concerned, musicians and those who market their performances often strategically adjust or promote performances to the perceived or real desires of their publics and according to the different types of settings (see, for example, Meinhof, 2005a).

2.1. Categories of networks

In order to represent the diversity of networks we will analyse specific artists and groups of artists according to non-exclusionary often overlapping parameters: 1) ethnic vs non-ethnic; 2) demographic variation; 3) artistic networks.

2.1.1. Ethnic vs non-ethnic networks

Ethnic networks offer significant resources and support systems for most artists of non-European (or more precisely, non-Western European) background, especially for those of the first generation and those who we describe below as 'nomads' or bi-nationals. Second generation artists by contrast may resent the 'ethnic' ticket and perceive it as a limitation or marginalisation. There is a difference between the large Turkish and North African second generation populations who regularly express such negative views about their being perceived as for example 'Turkish' or 'Moroccan' artists and the much smaller second generation of Malagasies who cherish continuing contacts with Madagascar and the local diasporas. Among our case studies it is the Malagasy diaspora in which ethnic bonds are most strongly mobilized and fostered in the cultural sector. In the North African case, ethnic networks (e.g. wedding parties) are quite often used as 'spring boards' for newcomers who then move on to more artistic-oriented networks.

Non-ethnic networks derive mainly from the artists' diversified work context or, as a more special case, from connections to civil society associations. By comparison to the first generation's combination of the artistic values, languages and themes of their country of origin with other influences from their new environment, second-generation-artists exhibit a wider range and combination of different musical and artistic genres, themes and languages.

'Ethnic networks' is a category that has often limited significance for artists born in the destination countries of their parents. While ethnic origin and social or family networks are not insignificant, the musical genres such as HipHop and the wider spectrum of electronic music and club cultures, for instance, are part of a taste culture whose producers and audiences are not ethnically homogenous. Cross-overs between artists of different origin are the norm here, and

identification with a country of origin is often used only strategically, or imposed from the outside.

Connections between artists and their diaspora can provide the following opportunities:

- Links between ‘home’ country’ and ‘diaspora’ often enable the first steps into migration;
- Links between artists in the diaspora often provide opportunities for amateur artists to professionalize;
- Local, translocal and transnational networks of support organise concerts or concert tours in Europe or in originating countries for musicians from outside Europe and from the diaspora (see also Meinhof and Triandafyllidou 2006b). These often comprise:
 - a) Full-time or part-time art promoters that have emerged from within the diaspora and who use their extensive connections with ethnic networks to support the artistic events they organise. Amongst the Malagasies an outstanding example of these is Lova (Kanto Production) in Paris, who has started from very small exclusively Malagasy music promotions, to graduate to a full-time music entrepreneur. Lova has recently begun to engage in major event organisation, for example in the Olympia, one of the most important international concert halls in Paris, where he organised two sold-out concerts in May 2007 for the Malagasy group Mahaleo. But there are also smaller often part-time promoters such as Erik Rajaona in Paris, Hangotiana in Toulouse, or more recently Vao (Madagascar on Thames) in London who organize concert tours for their ethnic communities. Tourist agencies such as Jakaranda with its Paris-based director Josielle or other businesses often double-up as artistic promoters, sometimes linking the concerts with advertising for their main activities.

An example for art promoters in the Turkish diaspora in Austria is Couch Records, an independent record label run by Vlado dZihan and Mario Kamien. Apart from releasing and distributing music (CDs, records, online-distribution) from musicians with Turkish / Kurdish backgrounds such as Cay Taylan, Coup de Bam or Madita, they become important club hosts.

- b) Local, national or transnational ethnic associations also engage with cultural event promotion. Events such as Independence Day celebrations, weddings and other festivities are typical instances whereby ‘ethnic’ associations support their local diaspora artists as well as those in transnational networks and from originating countries but associations also engage in cultural event promotion outside of these commemorative days.

Many local diaspora groups in French towns with sizeable Malagasy population and not just in Paris itself, such as in Toulouse, Lyon, or Marseilles are engaged in this way, and are regularly involved in networking with Malagasy artists for concerts which they themselves organise and manage.

The North African diaspora has a strong associative tradition in France (since the 1981 legalisation of the right for foreign nationals to freely associate): e.g. Planète DZ in Paris promotes Algerian cultural events in both France and Algeria; Association des Cultures Berbères (Paris); Association Kabyle France International (Lyon); Association Avenir et Mémoire (Grenoble). The North African diaspora is well-represented within local,

national or transnational ethnic associations across France. On the contrary one can find very few 'ethnic' artistic associations amongst the North African diaspora in the UK. However a new attempt is actually in progress, aiming at creating a pan-North African artistic association.

Pop and turbo folk singers from the space of former Yugoslavia regularly tour the cafes and restaurants which are known as meeting points. Their circuit is visible in the magazine *Svet plus*, a Novi Sad based publication, which has a local edition as well as a so-called diaspora edition. There seems to be an established circuit of venues that stage singers and groups from the space which encompasses Austria, Germany, Switzerland and, to a lesser extent, Scandinavia as well as the Netherlands. Often the cafes and restaurants that form part of the circuit serve as locations for the above mentioned festivities. They equally broadcast on large screen *Pink TV* (satellite TV from Serbia with a specific diaspora programme). The locations are mainly smaller cafes and restaurants run by migrants from the regions of former Yugoslavia. Only a few of them attract a larger public beyond the ethnic networks. The turbo folk and pop scene is partly organized in a national sense ('Serbian', 'Croatian', 'Macedonian' etc. singers) with specific locations in Vienna that are more or less closed to a general public. This 'reconstruction' of a Serbocroatian identity encompasses the whole of former Yugoslavia. *PinkTV* and the *Svet plus* magazine figure as shared sources of information and organization.

Turkish and Kurdish (and other minorities from Turkey) political and religious associations in Germany and Austria organize events with Turkish or Kurdish and migrant musicians representing different styles (e.g. Türk sanat müsiği, folklore, Arabesk, political singer-songwriters). Several hundred visitors gather for such events, often in a 'dügün salonu' (wedding festival hall) or in community halls. Similarly, political associations organize events such as Kurdish New Year celebrations with popular figures such as Sivan Perver (Kurdish folk hero performing with a multilingual and multinational band). In Austria Perver and Dr. Kurt Ostbahn (Austrian representative of the Croatian minority and founder of a refugee centre for minors (Migrationshaus) performed at the Wiener Burgtheater in 2003. The concert was under the patronage of Heinz Fischer, from the Austrian Social Democrats and Eva Glawischnig, from the Austrian Green Party. It was announced by all important newspapers and radio stations, visited by different national Kurdish activists (Iran, Iraq, and Turkey), Austrian and Kurdish policy makers, and multicultural activists attended the event. Turkish halay (dance) was performed on the balconies and Kurdish songs were played alongside Viennese Rock.

- Bi-national or supra-national associations in different countries occasionally promote artists (e.g. for Madagascar: the '*Anglo-Malagasy Association*', UK, the '*Deutsch-Madagassische Gesellschaft*', Germany, and the local '*Freunde Madagaskars*' in Munich).
- Some of the cultural institutes linked to the embassies of the respective 'Balkan' countries play an active role in promoting artistic exchange. Here the difference between countries that joined the EU recently (Romania, Slovenia, Bulgaria) and those outside the EU is visible. Especially in the period following the EU-Eastern-enlargement in 2004 and 2006, a series of cultural events introducing South-Eastern European cultural productions were organised.

The *European Cultural Foundation* (located in the Netherlands) is an important player regarding cooperation and exchange of artists within and beyond the EU. The foundation's long-lasting interest in the Balkans has recently been institutionalised by the creation of the *Balkan Incentive Fund for Culture* which is also closely linked to the *Open Society Institutes* in the space of former Yugoslavia and in Albania (more on EU initiatives in Part II).

- National associations

The *Austrian Cultural Institutes* in London, New York and Berlin, for instance, support visual artists and musicians from the Turkish and Balkan diaspora to exhibit and perform outside Austria; the institution *Kulturkontakt* provides Artists in Residency programs for writers and visual artists from Eastern Europe and promotes these artists' access to a larger public through exhibitions, readings or performances.

In France, artists from the North African diaspora as well as artists living in North Africa are regularly programmed at the *Centre Culturel Algérien* (Paris) and the *Institut du Monde Arabe* (Paris).

2.1.2. Network-based and network-generating creative industries from 'below'

The emergence of a community and network-based creative industry 'from below' is often unnoticed by the mainstream media and audiences. 'Ethnic' music, film and arts promoters or community media are significant in this respect. Examples are the Malagasy emissions of *Radio Capricorn*, Paris, as well as the North African and/or Arabic oriented *Beur FM*, *Radio Orient* and *Radio Soleil*.

The Turkish emissions of *OKTO TV* (Mehmet Keser Show with focus on Turkish music and dance scene, *SoBe* with focus on Kurdish music and literature) and *Radio Orange Vienna* (Ada Vapuru), *Emap.FM* Internet Radio for ethno and world music includes various genres of Turkish music, websites and email lists.

Websites for the North African diaspora are, e.g. www.planète-dz.com: www.ibled.com, www.bledconnexion.com; or, www.sobika.com and www.madagate.com for the Malagasy diaspora. Special shops (such as the Malagasy pharmacies in Paris) link artists with local and transnational audiences through posting and reviewing of cultural events and provide further word-of-mouth dissemination of information.

Independent local radio and TV stations are equally important for the Balkan scene. Specific is the translocal cooperation with other independent media in the production of cultural programs. For instance, *Crossradio* links radio stations in the Balkans with others in Western European metropolises that have a significant Balkan diaspora (e.g. Vienna, Zurich). Some of the larger concert venues run their own music request programs on local radio stations. An example is the weekly radio *Nachtwerk* on Radio Orange 94,0 in Vienna. The *Nachtwerk* club attracts mainly a second and third generation constituency and can hold more than 1000 visitors.

Radyo Metropol FM is the first private commercial radio station that caters in Turkish for a target audience of Turkish Germans. Initially established in Berlin in 1999 it now broadcasts in Stuttgart, Mannheim/Ludwigshafen and the Saarland. Its success will probably lead to further geographical expansion. *Powertürk Radio* is an internet radio station broadcasting Turkish music. Turkish TV and print media have established themselves in Germany and become part of

the media landscape. Most Turkish dailies are available all over Germany, Germany-based journalists (increasingly second generation immigrants) often produce specific 'Europe' pages for these outlets. A wide range of regional or local newspapers and magazines, often financed through advertising, disseminate information.

Mitos-Film (<http://www.mitosfilm.com/>) is a small film production company in Berlin, run by individuals of mainly Kurdish descent. It distributes and produces feature and documentary films with a special interest in films from the Mediterranean and Middle East. It has established many transnational links, which are not purely 'ethnically' based, but have a special interest in Kurdish diasporic culture. One of the current projects (as of 2008) is a film by Paris-based Kurdish director Hiner Saleem, produced in co-operation with Paris-based AGAT films. Mitos-Film also organizes the annual Kurdish Film Festival in Berlin. It is a rarity of its kind as there are hardly any Turkish/Kurdish diaspora based film production companies in Germany.

2.2. Demographic Variation

2.2.1. First generation

Even amongst first generation migrants there is significant demographic variation relating to age and history of arrival in Europe. This can have effects on their immersion in ethnic networks, and the strength of their links - artistic, cultural or otherwise - to their countries of birth. Evidently, there are many routes to and reasons for migration. Below we list some of those that repeatedly emerged across our case studies. Categories often overlap (e.g. someone can be a political refugee and an artist wanting to develop their career).

We distinguish between the following groups/migratory patterns:

- a. Those who came to Europe as relatively young children or youth with their family (this can classify them as both first and second generation);
 - b. Those who came to Europe to study, to 'discover the world' or for personal or economic reasons and then stayed and became artists;
 - c. Those who came as asylum seekers, already (or not) involved in artistic scenes in their countries of origin;
 - d. Those who came as a result of some initial artistic success in their home country and reached out to Europe because of better opportunities;
 - e. Those who work only occasionally as artists and earn their living in other professions.
- a. Those who came to Europe as relatively young children or youth with their family (this can classify them as both first and second generation).**

Examples from the Malagasy diaspora include the Berlin-based jazz and gospel singer Mfa Kera who was taken away from Madagascar by her Corsican father at a very young age and grew up in Senegal before moving to Berlin, and the French-based chansonnier and jazz singer Edgar Ravahatra. Typical for these artists is their acquisition of Malagasy art forms (rhythm, language, topics) at a later stage in their artistic life and their performance in other languages than Malagasy. (Kera speaks no Malagasy at all, although she defines herself as a Malagasy artist). This makes them atypical for other Malagasy musicians from the first generation who almost exclusively work through the medium of the Malagasy language, and who identify themselves

explicitly as Malagasy roots musicians. Typical for these fully integrated ‘European’ artists is also their cooperation with other international artists: Mfa Kera’s group of the name *Black Heritage* is made up of one American and one German musician. Edgar Ravahatra models himself on the French chansonnier George Brassens, and performs either solo or with a mix of artists from different nationalities. All have quite recently moved closer towards Malagasy art forms but their recognition within the Malagasy ethnic networks, though desired, has not yet been achieved.

Examples from the North African diaspora include Smadj (Tunisian Jewish origin), born in Tunisia who came to France at age of 5. He plays electro-oriental music. He argues that his music reflects who he is (his ‘hybrid’ identity) rather than a pre-meditated fusion of electronic music and the oud. Smadj is linked into non-ethnic and non-Francophone networks (he works with musicians in Turkey) and now lives and works in Istanbul. Momo Roots (now in his late 30s), is a singer who moved to Paris with his family from Casablanca at the age of 12. Momo Roots’s musical influences and networks draw on the UK/Caribbean/Antillean reggae scene but he defines his music as ‘Reggae-rai’ or ‘Ragga Gnawa Fusion’ and his texts are in French, English and Arabic. Hamid Bouri formed in the UK (London)-based band *Fantazia*. Born in Algeria to an Algerian father and a British mother, Hamid came to the UK in his teenage years. In the 1980’s he played with UK-based bands of various music styles (reggae, rock). In the 1990’s, he started to perform with Algerian singers based in the UK (Seddik Zebiri, Ali Slimani, Abdelkader Saadoun, etc.) as well as playing in the bands *Fantazia* and *El Andaluz*.

Examples from the Turkish diaspora include the Viennese based artist / musician Mehmet Emir who immigrated to Vienna in 1986 to join his father who was already employed as a ‘guest worker’ at a constructing company. After working in the same company as his father, he became involved in the Viennese world music scene where he worked with musicians of different ethnic backgrounds. In 1990 he recorded a CD with traditional Turkish and Kurdish songs, yet with a new Jazz interpretation. Apart from his musical activities Mehmet Emir took up this career as a photographer and started studying at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. However, his career as well as his work in music and the visual arts is rather unique among Turkish immigrants who came to Austria as migrant workers.

This category of artists also includes cases where individuals who came as infants and/or youths and are of minority extraction in Turkey become ‘ethnically’ oriented artists in Germany, or address their minority history and identity in their art.

Levent Acar is of Syrian Christian background, was born in Istanbul, came to Germany as a two-year-old and learnt a profession after school. As a teenager he had his first musical exposure as a rapper in discotheques and at community events and festivals. He became successful within his own community (transnationally linked), started to rap in Aramaic and now specializes in particular on issues that concern his ethnic community (gender, generation conflict etc.) which he considers his main audience. Still working full-time, he has invested his savings into a recording studio and hopes to foster a career in music.

Yüksel Yavuz, is of Kurdish descent, grew up in Turkish Kurdistan and came to Germany as a 18-year old to join his already Germany-based parents. After labouring in factories he entered film school and is now part of the ‘new wave’ of migrant film makers. His most recent film *Close-Up Kurdistan* is a semi-autobiographical engagement with the Kurdish – Turkish conflict in Turkey and draws links with the Germany-based diaspora. He stressed that the ongoing

conflict in Turkey and its impact on the Turkish/Kurdish diaspora had to be made more visible in order to understand the complexity of the ‘Turkish’ diaspora (Interview).

Examples from the Balkan diaspora include Rusza Nikolić-Lakatos who came as a refugee to Austria. She began to sing as a teenager at different *Lovara* festivities (weddings, birthdays, Đurdev dan etc.) and became well known in Roma circles in and beyond Vienna. At first she refused to sing for a non-Roma public, but after support from ethnomusicologist Ursula Hemetek she began to perform more widely. Rusza Lakatos regularly participates in workshops on Roma history, culture and music and makes school visits that are organized by the *Kulturservice*. Rusza's husband Mišo and occasionally also her children, accompany her on the guitar.

b. Those who came to Europe to study, to ‘discover the world’ or for personal or economic reasons and then stayed and became artists.

Examples from the Malagasy diaspora include the London-based Hughes Modeste (who has also acquired Greek nationality through marriage) and the Bordeaux based Erick Manana. Here one can see a difference between the effects of dense and thin diasporic contexts. Artists who are resident in France like Erick Manana can arrive at making a living (and achieve the status of an “*intermittent du spectacle*”) by almost exclusively performing within the ethnic Malagasy scenes in France, Switzerland and Belgium, as well as Madagascar itself, whereas others like Hughes Modeste cannot rely on the very small Malagasy networks in the UK for more than very occasional performances. The main support for Modeste’s art straddles many different scenes, from very small-scale gigs in pubs to major world music venues, and his support artists are drawn from many different nationalities. In spite of that, his music is distinctly Malagasy in rhythm and - apart from the odd song in Greek - he, too, sings almost exclusively in Malagasy.

Examples from the Turkish diaspora include the Vienna-based visual artist / musician Fatih Aydogdu who studied at the Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi (Istanbul) before he came to Vienna in 1981 in order to complete his studies at the University of Fine Arts in Vienna. At the age of 15 he was participating in the political art scene in Istanbul, drawing comics and producing videos. Since he arrived in Vienna, he has been working as video artist, graphic designer and musician/DJ. A further example from the visual arts spectrum is Songül Boyraz who is of Kurdish background and studied sculpturing at the Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi in Istanbul and at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Since then she has mostly lived in Vienna, producing videos, art installations and photographic works shown in Austria and abroad.

Examples for world and classical music are the guitarist Alp Bora and the piano player Sabri Tulug Tirpan.

Alp Bora studied guitar at the music university in Ankara and Vienna. He is the founder and leader of the world music bands *Nim Sofyan* and *Alp Bora Trio*. Since *Nim Sofyan* won the Austrian World Music Award in 2004, the band performed all over Austria, as well in Italy, Turkey and Tunisia.

Sabri Tulug Tirpan, born 1970 in Istanbul, studied piano and performed with jazz musicians before he immigrated to Vienna in 1993 to complete his studies. He earns his living by performing classical music concerts for a tourist audience in Vienna and teaching at a Viennese music school.

The *Erste Wiener Tschuschenkapelle* can figure as an example in this section. The founder of the band, Slavko Ninić initially came to Vienna as a student but also worked on building sites before he became a professional musician. Since 1989 the band has recorded a number of CDs with traditional and self-composed songs of the Balkans, including Turkish, Greek and Gypsy music well as Viennese songs (www.tschuschenkapelle.at). The band members changed over the years, including musicians from Turkey, Bulgaria, the Balkans as well as Austrians without a 'Balkan-background'. Especially in its early days the *Tschuschenkapelle* stood up against racism and for cultural diversity, symbolized by the self-confident inversion of the ethnicizing slur 'tschusch' in its name. Today the band stands for Austria's ethno music scene, with a strong Viennese inclination, and Ninić considers the style of the band as political per se. *Tschuschenkapelle* participated several times in cultural exchange projects organised on behalf of and supported by the Austrian cultural co-operation with tours in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Brazil.

The accordionist Krzysztof Dobrek started off in Vienna as a street musician, after leaving Poland and his classical music studies in Cracow behind. Discovered on the street by an Austrian folk/ cabaret band, he performed at several theatres in Vienna, played the accordion in the *Tschuschenkapelle* and different one-off musical projects. In-between he studied a short time at the music university in Vienna, before founding his own group, called *Dobrek Bistro*, in 2000. This group is now one of the best-known world music outfits in Austria (www.dobrek-bistro.com). Based in Vienna, *Dobrek Bistro* tour in Austria, Poland, Germany, Italy and beyond.

Amongst the North African diaspora, examples are lead singer and band leader of the band *Gaâda Diwane de Béchar*, Abdelati Laoufi, who arrived in France in the late 1960s (when he was 20). Originally he left to study in Scandinavia, then came to France where he had some friends. Abdelati's music (*Gaada's* music) is Diwane music (the Algerian 'cousin' of gnawa music – music used during ceremonies to invoke the spirit world). Until the mid-2000's, most of the texts were 'covers' of the traditional diwane repertoire featuring lyrics in Algerian Arabic. The female artist Houria Aichi came to Paris to study Sociology during the 1980s. She had always sung traditional 'chants de l'Aurès' in her native Algeria (a key mode of expression amongst women in the Aurès region where Houria Aichi grew up). Aichi started to sing professionally once in Paris, after being invited to perform at a festival. She then decided to collect heritage texts/songs by regularly visiting Algeria. However, the political situation and civil war in Algeria prevented her from going back and forth. Nevertheless she was able to access songs/texts/recordings amongst the Algerian diaspora in France.

Hocine Boukella - aka Cheikh Sidi Bémol came to France in 1985 to study for a PhD in genetics, but ended his studies in 1988 in order to develop his artistic career in music and drawing. He was a musician in a student group in Algier and once in France created a number of bands. In 1998, he took a leading part in the creation of the artists' collective *Louzine* (see below section 'Networks') with musicians of the *Orchestre National de Barbès*. He calls his North African-inspired music "gourbi rock". Everyday life and politics in Algeria are main themes of his lyrics, sung in Algerian Arabic and Berber (*kabyle*). The *Orchestre National de Barbès*, keyboard player, Taoufik Mimmouni has Moroccan and French dual nationality. Taoufik came to Nancy (France) to study pharmacy in 1987 but he did not finish his degree and now makes a living out of music. The group *Orchestre National de Barbès* is formed out of informal networks of migrant musicians based in and around Paris (linked to the *Louzine* network).

In the UK, Karim Dellali is a percussionist in the band *Fantazia* and in various UK-based groups, as well as a DJ. He came to London from Algeria at the age of 21 (in 1987) to study computer engineering and avoid political conflicts. He started to play guitar and percussion at the age of 13 (rock and pop music) but started DJing only once he was in the UK. After a few years in the UK, he became more and more interested by 'his origins' and started to play *derbuka*. Since 2000 he has played in numerous bands based in the UK, and is a freelance DJ for private parties and in a London restaurant/club ('Darbucka').

Born in Morocco, Farid (group: *MOMO-Music Of Moroccan Origin*) arrived in London in 1989 in his mid 20s, for personal reasons. Although he had been playing mainly Moroccan music (mostly *chaâbi*) while in Morocco, he did not envisage a musical in the UK. However, he joined a multicultural band playing 'oriental music' and later joined a percussionist (Lahcen) who had just started a new project called MOMO. They developed the current style of the band, which they call 'DAR' (Digital And Roots). Seddik Zebiri is a Berber musician (singer and drummer) who was born in Algeria and has been based in the UK since 1975 after first visiting to France in 1965 "to discover the world". He became involved in the political events of 1968 in France and was playing music with friends in small coffee shops. He married a British citizen and arrived in London in 1975 where he met numerous musicians of various cultural backgrounds. Having played jazz, pop and Latin-American music, he finally created the group *Seeds of Creation* in 1979 (fusion reggae-latino). In 1992, after a stay of 2 months in Egypt he started to become interested in Arabic music, learned to play 'oud' and finally changed the line-up of his band (Seeds of Creation) to incorporate Arabic/North African music. In the 1990s he organised weekly jazz jam sessions at the Samuel Pepys pub a venue popular with musicians from North Africa met. Thus he created an artistically-oriented network, which was also important on an 'ethnic' level. Since the 1990s, he has been creating a fusion style encompassing North-African music and jazz, reggae, latino and blues. Music and lyrics express the fight against racism, the emotional and psychological suffering created by migration and draw on spiritual inspiration (*diwane*). Lyrics are mainly in Algerian Arabic and Kabyle, sometimes in English.

c. Those who came as asylum seekers, already (or not) involved in artistic scenes in their countries of origin.

Nowhere is artistic flight more apparent than in Algeria from the late 1980s onwards (1988) and during the civil war from 1991. Artists who had already achieved fame and success in Algiers such as Khaled, Chaba Zahouania or Souad Massi were forced to leave and settled in Paris. The assassination of singers such as Cheb Hasni in 1994 and Matoub Lounès in 1998 only served to further reinforce Paris's role of safe haven. Examples are Cheb Tati, a rai artist who had started to become quite successful on the Oran 'cabaret' scene which characterized rai music in 1980s Algeria. He emigrated to Paris during the civil war in 1994 in order to pursue a musical career. Yazid Fentazi ('oud / multi-instrumentist / music composer) was born in Algeria in the 1960s and came to London in 1994. Yazid was already a very active musician in Algeria in the 1980s where he was playing covers of pop/western music as well as working with renowned artists such as Cheb Mami or Idir. He left Algeria in 1992 and worked for 2 years in the tourist-related musical scene of Agadir (Morocco) before arriving in London to develop his musical career. It is only in the UK that he started to play 'oud. In 1996 he participated in the creation of the band *Fantazia*. He also plays with other bands and composes for various famous musicians (Robert Plant; Natacha Atlas, etc.). The *El-Gafla* lead singer, Karim emigrated to France (fled Algeria via Italy in 1993) and later formed a group with fellow Algerians and non-diasporic artists in Paris.

d. Those who came as a result of some initial artistic success in their home country and reached out to Europe because of better opportunities.

The Paris based Regis Gizavo is the most striking example of a successful artist from Madagascar. Having won a radio competition on France International he was invited to perform at the prize-giving ceremony in Guinea –Biseau where he made first contacts with French artists who invited him to Paris. Regis played for many years in a Corsican band before striking out as a solo-artist. His connections span across many different scenes, including Malagasy ethnic and world music platforms. U-Cef, of Moroccan origin, has been based in London since 1994 after 10 years spent in the USA. He travelled to the USA and then to London with the aim of developing his musical career. In Morocco (at an amateur level) and then in New York he played various music styles (western rock, hip hop, reggae, jazz, etc.), but moved to electronic music when he arrived in the UK. Composer and producer, he is also DJing in various clubs in London. In the early 1990s, he also played in the band of the London-based Algerian singer Ali Slimani. His music is electronic and fuses various types of music (hiphop, rock) with what he calls ‘halal music’ (Moroccan/North African/Middle eastern/classical Arabic music). He does not compose lyrics, but considers his music to be the result of his migration experience. He is part of the French project *New Bled Connection* (see below) and is also well connected to the Moroccan ‘Essaouira Festival’.

e. Those who work only occasionally as artists and earn their living in other professions.

This is probably the largest, though least visible, category of artists. These artists are generally not on the regular circuit of performance and often have neither CD nor web-site. Whilst some are part-time artists by choice, others work in other fields because of a lack of opportunity to earn a living through their art. Examples from the Malagasy music scene include a post-doc researcher into Solar Energy at the Max Planck Institute in Halle, Germany, Paty, who is also occasionally performing as a Valiha player; the Singer/ guitarist Fassio from Fort Dauphin in London, the guitarist Fally, who is married to a British citizen and works as bio-medical in various NGOs, and the actor/ musician Daniel in Munich, who has been setting up a local band with Malagasy women married to German partners. Whilst Fassio, Fally and Daniel aspire to becoming full-time professional artists, Paty thinks of his art as mainly a leisure activity.

An example from the Turkish diaspora in Austria are the bands *TSATSIKI Connection* and *Coup de Bam*. Two musicians of the band Coup de Bam were born in Turkey, one in Croatia, all three have been based in Vienna for more than twenty years. Although the musicians aim to become professional musicians, their access to a broader audience in Austria and abroad is fairly limited not least because they strictly reject any associations with ‘world music’ or ‘migrant music from Turkey’. Özden Öksüz and Wilko Goriany earn their living by working in the catering industry. The musicians of TSATSIKI Connection, among them the philosopher Hakan Gürses, understand their music production mainly as a leisure activity. Coup de Bam and TSATSIKI Connection perform occasionally at world music venues and anti-racist-events.

Amongst the North African diaspora, an example is M. , an Algerian born guitarist. Because of the political situation on Algeria in the early 1990s, he left and travelled a few years around Spain, France and Switzerland before settling down in the UK. He, too, earns his living in other occupations, but belongs to various music groups, both in the UK and Switzerland. He thinks of his art as both an aesthetic laboratory and a political tool. Abdelati (Group *Gaâda Diwane de Bechar*) in France also works in social projects in a suburb of Paris (Essonne department, see below).

2.2.2. Second generation

While some of the diasporic contexts we look at have established second and third generation cultural producers, others have not.

Amongst the Malagasy population in Europe, for instance, there are as yet only a few artists of the second generation, though this will change within the next decade with more young people, born in Europe to a Malagasy parent coming of age. An exception is Rachel Ratsizafy, a jazz and soul/ gospel singer who was born in France and until recently performed only in French and English. Rachel plays with a Spanish guitarist who first introduced her to Malagasy rhythms and encouraged her to ‘retrace her roots’. She now creates songs in the Malagasy language which she had to ‘relearn’ for that purpose. Another example is the young DJ Flash, born in the UK of Malagasy parents living in London. A HipHop artist, he performs only in English and does not speak Malagasy fluently.

Amongst the North African diaspora in France, many artists are second generation. Mohand Haddar (promoter and director of the *New Bled* label), was born and brought up in France. Whilst his label clearly draws on North African influences and themes, it is also a broadly defined electronic music label which works with artists and cultural promoters from different backgrounds (e.g. Cameroon, Turkey, Spain). Zora is a France (Roubaix)-born singer/songwriter, who works in the *nouvelle chanson française* ‘tradition’. She sings exclusively in French and was ‘discovered’ by the ‘mainstream’ *Printemps de Bourges* festival. A further example of a second generation artist is Malik Adouane whose father is from the Sahara and whose mother is from France. Born and brought up in the Paris region, he was one of the ‘pioneers’ of after-*rai* in the international club scene (France; US; UK). Momo Hafsi, born and brought up in Grenoble (France) to Algerian parents, is an interesting case in that he trained as a jazz musician in Paris and only later became involved in ‘world music’. His involvement in the latter has not been defined in North African terms. He is the bassist for Sally N’yolo and Mory Kanté (International Sub-Saharan artists). He has only recently become involved in a musical project involving Algeria – namely the production of *Tiris*, a group of musicians based in the Western Sahara. Khalid Filali aka DJ Khalid is a HipHop artist who was born and brought up in Montpellier (he is of Moroccan origin). He became the DJ of Morocco’s main rap group *H-Kayne* (based in Meknes) through a Moroccan student friend studying in Montpellier. Khalid remained the group’s DJ whilst being based in France for a number of years (2000-2007). Khalid’s case is a good example of how the North African diaspora draws on translocal social and creative networks. Akeem is a young HipHop singer born, raised and still based in the Paris region, whose mother is Algerian and whose father is French. He works full-time at the airport but plans to record an album as well as to help younger artists to develop their skills as singers or music producers. He belongs to an informal “collectif” of HipHop artists based in the Paris region but is linked with other artists in London through his brother, Mounir, who lives there. Both are currently working with their third brother who is based in Algiers on the creation of a music festival there.

The situation is different in the UK, where a second generation born in the UK is barely existent. Rare examples are Mo (Electronic music), born in London to a Moroccan father and British mother; and Louis (jazz saxophonist), born in the UK to parents from Morocco and Dominican Republic. He recently joined the London-based group Resonate Gnawa UK (formerly Gnawa UK) led by Moroccan born Boujmaa Bouboul. Their music is mainly based on traditional Gnawa repertoires (healing ceremonies) with many electronic elements.

There are second generation artists born in France who then moved to the UK. Examples are Rahil aka Mighty Frero who was born in the South of France to Algerian parents and moved to the UK in 1989 (aged 17) for professional reasons. Although deeply involved in the HipHop scene in France since the age of 11 (break dance and rap), he stopped all his musical activities during his first years in the UK. A few years later, during his early 20s, he resumed his singing as an MC and his activities as a drummer (derbuka, djembe). Today he earns his living as a musician, performing as an MC and/or derbuka player with various UK-based bands or artists of very different musical genres. He is also a session musician for various major record labels (*EMI London, Warner-Chappell*). Kad Achouri was born in the south of France to Algerian Berber parents. He moved to Spain in his early twenties where he started to work in the music industry, then came to live in the UK in order to develop his musical career. Today singer, songwriter and pianist, he has composed and published 2 albums (a third one is almost ready), and works also as a composer. He is considered by musical critics as a “French singer”, his music being a combination of ‘French chanson’, jazz, latino and reggae, though like Momo Hafsi he has also joined *Tiris*.

The German HipHop community shaped itself out of a migrant or post-migrant experience with young artists giving voice to their specific experience as immigrant children in Germany whose everyday lives differed from those of non-migrants, not least through exclusion and racism. The fact that HipHop enabled young people to transcend ethnic boundaries and labels ascribed to them by the dominant culture made it particularly appealing (Loh and GÜngör, 2002:95). Youth centres in cities across Germany often provided the infrastructures in which second generation youths were exposed to this musical genre and could start producing it themselves (e.g. the famous youth centre NaunynRitze in Berlin). National and to a certain extent transnational networks formed around ‘jams’ in the 1980s and 1990s, self-organised HipHop festivals, held in different locales in Germany and some neighbouring countries. Rather than specifically ethnic these were multiethnic affairs, with people performing in a range of languages (Loh and GÜngör, 2002:149). The vicious racist attacks in the newly unified Germany in the early 1990s politicized some of the HipHop scene and anti-racist networks often also provided forums for HipHop artists to perform (e.g. the numerable events under the motto ‘Gegen Rechts’ – ‘Against the Right’).

Since the early and mid-1990s a number of artists increasingly started rapping in Turkish (or other languages that reflected the countries of origin of the parent generation) which opened new networking routes and outlets. Some artists also produced records in Turkey or had their albums released there (for example the female rapper Aziza A, or Sultan Tunc from Frankfurt).

Cartel may serve as a good example of a HipHop group that emerged in the mid-1990s and became an instant success in both Germany and Turkey. Their video ‘Cartel, Number One’ was repeatedly shown on Turkish TV and reached the top of the Turkish charts (Cinar, 1999). Their songs were seen as hitting a nerve, by giving expression to what it means to be a young German Turk, facing lack of acceptance and racism. The mainstream media in both countries gave this group considerable attention, with its ‘Turkification of rap’ (Robins and Morley, 1996:252), that mixed Turkish and western musical styles and used the Turkish language. The message of their songs was to identify positively with being Turkish and with a masculine toughness and ‘blood brotherhood’. While the mainstream German media understood this to mean these youths’ allegiance to Turkey, in Turkey the media ‘celebrated Cartel as a “Turkish” product that could produce Western music as good as any westerner’ (Cinar, 1999: 44). Ironically, the assertion of ‘Turkishness’ was read by right-wing, ultra-nationalist groups in Turkey as a propagation of their message, and they saw in *Cartel* political allies. An interesting example of how meaning

travels and becomes re-interpreted at different nodes of the same network (also Schwarz and Schönpflug, 2007). The group has since dissolved. In the meantime ‘Turkish HipHop’ has established itself as a sub-genre and artists network under this label and organize ‘Jams’ which bring artists from Germany, Holland, Switzerland and Turkey together (Loh and Güngör, 2002:191-92). Islamic Force from Berlin or Karakan from Nuremberg are among the pioneers of ‘Turkish HipHop’. Successful artists such as Kool Savas, of Turkish, and Azad, of Kurdish background, have found entry into the music charts.

In contrast to the situation in Germany where Turkish HipHop flourishes into the mainstream, second generation HipHop artists in Austria are still the exception. MC Sultan, a band of seven musicians from six countries (among them musicians with Turkish background) founded in 1994, combine HipHop, jazz and elements of traditional Turkish music and perform their lyrics in German, Italian, Turkish and Croatian. For their CDs “grooveORIENTiert” (1996) and “Super Ethno Astronaut” (1998) they signed a contract with *Spray Records*, a sub-label of Sony BMG. The rapper R-Kan and the band Sua Kaan might be mentioned as examples for upcoming HipHop artists. R-Kan was born 1987 as child of a Turkish migrant family and grew up in a Viennese working class area. He started writing HipHop lyrics and performing in 2002. R-Kan and Sua Kaan represent themselves as part of a “Viennese Underground” while dealing with the living situation and experiences of (post-) migrants in the Viennese 16th district. In the last years this district has been given increasing attention from the municipality which plans its gentrification, as well as from the mainstream media which report on the multicultural art fair ‘Soho Ottakring’ and the prospering pubs and bars in the so-called ‘Balkan Mile’. The ‘Jugend-, Kultur- und Integrationsverein Echo’ (Youth, Culture and Integration Initiative Echo) functioned partly as a platform for second generation HipHop and electro musicians/DJs. In 2004 the city Vienna stopped the funding for the institution.

For HipHop artists, DJs and musicians the internet (*YouTube* and *myspace* but also specialist HipHop websites) has gained an increasing significance, not only for networking and circulation of information but also as a forum of reaching and creating audiences for a musical product. For a local audience in Vienna, the trans-cultural magazine Biber (<http://www.dasbiber.at>) published since 2007, focuses on second and third generation musicians. The editorial board claims to reflect the life style of these generations without any moralistic undertone. The HipHop magazine “Fragezeichen” (“question mark”) on OKTO TV moderated by the rappers Engin Yilmaz and Ibo Yildiz promote Turkish-Austrian HipHop artists.

Apart from these HipHop artists, post-migrant Turkish musicians are involved in the electronic music and the Viennese club culture which achieved mainstream attention in the late 1990s under the label “Vienna electronica”. Among Austrians, the post-migrant Turkish musicians/DJs Erdem Tunakan, dZihan & Kamien and Cay Taylan achieved huge media coverage in Austria and abroad for their fusion of HipHop, jazz and oriental music. Similar to R-Kahn, Cay Taylan was born in Vienna as a child of a Turkish working class family. In his early twenties he signed a contract at *Couch Records* what offered him the opportunity to release several solo albums and remix CDs, among them a remix of a James Brown song.

Apart from HipHop, the Turkish pop genre has also had some significance for second and third generation individuals of Turkish descent, and for networking relationships with Turkey. Turkish satellite TV in particular as well as the already mentioned Metropol FM and the Turkish discotheque and club cultures played a role in making Turkish pop popular among Turkish-German youths, some of whom tried to gain entry into the genre as artists. Rafet El Roman,

Cankat or Tugce San are all second generation Turkish Germans who managed to launch a (in some some cases short-lived) pop career in Turkey (see Bax, 2008).

Within the Balkan music scene Fatima Spar with her band Freedom Fries serves as an example. Since the debut of *ZIRZOP* in 2006 the band performed in 17 countries around the world including Egypt, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, USA, and countries across Europe.

Similarly, for younger musicians with a Balkan background ethnic networks do not play a significant role. They rather define themselves through their professional identities and their affiliation with certain genres, tastes and scenes. The Balkan music scenes also encompass artists who identify with a certain style but do not have 'Balkan roots' themselves. Vienna and Graz have become centres for Balkan jazz, where musicians from the Balkans and from elsewhere follow a musical education at university level while playing in changing formations. One of these musicians is Sandy Lopičić who was born and grew up in Germany, and spent three years in Sarajevo as a high school student. As a music student in Graz, he became familiar with folk songs through fellow students from (former Yugoslavia), with whom he participated in demonstrations against the war in Bosnia. Lopičić understands himself as a mediator of 'Balkan sounds' and mentalities for a Western audience. While the audiences of the *Sandy Lopicic Orkestar* in Germany and Austria hardly consist of migrants from former Yugoslavia, his tour in the Balkans in 2002 was very successful. Most of the musicians of the *Orkestar* come from different republics in former Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Slovenija) and from the Austrian jazz scene. The Roma accordionist *Martin Lubenov* has performed and recorded with the band as well as with Shantel and the Bucovina Club. For several years Sandy Lopicic worked as musical director of the Graz opera house.

Another representative of the Balkan jazz scene is Matilda Leko, born in Vienna as a child of a typical "Gastarbeiter" family. Matilda Leko studied jazz in Vienna and began to perform in 1999 in different jazz formations. In 2004 she formed the Matilda Leko & Band when she "felt the strong need to express her slavic roots" (Interview). Matilda Leko had moved away for some time from the music of the Balkans, because she felt that it was too compromised by nationalism and commercial interest. The musicians in her band stem from Serbia, Brazil and Slovenia. Matilda sings in all the known jazz locations in Vienna and sometimes participates in international tours with the *Harri Stojka band*. Since 2004 Matilda Leko has taught jazz song at the Prayner Conservatory in Vienna.

Among those who identify with different Balkan scenes are musicians who derive their Balkan connection through other than family ties. Since the late 1990s there has been an expanding Balkan DJ scene in Vienna. Among the first were Laura and Bruno with their Balkan-night in the Schikaneder, together with Amina Handke and Vlatka Freketic. Laura and Bruno study Slavonic languages (Czech and Croatian) at Vienna university. Their interest in Balkan music began through Emir Kusturica's films and Roma music. For them "the Balkans are something open, more a feeling than a geographical area" (Interview). Nevertheless, in their DJ work they avoid the politicised and nationally labelled tunes.

Stani Vana, DJ, bandleader and producer of *!DelaDap* was born in Prague (CZ). He has lived and made music in Austria for 25 years. In 2001 he started a trio which developed later into a seven member live ensemble which describes itself as "a creativity platform for a Gypsy rooted, central-European world sound" as "the Sound of Urban Gypsies". Most of the musicians in the *!DelaDap* formation are students at the Vienna conservatory and were born in Czechoslovakia or in former Yugoslavia. Two Roma singers resident in the Czech Republic complete the

ensemble. *!DelaDap* plays in Austrian clubs (especially the Ost-Club in Vienna) and also at international Roma/Gypsy festivals.

2.2.3. 'Nomads', 'bi-nationals' and 'multi-resident Europeans'

Here we can differentiate between those with one or more main residences in Europe who have (often relatively recently) built up transnational connections for artistic or other reasons and those who live in a non-European country but who have extensive European networks. These networks enable them to work for regular short or longer periods in Europe and to have an impact on the diasporic scenes.

Amongst the Malagasy musicians Justin Vali, a renowned valiha player is an example of the first group. He came to Europe as the member of a group long since dispersed, and made his success on the international scene initially via British connections (the well-known British singer Kate Bush and her brother). In recent years he has returned to Madagascar with his wife and children for longer spells, even standing unsuccessfully for election in his former home county on the Hauts Plateaux of Madagascar. With the support of the Alliance Française, one of several European cultural institutions engaged with support of Malagasy musicians from Europe as well as from Madagascar itself, Justin has recently toured the whole island, gathering together amateur musicians to form *the Orchestra Justin Vali*.

Another example is Hanitra from the group *Tarika* – formerly called *Tarika Samy*, which has since split up. Hanitra lived in London for many years, whilst being married to Ian Anderson, the editor of the British roots music magazine *fRoots*. She returned to Madagascar some years ago, and has since set up a cultural centre in Antananarivo. She is one of several Malagasy artists who see it as their mission to support roots musicians and local musical instruments and styles from different regions of Madagascar.

An example for a 'multi-resident' European is the Vienna and Marseilles-based musician and dancer Hajamadagascar who has French citizenship and a second home in Vienna. Hajamadagascar typically negotiates Malagasy and non-Malagasy networks to make a living in different countries in Europe.

Best known within the second group is Dama (Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo), one of the founding members of his eponymous group Mahaleo, arguably the most influential musical group from Madagascar. Dama has lived all his life in Madagascar but regular visits to Europe with his group *Mahaleo*, as solo artist, or as performer in many different constellations with other Malagasy musicians in Europe. His high profile as a celebrated artist and as a former independent member of the Malagasy parliament, has made him an influential figure not only in Madagascar but also within the cultural scenes of Malagasies in Europe and world-wide. Dama more than any other Malagasy musicians is a central agent in bringing about interconnections between local diasporic and civil society networks in different countries in Europe and musicians in Madagascar. Such transnational networking across Europe is thus often not the direct result of links established across a wider European diasporic network. It often emanates from the different transnational links of artists from Antananarivo with different national networks in Europe (see also the points made below relating to festivals and civil society networks, also Gibert and Meinhof forthcoming).

A further example of a Malagasy-based 'nomad' is Ricky Olombelo, who often works in educational settings in Europe, conducting drumming workshops, or engaging in environmental

projects. The latter takes place in conjunction with Dama and the project *Voajahanari* (see also civil society networks).

A very good example of a ‘bi-national’ artist who moves between Europe and North Africa is Skander Besbes. Born and raised in Tunisia in the late 1970s, Skander started music as a guitarist in various rock groups during his teenage years. Always on the move between Tunisia and France since his childhood, he studied in France for two years, then went back to work in Tunis where he started to create electronic music. In 2005, he decided to concentrate exclusively on the development of his artistic career (electronics), participating in various artists’ creative projects, collectives, and residencies on a national (France or Tunisia) and international level. Currently living in France, he travels back and forth to Tunisia on a regular basis, his aim being also to contribute to the development of an electronic scene in Tunisia. With two other Tunisian DJs, he has a monthly residence in a Tunis club. He is also currently involved in the project *Pitchworks* (residencies and concerts of four electronic musicians from Egypt, Tunisia and France; funded by a French municipality). He also took part in the project *Music Matbakh* organized by the British Council in London (May 2007) which aimed at fostering transnational networks across North Africa, the Middle East and the UK. In France, he is member of the Lyon-based informal artist collective ‘*Extradecimal*’ (electronics, visual arts). Hicham El-Kebbaj a Morocco-based cultural actor (Arts department of the British Council in Morocco; artistic manager of most famous Moroccan HipHop and rock artists such as *H-Kayne* or *Hoba Hoba Spirit*), was born and raised in France but moved back to Morocco in his teenage years. Since then he developed a career as transnationally networking cultural promoter, deeply involved in HipHop scenes in Morocco, the UK and France, and regularly travelling between Morocco and the UK.

An example for the Turkish diaspora in Austria is the curator, artist and theoretician Gülsen Bal. She was born to a Serbian-Bosnian migrant family in Izmir in 1968 and today is a UK citizen. She received her MA degree and her PhD in Critical Fine Art at Central Saint Martins College of Art&Design. She is based in London but works in Vienna, Turkey and across Europe. She has exhibited, curated, published articles and participated in talks in various places and venues. In “*What if...*” she builds up three different exhibitions in three cities all tackling issues of self and other.

Martin Lubenov, one of the most famous Balkan accordionists, studied music in Sofia and Vienna. He built his career simultaneously in both countries, Bulgaria and Austria. He recruited the musicians for the *Martin Lubeno Orkestar* in Bulgaria and Serbia. Lubenov’s second formation is called *Jazzta prasta*, a Bulgarian slang expression which means something like ‘mix-up’. Whereas the *Orkestar* focuses more on popular and traditional music, the second formation has a strong connection to experimental music and modern jazz.

2.3. Artistic networks – Networking through genre and taste, festivals, events, record labels, civil-society initiatives/socio-political issues

While some of these issues have already been touched on in the previous section, in this section we focus more specifically on genre-, event-, and socio-politically specific networking issues. Artistic networks of non-European artists are as diverse as those of main-stream society and exist at multiple layers, from the most local to the most international. Style and taste cultures often follow generational rather than ethnic patterns.

However, in the settings that we studied, we often find a duality between ‘high’ culture on the one hand and socio-culture or ‘community culture’ on the other. This duality can also be expressed in terms of highly visible vs. invisible cultures or in terms of universal (‘European’) culture versus particularist (‘non-European’) migrant cultures. Artists and culture professionals of migrant background across all the arts can be constrained in their artistic ambitions since their cultural production can be perceived in terms of an expression of identity or in terms of socio-culture. It is sometimes difficult for artists of migrant background to have their work considered solely in terms of its aesthetic worth (see also the next section). This bifurcation also finds itself in networking structures.

2.3.1. High arts vs socio-cultural circuits

High art circuits may be either commercial or publicly funded enterprises, but most frequently attempt to be both, commercially viable whilst also trying to attract some co-funding by public bodies.

Music sector

Typical high art circuits are international festivals, such as the British World Music Festival *Womad*, the German *Africa Festival* and the *Rudolstadt Folk Festival*, the *Festival La Frankophonie*, the Austrian *Salam Orient Festival* and the *Balkan Fever Festival*. Specific schemes such as the British Council initiative *Music Matbakh*, and the Alliance Française initiatives previously mentioned form also part of such circuits. Networking here is a feature of highly influential ‘gate-keeper’ connections, information and opinion flow within and across the arts industries, the media, arts councils, national cultural institutions, embassies and other influential bodies rather than of artists themselves. Artists who ‘have made it’ into these circuits are very often recruited from outside Europe and are presented as representative ‘ambassadors’ of their culture of origin. Amongst African musicians, the presence of superstars from sub-Saharan Africa such as Senegal (e.g. Yousou n Dour; Baaba Maal), Mali (Salif Keita) and South Africa (e.g. Hugh Masekela) is overwhelmingly large in comparison to Malagasy and North African artists (Khaled from Algeria being the one exception). By contrast, artists resident in Europe who manage to cross-over to the high arts circuit are often presented and marketed as if they were imported from their non-European ‘home-country’.

Film festivals

There are a range of national and international film festivals which present and promote diasporic film. Getting a film accepted by a festival, or having it participate in a festival competition is an important way of gaining exposure and potential access to more central locations in the film industry. In the German case the *Berlinale*, the *Filmfest Muenchen*, and the *Hofer Filmtage* are among the most established and leading festivals; The festival in Oberhausen is Germany’s most established short-film festival. Outside Germany, the festivals of Cannes and Locarno have presented films by German-Turkish film makers. The Antalya and Istanbul Film Festivals have also presented some Turkish-German work. Themed ‘ethnic festivals’ such as Kurdish and Turkish film festivals are held in several locations in Germany, but also in other cities across the EU.

The film schools also play a role in networking circuits, both because TV broadcasters (such as the *ZDF Kleines Fernsehspiel* which promotes young talent) are in contact with them and young film makers may access a festival with work produced at their school.

Visual arts (special case study African Art)

The equivalent of high art circuits are international exhibitions, and access to the arts market. Gate-keeper networks are all-important and include influential academics, curators and museum and art-house directors, the arts councils, the media and influential artists themselves. Art being produced by first-or second-generation African immigrant or expatriate artists mainly in metropolitan centres such as London, Paris, New York or Berlin has recently attracted a great deal of critical attention. While these dislocations are hardly new, there are several reasons for their emergence as the recent focus of attention in contemporary African art studies shows: Firstly, several cosmopolitan artists of African origins or parentage (Yinka Shonibare, Ouattara, Barthélémy Toguo, Robin Rhode - to name just a few) have succeeded in capturing Western media attention and have gained a respectable measure of critical, and also art market, recognition. Secondly, a handful of Western-based curators (such as Simon Njami, Okwui Enwezor, Salah Hassan, Chika Okeke), also mainly of African descent and all variously committed to challenging the mainstream rules of who gets exhibited and who doesn't, have given transnational and diaspora African artists exposure in prominent internationally reviewed exhibitions. Thirdly, a body of readily useable theory about cultural displacement (e.g. Benedict Anderson, Arjun Appadurai, Homi Bhabha, James Clifford, Giles Deleuze, Hal Foster, Stuart Hall, Kobena Mercer, Gayatri Spivak and others) has accrued through the convergence of interest in diasporas, migration and exile across many different fields in the humanities and social sciences.

Major exhibits and international visibility

The existence of a contemporary art production in Africa as well as in the African diaspora has not been very visible for a long time. There were some European patrons and mediators who occasionally brought works from Africa to galleries and museums. Frank McEwen, an artist, critic and from 1956 acting director of the National Gallery in Harare (then Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia) was the first person to stage and promote a major contemporary African art event in Paris in 1970. His exhibit "Modern Shona Stone Sculpture" – based on a somehow "invented tradition" which he had himself created in his workshop with local carvers, was hosted by the Musée de l'Art Moderne and the Musée Rodin and later on travelled to the ICA in London. The next important step in the making of contemporary African art took place in Berlin in 1979 during the first "Horizonte World Festival". "Modern Art from Africa" featured more than 400 works by 47 artists – mostly drawn from the diverse art-workshop projects in Africa but also from the informal sector of popular urban culture – to the neglect of academically trained as well as diaspora artists. The event had some direct consequences: it led to the foundation of the Iwalewa-House in Bayreuth, a university-based museum for contemporary African art and it stimulated collectors such as Hans Bogatzke and Gunter Péus to start and enlarge private collections. The real "big bang" however, is usually credited to the 1989 mega show "Magiciens de la terre" in Paris. Organised on the occasion of the Bi-Centenary of the French revolution, the exhibition, curated by Jean Hubert Martin and André Magnin, offered a confrontation of works of contemporary artists from all over the world. It featured some hitherto unknown African artists who moved on to make an astonishing international career: Frédéric Bruly-Bouabré, Isek Bodys Kingelez, Chéri Samba and others. The exhibit – though often criticised for its "neo-primitive attitude" and bias in favour of self-trained, autodidactic artists - made a strong impact. It sparked the creation of two major journals, *Nka – Contemporary African Art* and *Revue Noire* and triggered numerous galleries to venture into a newly emerging market. Johnny Pigozzi started his now quite famous Contemporary African Art Collection CAAC. And the creation of new international art

biennales in Africa (Dakar, Johannesburg, Bamako), followed by some other blockbuster-shows in Europe (such as *The Short Century* 2001, *Documenta 11* 2002 and *Africa Remix* 2004) have also contributed to the increasing visibility and recognition of contemporary African and African-Diaspora Artists within the international art-circuit.

Visual Arts (case study Austrian immigrant artists)

Examples of networks in visual arts from post-migrant Turkish artists whose networks are gained through exhibitions and group shows. Here the socio-cultural sector straddles high arts or has found entry in the high arts circuits:

- “Gastarbeiterij. 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration” at the *Wien Museum* (2004) and “Remapping Mozart” at various fringe venues (2006). These exhibitions are dedicated to the histories of migration movements and political self empowerment in Austria.
- Examples for exhibitions by curators/artists with Turkish background “Der Knochen der Zunge. Türkische Gegenwartskunst“ curated by Fatih Aydogdu as part of *DIAGONALE – Festival of Austrian Film in Graz*, 2005 and “The Temporary Zones” curated by Gülsen Bal in Vienna, 2008.
- Examples for major exhibitions focusing on the Balkans are “Blut & Honig – Zukunft ist am Balkan” (2003) at Sammlung Essl (including various artists from Turkey such as Nevin Aladag, Hüseyin Alptekin, Halil Altindere, Esra Ersen and Nasan Tur); “Collected Views from East or West” (2004) and “Das Neue Europa. Kultur des Vermischens und Politik der Repräsentation“ (2005) both at Generali Foundation.

The main focus of these major exhibitions is on artists from Ex-Yugoslavia, Poland, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria etc. Major art collectors for art works from Eastern countries are the BAWAG Foundation, Generali Foundation, Essl Foundation and Erste Bank-Gruppe. The mentioned major exhibitions included mainly art works from these collections.

Further networks are established through employment in neighbouring cultural fields such as journalism and graphic design (Fatih Aydogdu, Mehmet Emir) and through artist in residency programs provided by the Austrian government (Songül Boyraz).

2.3.2. Genre, Style, Taste, Events, Record Labels

The large diversity of music genres within diasporas reflects varied geographic and linguistic, demographic and social origins (see above). When performed in a diasporic context, many of the ‘non-Western’ genres and sub-genres are classified by the majority society as ‘world music’. Whilst this may be a useful marketing tool adopted by both artist and producers alike, such a label is reductive and so will be avoided as far as possible.

As their counterparts in Madagascar itself, most established **Malagasy musicians** in the diaspora identify with one or more labels such as roots music, world music, jazz and/or gospel. Although there are a few exceptions such as those mentioned in the previous sections (namely Rachel Ratsizafy, Edgar, Mfa Kera, DJ Flash), most Malagasy musicians sing in the Malagasy language and draw extensively on the rhythms and dialects of the different regions from which they originate. Hence there are distinctions in the musical repertoire of artists from the North of Madagascar (e.g. the Paris-based group Fenoamby with their lead singer Marius Fontaine), from

the South-West (e.g. accordion player Regis Gizavo), the South (e.g. Hughes Modeste and Fassio) and from the Hauts Plateaux in the centre which includes the all-important capital city of Antananarivo (e.g. Erick Manana and Justin Vali). Interestingly, there is a current trend in both the diaspora and in Madagascar itself in forming 'all-Malagasy' groups by bringing together artists from different regions.

The *Madagascar All Stars* - now under their new name *Madagascar Roots Band* - consisting of solo artists Marius from Fenoamby, Regis Gizavo, Justin Vali, Erick Manana, Dama from Mahaleo and most recently Ricky Olombelo, between them represent the rhythmic variation and diversity of instruments and styles of the main musical regions of Madagascar, and blend these with the 'Western' influences (e.g. blues and jazz) which already mark contemporary music in Madagascar itself. The mix between traditional and 'Western' instruments is standard practice, though many play only acoustic versions of these. The Alliance Française-supported Justin Vali *Orchestra* is a version of this trend of multi-region groups in Madagascar itself, though these have not yet 'travelled' to Europe. A related project to bring together musicians from within Madagascar for the sake of a festival is that by the Malagasy singer Rajery (another 'nomad') who travelled all over Madagascar to select musicians to perform in his 'Festival de la musique vivante' in Madagascar. Our own project TNMundi is also creating 'cultural events' in combining diaspora artists with 'home artists' (see "Musiques de Madagascar: rencontre Sud \leftrightarrow Nord", www.tnmundi.com, a forthcoming similar one in Rabat in 2008 and a final one in the UK in 2009). The first event has already created new networks between European and diaspora artists (e.g. joint performances by Ricky Olombelo and Rachel Ratsizafy, and Edgar with Marius Fontaine). However, whereas the 'youth' scene in Antananarivo and in Paris also has other 'Western' musical genres, such as rock, pop, metal, HipHop or rap, there is little cross-over to European main-stream circuits, though pop imports from Madagascar are popular with diaspora audiences. There is no equivalent to the success of Senegalese rap for example (e.g. Daraa J) amongst the Malagasy music scenes in Europe.

In the case of diaspora artists from **North Africa**, entering and/or creating new networks is quite often related to common interest in musical genres and professional concerns, thus bypassing and transcending issues of migration/ diaspora. Many types of networking can take place, here are the more relevant types for our case-studies:

- Composition of groups which include artists from mixed backgrounds, unified around a music genre or a musical project: Examples are *El-Gafla*, in which musicians from Algeria, France and Poland create a mix of chaabi, musette, and 'gypsy music'; *Orchestre National de Barbès* which includes Algerians, Moroccans and French musicians; or *Fantazia* which is a collaboration of Algerian, British and French musicians.
- **Artists Collectives:**
The *Louzine* collective of artists has been a key network for artists (first mainly Algerian but then joined by other artists) based in and around Paris. This multi-disciplinary group of artists - musicians, painters, graphic designers, photographers - was founded by Algerian musician and illustrator Hocine Boukella (of rock group *Cheikh Sidi Bemol*) and the group *Orchestre National de Barbès* at the site of a dis-used factory on the outskirts of Paris, in order to tackle the lack of rehearsal and production opportunities offered to artists. It became a rehearsal, recording and performance space known to artists and cultural actors based both in Paris and in Algeria. A number of professional ventures have grown out of this network which was ethnically defined at the outset and

to a large extent continues to focus on Algerian cultural production. The collective runs a production studio (in mid 2000 became CSB Productions) and an internet distribution platform (www.undergroone.com) <http://www.louzine.net/>. Another example is the *New Bled Collective* (DJ collective, label, events organiser), a network which was set up by cultural actors of Algerian origin born in France and engaged with 'second-generation' post-migrant audio-visual themes but largely defined as an electronic/HipHop/fusion music collective with translocal connections between Paris, Barcelona and Istanbul. See www.newbled.com. The French '*Boom Ba Clash project*' which then became the record label *No Fridge* was created by DJ ClicK (French of Parisian origin) and Myriam Kolinka (label administrator). This project aims at fusing electronic music with other music genres. In the early 2000s they worked extensively with Gnawa Njoum (Moroccan band from Essaouira), recording an album together and performing in various venues, including in Morocco. For the last few years DJ Click and the *No Fridge Label* has been working closely with Romanian and Moldavian musicians who have recently settled in France. DJ ClicK currently has a monthly residence "Aperos Tsiganes" in one of the cutting-edge Parisian clubs, the Divan du Monde. Finally the artist collective *Extradecimal* in Lyon (France), in which artists from Tunisia and France are involved, was set up by musicians, visual artists and graphic designers sharing the same desire to create, produce and perform interdisciplinary art and electronic music.

- Regular gatherings at specific places that give rise to artistic collaborations: Groups emerging from such processes are usually keen on stressing the importance of the neighbourhood in which they met and live, and its multicultural dimension.. Examples are the bands *Fantazia* and *MOMO*, whose artists met during the Samuel Pyps pub's jams sessions which took place monthly in Hackney (neighbourhood of London) for several years in the 1990s. Another example is one of Portobello's bars (London) which currently serves as an informal gathering place for many musicians from this neighbourhood.

The following examples allow an overview from a historical perspective on networks, style and taste cultures in music **by the Turkish / Kurdish and the Balkan diasporas in Germany and Austria:**

- Ethnic networks set up through cultural initiatives by migrant workers: Throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in Germany and Austria, the establishment of these initiatives was the very first step of self empowerment for migrants from Turkey and the territory of former Yugoslavia. Folk music and dances performed at traditional and religious festivities played a crucial role for community building. First ethnic networks between Austria/Germany and Turkey/former Yugoslavia were set up by inviting folkloristic music and dance groups from specific areas (generally rural areas) from the countries of origin. These cultural initiatives were either accessible for the community only or open to a broader public.
- In the 1990s these cultural initiatives fell partly apart through the war in Yugoslavia, some were transformed into national associations affiliated to the embassies of the new states on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Also the lack of interest from their children caused a demise of the formerly very lively folk music genre. Whereas cultural initiatives and their musical offshoots can be defined as a tool for community building, World Music and Balkan music, HipHop and electronic music are better labelled as scenes that generate their specific local, national and transnational networks. Examples

for networking structures in world music are the band *Turquoise*, most popular in the 1990s, or *Nim Soyfan* and *TSATSIKI Connection* (see above) as more recent bands. The band *Turquoise* performed throughout the late 1980s and 1990s and was invited to Hungarian world music festivals several times where they could set up networks to Hungarian musicians. The Austrian TV program 'Heimat. Fremde Heimat' dedicated to migrant communities, featured world music bands throughout the 1990s. The most popular record label for world, jazz, avant-garde music and any other music genre (except classical music) for upcoming musicians/bands has been *Extraplatte* in Austria founded in the late 1970s.

Throughout the 1990s existing music scenes (world, rock, jazz etc.) increased and diversified. Along with the global spread in electronic music and the decrease of prices for technical equipment Balkan music, Turkish HipHop or Turkish pop music scenes became more established. By looking at these music scenes, new actors and agents who cluster around festivals, clubs, records labels etc. can be identified. Examples are:

- Music Festivals: the '*Akkordeon Festival*' (since 2000) includes concerts, film and literature in various high art venues and clubs in Vienna; *Balkan Fever* (since 2004) and *Salam.Orient* (2007) mainly address a white middle class audience and take place in high art venues such as concert halls and jazz clubs; the *In-Between-Festival* (2008) comprises three to five concerts at Akzent Theatre, and *Ost Festival* (2008), is a one night festival in a club in the Vienna's 16th district with live concerts and DJs. These festivals feature music from the Balkans and programs comprise different musical genres, most often from non-western countries (e.g. *Akkordeon Festival*).
- Record labels: *Chat Chapeau* and *Couch Records*; Or, in Germany, the Berlin Battle-Rap labels *Royal Bunker*, *Shok Musik*, or *Aggro Berlin*, are only a few among a range of labels.
- Clubs: *Disco Pasha*, located at the suburbs of Vienna, promotes itself as "Austrians biggest Turkish Discothek" with live concerts by Turkish pop musicians such as Orhan Ölmez, Turgay Basyayla, Hande Yener etc., resident DJs such as Silo, Ahmet, Senol and Kolbasti dance contests. (The equivalent for musicians and communities from the territory of former Yugoslavia is the club *Nachtwerk*, also situated in the Viennese suburbs). *Ost Klub*, situated in the inner city, promotes live concerts and DJs from various Balkan regions. Most German cities host a range of clubs which foster local, regional or national networks;
- Further networks are based on particular political or sexual identities in an immigrant context represented in clubs such as 'Homoriental' for a queer audience in Vienna or 'Gayhane' in Berlin.

2.3.3. Socio-political issues, civil society networks

The existing or emerging connection between actors in civil society movements, most notably European-based NGOs/ associations and their off-shoots abroad, and those of equally engaged musicians from non-European countries is not very well documented or indeed known, but in our research we have repeatedly come across such links. Small scale organizations in Europe, including some instances of those set up by socially committed North-African and Malagasy musicians themselves, are variably motivated in their engagement with projects in and for the

South. These involve highly diverse points of initial entry such as, for example, tourism, religion, education, environmental, health and human rights concerns. Through contact with committed artists from the diaspora and from countries of origin some kind of symbiotic relationship can emerge, in that civil society organisations who struggle to find sustainable support and reliable partners in fighting socio-economic problems in the South and musicians of similar concerns who act as mediators and disseminators in the North and the South can work together. At the same time, civil society organisations can provide useful organisational and financial support for artists by setting up concerts and music workshops for them in Europe. The Malagasy musician Dama with his multiple connections to civil society associations is a striking example of someone who engages in an ever-widening circle of musicians from Madagascar and from the diaspora which are directly linking up with (usually white, middle-class) civil society movements. NGOs and associations such as the *Freunde Madagaskars* in Munich, *Azafady* in London and Fort Dauphin, the *Welthaus* organisations in Austria, *Nouvelle Planète* in Switzerland and *Longo Mai* in France and Switzerland all have established successful networks of this kind (see *Gibert & Meinhof* forthcoming).

Socio-political issues and civil society initiatives are an important context for artistic networks in both Germany and Austria. Since the early 1990s the *Initiative Minderheiten* has been active in Austria, engaging in awareness raising for minority rights. As a civil society organisation, it combines action for minority rights and anti-discrimination issues with cultural activities. In 2004 the *Initiative Minderheiten* organised the exhibition ‘Gastarbajteri’ which documented the migration to Austria from the Balkans and from Turkey. The exhibition included public debates as well as a range of cultural events featuring artists from the Balkans and Oriental scenes. The increase in racism and violent attacks on foreigners in the early 90s in Germany (which often specifically targeted ‘Turks’) gave rise to anti-racist networks which hosted events that featured diasporic artists. An important group is the nation-wide *Kanak Attak* (founded in 1998 by second and third generation immigrants), which formed to give the discussion on racism as well as immigrant experience of and resistance to racism more visibility. Some of the *Kanak Attak* activists are also part of the HipHop scene and *Kanak Attak* publishes an on-line ‘Kanak TV’ (Loh and Gungör, 2002: 40; <http://www.kanak-attak.de/ka/aktuell.html>).

In 2002 the *Federal Culture Foundation* in Germany (Kulturstiftung des Bundes) launched ‘Projekt Migration’ (<http://www.koelnischerkunstverein.de/migration/english/index.html>), a large multi-sited project spanning several years and engaging with how migration has influenced and co-constituted German society and processes of Europeanization, a fact the larger public is still often unaware of. A large range of events took place, many of who involved, presented and discussed post-immigrant creative work, spanning film, architecture, art, music, and theatre. The project also had a deliberate cross-over and networking focus, bringing together social research and art. It was presented at the *Istanbul Biennial* in 2005.

In the North African diaspora in France, an example is Abdelati Laoufi’s *Mémoires* project which worked with local residents on a citizenship project dealing, with the memory of decolonisation, and slavery (Abdelati Laoufi is the leader of the group *Gaâda Diwane de Béchar* and one of the group’s singers, Aicha was also involved in this project). This is a good example of cross-fertilisation of a community arts initiative which was funded by regional and urban institutions (*Conseil Régional*, etc) and NGO (*Fondation Abbé Pierre*). This sort of project is fairly common in France within the wider ambitions of the so-called ‘*politique de la ville*’ which aims to ally policies of social cohesion with cultural policy (socially-embedded cultural policy) at the local urban or regional level. However, some of the artists of North African background that we have been working with expressed an anxiety regarding implicit

expectations amongst the policy community that they engage in socially-relevant arts projects. Some artists of North African background felt that because of their national origins, they can be expected to engage in arts projects which have some sort of social dimension (e.g. working with young people in so-called deprived urban areas) and as a result, these cultural actors may resent the fact that their work is not being assessed by funders on the sole basis of its aesthetic merit. London based artists often take part in various festivals or concerts hosted by the Mayor of London, the British Library, or by private organisers concerned with issues such as human rights and anti-racism.

Part Two - Thematic Issues - Cultural diversity and creative economies amongst and across diasporas

Clearly cultural diasporas have impacted on the cultural landscape of EU countries and diversified national cultural traditions and, to some extent, shifted the parameters of what has hitherto been regarded as standard cultural representations of a specific nation, region or city. An important factor to take into consideration in this context is the way in which cultural policies are structured and organized in a particular national framework (see final report of *Changing City Spaces*: Meinhof and Kiwan, 2005). This allows insights into the spaces that are made for new (or in some cases third country) cultural producers in a given national policy context in which 'culture' is managed and regulated. For cultural producers in general, national cultural policies provide significant institutional, administrative and ideological contexts within which conditions of artistic production, distribution and exhibition are shaped. Quite often, cultural policy making at local, regional and/or national level impacts directly on funding and support structures for artistic creation. In an era of 'multiculturalism', a concept increasingly accepted by European nation states, cultural policies have started to reflect notions of cultural diversity and ideas of managing it. In this context, immigrant cultural creativity has increasingly been recognized as a cultural asset by various policy making institutions. However, whether this generates genuine intercultural policy making or facilitates access to a market for migrant cultural producers remains an open question.

In the section below we attempt to identify some of the sites where the diversification of artistic creation manifests itself.

3. Effects of Cultural Diasporas on the diversification of artistic creation in different European contexts

3.1. Festivals and Scenes: Key sites of artistic mobility and production

Festivals and live music production across Europe are key sites for artistic mobility and provide major scope for creative diversification and audience cross-over. Especially in youth cultural contexts we can also observe creative activity and diversification in 'scenes', where more fluid art-forms and audiences are shaped. These are not primarily based on forms of ethnic identification but interplay with socio-political, gender, class or taste criteria. Clubbing and discotheque scenes, for instance, often provide such cross-over contexts.

3.1.1. African Diaspora - Music festivals

Mainstream (in the sense that they are not 'ethnically-identified' festivals) such as, in France: *Printemps de Bourges*; *Festival d'Île de France*; *Transmusicales de Rennes*; *Francophilies de la Rochelle*. In the UK, the *Festival WOMAD* plays a central role. To be nominated or elected for the *BBC 3 World Music Awards* and to perform at the associated concert also reaches wider audiences. *WOMAD*, *Glastonbury* in the UK, the *African Festival* in Würzburg, to name but a few, are key sites of production for many of the artists presented here and often represent success through 'cross-over'.

Other more specialised festivals also figure as key sites: *Musiques Métisses* (Angoulême), *Festival de musique sacrée* (Toulouse); *Festival Eurafricain* (Paris), *Festival des Villes des musiques du Monde* (Île-de-France – Seine-Saint-Denis); *Festival Eurafricain* (Paris); *Made in*

(Dijon); *Babel Med Music* (Marseille); *Music Village* (Cultural Cooperation's Festival in London); Festivals organized by the Mayor of London (*Africa Day*, *Thames Festival*, *Rise: London United against Racism*); *Festivals de la Francophonie* in different European countries such as the UK, Austria and Germany.

Some cultural institutions prefer to present artists who are based in the country of origin and thus overlook the creativity of artists of immigrant origin based in their own countries. (e.g. *Maison des cultures du monde* and the *Festival de l'imaginaire*, Paris; *Haus der Kulturen der Welt*, Berlin) (See Kiwan and Kosnick, 2006).

Professional fairs: International professional fairs such as *WOMEX* and the *Midem Central* play a central role as “gate-keepers”: to be able to perform at these fairs secures many possibilities of bookings in the future, and potential record deals.

Self-generated festivals: Some of the cultural actors we have studied have also set up their own festivals such as the *bNew Bled Collective* (*New Bled Festival*).

Festivals grow in importance in so-called countries of origin. This is particularly the case for Morocco where the festival scene is crucial for artists. **In Morocco:** in May, the *Festival Mawazine* in Rabat; the *Festival des musiques du désert, Tanjazz* in Tangiers; in June the *Festival des musiques sacrées du monde de Fès*; the *Boulevard des jeunes musiciens* in Casablanca, *Festival de Casablanca*; the *Festival de musique gnawa d'Essaouira*; in July: the *Festival Timitar de musiques berbères* in Agadir and the *Festival du Folklore* (arts populaires) in Marrakech; in August: the *Festival de musique populaire* in Saïdia; in October the *Festival Jazz aux Oudayas* in Rabat (see Russeil, Planckaert and Girard, 2007). This incomplete list of festivals does not include the now numerous international film festivals which take place across the country. **In Algeria:** less lively festival scene (due in part to recent civil war and security concerns): *Bledstock* (2001-2002) in Algiers; *Festival de la musique et de la danse gnawa* (Béchar, 2007); *Festival international de la musique gnawi* (Algiers, July 2007); *Festival international de musique andalouse et des musiques anciennes* (December 2007). **In Tunisia:** *Festival Tunisie-21 d'Al-Jem*, *Echos Sonores* in Tunis.

In Madagascar the annual *Donia music festival* on the island of Nosy Be is becoming a tourist attraction.

Festivals and Transnational Networks

What is particularly interesting about the *Boulevard des Jeunes Musiciens* (Morocco) is the way in which the festival directors connect to other artists and cultural actors outside Morocco. The Boulevard is twinned with a ‘*musiques actuelles*’ festival in Marmande (near Toulouse) called *Garorock* and there are plans to create a partnership with the *Timitar Festival* in Agadir. This twinning between the *Boulevard* and *Garorock* involves a north-south-south-north exchange of technical and artistic expertise. Apart from a ‘*reflect commune*’ on the artistic direction of the festivals, each summer, *Garorock* sends a number of technicians and sound engineers to Casablanca and each Spring a number of Moroccan musicians and cultural promoters are invited to the *Marmande* festival. The twinning between the two festivals arose out of transnational personal and professional connections (rather than ethnically-defined connections) between cultural activists and musicians in Casablanca and Toulouse. *Le Boulevard* has developed into much more than a 3-day cultural event each June. It has become a generator for musical and cultural creativity across the country (groups from all over aspire to take part in the *Tremplin*). It

has done this to a certain extent by drawing on transnational networks beyond Paris (Toulouse is just one locus in this network which also includes Berne and Geneva in Switzerland, Belgium, London and Berlin) yet with the ultimate aim of developing the cultural scene and infrastructure in Morocco (through, for example, the ‘Barbey Rock School’ in Bordeaux). As such, a career in Paris or France is not seen as the “*passage oblige*” of the emerging Moroccan groups Casablanca and access to the growing cultural network there is much more important (See Kiwan, 2005).

Commercial or Self-Generated Artistic Production: many of the artists we have studied manage to successfully reach audiences via a range of festivals and live music scenes. This may be within ‘community’; ‘world music’ and/or cross-over spheres. However, in terms of opportunities for record deals, the artists we studied have encountered more problems. Some artists (e.g. Smadj) report that there are huge opportunities for intercultural encounters and performances in a city such as Paris, yet argue that beyond live performances, access to production is much more restrictive (dominated by a commercial logic, such as predicted sales figures). Smadj claims that he has more opportunities for production of his electro-oriental music in London than in Paris. This claim is indirectly backed-up by electro-oriental musicians (e.g. *MOMO*, U-Cef) based in London who are surprised by the difficult they have in entering the French market (either for gigs or production). Two things should be borne in mind with regard to record labels. Often artists produce their albums themselves (*Gaâda*; *Orchêtre national de Barbès [ONB]*; DJ ClicK; U-Cef; also the Malagasy artists Hughes Modeste). Artists often reject the demands for aesthetic modification by large record labels (e.g. *Orchêtre national de Barbès*) and so opt for self-financing or prefer ‘distribution only’ contracts with major record labels. Other examples of this DIY model are: *Gaâda*; *Cheikh Sidi Bemol* (Hocine Boukella has set up the *CBS-Cheikh Sidi Bemol- Productions*); Rahil/Mighty Frero; *New Bled Vibrations* (a label; events producer and DJ collective) and *No Fridge*. Secondly, by 1990 the majors had consolidated 83% of the French market share (Winders, 2006: 89). This means that it is now increasingly difficult for non-commercial/mainstream musicians to secure record deals in France.

Organisations such as the *Bureau Music Export* and major record labels act as gate-keepers: *Bureau Music Export* works with French major labels and the government to promote ‘French-signed’ artists abroad (often under the category of ‘world music’). If a diasporic artist is not signed to one of the five major record labels, they do not benefit from such support.

Types of audiences

Cross-over is fairly frequent. *Gaâda*, *ONB*, *New Bled* DJs are all good examples, but most artists aspire to reach wider audiences. Cross over takes place in terms of genre but also in terms of the live performance venues: specific venues by definition may cater for ethnically or more mixed audiences (i.e. mixing of European and diasporic audiences). Many of the diasporic artists mentioned here are suspicious of the mainstream. Cross-over is necessary for commercial success in the mainstream since the diasporic scene may be lively in terms of concert dates etc. but record labels and distribution networks offer limited opportunities. The world music industry in Europe allows for success for those who remain niche, yet brings with it the problems of mis-categorisation (in record shops such as the FNaC in France for example) and also, according to some artists, exerts pressures for the ‘westernisation’ of their music (see Mallet, 2002a).

3.1.2. Turkish diaspora – festivals, scenes, diversification

There are few specific Turkish music festivals that attract non-migrant audiences and multicultural festivals often fail to attract larger migrant interest. Specific multicultural festivals are regularly organized in many German cities, and Turkish music groups often feature as part of wider multi-cultural events. Quite often, this showcases folkloristic approaches to ‘Turkishness’ or the ‘Orient’. A new culture festival ‘*Melez*’ established in 2005 across the cities of the ‘Ruhrgebiet’ or Ruhr area, is specifically dedicated to reaching out to migrant audiences with events in music, theatre, art and literature. A few pop stars from Turkey (Ferhat Göcer, Atiye Deniz) performed at this festival in 2007. The Ruhrgebiet will be European ‘cultural capital’ in 2010 and ‘*Melez*’ is already announced to feature prominently. Collaborations with the Symphony orchestras of Bochum and Essen are part of the effort to make musical and audience cross-overs work.

The genres that enjoy the most cross-over potential to attract non-migrant audiences are arabesk and Turkish pop music. However, most local musicians who wish to make a career in this field orientate themselves towards Turkey, because they find scant opportunity to find entry into the German music industry where Turkish artists have little visibility. The music distribution structure keeps Turkish music out of mainstream music stores, making it available mainly in Turkish shops. As a result Turkish music hardly registers in German charts, which are based on CD sales in mainstream stores. The invisibility in the German chart system and therefore in the media and music channels such as *MTV* or *German VIVA*, makes it harder for Germany-based musicians to get attention and recording contracts with German companies (Kosnick, 2004).

Turkish pop seems the only genre that finds entry into ‘mainstream’ cultural industries on an international level (Tarkan, but also the Turkish pop diva Sezen Aksu may serve as examples). Significantly, Tarkan, once an immigrant in Germany, launched his career in Turkey.

HipHop also serves as a cross-over genre that has emerged from a sozio-culture context and attracts a multi-cultural constituency. However, as students of the scene and its by now 20-year history attest, separations and divisions have materialized that run largely along racial and political lines. From the mid 1990s a distinct sub-genre called ‘Deutschrap’ which was largely carried by non-migrant middle class German youths began to yield success. It was hyped by the German media which celebrated the new ‘German HipHop’ (e.g. die ‘Fantastischen Vier’, ‘Fettes Brot’) as an innovative linguistic expression of middle-class German youth culture (Loh and Güngör, 2002: 122-124). Observers note that the history of migration, and the realities of racism and exclusion that were expressed by the first generation of migrant HipHop artists were silenced by the German media which discussed ‘German HipHop’ in its feuilleton pages (ibid. 125). Immigrant cultural producers felt that the media’s and music industry’s structural racism excluded them from gaining an equal presence and from getting similar access to recording contracts to non-migrants (ibid. 128). Over the years HipHop has increasingly been ethnicized, polarized and radicalized, with right wing youths entering the scene and the German media repeatedly discussing links between HipHop and youth violence. Germany’s most renowned music award ‘Echo’ (formerly *Deutscher Schallplattenpreis*) in the category HipHop went to Bushido in 2008, an artist who is of mixed ethnic heritage and who uses extreme sexist and nationalist lyrics. Some of his albums are currently under consideration for a sales restriction for under-18 year olds. His success has earned him a record label contract with the major ‘Universal’ (see also Rühle and Peitz, 2005).

The *Fantastischen Vier*, a group that had successfully promoted 'Deutschrapp' was awarded the prize for best German rock/pop group of the year. While these awards largely represent sales figures and entries in album charts, and therefore indicate success in the music industry more than anything else, they do give a measure of how 'cross-overs' of musical genres cannot be translated into assumptions of intercultural or intersocietal harmony but may still reflect deep-seated conflicts and divisions.

Turkish Film

Turkish-German, and Kurdish-German film in particular can be considered the most successful areas of post-migrant cultural production in Germany. Some commentators have argued that the 'new German film is Turkish' (Kulaoglu, 1999), referring to the new wave of directors as the heirs of the New German Film in the 1970s, and to the success some of them have had in entering mainstream and international cinema.

Among these group of directors are: Thomas Arslan ('Ferien', 'Aus der Ferne', 'Der schöne Tag', 'Dealer', 'Geschwister'), Kutlug Ataman ('Lola und Bilidikid') Hussi Kutlucan ('Ich Chef Du Turnschuh'), Ayse Polat ('Ein Fest für Beyhan', 'Gräfin Sophia Hatun', 'Auslandstournee', 'En garde'), Züli Aladag ('Elefantenherz'), Fatih Akin ('Kurz und Schmerzlos', 'Gegen die Wand', 'Auf der anderen Seite'), Yüksel Yavuz ('Aprilkinder', 'Kleine Freiheit', 'Close up Kurdistan'), Nuray Sahin ('Folge der Feder'), Neco Celik ('Urban Guerillas', 'Hinter der Tür'), Buket Alakus ('Eine andere Liga', 'Anam', 'Finnischer Tango').

Many of these films articulate topoi of migration, multi-cultural belonging and conflict. These films have certainly had much cross-over potential in terms of audiences and publicity. The literature generally attests a historical transformation of this genre. In the 1970s and 80s migrants came to be represented in German film in specific ethnic clichés, and stories addressed the overall notion of 'integration' and victimization. Federal and regional (Länder) subsidy politics supported such films, in which immigrants (often through the motif of the oppressed Turkish women) were portrayed as caught in a backward cultural script. The subsidy schemes also channelled immigrant directors and screenplay writers into this direction. E.g. Tevfik Baser's 'Vierzig Quadratmeter Deutschland', a film nominated for the Federal Film Prize in 1987 (Göktürk, 2002: 250), is an example of this, portraying a Turkish woman locked up by her husband in their Berlin flat, for fear she might be contaminated by the outside world. The portrayal of German-Turkish relations as a drama of gender, whereby the German world is symbolically cast as the liberator of oppressed immigrant women is a familiar trope from this period, serving a 'popular fantasy' (Ibid. 251).

The new generation of immigrant filmmakers and actors began to challenge these fantasies and the stereotypes of cultural homogeneity from the late 1990s. Many of them are second and third generation immigrants from Turkey. Berlin and Hamburg in particular became the new centres of Turkish-German film, and the film stories are often set in these urban centres, clearly portraying them as multicultural cities.

Access to wider audiences and to festivals

In Germany both the federation and the Länder provide support for film. At federal level promotion works via *German Film Prizes* and the newly established '*German Federal Film Board*' is to promote German film. Promotion programs at the Länder level have been

particularly important for (post)migrant artists. The *Hamburger Filmförderung* (Hamburg Film Promotion) for instance has supported Hamburg-based (post)migrant film-makers.

Public and private broadcasters represent another important source of support, and a broadcaster's support often provides the entry ticket for further funding. The Franco-German broadcaster ARTE, the *ZDF Kleines Fernsehspiel*, WDR, NDR or 3SAT have played important roles in (co)-producing and screening the films.

The public broadcaster ZDF's *Kleines Fernsehspiel* is particularly dedicated to promoting young talent, which has increasingly included a number of young second and third generation immigrant filmmakers (of very diverse origin). The institution produces maximally three films with the same film maker. Most of their films are premiered at film festivals, some are pre-released in cinemas. The TV screenings of these productions on ZDF are normally late night, however they are repeated on other channels such as ARTE, 3Sat and Phoenix. This means that the films can be accessed by an interested audience but find very limited exposure to a broader public (Interview).

National and international film festivals have increasing significance for the distribution of independent film, given the decrease in art house cinemas (Programmkinos) (Mennel 2002b: 50).

The festival scene is important for film makers who have to invest in their names to gain entry into established networks of production, distribution and marketing. Having had success at one festival or being awarded a prize, can be a calling card for the next funding application.

Directors Thomas Arslan or Kutlug Ataman (who is Turkish, not Turkish-German), for instance, produced films that were presented at the *Berlin Film Festival* in 1999 and helped launch the new wave of Turkish-German cinema. Ataman's 'Lola und Bilidikid' was funded by German and American production companies and entered the transnational scene by being distributed by a US company (Göktürk, 2002: 253; Clark, 2006: 560). It won the prize for best foreign film at the *Istanbul Film Festival* in 1999.

Presently Fatih Akin stands out as the most successful filmmaker in terms of recognition by the mainstream cultural industry and the presence at film festivals. His film 'Kurz und Schmerzlos' won the Bronze Leopard at *Locarno Film Festival*; 'Gegen die Wand' received the *Deutscher Filmpreis*, the *Goldener Bär*, and the *European Film Award*, all in 2004. His latest film 'Auf der anderen Seite' received the award for best screenplay at the *Cannes Film Festival* in 2007.

Some interviewees reported that while having been ignored in Germany, they were able to present their work at festivals abroad which in turn helped to increase their profile at home.

There are also 'ethnically' identified film festivals: Prominent here is the *Turkish Film Festival* in Nuremberg, (also in Frankfurt, Munich and Berlin) or the *Kurdish Film Festival* in Berlin. Many other European cities such as London host such festivals. They are not limited to featuring local talent, but often promote diasporic productions, or films produced in countries of origin.

While film festivals are important distribution and promotion events they tend to attract a specialist audience.

3.1.3. Balkan diaspora – festivals, scenes, diversification

A central role in the present Balkan ‘hype’ plays the *Vienna Balkan Fever Festival*. Founded in 2004 in an alternative location it has now become an opportunity for artists to gain access to international events. Artists featuring at the *Balkan Fever Festival* are based in the Balkans as well as in Vienna or other EU member states. The festival encompasses different music styles (e.g. Balkan jazz, Gipsy Brass, folk and ethno, punk) and addresses different tastes and interests. Right from the beginning the festival included other artistic expressions such as literature and film, which have since developed into events and festivals of their own. Although the attempt to ‘export’ the festival to London was not successful, the international impact of the Vienna festival is obvious.

Nevertheless, the music festivals in the Balkans remain a launch-pad for an international breakthrough. One of the most important is the *Guca* festival in Serbia, which started 45 years ago as a traditional trumpet and brass band competition. With Emir Kusturica’s films and Goran Bregovic’s music it became world famous in the past years, attracting an international audience of up to 300.000. The festival also invites special guests from all over the world and expands into other genres such as visual arts and literature. The website of the festival (www.guca.co.yu) is multilingual (Serbian, German, English, French, Italian) and is closely linked with local tourism industries. Roma (Gipsy) music festivals in the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Italy, Germany, Austria, France and Scandinavia gained increasing popularity and have also become launch pads for musical careers within the ‘Balkan scene’.

Other music, film or culture festivals increasingly include a Balkan focus in their regular program. Examples are the *Vienna Festival*, the *Austrian Diagonale Film Festival* or the *Nordic Film Festival*. Kusturica’s international success helped to raise interest in film and music from the Balkans. Film festivals such as the *Vienna Balkan Film Festival* or the *Berlin Balkan Black Box Festival* promote independent and avantgarde cinema from the whole region as well as from diaspora-based film makers. Among these are Goran Rebic or Nina Kusturica who work and live in Austria. Among other topics they address questions of migration in their films. This is also the case for Zelimir Zilnik who has now returned to live in Serbia. Although there is some dynamic within the film scene, it has not reached the same distribution levels as German-Turkish cinema and the most films remain within the region of the Balkans. The films produced in the Balkan countries are mainly showcased/shown in independent cinemas. Videos and DVDs are sold in ‘ethno business’ video shops which also organise the rental of such films as well as TVseries and popular low budget films. In general though, film festivals attract a relatively small, often specialist audience and represent only a limited tool for the distribution of post-migrant film. Many independent films suffer from the lack of access to professional distribution networks.

In the field of literary production authors with a Balkan background such as Dubravka Ugresic, Marica Bodrozic, Rada Ivekovic, Sasa Stanisic, Dimitri Dinev or Dragan Velikic have been able to make a break through. Some of them write in their first language, others have adopted the language of their country of residence. In the 1990s it was mainly small publishing houses that commissioned translations and promoted authors from the Balkans living in other European countries. Some of these authors have been able to access big publishing houses and some of their work has been translated into several languages. What in the 1980s and 90s often began in creative writing workshops and was labeled as ‘writing in between’ has now become an integral part of German literature. Literary prizes such as the *Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis* in Germany

or the *exil-literatur-wettbewerb* in Austria contributed and contribute to the promotion of this literary segment. As with Balkan film, literature promotions are often linked to music events.

3.2. Media Access

3.2.1. Media Access for African artists

Problems of visibility in mainstream media

There are difficulties regarding visibility in the ‘mainstream media’ (apart from *Beur FM*; *Radio Soleil*, *Radio Orient*, etc. in France, or BBC3’s web-based project ‘*World on your street*’ in the UK). The media appear to collude in the creation of parallel and ‘unequal’ music scenes in Paris. Media coverage (radio, television, press and Internet) of concerts and festivals work within the spatial, social and cultural divisions of the city, to the extent that it is generally only the marketable ‘world music’ artists whose work is made visible/audible through the media (for instance, *Zurban*, *Libération*, *Mondomix*, *Télérama*, *Lylo*, *Radio Nova*) which are readily associated with ‘Parisian cultural life’. The musicians who are not ‘world music’-oriented feature on ‘community’ channels, such as *Radio Beur FM*, the *Planète-DZ* website, the ‘*Echos du Capricorne*’ radio show, *Radio Africa No. 1*. Of course, such media serve a specific purpose and respond to specific demands. However, certain artists and cultural events organizers relinquish working with the more ‘mainstream’ media because their press releases are ignored. They are confronted with the perception that their activities are ‘ethnic’ and therefore marginal.

There are specialised press electronic media outlets such as *Mondomix*, *F-Roots* (UK) which can be seen as ‘gate-keepers’ in the world music sector. Without coverage on *Mondomix*, a major on-line distributor of world music, diasporic artists have little chance of reaching European audiences.

3.2.2. Media access for Turkish artists

Access to the mainstream and non-immigrant media remains difficult for immigrant cultural producers. The media landscape seems to reflect a parallel world. In Germany Turkish broadcasting and radio services exist, but are often regionally specific. Berlin for instance has the public-service radio station *Radio MultiKulti*, whose aim is to promote intercultural understanding and to provide programs in different languages. There is also the private commercial radio station *Metropol FM* which broadcasts in Turkish and announces and promotes cultural events in the city. It was launched in 1999 and has become a success which led to its expansion to other German cities and regions. Across the EU Turkish, Kurdish, and lately also *Aramaic TV* (produced in Sweden) channels are available via satellite. They do feature cultural news and occasionally broadcast music videos by diasporic artists. However, much of the Turkish music scene in Germany is characterized by visiting singers and musicians from Turkey who are often known to local audiences through satellite TV.

Some of the Turkish-German films that have been co-produced by TV broadcasters are screened on TV, however usually not at prime times. The *ZDF/Kleines Fernsehspiel* has recently shown a whole series on migrant cinema, however, none was screened before 1a.m.

Still only a small number of people of Turkish/Kurdish descent have gained entry into the media landscape as TV presenters, talk show hosts, broadcasters, actors or else. The mainstream media in Germany have reported on film and music production by Turkish/Kurdish-German artists.

However, attention has rarely shifted beyond the most successful individuals (e.g. Fatih Akin) and is often narrowly contextualised if not stereotyped within ‘migrant issues’ (e.g. discussion of HipHop in relation to ‘youth violence’).

Community based media in Austria

These are Turkish broadcasts on *OKTO TV* (‘Mehmet Keser Show’ with focus on Turkish music and dance scene, *SoBe* with focus on Kurdish music and literature) and *Radio Orange Vienna* (Ada Vapuru). *Emap.FM Internet Radio* broadcasts world music and includes various genres of Turkish music.

Turkish newspapers report extensively on artistic events, that relate to minorities or local and transnational artists of Turkish/Kurdish background.

Access to the mainstream media is fairly limited for musicians of Turkish/Kurdish descent. *FM4*, a youth radio station operated by the public broadcaster ORF, features rock, pop and electronic music. In comparison to all the other public and private radio stations it broadcasts (with over 20 percent) the highest rate of music produced in Austria. Nevertheless, apart from very few artists such as MC Sultan, Karuan, Cay Taylan or dZihan & Kamien, musicians of Turkish/Kurdish descent are ignored.

Daily newspapers such as *Der Standard*, *Die Presse* or *Kurier* hardly ever report on music by Turkish/Kurdish artists. The weekly city magazine *Falter* reports on a regular basis on popular music but the very first article on “world music” by musicians from the territory of Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey living in Vienna was published in issue 16/2006, with an update on the Viennese Balkan music scene in issue 8/2008. Music magazines such as *The Gap*, *Skug* or *Now* focus on rock, pop and electronic music or specific segments of electronic music such as the Drum’n’Bass magazine *Resident*. Generally these magazines hardly refer to the artists’ backgrounds unless the musicians mention it themselves in interviews or in their lyrics or press releases.

3.2.3. Media access for Balkan artists

Artists who have made their way into the big and prestigious venues featuring world music or Balkan jazz, also figure occasionally in the main stream media. For diaspora-based artists who are less known, independent local media (radio and TV) have an important role. These often broadcast several Balkans- related programs to cater for different tastes and styles which address specific audiences. Some of these programs aim to redefine the Balkans as a common cultural space, others target more nationally defined communities.

The pop and turbo folk music genre is linked to specific diaspora-based media, mainly in Serbia. The most prominent among these are *Pink TV* and the *Svet plus* magazine. These are available in cafes and restaurants, and circulate among event managers and the ethno business more generally throughout the EU.

The communication breakdown during of the war in former Yugoslavia, gave a boost to electronic communication and media. From an initial exchange of news and information, the independent media in the region soon also broadcast information. They wanted to prevent provincial isolationism and contribute to the rebuilding of cultural, formerly close ties. The internet-based *Cross Radio* links independent and alternative radio stations throughout the Balkans and in Western European cities. Using the internet as a tool of communication and cultural exchange is now firmly anchored in this cultural scene.

Especially in the booming club scene platforms like *myspace* and *YouTube* are central. Event managers confirm that these platforms are the main sources for ‘discovering’ new artists. This is the case for clubs like the *Ost-Club* in Vienna with its DJ line ups and live performances. This is also the case for disco and Balkan pop music venues such as *Nachtwerk* in Vienna which run their own multimedia enterprise, broadcast on local radio and TV, and run an interactive internet platform.

3.3. Internet

As mentioned previously, the internet has become an increasingly important tool for artists and cultural actors within all the diasporas. Apart from the many specialist web-media platforms, sites such as *myspace* or *YouTube* (to a lesser extent *Facebook*) have become essential networking tools between artists and cultural actors but also a means for unknown groups to promote their music to a wider, transnational (often taste-driven) audience.

3.4. Evidence of cross-fertilisation between different sectors, e.g. community projects, policy initiatives, NGOs etc.

As was already mentioned (see section 2.33), there are cross-overs between different sectors which can support artists, especially within the area of NGOs, community projects and initiatives by national cultural institutes.

In France, the funding of artistic projects tends to be financed by national/regional/urban institutions. For example, the *New Bled collective* applies for funding from the Ville de Paris for its annual *New Bled festival*; *Gaâda* applied for funding from the French local council (Conseil Régional) for its *Mémoires* (decolonisation, citizenship, slavery) project; Skander’s project and electro ‘pan-arab’ residency (*Pitchworks*) started as a ‘bottom-up’ artists’ initiative, but became involved in the ‘Semaine de la Tunisie’ of the Ville de Romans which has a de-centralised partnership with the Tunisian town of El-Jem. The *Gaâda’s “Mémoires”* project dealt with the memory of slavery and decolonisation, in cooperation with musicians from the group *Gaâda*. It is a good example of a community arts initiative which was funded by regional and urban institutions (*Conseil Régional*) and an NGO (*Fondation Abbé Pierre*). This sort of project is fairly common in France within the wider ambitions of the so-called ‘politique de la ville’ which aims to merge policies of social cohesion with cultural policy at the local, urban or regional level. However, as we have indicated before, some of the artists of North African background that we have been working with, expressed an anxiety in this regard regarding their need to engage in socially-relevant arts projects.

In terms of funding of artistic projects and residencies in ‘countries of origin’ which involve artists based in North Africa and artists based in Europe, there is a dominance of national cultural institutes (such as the British Council and the Institut Français). In a context where little opportunity exists for live performance outside of festivals, the various cultural centres across Morocco and Algeria become important sites of performance and encounter between local artists and those based in Europe. Examples are the residency of *Watcha Clan* (Marseille), *Amarg Fusion* and *Souss Style* (Institut Français d’Agadir); performances of the *New Bled Collective* artists at the Institut Français de Tlemcen (spring 2007).

Funding of artistic projects in Austria

In the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Vienna City Council (Kulturabteilung – MA7) Haydar Sari (former head of the “Integrationsfonds”, political scientist, Turkish migrant, a candidate for the SPÖ in local and national elections) is responsible for the distribution of the budget for intercultural and international projects. The aim of this department is to support associations (not individuals) in order to promote:

- 1) The visibility of migrant cultures in Vienna
- 2) cultural events from and for migrants
- 3) collaborations of different community groups and their cultural activities.

Only associations have the possibility to apply for funding. Despite the fact that this rather outdated way of funding is perceived as compartmentalizing by artists, it is sometimes the only option to start a new project. Gülsen Bal, for example, was supported by this branch of the City Council to start her “Open Space” project. While the City of Vienna aims at a politics of diversity, the budget of this department is rather small and festivals and exhibitions are funded in cooperation with other branches of the Department of Cultural Affairs.

Public funding and music distribution structure in Austria

Public funding for popular music (except classical music) is mainly distributed by departure (www.departure.at), a public institution, responsible for financial support of projects in the creative industries (CIs). *Couch Records* (see report part 1) received funding for setting up new distribution networks. Further funding institutions for CD productions and coverage of tour expenses are the Viennese institutions *SKE Fond* (www.ske-fonds.at) and the Austrian Musikfond (www.musikfonds.at). Turkish/Kurdish musicians Fatima Spar und die *Freedom Fries* (see report part 1) and *Grup Berfin*, a band of five Kurdish musicians based in Vienna have received public funding. In Austria a big amount of public musicfunding goes to the classical sector such as *Wiener Philharmoniker*, *Wiener Sängerknaben* etc.

Access to channels of distribution and marketing for musicians depends on the record labels. Some independent record labels such as *Couch Records*, *Chat Chapeau*, *Extraplatte* or *Sunshine Records* have dedicated (parts of) their program to “Balkan music” or “world music” but their budgets are fairly limited. For distribution, independent labels depend on larger networks (provided by major record labels) and on internet sales. Small scale distribution companies are *Hoanzl*, *Trost*, *Rebeat* and *Extraplatte*; further music distribution is provided by the network *AMAN Austrian Music Ambassador Network* which was set up in 2006 with public arts funding (www.aman.ag) and by the major global players such as *Sony BMG*, *Universal*, *EMI* and *Warner*.

4. Effects of EU Activities on Cultural Diasporas

EU cultural policy initiatives are probably more indirectly than directly influencing cultural policy discourses and funding programmes. A number of cultural organisations and promoters have benefited from EU funding for co-operative projects at the European level. EQUAL and XENOS programmes that finance initiatives that combat discrimination are likely to positively influence the climate in which migrant cultural producers can work. The new EU approach to Cultural Diversity that invites member states to promote cultural diversity aims to recognize migrants as cultural producers in their own right rather than as representatives of a specific ethnic identity.

Third country initiatives by the EU such as the initiatives towards the so-called ACP - African, Caribbean and Pacific - countries are also welcome for their recognition of culture. The need to approach the field of culture in a much more holistic way than has hitherto been the case is recognised by the European Parliament's own analysis of the Commission's communication 'A European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World' (August 2007 PE 389.592) when they stress the need for 'mainstreaming culture in all relevant policies'. This not only affects culture in the sense of specific cultural industries and artistic creativity, but culture in the much broader sense of everyday life. Communications such as the Commission's proposals for an EU-Caribbean partnership {Sec (2006)268} address economic and political strategic issues, socio-economic growth and good governance to prevent fragility in the region but do not address the vital role which culture plays right across all these sectors. We understand that there are now initiatives being worked out which specifically address the cultural component in this partnership. This should be a welcome addition, but does not alter our general perception that there is a need for more cross-cutting initiatives

At policy level most of the positive departures in the Commission's new approach to culture has yet to translate into practices on the ground. Cultural promoters are more likely to be aware of specific funding opportunities than of the policy models that underlie them (see Kosnick, 2004 report for Changing City Spaces www.citynexus.com).

In 1998 Germany ratified the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. This includes their protection and federal states (Länder) funding for these groups' preservation of culture and identity. However, the groups included here (Danes, North Frisians, Sater Frisians, Sorbs, German Sinti and Roma) do not reflect post-war immigration histories.

In Germany there is no specific nation-wide 'cultural policy endowed with sufficient public funding' dedicated to other ethnic minorities (Council of Europe, D-12).

EU initiatives do not play major roles in the film context, although there are some funding opportunities. Interviewees mentioned both, the relative lack of EU funds for film artists, and the difficulty of obtaining funds as reasons. At film maker level individuals were mostly unaware of EU policies. *Eurimages*, the film fund of the Council of Europe, is the main body at European level that supports the co-production of film. Projects must be 'European' 'in terms of origin, investment and rights' (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eurimages/default_en.asp). The film director must be an EU national or have permanent residence status. The 'European Character' of projects is assessed on a points basis. Financial support does not exceed 17% of the total production costs. This means that major funding (at least 50%) has to be secured prior to seeking support from *Eurimages*. (Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe and some

Kurdish interviewees stated that this may rather work against than for them in this context). In the African context, one of the few successful film production companies in this respect is *Laterit*, whose producer Marie-Clemence Paes has dual French- Malagasy nationality and thus qualifies for EU funding (co-funding for the film 'Mahaleo')

The Union-funded EUROMED AUDIOVISUAL assists the exchange and co-operation between southern-Mediterranean countries and the EU in the film and audiovisual arts sector. This program includes training, film development, promotion, and film distribution opportunities for film professionals from *Euromed* countries. The program fosters transnational exchange and networking between what are in some cases originating countries of migrants in Europe and EU member states. *Euromed Audiovisual II* is limited to the time-period of 2006-2008. Representatives of a small Berlin-based migrant production company stated that they had participated in one of these programs and regretted the limited time-period within which it was available.

The European Broadcasting Union (EBU) in collaboration with the ZDF Kleines Fernsehspiel and ETV (Estonian Television) have started *nTrade*, a laudable initiative to make European TV audiences more familiar with film cultures across Europe (<http://www.ntrade.tv/>). The focus is on 'artistically ambitious films and films by newcomers' (website). The *nTrade* initiative produces themed film packages and makes them accessible to interested public broadcasters. In 2002 the *nTrade* 'Immigration' package was broadcast in several countries across the EU. Given that European TV audiences are mostly exposed to US productions and productions of their national broadcasters, an initiative that seeks to familiarise larger publics with pan-European film art via public broadcasting seems timely and important (see website).

Such initiatives by which high quality films and films by newcomers circulate between European TV broadcasters are still rare and more European-level promotion of such initiatives would be desirable. In this respect it does not seem useful to separate TV from cinema.

At the level of individual musicians and artists, the impact and awareness of EU funding activities appears to be minimal or non-existing. Hence effects of EU activities are very rarely felt directly by the musicians themselves. None of the artists we have worked with have been directly involved with EU culture programs such as *Culture 2000* or *Culture 2007*. Artists were generally unfamiliar with EU programs and convinced that these initiatives were not designed for them but for huge institutions and transnational networks or consortia they would not be able to participate in. One artist told us about her experience with the Council of Europe, but also insisted that local and national resources were easier to manage.

By contrast festival organisers, music promoters or film producers are often more aware of EU funding opportunities. Examples of these are:

- *Serious* who procured funding for a *Music and Migration project* across three EU countries (with partners in France and Hungary) in the *Culture 2000* program.
- A delegation of the European Commission in Morocco is responsible for the jazz festival *Jazz au Chellah: jazz européen, musiques marocaines* (Rabat, June) along with member states embassies and cultural institutes, Wilaya de Rabat, Moroccan Ministry of Culture and Délégation Wallonie-Bruxelles. Now it is in its 13th year and focuses on the encounter of local artists in Morocco with those based in Europe. This festival is an example of how EU activities foster mobility and exchange between musicians. See <http://www.jazzauchellah.com/>

- *Culturebase.net*, an international artists' database (funded by the European Cultural Foundation and Europe 2000) represents Austrian artists. For instance, the visual artist Lisl Ponger, works in Vienna on questions of diversity and gender and some Turkish visual artists also work on exile and identity (e.g. Esra Ersen). *Culturebase* additionally includes "Das Theater des Augenblicks" co-founded and directed by Gülsen Gürses, who came to Austria in the early 1980s after the military coup in Turkey. In their self-representation at *culturebase.net* they stress their "cooperation with other international and local artists and theoreticians" and in 2000 present "context:europe, an innovative project that creates an intimate space of openness in programming, intercultural theatre and collaborations with artists from other countries as well as for exceptional forms of performing and visual arts." (www.culturebase.net/artist.php?1559).

Part Three - Policy Issues

5.1. Barriers on artists and the cultural industries of the diasporas

The existence of vibrant cultural ‘diasporas’ stretching right across Europe with multiple networks and interconnections between themselves and their countries of origin as well as between themselves and many other people and sectors in the cultural industries world-wide challenges engrained concepts that are based on:

- a. nation-state models which conceive of polities as ‘nation-states’ with singular cultural identities;
- b. European ‘heritage’ models that privilege ‘indigenous’ over ‘exogenous’ populations (e.g. see also Kiwan and Meinhof 2006 on the different interpretation of ‘cultural diversity’ policies across the European Union);
- c. a ‘fortress Europe’ model which creates enormous barriers for non – European nationals to enter;
- d. a division into ‘sectors’ of activities (e.g. high artistic value vs community art) that cut across many of the activities of cultural innovators and practitioners.

Such concepts seem outmoded not least by the spirit of many of the more forward looking initiatives at European level, such as, for example, the *Lisbon Agendas*; the *Council of Europe Discussion Papers*; the *European Commissions HERA programme*, the *New Culture programme* as well as the new third country initiative *Investing In People*. Nevertheless outdated concepts such as those above inform policies, infrastructures, laws and regulations across Europe, and often create contradictory outcomes or counter-productive measures. In addition to or as a result of these conceptual barriers, there are very practical issues which block or interfere with the free development of cultural creativities within the EU, across Europe and between Europe and the world at large.

In this report we can only point to a few of the most obvious barriers that we have identified in our academic research as well as in our practical engagement with artists themselves:

- Immigration and work permit regimes: visa and work permit regulations for artists who are resident but not nationals of Schengen or non-Schengen EU countries such as the UK, and worse still for artists from outside Europe create dramatic barriers to the flow of artistic exchange and discourage all but the largest cultural operators. These regulations affect many different levels which often prevent collaborating or individual artists from taking part in festivals or concert tours, create huge hurdles for organisers of such events, and make artist-led, bottom-up initiatives almost impossible. Examples of these are particularly notable in the administrative and financial management of cultural flows:
 - Administrative hurdles: many embassies such as the UK visa offices require a visa application (via the internet!!) and the booking of interview slots for residents of EU countries who are not EU nationals; work permits issued in one Schengen country do not apply to other Schengen countries, making tours for EU resident artists very complicated. For artists in developing countries the non-existence of relevant embassies in many of their native countries requires extraordinary detours to the ‘nearest’ country (e.g. for a Malagasy artist applying for a visa to the UK, the nearest UK embassy has now moved to the island of Mauritius).

- Financial burdens: substantial visa costs imposed on even short-term visitors disable bottom-up or small-scale initiatives by artists and smaller cultural operators. In addition, many ‘soft’ currencies in non-European countries are not even eligible for visa payments (for example, the British embassies in the few African countries that need to cater for the entire continent do not accept national currencies of other countries they are catering for, such as the Malagasy Ariary).
- Funding regimes
 - Funding dualities between ‘high artistic value’ models and socio-culture, community-art models (see also Kiwan and Kosnick 2006): Governmental bodies can fall into the trap of forcing artists into boxes that do not necessarily fit. For example, particular artists may be directed to “new community” funding strands, which ignore the fact that they may be established artists born in the EU with a considerable reputation outside their own narrow cultural heritage.
 - Accessibility, communication and eligibility for existing funding opportunities: Most artists and smaller arts organisations are unaware of the opportunities for funding at European level. Even if they realise that there are possibilities, they are precluded as a result of the scale of the grant on offer and put off by the paperwork required. Programmes such as Culture 2000 and Culture 2007 are better suited to larger cultural actors with a certain capacity (in terms of both human and financial resources). This is implied through the eligibility criteria for cooperation projects – 50% co-funding; bank guarantees; multi-annual projects or 24 month projects; necessity of either 3 partners (24 month projects) or 6 partners (3-5 years). Even for an organisation such as the UK’s major live music producer *Serious*, there were significant hurdles to overcome. These include the Commission’s request of a bank guarantee before any funding of the Culture 2000 grant was paid. This was unfeasible, but without it the cash flow for the project would also have been untenable. In the end, the Commission were persuaded to change their minds, but only after six months of negotiation, during which time Serious was able to seek advice from their international partners – something which would not have been available to many other organisations, who would not have known where to start.
 - Sector divisions in the funding bodies that separate artistic production from promotion, research, education and third country development: these undermine interdisciplinary and otherwise cross-cutting initiatives. Project designs in which artists and their promoters, research, training and development sectors join force to create new platforms for development and production, research and evaluation, and cross-sector dissemination are thus discouraged. Our own initiatives in our work with artists in the *Changing City Spaces* (www.citynexus.com) in the *TNMundi* www.tnmundi.soton.ac.uk and in the *Sefone* www.sefone.net projects were not fundable by one agency but required enormous efforts of fund-raising for the non-academic aspects of our work. Yet such initiatives are innovative examples for the possibility of cross-fertilization between the creative industries, the academic and educational sector and developmental work.

5.2. Policy recommendations

Based on collaborative research and a workshop combining a team of several international scholars with members of the cultural sector we would like to offer the following recommendations, relating to the areas of concern identified by the European Parliament:

- European policies and the flowering of cultural diversity and exchange in the European Union, the growth of creative economies and the stimulation of artistic creativity, and the development of intercultural dialogue in the EU.
- European Policies and non-EU countries, relating to the distribution and production of cultural goods in non-EU countries and support for the cultural sector in developing countries.
- It is our considered view that cultural policies directed at artists from cultural diasporas as well as in third countries could better facilitate the growth of cultural activity and exchange if more was to be understood about the nature of the interaction between the considerable creative activities that are already happening ‘bottom-up’ by individual artists and across transnational networks. There is little need to further strengthen the commercial sector where artists already have broken through to the mainstream. Big festival promoters also know how to organise themselves to attract public money at national level, although their role as mediators between major artists and lesser known artists could be encouraged by targeted sponsorship, and by encouraging the participation of artists from less well-known countries. Achieving more mutual information and support requires on the one hand, a much more participatory shared platform between all agents in the intercultural dialogue, where artists themselves are involved at least in part in some of the decision-making processes, especially where they affect policy and funding structures. At the same time, a great deal more interdisciplinary research could inform policy matters, redirect some of the programmes and help disseminate the findings. All too often the isolation between groups of different skills and expertise and the lack of knowledge about their respective roles and achievements is a result of infrastructures that are too rigid and associated with funding models that pre-suppose rather than follow proactive and innovative work. The threads sewn by artists operating transnationally are relatively little understood by government structures and - as was shown above- are continuously undermined by barriers to movement and interchange. Their experiences are a largely untapped resource, which have huge potential for others to learn from and for promoting intercultural understanding.
- What applies to the non-recognition of innovative artists and grassroots initiatives also applies to cultural products themselves. Much of what we have researched are ambitious, and innovative high quality products (e.g. film, art) that do not necessarily conform to mainstream market conditions and therefore struggle to enter trans-European circulation networks. The cultural productivity of second and third generation immigrants in particular suggests an enormously vibrant creativity across the European space that still often remains unnoticed. More programmes and schemes that promote types of products and their circulation (e.g. film, art, creative projects) that engage with a particular theme (e.g. immigration) and that fulfil high, yet not market-conform artistic standards, could be a way forward. This would de-

emphasize the ‘ethnic’ label and allow producers who are not of migrant extraction to be included into the fold.

- There is no general recipe for what makes a successful artist or a successful artistic network: artists find success in different ways, depending on their particular characteristics as artists and the conditions in which they operate . But it is easy to see the structures that prevent cultural diaspora artists from achieving their full potential.
- Hence, cultural flows and the impact of cultural policy must be considered in relation to existing immigration and visa regimes. The current climate tends to restrict mobility amongst diasporas (south-north flows as well as north-north flows). Whilst we accept that immigration regimes are often decided on at national level, the existence of the Schengen space of free circulation could be developed to include a special artists’ mobility regime – whereby work visas for cultural events/festivals throughout the Schengen area and Europe at large could be delivered more easily; perhaps along the lines of the recent directive of the French government instructing its consulates and embassies in Africa to pay specific attention to visa delivery for artists, cultural operators and university researchers seeking to travel to Europe. (cf. recent decision by French Ministry of Culture and Communication in consultation with French Ministry for Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Co-Development, 19 February 2008, following discussions at the France-Africa summit, Bamako December 2005).
- Policy makers should observe how artists already operate transnationally without public support, and follow and give support to existing and often self-determined networks and activities of artists that cut across cultural, geographical and artistic pigeon holes.
- Cultural activity should be able to be included within the Commission’s other funding streams. For example, academic programmes in the Framework programmes such as HERA should be allowed to engage with a broader interpretation of what constitutes cultural research and development, enabling cross-cutting approaches of research, and taking a much broader approach to ‘heritage’ issues which incorporates the ‘transcultural capital’ of cultural diasporas within Europe and their notions of ‘heritage’.
- The Commission has a clear remit in terms of investing in projects which have a European impact although its concerns with support for the cultural sector in developing countries shows that it stretches this desired impact beyond a narrow European vision. A decision needs to be made in terms of whether it would like any engagement with smaller scale projects or individual artists, which can make an impact far greater than their cost, and if so how.

One possibility could be a programme of Artists in Residence across the European Union as well as between European and non-European countries and importantly South \leftrightarrow North AND North \leftrightarrow South exchanges. Such schemes have potential impact across all sectors: artistic performance, education and training, media dissemination, intercultural and cross-cultural information.

There should be a great deal more support for artists in transnational networks that exist between countries of origin and across Europe. Our work has shown that links between artists are multi-directional, and do not stop on Europe's borders. Artists in non-European countries have a great deal to offer to the cultural dynamics within Europe, whilst artistic exchanges with third countries strengthen the role of culture in developing countries. One further positive effect of a stronger involvement of the European Union in artistic development in poorer countries such as Madagascar could be the strengthening of authors' rights which requires an imaginative approach to the widespread piracy which affects all artists in the world.

- There is an enormous need for a better infrastructure of information, local support and pro-active dissemination and help relating to Europe's role in cultural development and the financial support of artists and small scale cultural operators. The role of Cultural Contact Points as mediators for the European Commission's cultural policy is of interest here, since some are more effective than others. If Europe is really hoping to reach new communities and smaller organisations, the CCP's need to take a more proactive approach. In some countries, CCPs appear only to advise up to the point of submitting an application – there is huge discrepancy in relation to follow up support between countries. Furthermore, are CCPs giving advice on other programmes, which have the potential to incorporate culture, e.g. Equal and Xenos?
- If European bodies wish to encourage diversity and intercultural dialogue through their programmes, a more proactive approach is required. For example, the European Cultural Foundation has a new focus on supporting "New Communities" – which of course means different things in different places across Europe. The important thing to note is that the ECF recognises that "New Communities" will not find the Foundation by themselves, hence the Foundation is establishing a deliberate and active policy of reaching these groups and intends to work through a range of trusted mediators. If the Commission wishes to progress its *Year of Intercultural Dialogue* beyond 2008, a similar approach will be required. Grant-giving will require simpler application procedures and more support for applicants and decision-making that involves artists and cultural operators.

Much of the **most innovative policy work is happening within the NGO sector**, whilst a great deal of **innovative research is happening within the academic sector**. The European Parliament and the Commission could pay more attention to both of these areas and find ways for enabling them to collaborate more effectively. For example, the *European Cultural Foundation* and the *European Foundations for Arts & Heritage* have established that civil society innovative policy works happens within the NGO sector, whilst a great deal of innovative research happens within the academic sector. The European Parliament and the Commission could pay more attention to both of these areas and find ways for enabling them to collaborate in a platform for intercultural dialogue. They launched the *Rainbow Report* in Slovenia in January, as part of the official start of the *European Year of Intercultural Dialogue*. Such initiatives could be expanded across the sectors of research, training and performance to involve a much wider spectrum of people who share similar visions but will end up being compartmentalized by institutional affiliations and rigid or badly understood funding models.

One final question to be asked here is to what extent can the intercultural objective of *Culture 2007-2013* or any cultural initiative targeting cultural diasporas be achieved if funding is open

only or mainly to EU member states, and if the rigidity of the imposed criteria places more emphasis on the number of collaborators involved than on the depth of the relationships between them or what they seek to achieve.

Whilst one would not wish artistic endeavours to become instrumentalised by government policy and financial backing, there is a case to be made for governments to invest more in cultural collaborations as a result of the impact they can have in terms of encouraging participants and audiences to think differently about identity, community cohesion and other key issues. Much is made of intercultural dialogue on the European level and there are many conferences and research initiatives. However, it is often through artistic collaborations that intercultural dialogue comes to life.

We would therefore recommend to the European Parliament to take a broad and flexible view of cultural diasporas and to recommend a perspective that goes beyond notions of ethnic separation and essentialism, which underpin separatism and social exclusion. At the same time European policy should welcome and support the strength of transcultural roots which may well constitute the transcultural capital and the innovative potential inherent in many of those artists that constitute Europe's cultural diversity.

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