

‘We try to have the best’: How nationality, race and gender structure artists’ circulations in the Paris jazz scene

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> 'Jazz, in its various incarnations, spans different social categories, from race to class, gender to generational interest. **A simple visit to any European jazz festival today would reveal the music's ability to reach different audiences and to speak for a diverse range of people**. Moreover, **in a European context, jazz is not just a national music, but a model of *transnational innovation***; the music *supports the mobility of artists*, the sharing of knowledge, **and the benefits of cultural exchange**. **In a political context where there is often a fine line between xenophobia and nationalist sentiment, jazz provides us with a powerful symbol of European diversity, *networking* and the *positive impact* that the influence of other cultures can bring**' (Whyton 2012: iv)[1]

In this excerpt from its research report, the Europe Jazz Network advocacy group presents jazz as a model of tolerance and openness. It inscribes jazz in a national, as well as transnational context, subsequently resituated within Europe[2]. Perhaps this transnational perspective is not new, since jazz is seen as stemming from African-American folk music (and as such, arguably also perceived as originating from the 'Black Atlantic' (Gilroy 1995)). From a European point of view, this music also represented a modernity coming from the United States (Roueff 2013). From there, different topics arise in academic research about the social place of jazz. It has been apprehended through the prism of ethnicity and race (Peretti 1992; Bohlman and Radano 2000), and the role of these factors in the construction of jazz's authenticity has been identified in critics' discourse about the music, in the way it is appropriated or in terms of the musician's experience (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Suzuki 2013). Roueff goes as far as saying that in Europe, highbrow music was developed and defined in opposition to popular music, but that since the 17th century, this partition took on 'the sexual language of races'[3] (2013: 8; see also Dorlin 2006). Politicized receptions of jazz in France, drawing on anti-American feeling after the Second World War, redefined jazz as music from an oppressed 'black' minority group, opposing it to American mass culture and denouncing racism and segregation (Tournès 2001). Issues concerning gender have also shed light on the social representations of jazz and its authenticity, as well as on access to and segregation in the music market (Bares 2012; Ravet 2011; Rustin and Tucker 2008; Tucker 1998; Whiteley 1997). In his research about blues, Grazian examines how authenticity is transformed into a form of currency, within the Chicago music scene (2003). Secondly, the circulation of jazz from the United States to other geographical areas, and the various ways in which it was received and interpreted, have also been examined (Ake 2004; Dorin 2012; McKay 2005; Parsonage 2005; Rusch 2015; Taylor Atkins 2003).

The terms used in the Europe Jazz Network's report also hint at the economic transactions bred within the European Union's market, which serve as the backdrop to the development of European jazz. This underlines another dimension, the fact that artistic exchanges and productions are embedded in more global economic and political stakes and networks. Research about globalization (see Crane 2002) has pointed to processes of hybridization

[1] Emphasized by author.
[2] The author would like to thank Madeline Bedecarré, Ana Portilla and the journal's anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this article.
[3] 'le langage sexué des races', author's translation.

(Appadurai 1996), the erasure of national frontiers and subsequent fluidity in international exchanges (Sassen 1996, Bauman 1998), the risk of imperialistic domination (Tomlinson 1991) or, on the contrary, the emergence of more diversity. The overstepping or transgression of national boundaries must be taken into account in the analysis of cultural circulations, as well as biases linked to methodological nationalism entrenched in our ways of practicing research (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). However, I develop here the idea that national categories continue to determine the symbolic capital attached to artists' performances (Bourdieu 1996), much in the same way that race and ethnicity function as tools for critical appraisal in the American literary field (Chong 2011). Indeed, this article attempts to show how artists' nationality and place of residence influence the venues in which artists are showcased, as well as how gender and ethnicity continue to inform the way they are perceived and represented.

To support my argument, I will use research pertaining to other artistic sectors. Working on contemporary art, Alain Quemin (2013) has shown that although international prize lists are presented as universal and art dealers recuse territoriality as taking part in their choices of artists, these lists reveal the permanence of national categories: indeed citizens from the United States and Germany largely dominate the market. Research in translation studies has also examined how unequal flows between centers and peripheries structure global cultural markets (Heilbron 1999; Sapiro 2010). In her analysis of book translations, Sapiro (2008) further indicates that the type of languages translated differs according to the publisher's position: smaller ones tend to favor translations from semi-peripheral or peripheral languages, because they cannot compete economically with larger and more commercial publishing houses, which translate from central languages such as English. Music rarely involves translation, and thus is often portrayed as circulating more "freely", especially with the rise of transfers through the internet (Jung and Shim 2014). Unlike a book however, live music rarely moves without its musicians, their physical presence inducing specific modes of circulation.

Although music is often territorialized ('the Detroit sound,' 'Berlin techno,' 'Ivorian Coupé-Décalé' etc.), the relations between place and music have not been largely examined. The 'scenes' approach (Bennett and Peterson 2004) develops the link between musical styles and particular locations; these also relate to virtual places (mailing lists, forums). Historical studies have linked the emergence of popular music to urban places (Scott 2008), the nature of artistic scenes to specific and localized audiences (Weber 2004; Charle 2008) and concerts to the venue's architecture (Bödecker et al 2008). Sound studies have also broached the relationship between place identity, 'scapes' and sound (see Bull 2013). Different authors have examined how jazz was received in France (Tournès 1999; Roueff 2013). Within the same city (Paris), clubs may even be distributed in distinct locations of the capital, according to the type of jazz they play and the different music experiences they offer (Lizé 2010). Similar considerations are made about 'world music' venues in London (van Klyton 2015). Indeed, this musical genre offers an interesting field in which to address the issue of place, since

> 'The creation and diffusion of world music emphasize how particular constructions of ethnicity and diversity are central to the production, marketing and commodification of culture, in a somewhat naive and simplistic celebration of authenticity and ethnic and geographical diversity.' (Connell and Gibson 2004: 345)

This construction of 'world music' underlines unequal power relations between groups within a national society, but also between the global South and the global North, or Western world. Music's (perceived) place of production thus plays a role in where and how it circulates, although, much in the same way as contemporary art, it seems to be increasingly located in Western and economic centers (Brandellero and Pfeffer 2011). Spatial construction of

identities, youth, and race have been examined in scholarly work on hip hop (Murray 2000) as well as how the link between space (here, the French 'suburbs'), rap, and working class groups issued from post-colonial immigration have been portrayed by the media and politicians (Hammou 2012). In turn, music participates in the representations of localities (Murray 2000) and the appropriation or recoding of regional identities, as is the case for Berlin's jazz frontier (Bares 2012). Place may also offer a way of distinguishing oneself, by listening to foreign or geographically 'emplaced' artists – as opposed to 'displaced' artists grown out of big-business music industry (Cheyne and Binder 2010; Meuleman and Lubbers 2014). Finally, circulations of music question how cosmopolitanism is understood in a particular locality, how it shapes the way music is appropriated and reinforces or questions national identities. Stokes explains how musical cosmopolitanism can be understood as a relation process, dialoguing with nationalism (2007). Postcolonial critiques have also addressed cosmopolitanism as a new form of ethnocentrism (see Huggan 2001).

However, analyzing the diverging appropriations of musical circulations also reveals internal dynamics and classification struggles organizing the jazz world in Paris. These underline the central role played by cultural intermediaries, because they partake in the encounter between audiences and artists (Roueff 2010). Through their choices and omissions, bookers (or bookers) in clubs and festivals contribute to the specificity of a city's musical scene (Gallan 2012). As gatekeepers (Becker 1982; for a critical account of this concept, see Negus 2002), they participate in the evaluation of the symbolic value, as well as the economic costs, attached to the local, national and international artists who perform on their stages.

Drawing on these different angles, I will examine the role of place, but also gender and race[4] in jazz music, by analyzing the circulations of artists within the Parisian jazz field. I will first describe which artists are showcased in the capital's clubs and festivals in terms of gender, nationality, and country of residence. Results show that the better-known venues in the Parisian jazz scene program American (rather than French or other) artists, whose added symbolic value is simultaneously economic. Finally, I will look at how the artists are presented in two festivals, revealing that authenticity and value remain informed by classic racial and gendered divides, in which artists' nationality also plays a role. Indeed, the dominant position of the United States and the opposition between the Western world and the global South are perhaps more strongly dramatized in Paris, due to the country's history and that of jazz's reception within it.

Methodology

Paris is an ex-colonial capital in the global North that can be considered semi-central for jazz music, for it is not situated in the United States, but is often presented as an important jazz metropolis. In France, the genre is seen as intermediate between 'serious' and 'vulgar', 'ascetic' and 'hedonist' music, its social status appearing more ambiguous that its continued perception through a racial and eroticized lens (Roueff 2013: 27). The artists described as 'circulating' within the Parisian jazz scene are those who appear in concerts in its clubs and festivals.

The circulations are fleeting and difficult to measure, since gigs are not listed in official or centralized ways (on the contrary to translations for example). In order to grasp these, I constructed a statistical indicator, a census of the artists who gave concerts in different jazz venues. This material is then compared with the public communication about the concerts, in

[4] This term, common in Anglo-American research, has been used in differing ways within the French field. Following Loïc Wacquant, I define it here as a form of social closure, based on the distribution of symbolic power, underlining the fact that it must be analyzed together with the distribution of material power, i.e. social class (Wacquant 2013).

order to understand how the circulations are represented in the Parisian jazz scene. 18[5] jazz venues and 4 festivals were selected, so as to represent a broad and diverse picture of jazz in Paris. For each venue, the jazz events taking place over the course of one month of programming (March 2013) and all of the events of the 2013 edition of festivals were listed. In total, 330 concerts were taken into account. For each of these, I counted the number of artists and referenced their nationality, country of residence, sex, and whether they were singers, musicians or both.

For statistical exploitation, each event was attributed a geographical area according to the participating artists' nationality and country of residence. In the cases where members of the music groups had different nationalities or were bi-national, the most frequent nationality was selected. In the rare cases when the numbers were equal on both sides, the non-French or non-dominant nationality was retained (this very marginally increases the 'diversity' in terms of nationalities). The same methodology was used for countries of residence. The different countries were assembled into geographical areas. The category 'Africa' groups together Sub-Saharan and North African countries. Artists from France and United-States were differentiated because each group was quite large.[6] For each artist participating in the event, I noted whether they were a musician, a singer, or if they were doing both.

Finally, interviews were conducted with six different bookers from jazz clubs and festivals in Paris. These lasted on average an hour and a half, and questions pertained to the venue's artistic choices and selection of artists, ways in which artists from foreign countries were discovered and then booked, economic and organizational practices, and the bookers' own musical and social trajectories.

Who are the artists circulating in the Parisian jazz scene?

The distribution of the artists' nationalities (see table 1) shows the predominance of French artists. Indeed, they make up a total of 56.4% of the total artists on show in the four festivals and venues in March 2013. Artists from the United States are also strongly represented (13%), almost as much as Europeans (14.5%, within which respectively 3% of individuals from Italy and from the United Kingdom). Artists from Africa comprise 7% of the total, followed by respectively 4.5% from South and Central America and other geographical areas.

Specifying where the artists are booked (clubs or festivals) shows the central role played by festivals in creating a relative national diversity in the scene. Indeed, events in festivals comprise one third of total events, but they program as many events with non-French artists as do clubs (around 20% each). Only 14% of the total number of events with French artists take place in festivals. About half of the events with European, South and Central Americans, Americans artists, and around 60% of those with African artists take place during festivals.

[5] Two venues (le Triton in Les Lilas and les Instants Chavirés in Montreuil) and one festival (Banlieues Bleues, in the Seine-Saint-Denis department) are located on the outskirts of Paris, but are included because music critics in the city consider them to be important and they offer diverse jazz aesthetics. I consider here that the 'Paris jazz scene' is not strictly limited by the city's geography, but embraces the different spaces that participate in its artistic recognition.

[6] The statistical indicators created thus associate one geographical area (nationality or country of residence) to each event. These variables must however be analyzed as indicators, because the inventory was conducted over only one month of programming for venues and one edition for festivals. Some countries are overrepresented because that year they may have been a specific 'focus' of the festival (this seems to be the case for the United Kingdom). When examining the dispersion of nationalities and places of residence, these results must not be interpreted as fixed, since they are prone to marginal change.

Table 1. Nationalities of artists booked in Parisian clubs and festivals

	Club	Festival	Total
France	48,5%	7,9%	56,4%
Europe	7,0%	7,6%	14,5%
Africa	2,7%	4,2%	7,0%
Other Areas	2,7%	1,8%	4,5%
South and Central America	2,4%	2,1%	4,5%
USA	6,7%	6,4%	13,0%
Total	70,0%	30,0%	100,0%

Artists' nationalities are often emphasized in venues' and festivals' public communication, and linked with perceived specificities of the music played. I will develop this point further on in the article, however, this does not signify that the artists have lived or still live in their countries of nationality. The artists' countries of residence are seldom highlighted, their country of origin appearing as an explanatory factor of their music more often than the place where they live and often work. When looking at artists' countries of residence, it appears that an important part of those who have non-French nationalities live in France. More often than not, these artists play in the capital's clubs rather than festivals (see table 2). Indeed, clubs showcase around 11% of events with artists living abroad, and festivals around 20%. This means that 2/3 of the concerts that take place during festivals are given by artists living outside of France. Much in the same way as for contemporary artists (Quemin 2013), most foreign artists living in France come from countries situated in the global South, mainly Africa. As we can see, the number of artists from the United States remains relatively stable (from 13% of nationals to 12.1% of residents).

Table 2. Place of residence of artists booked in Parisian clubs and festivals

	Club	Festival	Total
France	58,8%	10,6%	69,4%
Europe	3,9%	7,6%	11,5%
Africa	0,6%	2,7%	3,3%
Other Areas	0,9%	2,7%	3,6%
USA	5,8%	6,4%	12,1%
Total	70,0%	30,0%	100,0%

Some clubs in Paris, such as the Café Universel and the Baiser salé, showcase an important number of foreign artists, who in fact live in France. The reason for this difference in the programming of artists of foreign origin (nationality and place of residence) between clubs and festivals is twofold. First of all, paying for artists to come specifically to Paris, even if they are on an international tour, is generally more costly than paying local and national musicians, for whom board is less often necessary, and travel fees are lower. Furthermore, Philippe Coulangeon explains in his analysis of French jazz musicians' careers (1999) that the jazz market in France has a dual structure, resulting in few musicians being booked in festivals as well as in clubs, with the exception of the most renowned artists who can access both markets. On the contrary, festivals have historically been a welcoming space for foreign artists, especially those from the United States. If playing in clubs is generally less profitable financially, it functions for musicians as a place to meet others and find gigs.

The Parisian jazz scene presents a relative diversity, although the overwhelming majority of events showcase French nationals and residents, and artists from the United States. Within this picture, the presence of women is minor. They make up only 10% of the total number of musicians and singers (1,634 artists) partaking in the 330 events. Amongst these, only 4.5% of events showcase only women, whereas the numbers amount to 61.5% of events with only men and 38.5% including one or more women. Interestingly, the distribution of events with women more or less follows this balance, whatever their nationalities and places of residence, with the exception of Europe. Indeed, more events with European artists are male-only (70.8% for events with European nationals and 76.3 for events with artists living in Europe). Events with women appear less often in festivals than in clubs. During concerts, women appear to be overwhelmingly singers (or vocalists), whereas men are overwhelmingly musicians, with some events presenting men or women who do both (see table 3). Marie Buscatto's work on women in jazz answers questions as to how women circulate and are marginalized within French jazz scenes (2007). She shows that networks are central to maintaining oneself within the scene and that women are less often integrated within these networks.

Table 3. Occupation of women or men in events where they are present

	Musician(s) only	Singer(s) and musician(s)	Singer(s) only	Total events
Women	19,7%	16,5%	63,8%	100,0%
Men	81,0%	18,7%	0,3%	100,0%

Types of jazz are important, because they highlight hierarchies within the French jazz scene, in which instrumental jazz is regarded as more legitimate than vocal jazz. Buscatto also shows that men participate in the denigration of vocal jazz, portraying women singers as 'divas' and incompetent artists. The entrance fees for events showcasing vocal and instrumental jazz (see table 4) are coherent with the unequal value attributed to both forms. Indeed, ticket prices can be examined as an indicator of the social and artistic attractiveness of a concert, signaling cultural and social hierarchies between events. Tickets for vocal jazz concerts are more often cheaper (15 euros or less), and instrumental jazz concerts are more likely to cost more (25 euros or more).

Table 4. Entrance fee and type of jazz performed

Prices	Vocal	Instrumental	Total
<15€	20,9%	18,5%	39,4%
15-18€	6,1%	5,5%	11,5%
18-25€	11,8%	16,7%	28,5%
>25€	7,9%	12,7%	20,6%
Total	46,7%	53,3%	100,0%

The type of jazz performed also distinguishes artists of different geographical origins. Events showcasing French artists are those where instrumental jazz is predominant, whereas those with African artists most often present vocal jazz (see table 5). However, it is difficult to know whether vocal jazz is dominant amongst artists from African countries, or whether they are booked in Parisian venues according to this criteria (the percentage of women in African artists is not more significant than for the other groups, this vocal quality is mostly due to events with men who are musicians and singers, more often than for other nationalities). Looking at the artists' places of residence shows that all areas have around 45% of vocal jazz,

except for events with artists living in Africa, presenting 63.3% of vocal jazz. Given the unequal recognition between both types of jazz, this may influence the way African artists are valued within the French scene.

Table 5. Type of jazz performed according to artists' nationalities

Nationalities	Vocal	Instrumental	Total
France	41,9%	58,1%	100,0%
USA	46,5%	53,5%	100,0%
South and Central America	46,7%	53,3%	100,0%
Europe total	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
Other Areas	60,0%	40,0%	100,0%
Africa	69,6%	30,4%	100,0%
Total	46,7%	53,3%	100,0%

The Parisian jazz scene appears relatively "diverse", with around 40% of non-French artists and 30% of artists living outside of the country, however some countries such as the United States are more strongly represented than entire continents (Africa). This diversity is further nuanced when considered from a gendered perspective, since only 10% of all artists in gigs are women, and they are mainly singers, whereas men are more often musicians. The unequal value attributed to instrumental and vocal jazz recalls gendered hierarchies. In the French capital, vocal jazz further appears socially constructed as a double periphery in the scene, the center being defined as male, and originating from Europe or the United States.

These tables give us an idea of who constitutes the Parisian jazz field. However, little is said of *how* place is inscribed within the Parisian jazz field. Analyzing which venues program what type of artists unveils symbolic and economic hierarchies between artists that are partly structured by unequal relations between groups within the country, but also between countries in the transnational jazz world and market.

The persistent domination of American male artists in Paris' well-known clubs

According to the different styles broadcasted in the venues, the artists performing tend to originate from different geographical areas. Indeed, value systems vary within the capital, according to the venue's history and architecture, the booker's and audiences' musical and social attributes, and the social practices that frame the reception of each jazz style. The Petit Journal Montparnasse and the Petit Journal Saint-Germain, both present rather traditional[7] jazz and are owned by the same person. They generally attract a wealthy clientele, who possesses more economic than cultural capital. In our sample, the Petit Journal Saint-Michel is the club that programs the less foreign artists, with 100% of French artists (nationality and country of residence) that month. At the Petit Journal Montparnasse, out of 19 shows, only 4 include non-French artists. At this traditional end of the jazz scene, which Lizé designates as 'having lost its cultural value and currency' ('culturellement déclassé') (2010: 68), concerts with foreign artists do not appear central or particularly valued. On the contrary, for venues showcasing modern jazz, their percentage is relatively higher.

[7] The terms 'traditional' and 'modern' used here are taken from Wenceslas Lizé's typology (2010), which also distinguishes 'avant-garde' jazz. Traditional jazz here refers to 1940s American New Orleans, swing and middle jazz, whereas modern jazz refers to 1940s and 50s bebop, cool and hard bop. I would like to thank Lizé for his comments on the way jazz is organized within the capital.

Four clubs showcasing modern jazz can be examined. They are all situated on the Rue des Lombards, a historical street in the Parisian jazz scene. The Sunset/Sunside is comprised of two different rooms in one club, with distinct programs but the same booker. It is next to the Baiser salé and the Duc des Lombards. The Café universel, in the 5th arrondissement, can be added to this list. The Duc des Lombards stands out with only 6 out of 16 shows with French artists, but apart from the Sunset, the rest of these clubs all have around one third of events with foreign artists (nationality). The Baiser salé and the Café Universel both showcase artists who are less renowned, rarely having international careers. Indeed, out of the 5 events with non-French artists at the Café Universel, only two broadcast artists living outside of France, whereas at the Baiser salé these numbers drop from 9 (non-French nationality) to only one event with artists living abroad. This is not the case at the Duc des Lombards, which maintains an international programming, with 10 concerts of non-French artists, out of which 9 are travelling from abroad.

Non-French artists in these clubs come from diverse countries. The Duc des Lombards is an interesting case, in that it exemplifies how discourses about universality and prestige in music actually derive from concerts predominantly played by French and American male artists. When asked about what type of jazz is presented, the booker first emphasizes that it encompasses all styles of jazz, and novelty:

> 'It's *all types* of jazz, *good jazz, if typifying this is possible*. I'm not particularly obsessed; I don't put forward my own obsessions in the club's program […]. Jazz is manifold, it is influenced by many, totally different things, by many styles, that *enrich it with new things, freshness and what's happening today*.'[8]

However, the program is centered on French and American artists, and he says that he regularly (4 or 5 times a year) travels to New York in order to see what is happening there. Indeed, 6 events out of 16 present American (nationality and residence) artists, the number being the same for French artists. Later, the booker explicitly states that the club is centered on American artists, and then European and French artists. When asked why musicians from other places aren't often on the bill, he explains that it is expensive to pay for travel costs, although this apparently is not a problem for artists from the United States. He also evokes the many African artists living in Paris, but situates them mostly in 'other styles than jazz' (world music), although other jazz clubs program many artists from African countries. Later in the interview, the booker concedes, 'we try to have the best of jazz, so the most prestigious jazz artists.'[9] What the Duc des Lombards means by "the best", and "most prestigious" is clear in the texts on its website, where the artists' number of collaborations and albums, prizes, or names of important jazzmen (no women are cited) with which they have played, are almost the only elements used to describe the concerts. Generally, no specific description of the music in itself is made:

> 'Watch out, *he is a cornerstone*! The bass player Christian McBride, whose name already appears *on more than 250 albums*, is or has been *Freddie Hubbard's, Herbie Hancock's or James Brown*'s right hand, *to name a few. Artistic co-director of the National Jazz Museum in Harlem*, talented composer, he is *central to today's jazz* and will provide an unmissable gig.'[10]

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[8] 'c'est tous types de jazz, du bon jazz, si on peut parler de type. J'ai pas de d'obsession particulière et je mets pas mes obsessions en avant dans la programmation du club […]. Le jazz est multiple, il est influencé par plein de trucs complètement différents, par plein de courants, qui font qu'il est très riche de nouveautés, de fraicheur, d'actualité.' Interview with booker, 23.05.2013. All following excerpts (interviews, press clippings) are translated and/or emphasized by author, unless notified otherwise.

[9] 'on essaie d'avoir le meilleur du jazz, donc les artistes les plus prestigieux du jazz,' interview with booker, 23.05.2013.

[10] 'Attention, monument ! Le contrebassiste Christian McBride, dont le nom apparaît déjà sur plus de 250 albums, est ou a été l'homme de confiance de Freddie Hubbard, Herbie Hancock ou James Brown, pour ne citer qu'eux. Co-directeur artistique du musée national du jazz à Harlem, compositeur de talent, c'est un pilier du jazz

The Duc des Lombards also presents relatively less women that its other modern jazz counterparts (a little less than a third of all concerts), and the way they are characterized shows that they are much less often portrayed as central, the words "cornerstone", "significant", "big names", "legend", "exceptional", "key musician" being relatively absent. Their description generally emphasizes the prizes that they have received rather than the fact that they are prone to becoming legends of jazz. Here, race does not appear to be a line along which artistic talent, type of music or prestige, are measured. However, the description of a black artist whose family is originally from Guadeloupe (but seems to have been born in Paris), indicates how national geography and social hierarchies reconfigure and utilize racial terms although these rarely appear when referring to Afro-American artists:

> 'Bearing the Caribbean cultural heritage, the bass player Thierry Fanfant gives out smiles and happiness at each note… The sound of his bass unveils sensuality and originality that few know how to orchestrate so well. He will play with pianist David Fackeure to perform the repertoire of their album 'Frères' [Brothers]. A gig colored by jazz and soul!'[11]

Rather than displaying the usual elements situating the artist within the history of jazz and the international jazz scene, it uses racial stereotypes associated to the Caribbean (smiling and happiness, sensuality, color) to describe the music, explicitly stating the artists' geographic origin within France (this is rarely done for those from the mainland).

Prestige and the claim to a universal definition of jazz ('the best of jazz'), are here constructed in relation to French and American male artists. Those showcased at the Baiser salé or at the Café Universel are quite different. The fact that both of these clubs are less well known than the Duc des Lombards underlines that relations of power between social groups (along national, gendered and racial divides) also function as structuring forces within the Parisian jazz scene. Indeed, the Baiser salé is presented as: 'the club reserved for the nighttime, precisely, with a fondness for the African one that glows until dawn,'[12] and it is said of the Café Universel that

> 'The most important there is not the potential headline act, even though sooner or later the long-serving artists of the Café will in turn illuminate the most well known clubs. […] The only certitude is that female singers are at home at the 267 rue Saint-Jacques, a little too much according to some.'[13]

Indeed, French artists play 20 out of the 29 concerts at the Baiser salé, and 6 events present nationals of African countries (among these, one only does not live in France). At the Café Universel, which showcases more French artists, women take part in 12 out of 16 concerts, this being the highest ratio out of all the Parisian jazz clubs.

As I said before, both clubs are less well known and rely on local interconnections for their program. The Café Universel does not describe the musical acts on its website, giving the impression that its audiences gather regulars or people who trust the club's program. The Baiser salé's website dramatizes the value attributed to sharing, to "generosity", dialog and

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d'aujourd'hui qui s'installe pour une soirée immanquable.' See http://www.ducdeslombards.com/scripts/concert.php?id_prog=4413.

[11] 'Il porte en lui l'héritage culturel antillais, le contrebassiste Thierry Fanfant distribue sourire et bonheur à chaque note... Le son de sa basse dévoile une sensualité et une originalité que peu savent orchestrer. Il s'installe sur notre scène aux côtés du pianiste David Fackeure pour interpréter le répertoire de leur album « Frères ». Une soirée aux couleurs du jazz et de la soul !' See http://www.ducdeslombards.com/scripts/concert.php?id_prog=5651.

[12] 'le club dévolu à la nuit, précisément, avec une préférence pour l'africaine qui rougeoie jusqu'à l'aube', see http://www.telerama.fr/musique/rue-des-lombards-la-swing-street-parisienne,103111.php.

[13] 'L'essentiel n'est pas dans présence d'éventuelles têtes d'affiches même si tôt au tard les fidèles artistes du Café brilleront ailleurs dans les clubs en vue. […] Seule certitude, les chanteuses sont chez elles au 267 rue St-Jacques, un peu trop au goût de certains', see http://www.culturejazz.fr/spip.php?article391.

"encounters". The mixing of different cultures is regularly emphasized in this club that celebrates the mix between jazz, latino and Caribbean music, many of the French artists booked there coming from outside the mainland. Rather than naming cornerstones of the jazz world, the concert descriptions generally underline the musicians' and singers' personality, increasing the impression of proximity and interpersonal exchange between audiences and artists enabled by the club.

So although the Duc des Lombards, the Baiser salé and the Café Universel all present modern jazz, the critical acclaim and their international renown of the artists showcased differs, as well as their characteristics (men, women, nationality, country of residence). The hierarchies between venues are symbolic, but equally transform to economic value. The differences in prices between the Duc des Lombards, more expensive than the Baiser salé and the Café Universel (one of the cheapest), can be attributed firstly to their unequal recognition. However, looking at the entrance fees in festivals and clubs according to gender and nationality reveals that these hierarchies are transversal to the Parisian jazz scene: the most valued artists remain male and American. Indeed, apart from French musicians, whose numbers are higher than other nationalities, Americans are the nationality most often booked in more expensive events (see table 6), and artists from Europe are the most often showcased in the less expensive events. These differences remain coherent when examining places of residence or when excluding events in festivals.

Table 6. Entrance fees and artists' nationalities in the Paris jazz scene

	<15€	15-25€	>25€	Total
France	22,4%	22,4%	11,5%	56,4%
USA	3,3%	4,2%	5,5%	13,0%
Europe	7,3%	5,5%	1,8%	14,5%
Other Areas	4,2%	3,6%	1,2%	9,1%
Africa	2,1%	4,2%	0,6%	7,0%
Total	39,4%	40,0%	20,6%	100,0%

Although travel costs may account for the differences in ticket prices between European and American artists, they do not explain why African artists are the least represented musicians in the most expensive category. This suggests, as does the fact that events with male artists are more expensive than those with women (see table 7), that hierarchies in the Parisian jazz scene are informed by larger economic, and social power relations and are affected by cultural cores and peripheries organizing the global jazz world, as seen from a French-centered and Parisian point of view. As Olivier Roueff notes about the reception of jazz in France, 'the peripheral (French) market of jazz is constituted through its union with the 'purist' pole of the central market (United States)'[14] (2013: 27). This organization thus seems to endure.

Table 7. Entrance fees and women's presence in the concerts in the Parisian jazz field

	<15€	15-25€	>25€	Total
Only men	39,4%	37,4%	23,2%	100,0%
Women only or women and men	39,4%	44,1%	16,5%	100,0%

[14] 'le marché périphérique (français) du jazz est constitué par une alliance avec le pôle 'puriste' du marché central (états-unien).'

Total	39,4%	40,0%	20,6%	100,0%

The following section will offer more insight into how discourses in jazz programs construct value according to the artists' perceived geographic "origin". These discourses suggest Paris' intermediary position, as an ex-colonial capital, in international jazz circulations within which the United States remain dominant. Although the definition of musical genres has long been subject to debate, this last part of the article underlines that jazz in France has evolved alongside different musical genres. First appropriated as an extension of cake-walk, it spreads today from avant-garde jazz, which flirts with rock, *chanson*, electronic music, to other styles closer to what is termed 'world music.' Perhaps the unequal cultural legitimacy bestowed upon the different types of jazz must also be analyzed within this musical map and its corresponding geographies and audiences.

Representing and making sense of circulations within a local context: The case of two jazz festivals

My argument here contends to how geographic labels, addressed through nationality, are central to the understanding and the social construction of music's value in a situated context. The globalization of cultural flows has not undermined the capacity of national categories to organize and orientate cultural representations. However, these must also be analyzed within gendered and racial systems of value that participate in authenticating musical production.

I will first discuss how gendered and racialized discourses continue to inform appreciation of jazz music, and then analyze how the representations of artists rest on international hierarchies, reinterpreted within the context of Parisian jazz. Given their central role in the circulation of foreign artists in the Parisian jazz field, I will focus here more specifically on two of the four festivals, Jazz à la Villette and Banlieues Bleues. The historic prevalence of American artists appears here in the first festival, and their presence serves to keep the 'world music' category at a distance. Indeed, jazz and 'world music' are increasingly mingled in the Parisian music scene. Out of the 76 venues programming jazz (regularly or occasionally) in the capital, 44 also showcase 'world music' artists. On the contrary to Jazz à la Villette, the second festival that I examine shows how national 'diversity' is dramatized as a way of defining jazz positively as a crossroads of musical genres and openness.

Jazz à la Villette and Banlieues Bleues program few events with French artists (3 out of 18 for the former, and 6 out of 35 for the latter) and only one quarter of the events showcase artists living in France. However, almost half of Jazz à la Villette's concerts are played by American artists, whereas Banlieues Bleues is more diverse in terms of nationalities, with artists coming from Europe, Africa, the USA, Southern and Central America, and elsewhere. The former also displays entrance fees that are higher than the latter.

Banlieues Bleues was created in 1984, first as a common project between 10 cities in Seine-Saint-Denis. Today, the festival lasts one month, with many educational events (called "musical actions") where the artists work together with groups of local residents. It has a strong critical acclaim and also hosts the Europe Jazz Network in its premises, elaborating international networks with other festivals, clubs, and artists. The 2015 editorial emphasizes the role that music plays in one's openness to the world:

> 'this 32nd festival plays on the terrain of artistic bubbling and renewal: jazz in all its – new – states, afro-blues, soul and techno revisited, remixed chords, gamelan post-rock, samba, rap,

> roots, reggae… Through concerts and actions, it cultivates musical curiosity, opening to sounds, to others, to the world.'[15]

Many descriptions of the program in the media dramatize the link between the festival and the specific territory in which it takes place, often referred to as the *banlieue* 'suburb' (Tissot 2005). Social representations in France often picture these cities as dangerous, and mainly populated by young people whose families have emigrated from countries in Africa that were previously European colonies. The proportion of people having emigrated is important amongst people living in Seine-Saint-Denis, more than in other departments around Paris, and levels of income are quite low while unemployment is relatively high. However, these territories are perceived in a negative and fearful way that is largely informed by discourses in the media and the political arena. The fact that the festival insists on the artists' diversity in terms of nationalities and geographic origins in its communication can thus be read as a way of undoing the stigma often attached to these cities. It serves to emphasize the territory's richness, as children of different national and cultural backgrounds are raised in the same neighborhoods, in a similar way to the mix of artists showcased by the festival. On its website, presentations include the nationalities of each artist, underlining how this mingling fosters artistic excellence and beauty. Other festivals, such as Jazz à la Défense, categorize events according to genre (pop, world music, jazz etc.). Jazz at Banlieues Bleues can thus be apprehended through the lens of national "diversity", which is then retranslated into the different styles that are on show, ranging from modern to avant-garde jazz and lesser-known artists.

On the other hand, Jazz à la Villette's motto in 2013 is 'Jazz is not dead, it just smells funny!' Created in 1989, but having since changed artistic direction, the festival is situated in the Northeast of the capital in the Parc de la Villette. This park is typical of cultural initiatives representing the shift in French cultural policies in the mid-1980s, from supporting highbrow art to financing popular or less legitimate art forms. Its program is centered on modern to intermediately avant-garde jazz.

The social representations that are conveyed by the descriptions of the artists in both of these festivals show that gendered and racialized partitions are constructed within discourses about geographic and national origin. The trope where jazz is perceived through the androcentric eroticization of ethnic and racial assignments, as well as being associated to the perceived modernity of the United States' civilization (Roueff 2013), seems to endure. These are sometimes perceptible in the festivals' communication, but often mentioned indirectly. Indeed, if race is increasingly dealt with in France (Fassin and Fassin 2006), it remains a subject of controversy because of the country's history, as debate around ethnical statistics has shown (Fordant 2014). Although it can be the case that clubs in the traditional pole sometimes explicitly state that an artist who will perform in their venue is 'black', this choice of language is often perceived negatively. However, Jazz à la Villette's 2013 program illustrates that it is possible to introduce racial "clues" for the reader to identify artists, suggesting the continuing power of race as a category used to describe and authenticate music. The singer Kellylee Evans for example, is presented as 'a Canadian singer of Jamaican origin', although she is not generally portrayed as such in reviews, or in her own biography on her website. Other white artists are rarely, if ever, presented as being of another national "origin", and this specification about Evans seems to enable her artistic legitimation by assimilating her to historical black women singers.

[15] 'ce 32ème festival se joue sur le terrain de l'effervescence et du renouveau artistiques : jazz dans tous ses -nouveaux- états, afro-blues, soul et techno revisités, cordes remixées, gamelan post-rock, samba, rap, roots, reggae… En concerts et en actions, il cultive la curiosité musicale, l'ouverture aux sons, aux autres, au monde.' Editorial by Xavier Lemettre, see http://www.banlieuesbleues.org/21_festival_edito.php.

In both festivals, it also seems that racialized language is more regularly hinted at in the descriptions for women solo artists. Important "diva" figures are often cited as models against which black women are measured and who inform how they are perceived: 'The one whose nickname in Swahili translates to 'Free as a bird' can easily picture herself in Nina Simone's life: an artist who will have struggled against prejudice to impose a voice, her own, singularly multiple.'[16] These women singers thus often end up portrayed through canonical, but also stereotypical, images: 'Two years after the departure of the barefooted Diva [Cesaria Evora], Cape Verde has found a new and promising ambassador.'[17] White singers do not seem to be regularly gauged according to a mythical standard, having relatively more space to exist through their own work. Colonial and gendered imagery continue to inform these representations, as in 'the *silky* Afro-European Marie Daulne,'[18] Laura Mvula 'making her singular soul music sound even more feline,'[19] or 'Her pared down music, transported by a set of traditional Wassoulou instruments, sometimes *authorizes itself the Western curves* [the word, *cambrures*, in French has an explicitly physical connotation, denoting the lower back] of folk or even soul.'[20] It also could be said that in both festivals, and more so in Jazz à la Villette, when black men are the forefront stars of a concert (and not mixed in a band with other white artists), they are more often presented as mythical and extremely well known figures of the music scene, "pioneers", and more rarely up-and-coming artists. Soweto Kinch is an exception with his show 'The Legend of Mike Smith,' narrating the difficulties of a young artist facing the musical industry. This British artist is questioningly framed as a *griot urbain de la banlieue de Birmingham*, 'urban griot from the Birmingham suburbs,' although the concert is presented as giving *une bonne baigne [sic] aux clichés*, 'a good punch to clichés.'[21] These elements create an image quite similar to those stereotypically attributed to the young racialized (French or not) men living in the suburbs, whose voice is framed first and foremost through the struggle to find their place and identity in the French society, rather than via an artistic lens. The presentation of the artist Har Mar Superstar as physically non-conforming to what is expected of male jazz performers summarizes the racial and gendered norms of authentic jazz: 'Obviously, when watching this potbellied white baby with his unlikely physique, quite bushy albeit the baldness on top of his head, our first impression is not of a soulman or of a furious funkster.'[22]

This gendered and racialized appreciation of music is also weaved into discourses about the artists' (perceived) countries of origin, according to the situation that these occupy in the international order, divided into the global North, or 'West', where the United States are dominant, and the countries from the global South, in which African countries appear symbolically significant. The proximity between jazz and 'world music' in the Parisian scene

[16] 'Celle dont le surnom en swahili se traduit par 'Libre comme l'oiseau' peut aisément se retrouver dans la vie de Nina Simone : une artiste qui aura lutté contre les préjugés pour imposer une voix, la sienne, singulièrement multiple.' See http://www.banlieuesbleues.org/1_agenda_2.php?offset=1480&BB_SSID=83dea50d87f5bc2437b966710e5acfdb.

[17] 'Deux ans après la disparation de la Diva aux pieds nus, le Cap-Vert a trouvé une nouvelle ambassadrice prometteuse.' See http://www.banlieuesbleues.org/24_resultats.php?annee=2014&offset=10.

[18] 'la soyeuse afro-européenne Marie Daulne'. See http://www.banlieuesbleues.org/soiree.php?d=10808.

[19] 'rend encore plus féline sa soul si singulière'. See http://www.jazzalavillette.com/editions-precedentes/2014/evenement/14570.

[20] 'Sa musique épurée, portée par un instrumentarium traditionnel wassoulou, s'autorise parfois les cambrures occidentales du folk voire de la soul.' See http://www.citedelamusique.fr/francais/evenement.aspx?id=13866.

[21] See http://www.banlieuesbleues.org/24_resultats.php?annee=2013.

[22] 'Évidemment, en regardant ce ventripotent bébé blanc au physique improbable, assez chevelu malgré une calvitie au sommet du crâne, on n'imagine guère tenir là un soulman et un funkster furibards'. See http://www.jazzalavillette.com/editions-precedentes/2014/evenement/14567.

may reinforce these associations. The terms used by the booker of an important 'world music' venue in Germany, who has lived there for the most part of his life but was born in North Africa, may shed light on this aspect. When questioned on the way he organizes concerts, he explains:

> 'I think that the work we do in Germany is more sincere than in France. Because in France, it sometimes gives the impression that it's an engagement towards the ex-colonies, meaning that it's the perpetuation of cultural colonization. […] Before [laughs], I admit we also used to program things geographically. Like the Allies who took a map and distributed Africa between themselves with the Potsdam Agreement, we took the map and said 'we are going to take the Middle East, and the East, West, Asia', I don't know. Perhaps at that time it was necessary politically, but culturally it was nonsense. Now we are far from that, fortunately we make thematic programs.'[23]

He underlines here that the preference for a geographic rather than thematic organization of programs reveals the perpetuation of a colonial gaze. In the same way, the relationship entertained by the French 'world music' scene with scenes in other countries seems to him neocolonial. Although the territorializing of music in these festivals seems an attempt at portraying national diversity in a positive fashion within the tense French political context, the prevalence of American jazz seems to maintain an higher value for 'jazz' as opposed to 'world' jazz. The way international circulations of jazz artists are portrayed in these two festivals illustrates this idea: one derives legitimacy and economic value from the United States, whereas the other more generally represents jazz as a modernizing force for artists from 'traditional' backgrounds.

Jazz à la Villette's program is constructed within an American and strongly androcentric trope. The vocabulary used refers to a masculine frame, where anger [furibard], energy, strength, and power appear central to jazz's positive appreciation. The events with artists coming from the South, especially the African continent, are almost always legitimated through their connection to the United States, certainly as a way of repelling the 'world music' category. One of the two events with musicians from African countries in 2013 is paired with artists from the United States. The second is centered on Mali, Vieux Farka Touré being described as having found his own vision of the encounter between American blues and music from West Africa. He is also said to make Malian music live with its time, 'far from third-world clichés that could inadvertently confine it.'[24] Here the allusion to 'third world clichés' seems to allow a distancing from the exoticism perceived in world music. The reference to American music positions the artist within its modernity, apparently in need to be reaffirmed through this geographical anchoring of the music.

To understand which artists the booker chooses and why, it is useful to reflect on his own vision of the music and his working practices. Indeed, the festival's program is built mainly through contacts with agencies and bookers who organize the artists' international tours in Europe and in France. This selects specific artists, because to have an agent, they must evolve in a professionalized and international scene. When asked about how he finds artists coming

[23] 'je pense que le travail de l'Allemagne est plus sincère que celui de la France. Parce que la France on a parfois l'impression que c'est un engagement envers les anciennes colonies, c'est-à-dire que c'est la continuation de la colonisation culturelle […] Avant, [rires] on a programmé aussi, j'avoue, géographiquement. C'est-à-dire comme les Alliés qui ont pris la carte et puis ils ont commencé à, par l'accord de Potsdam, ont commencé à partager l'Afrique, on a pris la carte, et on a commence à dire 'on va prendre le Moyen-Orient, on va prendre Est, Ouest, Asie', je sais pas moi. C'était il y a un certain temps peut-être à l'échelle politique une nécessité, mais à l'échelle culturelle c'était n'importe quoi. Mais maintenant on est loin de ça, on programme thématiquement, heureusement.' Interview with booker in Berlin, 26.06.2015.

[24] 'loin des clichés tiers-mondistes qui pourraient malencontreusement la figer.' See http://www.citedelamusique.fr/francais/evenement.aspx?id=13866.

from places outside of France or the United States, the booker explains that some of them follow the same circuits as American artists (touring agencies), and then immediately opposes this to what he terms "ethnomusicology", a vision close to the "fetishization of marginality" in world music, revealing 'an essentialist identification of cultural practices in developing countries with otherness itself' (Connell and Gibson 2004). He also quickly categorizes these artists from African countries as 'world music' rather than 'jazz' artists:

> 'That great Senegalese artist, Youssou N'Dour, he is a big star, so he tours in a very structured way, with agents. If we look for, *if we get more into ethnomusicology*, looking for formats… Sometimes it happens that we look for artistic formats with artists, *but who don't even realize that they are artists, because they have never left their village, and music [is] a tradition in their village*. We have someone here who is specialized in *all of these world music styles* and *he spends his time travelling, meeting people*, in plenty of different places, and he offers that they come *present their culture, because we aren't necessarily even talking about a concert format here, because some have no idea what a stage is*.'[25]

The artists in the 2013 edition of the festival can hardly be thought of as having no idea what a concert or a stage is. For this booker, the audiences are offered the spectacle of a musical otherness created through the geographic and social displacement of unaware 'traditional' musicians. However, the opposition that he draws between 'ethnomusicology' and international stars shows that there is little space in his program for artists situated in between these two extremes, since he seems unfamiliar of booking networks within which they circulate, on the contrary to European artists, who are not all headline acts.

The description of the different artists booked at Banlieues Bleues differs considerably. As said before, the artists' diversity in terms of nationalities, but also musical esthetics, is more significant than in Jazz à la Villette. Collaborations between artists from different countries are showcased at the festival. They are often framed as mixing different musical genres, which are generally attributed to the artists' countries of origin. The porosity between musical genre and geographical identity is suggested as an obvious phenomenon, larger categories such as the "West" and the "Orient" sometimes being used to refer to the mixing of different musical styles. Interzone Extended is a project created by a well-known Syrian oud player and a French guitarist in an important French rock band. Its music is described as the meeting between their two "cultures": 'Abolished knickknack of sound frontiers, 'Interzone Extended' blasts the last barriers between the Western and the Oriental worlds. Oriental blues, mystical post-rock, stateless trance: a unique and dream-like road-trip across continents.'[26] Even though the group is said to demolish the barriers between these different cultures, it could be argued that musical categories are used in a way that essentializes notions of culture and civilization. Taylor describes the demand for authentic and 'natural' cultural forms in world music as leading to 'strategic inauthenticity' (1997: 126), meaning that musicians from the global South are made to conform to Western representations of 'their' music as pre-modern,

[25] 'Cet artiste sénégalais formidable, Youssou N'Dour, c'est une très grande star, donc lui il tourne de manière très structurée, avec des agents. Si on va chercher, si on rentre plus dans l'ethnomusicologie, qu'on va chercher des formes… Il nous arrive parfois d'aller chercher des formes artistiques avec des artistes mais qui n'ont même pas conscience d'être des artistes parce qu'ils sont jamais sortis de leur village, et la musique [c'est] une tradition dans leur village. On a un conseiller artistique qui est spécialisé sur toutes ces musiques du monde et qui passe son temps lui à voyager, à rencontrer les gens, dans plein d'endroits du monde, et à leur proposer de venir présenter leur culture, puisque là on ne parle même plus d'une forme forcément de concert, parce que certains n'ont même pas la notion de ce qu'est une scène'. Interview with the booker in Paris, 02.06.2013.

[26] 'Aboli bibelot de frontières sonores, 'Interzone Extended' achève de faire éclater les barrières entre Orient et Occident. Blues oriental, post-rock mystique, transe apatride: un road-trip unique et onirique par-delà les continents.' See http://www.banlieuesbleues.org/24_resultats.php?annee=2013&BB_SSID=de8ae59107bfbfc857d5a82c4db325fa.

although this does not always correspond to their artistic choices. Even when mixing different musical patterns, these may remain assigned to fixed national identities.

The reference to 'Western' and 'Oriental' worlds may also serve to model cultural values and hierarchies. Much in the same way that sociological understandings of modernity were consistently considered within a Eurocentric frame (Bhambra 2011), discourses about modernity and tradition in the Parisian jazz scene thrive on a Western referential. Indeed, musical genres seen as originating from the West (rock, electronic music etc.) are often portrayed as renewing the codes, but also universalizing the more 'traditional' genres and instruments specific to Southern countries' music: 'Oud player and singer, Kamilya Jubran was the main voice of Sabreen, a leading Palestinian group, *before she moved to Europe where she was able to express herself within unheard grounds, filtering her sound through electronic surroundings.*'[27] On the contrary, jazz artists from Western countries are rarely thought of as being modernized by Southern cultural forms. They are more often presented in active terms as pursuing a rupture with artistic codes, in this way complying with the rules of novelty and avant-garde that organize Western artistic fields (Bourdieu 1996). The 'renewal' of codes (as opposed to helping the music 'evolve') is generally suggested when these Western artists specialize in more 'popular' or 'traditional' genres (flamenco, rebetiko etc.). Indeed, this categorization functions much in the same way as the artists' classification under the 'world music' label, which 'depend[s] 'on the social, political and demographic position of certain minority groups in a particular country' (Connell and Gibson 2004).

Conclusion

The Europe Jazz Network's discourse cited in the introduction emphasized the transnational dimension of jazz and its role as an antidote to xenophobia. However, this political vision of jazz leaves aside all of the operations that translate artists' international circulations into value and charge them with symbolic meaning within a local scene. As I hope to have shown, jazz circulations in Paris remain structured by relationships of power on political, economic and symbolic levels. Paris offers an interesting scene within which to analyze these jazz circulations, because discourses about artists reveal long-term social issues that shape French society. Firstly, the permanence of the United States' historical domination can be underlined, American artists generally appearing in venues and festivals that are less avant-garde and have high entrance fees. Many European artists now circulate within venues related to this avant-garde, which has loosened barriers between musical genres. Banlieues Bleues represents such a space, where free jazz meets other styles, such as artists generally labeled 'world music.' The festival insists upon the artists' (national) 'diversity' that is assimilated to the multiple jazz styles showcased in its events and the homology with the social and national diversity of Seine-Saint-Denis' residents.

This draws me back to the ambivalent place that the French capital occupies in its relationship with and perception of countries from the global South, and more specifically its former colonies. This question is indeed replayed within the jazz scene, through the unequal economic and symbolic value attributed to artists, and to the venues that showcase them. These hierarchies also permeate the way some of the bookers view the international jazz scene. And although mostly presented in a positive fashion, the musical encounters between artists from the global South and North are often described by using the divide between tradition and modernity. In the venues that are dominant in economic terms, and centered on

[27] 'Oudiste et chanteuse, Kamilya Jubran fut la voix principale de Sabreen, tutélaire formation palestinienne, avant de s'installer en Europe où elle trouvera la possibilité de s'exprimer sur un terrain inédit, filtrant sa sonorité aux environnements électroniques', see http://www.banlieuesbleues.org/soiree.php?d=10813.

well-known American artists, public communication about artists does not dramatize 'diversity' and accentuates the distinction with the 'world music' category.

Classic representations about gender, race and authenticity in jazz interact with these divides. Jazz was first received in France as the expression of a minority group within the United States, the Afro-Americans, and its authenticity was strongly linked to racial partitions. The symbolic reference to 'Africa' underlies this authentication. However, this research points to the hypothesis that according to the artists' nationality, race is not coded in the same way or invested with the same currency. Discourses asserting the artists' authenticity, anchored in their perceived race, gender or geographic origin, only make sense within a situated social, political, historical, and local context. Multiplying empirical investigations in many different locales is thus central to academic understanding of what is at stake in the global circulation of artists. Indeed, the local appropriations of these musical circulations reveal the configurations of power relations within a society and beyond. This may well shed light on the way cultural flows are organized, in a world often presented as fluid, but where artists are not equally sought out or free to move across boarders. However, resisting these hierarchies and changing the ways in which different artists are represented is perhaps the key to opening fairer horizons.

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