

Between Street Party and Protest: Work Songs and the Politics of Cultural Diversity in Marseille

ALEYSIA K. WHITMORE

Abstract: This article shows how cultural intermediaries negotiate politics and policy in a publicly funded community music project with recently arrived young migrants in the French port city of Marseille. It analyzes how project leaders use African American work songs to critique (and at times reinforce) the politics and policies they depend on for funding. They work gingerly within a complex political ecosystem to illuminate the value marginalized cultures and the impact anti-immigrant politics and gentrification have on project participants. In so doing, however, they become complicit in the colourblind politics that erase these people's experiences.

Résumé: Cet article montre comment les intermédiaires culturels négocient la politique et les pratiques publiques dans un projet musical à financement communautaire auprès de jeunes migrants récemment arrivés dans la cité portuaire de Marseille. Il analyse la façon dont les directeurs du projet utilisent des chansons de travail afro-américaines pour critiquer (et parfois renforcer) la politique et les pratiques publiques dont dépend leur financement. Ils travaillent prudemment au sein d'un écosystème politique complexe pour mettre en valeur les cultures marginalisées et l'impact que les politiques anti-immigration et la gentrification ont sur les participants au projet. Ce faisant, cependant, ils se font les complices d'une politique qui ne tient pas compte de la couleur de peau et qui efface le vécu de ces gens.

Marseille, France, June 2019. “This is a hammer / It killed much partner / It won't kill me buddy / It won't kill me,” sang the group of thirty amateur choir members—including locals and recently arrived migrant teens from Syria, Turkey, Nigeria, and elsewhere. We were rehearsing a slow cappella version of the African American classic “John Henry” in preparation for a

street performance—dubbed a “citizen’s party”—in Marseille in the coming month (Fig. 1). Singers stomped to the music together while concentrating on learning the English lyrics phonetically. This was the hardest part of the song; few spoke any English. As they gained confidence with the song, music director Alexandra Satger encouraged participants to experiment with the music and choreography. Singers sped up the tempo and added some breakdance moves.

EN JUIN, VIBREZ AVEC LE CHŒUR DES WORK SONGS !



Fig. 1. Screenshot from the 2019 Work Songs Choir project webpage. The title reads, “In June, Vibrate with the Work Songs Choir” (<https://festival-aix.com/fr/blog/actualite/en-juin-vibrez-avec-le-choeur-des-work-songs/>).

This community arts project with young migrants and local amateur singers, entitled “Choeur Work Songs” (translated as “Work Songs Choir,” henceforth WSC), was created by the outreach arm of the Festival d’Aix, a local (yet internationally renowned) opera festival, in collaboration with Satger and a few other members of Rara Woulib, a music and theatre group. The project involved several half-day workshops that culminated in a street music performance of African American work songs and spirituals in the centre of Marseille, a major Mediterranean port city in southeastern France. Satger explained to me in an interview that she chose African American folk songs for this project mainly because (1) their relatively simple melodies and structures make the music accessible and malleable, allowing amateur singers to experiment and insert their own music and movement into performances, and (2) the songs’ foreign origins distance the project from local politics.

Politics are key to Satger's repertoire choices because, like many community arts projects in France, WSC depends on funding from politically diverse local and national governments, and hence politicians' goodwill. WSC cannot afford to alienate politicians by wading into contentious political issues, such as migration, xenophobia, racism, homelessness, that affect its young migrant participants, particularly in the context of the contemporary Mediterranean migrant crisis. Thus, Satger told me that she does not engage with the histories of oppression and social justice embedded in these songs, despite the parallels one might draw to migrants' contemporary experiences in Marseille. Instead, she uses songs to insulate the project from, and navigate around, the politics of migration and cultural diversity in southeastern France.

That said, Satger and her collaborators envision a collaborative model of music outreach in which participants' voices and experiences are central to their project. They cannot ignore the politics of migration, xenophobia, racism, or homelessness that directly impact these young people. WSC's project directors use African American songs to create an apolitical and malleable facade beneath which they work to amplify and empower marginalized voices. Building this facade, however, also reinforces the very structures that erase migrant voices and experiences. WSC project directors are thus complicit in the very system that they critique.

In this article, I do not analyze the impact this project has on participants (a laudable goal for another piece), nor do I seek to make an argument about whether this project is worth continuing or not. Instead, I elucidate the work of cultural intermediaries to better understand the realities stakeholders negotiate, the possibilities for which they carve out space, and the larger structural problems they illuminate. I show how arts administrators work imperfectly within a cultural policy system that, while originally created to foster the Enlightenment values upon which the French Republic was founded, illuminates the hypocrisy that has plagued French universalist claims of equality, liberty, and human rights for hundreds of years. By showing how individuals negotiate cultural policy structures, I hope to elucidate the need for larger systemic change.

Methods

This article emerged from a year-long period of ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in Provence in 2018 and 2019, as well as shorter trips in 2013 and 2017. In that time, I engaged with artists, audiences, students, civil servants, and arts administrators by participating in and observing workshops, concerts, and meetings. I also conducted 98 formal interviews with stakeholders outside

of and within municipal, regional, and national government offices. Though I examine one outreach project here, this article is part of a larger research project that examines how cultural policies shape and are shaped by diverse music cultures in Provence. I speak French fluently and have translated all quotes from the original French into English myself. All interviews were conducted with the author. Because of the precarious position of the youth participants in the WSC, I was asked not to take pictures in the workshops or interview the youth participants.

As an American- and Canadian-educated ethnomusicologist who has lived in France at various points in my life, I came to this project with a good understanding of the French context. I approach the study of race and multiculturalism, however, through the lens of my North American social sciences training. Such approaches have been widely (though not universally) condemned in the French popular press and government for fostering racism and community division. Thus, my interlocutors often sought to explain the differences between French and North American understandings of race, racism, and cultural identity. They themselves often brought up topics such as race, multiculturalism, discrimination, and identity politics. These would not have been such important topics of conversation had I been perceived as a cultural insider with a common understanding of these issues.

Because I held an ambiguous position as an American researcher, project directors would often move fluidly between speaking to me as if they were promoting their project to a general public, advocating for funding from politicians, or engaging with a sympathetic colleague. This fluidity is audible in the data I share here. When I would ask interlocutors whether I could share the unofficial or critical ideas they were discussing, they would often tell me that what they were explaining was already widely understood in their circles, but not publicly acknowledged. I have not included in this study information that was shared in confidence, of course. However, arts administrators were often candid. Their openness might speak to the fact that the public-facing facade I describe here is widely understood to be a facade, or that administrators would like to see the facade and the contradictions within it laid bare (perhaps as part of their own critical project).

Cultural Intermediaries

This article focuses on how arts administrators construct a participatory arts project, and, in turn, shape production and value. Centring cultural intermediaries' perspectives illuminates how decisions are made within

institutions; how the people in these organizations consider their work and its impact; and how they juggle politics. Organizations and governments are run by individuals who have their own opinions and understandings of the world. They mediate peoples, politics, and structures; they negotiate, create, and foster ideas about cultural value and public good. Understanding cultural intermediaries' work offers, as Jennifer Smith Maguire and Julian Matthews have noted, "a window into the contested construction of cultural legitimacy" (Maguire and Matthews 2012: 552). Examining how people create and run projects is essential for understanding how systems work, and how they might change.

WSC directors shape ideas about cultural value and public benefit by framing the choral project differently to distinct audiences: politicians/funders, participants, and the wider public. Unlike many cultural intermediaries working at the intersection of producers and consumers (e.g., Negus 2002; Maguire and Matthews 2012), however, WSC directors are working in a participatory context. Project participants are producers and consumers, as are their audiences. And funders — often politicians — are consumers seeking visibility by funnelling public money to public arts projects. WSC's directors are thus working within a complex web of articulations (Fig. 2). They continuously foster production and frame consumption with different peoples and goals in mind. After all, politicians, project participants, audiences, and intermediaries have different ideas about a given project's value — ideas shaped by their varied life experiences, the challenges they hope to address, and national and local political discourses. WSC's directors are intermediaries with unique insights into each stakeholder. They use their position to frame the project and its value in ways that appeal to stakeholders' experiences and concerns—that allow politicians, participants, and audiences to identify and connect with the project according to their own positions.

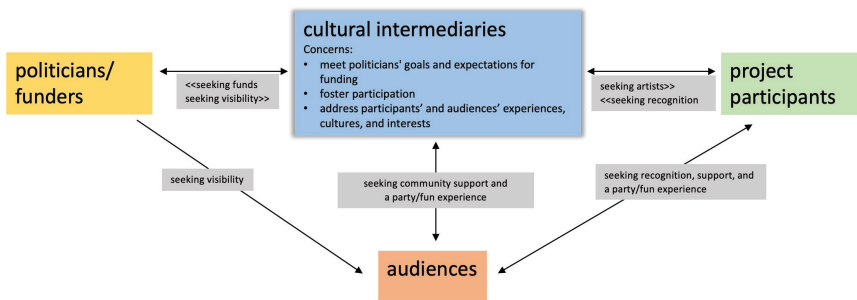


Fig. 2. A web of articulations.

To define a project's value in this participatory context, cultural intermediaries negotiate multiple relationships at once, forming cultural value through the relationships they build between stakeholders and ideas. These relationships are dynamic. As cultural policy scholar Eleonora Belfiore has noted,

Cultural value ... is continually defined and redefined, contested and fought over, and therefore has a clear relational nature. A cultural activity or object that is valued by one group, and whose consumption offers that group a series of positive benefits or desirable wider socio-economic impacts might at the same time also be an instrument of symbolic violence on a different group. (2020: 12)

WSC's directors use the relational and unstable nature of cultural value to take both complicit and critical stances (that benefit and harm stakeholders). They frame the project's value in relationship to the political discourses and policy objectives embraced by their funders (and many voters), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, their own understandings of participants' lived experiences.

Project Background

WSC was put together by Passerelles, the outreach and educational arm of the summertime opera festival, the Festival International d'Art Lyrique in Aix-en-Provence. The festival, also known as the Festival d'Aix, draws about 75,000 people to operas, symphony concerts, and other events each July. Passerelles was originally created to connect with elderly, low-income, unemployed, rural, and other communities without easy access to opera, but has expanded its scope. Today, the organization has multiple projects around the region that work with various folk, popular, and classical musics. Passerelles' website promotes the organization as "Committed to making art and culture accessible to the many ... [We] aim to include a wide variety of audiences in the life of the Festival ... [fulfilling the festival's] desire to actively contribute to the region's cultural development" (Festival d'Aix 2019).

Passerelles' education and outreach directors, Marie-Laure Stephan and Frédérique Tessier, help organize and run WSC, while Satger directs the artistic side of the project with the help of Stage Director Wilda Philippe and a few other Rara Woulib members. WSC ran several workshops over the course of a few months that culminated in a street performance. Project participants included

about a dozen newly arrived migrant teens and young adults as well as about 30 French adults — middle-aged to retired — many of whom are enthusiastic amateur choir members and had worked with Satger's community choirs in the past. One retiree told me that she has been part of Passerelles' community choir projects for three years, singing different repertoire each year. Participants were recruited through a local non-profit working with young migrants (at the time of writing, there were many such organizations in the area helping to find housing and advocating for migrants, particularly unaccompanied minors).

At the workshops, Satger and Philippe led participants in corporeal and vocal warm-ups before teaching songs aurally, through call-and-response. In addition to learning the work songs, some of the migrant participants also taught the group Syrian songs, and participants created their own choreographies to accompany songs. While many stayed with a simple two-step movement, several incorporated breakdance and pop and lock movements into their interpretations. Individuals took turns performing solo dances while the rest of the group sang. Those who incorporated hip hop movements kept a slower tempo more consistent with African American work songs performance traditions while those who used a simple two-step movement sped up the tempo and developed a bouncier musical interpretation. Despite my considerable discomfort with how the faster, bouncier interpretations erased the songs' African American origins (and the experiences of the songs' composers), I was also impressed by participants' creativity, particularly with such new and foreign material.

The workshops culminated in an ambulatory performance in the streets of Marseille that Satger dubbed a *fête citoyenne* or citizens' party (interview, July 29, 2019). The group created a musical parade in which they sang and danced around the city centre, from one predetermined meeting point to the next, momentarily stopping traffic and urging people to join them as they moved. At each meeting point, local vendors waited to serve participants free hors d'oeuvres. Audiences followed the musicians and sang along for a few blocks, or for hours, dropping in and out (there was a hotline audiences could call to get real-time location updates). Songs included call-and-response work songs and spirituals, as well as some Syrian and French songs. Project participants took turns leading songs (with a megaphone), and audiences — an assortment of adults and children who chanced upon and intentionally came to the event — loudly participated in the call-and-response singing. With a loud mass of voices and bodies, we walked and danced through wealthy and under-resourced neighbourhoods. In between songs, musicians from Rara Woulib played New Orleans-style jazz, and the party lasted well into the night.

African American Musics in France

Satger told me that for this project she transcribed some recordings from John and Alan Lomax's collections from the 1930s and 1940s, including "John Henry," "No More, My Lord," and "I'm Troubled About My Soul." Though all the songs in WSC are identified as work songs, "No More, My Lord" and "I'm Troubled About My Soul" are sacred songs, and can also be identified as spirituals. The repertoire was not published on WSC's webpage nor on any promotional materials, and Satger's choice to identify all songs in the more secular work songs category was likely necessary to avoid possibly offending Muslim participants or pushing the bounds of *laïcité* (the French separation of church and state).

African American work songs are the songs of workers in fields, prisons, boats, and other spaces first sung by enslaved Africans and African-descended peoples in the Americas. They coordinated work and addressed the experiences and concerns of Black Americans, including living conditions, mistreatment, escape, and freedom. These songs expressed misery and humanity, and fostered solidarity (Harbert 2010; Southern 1997).

Spirituals were originally composed and sung by enslaved Africans in North America. They communicated messages of liberation and social change, fostered community solidarity, and were a salve for those experiencing chattel slavery (Southern 1997; Graham 2018). The spirituals' composers used the Christianity that many slave owners insisted they adopt to compose songs that provided comfort and commented upon slave owners' hypocrisy (as Christians who participated in chattel slavery). Since the end of slavery, the spirituals have been arranged for concert performances and adopted into social justice movements to comment upon injustice, bringing diverse constituencies together, and offering hope (Levine 2006: 587–98).

Work songs and spirituals often feature unison singing with some harmonization, a repetitive structure that allows for textual and melodic variation and improvisation, call-and-response, and, particularly for work songs, a strong rhythmic pulse (important for songs meant to accompany a task requiring timing). These elements often make these songs more accessible to amateur singers. French fans have adored, fetishized, exoticized, and transformed African American musics since the early 20th century (Jackson 2003; Wynn 2007; Moore 2021; Stovall 1996). The politics of race, discrimination, and oppression embedded in this music in the United States have not, however, followed the music across the Atlantic.

After the First World War, many French audiences embraced jazz, associating it with liberating soldiers and American freedom. During the

interwar period, France also positioned itself as a welcoming haven for Black Americans experiencing racial discrimination and violence in the United States. Many Black American performers flocked to France, touting their hosts' warmth. Yet, mirroring colonial discourses, French audiences also linked jazz with the exoticism and primitivism they had already assigned to African peoples. Jazz became both a symbol of primitivism and modernity (Jackson 2003; Dalton and Gates 1998; Schmeisser 2007). As French musicians developed their own jazz and incorporated the genre into conservatories in the 1970s and 1980s, however, jazz has become a universal music in the minds of many French—a music that speaks to all and that anyone can play regardless of their origins (Ake 2010; Lie 2021: 106–7). In addition to jazz and blues, other African American musics, such as gospel, have become popular in the late 20th and early 21st centuries (McKenzie 2014). Many have adopted these musics as universal musics French people can play and claim as their own.

France's relationship with Black American culture is widely celebrated in France. This historical relationship is far less fraught than the nation's relationships with francophone African cultures — which are imbued with postcolonial politics, immigration, and xenophobia. France's embrace of Black American performers after the First World War reinforces the nation's self-proclaimed identity as a race-free tolerant nation. As French journalist and filmmaker Rokhaya Diallo has explained, France's celebration of American dancer Josephine Baker, who moved to France in the 1920s and was the first woman of colour buried in the panthéon in 2021 (an honour reserved for national heroes), obscures a violent colonial past and the racism that persists today:

Baker's story is often used in France to push forward the myth of a republic that is supposedly more welcoming to Black people ... It was convenient to welcome those who did not have a historic argument to settle with France ... [Yet] [a]s Baker was dancing on Parisian stages, France was still exhibiting colonized populations in "human zoos." Baker made France look good. (Diallo 2021)

Social Scientists Trica Keaton et al. have agreed, noting that these expatriate American communities offered "a racially symbolic community seemingly tailor-made to buttress France's colorblind and race-free ideals, even at the height of French colonialism" (2012: 3). African American musics hold a special place in the French imagination. They allow French audiences to simultaneously dabble in exotic music *and* reference a romanticized past in which France played the part of an enlightened saviour that welcomed African American musicians

experiencing racism at home — all without evoking their own colonialist past, engaging with the people who represent that past, or reflecting on the xenophobia and racism that these people face in France today.

The work songs repertoire choice seems sensible for WSC. Evoking the concept of work in a project meant to empower migrant voices and illuminate the issue of homelessness, however, is perhaps somewhat tone-deaf to some politicians' visions of work ("just get a job") as a solution to homelessness and poverty. This irony did not come up in my conversations with project directors, nor did I witness any critical engagement with the term work or the songs' origins (many Lomax recordings — including those used for WSC — were collected in forced labour contexts in the United States). The repertoire choice may serve to reinforce certain politics of labour that erase both how people experience homelessness as well as larger systemic problems that contribute to homelessness. Nonetheless, informants did not connect the repertoire's origins with labour or homelessness issues in my field research. And participants' lack of engagement with any English-to-French song translations suggests they did not give much thought to the meaning of the word work in this project.

Politics of Diversity and Difference

Though singing work songs is not a politically contentious move for WSC's directors, working with migrants and people of colour can stir up charged politics of diversity and difference in France. Satger, Stephan, and Tessier negotiate these politics in WSC. As Stovall notes, French nationhood is founded on the idea that "all people who agreed to certain legal ground rules belong" to the nation (2006: 211). These ground rules are French republican values: liberty, equality, fraternity. While most French citizens hold these values in high esteem, what they mean in practice varies. As people differentiate themselves culturally, many are concerned about how to ensure equality—and what equality means in civil society.

Some politicians have responded by using republican values to reinforce an unmarked white Christian French frame (Feagin 2013). For example, as public anxieties grow over a perceived growth in the visibility of Islam in public spaces, French institutions have been increasingly using *laïcité* to raise concerns about Islam's encroachment into French public life, signalling their support for the 2004 ban on religious symbols in public institutions, a law which disproportionately impacts Muslim women (Scott 2007; Fig. 3). *Laïcité* has thus become a marker of national identity that politicians use to advocate for anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim positions (Ahearne 2014: 324).



Fig. 3. The entrance to a school in Correns, France. The sign to the left of the door reads “Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, & Laïcité” (see enlargement on the right). Most public buildings in France have a “Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité” sign. More and more are adding laïcité. (Photos by the author, March 30, 2019.)

Embracing difference without placing people outside of French republican values is a balancing act in France. Arts professionals work within a specific framework of equality based on these values while simultaneously recognizing the inequality such a framework reinforces and the unique experiences of people of colour. A music project whose purpose is to celebrate one particular (not white Christian) local culture or community is often viewed by civil servants and politicians as promoting difference and division and is therefore unlikely to get funding. It is considered *communautariste*.

Communautarisme, literally communalism, is defined as a system that prioritizes a group over national identity. Political scientist Gil Delannoi has explained the concept in the following way: “Just as nationalism is an obsession of the nation, communautarisme is an obsession of the community ... [Communautarisme] places a community hierarchically above the others” (2005: 49–50, trans. by author). In this sense, achieving equality involves putting one’s religious, ethnic, and other identities aside in the public sphere. One belongs to a group or a nation, but not both. Celebrating cultural difference exacerbates division and hinders equality and integration into French society, undermining the universalist foundations of the nation — undermining an equality based

in sameness. Politicians often voice their concerns about communautarisme today in discussions about immigrant communities — often North African in southern France — that appear walled off from others, both geographically and culturally. Certain communities feel anti-communautariste discourses have resulted in anti-Muslim rhetoric, laws limiting certain types of dress, and widespread xenophobia. Others feel, however, that minoritized communities are failing to “integrate.” Politicians’ discussions of the “problem” of *intégration* are often seen as code for assimilation into (white) franco-French culture and societal norms (or the white racial frame, Bazin et al. 2006 and Collectif Manouchian 2012).

Politicians also use concerns about communautarisme to justify colourblind policies. The collection of ethnic or racial demographic data in France, for instance, is illegal because recognizing these categories is considered counterproductive to fighting racial inequality. This opposition is based on the concern that studying race would reinforce incorrect and harmful biological ideas about race. This law has made researching systemic racial discrimination — hence proving the existence of race as part of lived experience — difficult (Léonard 2014; Simon 2010). Colourblindness, however, reinforces existing (white) frames and denies marginalized groups political power. Recognizing common experiences and histories allows for, as Paul Gilroy has written, the “powerful, populist affirmation of black culture” (1991: 125). It would force France, in other words, to recognize “racial inequalities in a country that purports to be the standard bearer of the universal rights of man,” as historians Charles Tshimanga, Didier Gondoal, and Peter J. Bloom have argued (2009: 6).

Paradoxically, politicians are quick to make use of “cultural diversity” to advertise themselves as open and inclusive, as well as to promote tourism. They brand Provence as a Mediterranean *porte ouverte* (open door) and an exciting space of *brassage* (brewing/mixing), encounter, and exchange. In practice, however, this *porte* is full of tensions. “We are a schizophrenic city,” explained a local government official, “we have a colonial past that explodes in our faces every day” (interview, May 18, 2017). Provence is home to large numbers of people of Algerian, Moroccan, Comor, West and Central African, Caribbean, Spanish, Italian, and Armenian heritage alongside Romani peoples (who have inhabited France for hundreds of years). The region is known for the Côte d’Azur, lavender fields, and cruise ships. Yet Marseille hosts some of the poorest neighbourhoods in France (Poustis 2019). Emilie Delorme, then director of Passerelles, noted, the Mediterranean today is “a space of death, as a space of refugees, as a tragic place” (interview, April 9, 2019).

Because of fears surrounding isolationism and Islamic extremism in immigrant communities, many politicians associate local cultural diversity with

communautarisme. The centre-right president of the Département Bouches-du-Rhône, Martine Vassal, made the following connection in a Facebook post: “Marseille is a city rich in its diversity and dialogue between cultures, but it will lose its soul if the communities that constitute it close into themselves” (Vassal 2020). Arts administrators are sensitive to the connections politicians make between immigrant music cultures and communautarisme. Thomas Laou Hap, then head of the world music organization Zone Franche, explained, “the minute we talk about [cultural diversity] we are seen as *communautariste*” (interview, May 3, 2017).

In WSC, these politics of difference intersect with local politics of urban development, homelessness, and policing. In 2018 and 2019 protestors filled the streets of Marseille multiple times a week. People marched for, among other causes, the *gilets jaunes*, migrant rescues/rights, homelessness, gentrification, and climate change. Addressing homelessness and gentrification became particularly important in 2018 after eight people were killed when two residential buildings in a majority non-white and under-resourced neighbourhood downtown collapsed due to neglect that many blamed on the municipal government (Le Monde with AFP 2018). In the wake of the tragedy, municipal authorities began shutting down buildings that were not up to code, including public and low-income housing, leaving many — particularly undocumented immigrant populations — homeless. That same fall, the municipal government also shut down a popular public square near the collapsed buildings for renovations — an act that involved erecting about 10-foot-high cement walls around public green space and felling mature trees, which are in short supply in Marseille. Many residents saw these actions as part of a larger politics of gentrification and repurposing of public space for private businesses (Coquille 2019; Bonduel 2019). In addition, public spaces can be hostile to people of colour as a result of racial profiling, banning of certain types of clothing, such as head/face coverings and burkinis (Quinn 2016 and Scott 2007), and stop and frisk (*contrôle au faciès*) practices (legal in France). Though discussing race or racism is often taboo for publicly funded projects, by engaging with migrants and parading through these under-resourced spaces in Marseille, WSC also engages with the experiences of people of colour.

Cultural Policy: How It Works

Like most large non-profits devoted to the arts in France, the F estival d'Aix seeks funding from the national ministry of culture as well as regional and local governments, or *collectivit s territoriales* [territorial collectivities]. These include the city, the m tropole, the d partement, and the r gion (Fig. 4). Aix-en-Provence and Marseille are situated in the D partement Bouches-du-Rh ne in the R gion Sud.

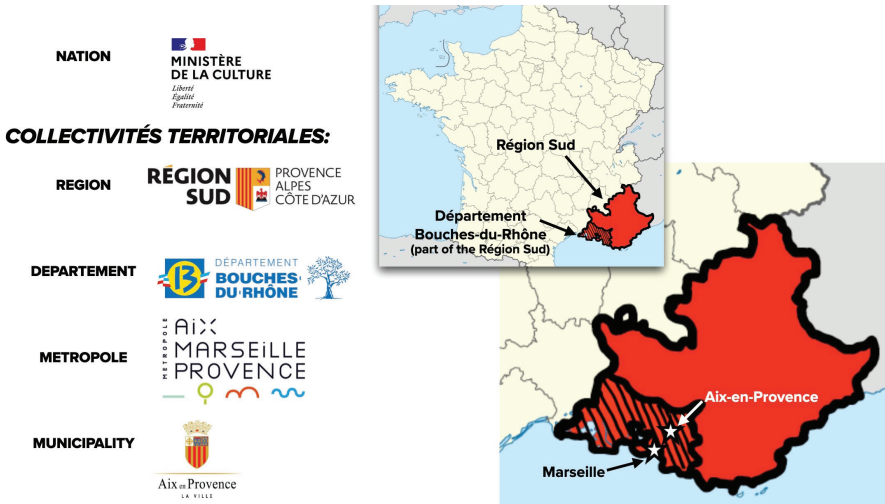


Fig. 4. An outline and map of the public funding bodies, including the nation and the *collectivit s territoriales* (listed top to bottom, from largest to smallest): Nation (Ministry of Culture), Region (R gion Sud), Department (D partement Bouches-du-Rh ne), M tropole (Aix Marseille Provence), and Municipality (Aix-en-Provence). On the bottom right, Marseille and Aix-en-Provence are shown as small stars on the map. Marseille is just south of Aix-en-Provence. (Outline of the region and cities added to original map by the author. Used under GNU Free Documentation License. Original: "Carte administrative repr sentant le d partement des Bouches-du-Rh ne sur une carte de France m tropolitaine" by Sting, modifications by Wikialine. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bouches-du-Rh ne_d partement_locator_map.svg)

Each *collectivit  territoriale* employs *conseillers culture* (cultural advisors who are civil servants) with various specialties who work with * lus* (elected representatives/politicians) to fund and "accompany" different projects. One project may receive funding from many *collectivit s*, each with different politics. In 2019, the F estival d'Aix was funded by: (1) the national government, led by Emmanuel Macron's centrist party; (2) the r gion and d partement, led by the R publicains (Right/Centre-Right); (3) the Aix-Marseille m tropole (a body overseeing the larger metropolitan area); and (4) the city of Aix-en-Provence whose mayor is also a R publicain. While the Far-Right Rassemblement National

(RN, formerly FN) party does not lead any of the *collectivités* discussed here, it does have considerable sway in this region, not only because it received 44.5 percent of votes in the 2017 presidential elections (second round; Ministère de L'Intérieur 2017b), but also because Républicain politicians fear they will lose voters to the RN (and thus are attuned to RN talking points).

Personal relationships are arguably just as important as political affiliations. Project directors often work with *conseillers* at the *collectivités territoriales* to build their projects and *élus* ultimately decide whether to fund a project. *Élus* tell *conseillers* what their priorities are and *conseillers* work with arts administrators and musicians to build projects and advise the *élus*. *Élus* might take a more or less hands-on approach to making decisions depending, for example, on how much they trust the *conseillers* (civil servants who may have been hired by a previous administration), or whether they are getting the right kind of visibility with the voters they hope to reach.

The Festival d'Aix (founded in 1948) offers funders a longstanding well-respected organization with a good track record of running various types of events as well as funding from different *collectivités*. Receiving financial support from multiple sources is not only good for fiscal sustainability; this strategy also helps organizations get funding from other sources. *Conseillers* and *élus* often look for organizations, such as the Festival d'Aix, that have multiple partnerships, reach a lot of voters, and seem to have financial and organizational stability. The Festival d'Aix is unique because, in addition to millions of euros in public funding, it also receives significant private funding (e.g., ticket sales, private foundations). Passerelles operates under the festival's large and relatively stable funding umbrella, giving its outreach programs more year-to-year financial and organizational stability than many peers. While this funding model provides modest insulation from the fickle nature of public funding and accompanying politics, the festival still relies on millions of euros from public coffers. Passerelles also seeks partnerships with local *collectivités* to put on specific projects and build goodwill in small municipalities around the region, which is particularly important for an opera festival based in Aix, a city with an elitist reputation. In addition, independent contractors working with the festival, such as Satger and Rara Woulib, also solicit public funding for their other projects and cannot afford to alienate local *collectivités*. Project directors thus pay attention to the politics of the local, regional, and national governments.

Dancing with Politics: Between Protest and Party

Passerelles and WSC live gingerly within this ecosystem. By using repertoire and policy objectives that many perceive to be apolitical, Satger, Stephan, and Tessier create a project valuable to politicians — providing them with visibility in a more culturally diverse milieu and touting their commitment to culture for all — while offering participants tools to amplify their voices and express themselves. In so doing, these intermediaries hope to illuminate the value of these oft-marginalized voices and the impact anti-immigrant and urban development politics have had on these people. Yet by using official policy language, they are also complicit in the colourblind policies and vapid “cultural diversity” that often deny or erase these people’s experiences. These intermediaries are attuned to local politics, precisely to reinforce and circumvent them. They create a party that could also be read as a protest.

When I asked about the politics of her repertoire choices, Satger responded, “That’s precisely what I’m trying to avoid.” Satger chose work songs for this project to sidestep the politics of *communautarisme* and immigration. Work songs’ foreignness provide distance between the project and the politics of immigration (and colonial histories) North African and Middle Eastern cultures so present in Marseille evoke. And while both Black Americans and migrant youth in Marseille and Aix have been denied voice, power, and safety in public spaces, WSC does not overtly make this connection. When I brought up the links between the history of work songs and project participants’ own challenges, Satger agreed that they exist, but she did not seek to make them explicit. By offering politicians songs that recall France’s position as a haven for African American artists fleeing racism, Satger used politicians’ pride in France’s historic opposition to American racism to covertly address discrimination in France.

Satger chose the work songs theme because she was inspired by what she found in the Lomax Digital Archives. The repertoire also made sense for this particular project. Satger needed choral music that did not need instrumental accompaniment. The selected songs offer a low barrier to entry for amateur singers: The melodies and call-and-response structures are easy to learn; they are often sung a cappella; and, because of their simpler structures, are easy to transform according to one’s own aesthetics.

Thus, in the French context, work songs offer just enough of a blank slate for participants to foster their own cultures and aesthetics—to amplify their own voices. This blank slate, however, also allows participants and funders to celebrate music originally created to illuminate injustice while themselves ignoring injustice at home. By presenting this music as universal, without

context or translation, WSC allows audiences, politicians, and participants to assign their own meaning to the songs. This curation tacitly erases these songs' composers, their experiences, and their distinct sociopolitical messages while allowing new ones to emerge. Project stakeholders thus simultaneously appropriate this music in a way that misrepresents the songs and erases the very injustices their composers sought to illuminate. And they use these songs to elucidate injustices that WSC participants themselves experience. I was both unsettled by the appropriation I witnessed and moved by the powerful vocal performances I heard in this project—performances that I felt did reclaim space.

For Satger, the repertoire is a tool that allows participants a certain type of engagement and experience. In conversation, Satger steered me away from discussing repertoire, instead emphasizing what the repertoire does. “These are songs that create community,” she told me. The leap from fostering community to bringing people together to say something is not a large one, however. “Is [the performance successful] because of these specific musics or because there was a choir with a lot of engagement within it?” She asked me, rhetorically. The project’s significance lies in what the music allows participants to do and experience.

As Stephan and Tessier explained to me, they must respond to what is happening in that community: “We can’t close our eyes to what is happening in front of us.” Despite incentives to stay away, politics are unavoidable. WSC responds to local crises: homelessness, gentrification, privatization and policing of public space, immigration, and the migrant crisis on the Mediterranean — issues that disproportionately affect immigrants and people of colour. WSC does not overtly frame its work in racial or cultural terms, however.

The June performance in the streets of Marseille was, Satger told me, meant to audibly and physically “reappropriate public space” in response to the city’s politics of urban development by marching, dancing, and singing in the streets. For her, this project celebrates the idea that migrants belong to this city — are citizens of the city — and should be able to safely engage with and belong in this space. Satger explained that before she started WSC she had “spent a lot of time creating relationships with people and organizations concerned about the precariousness of public space and homelessness ... So we created a citizen’s party. A party of the inhabitants.” Here, Satger uses “citizenship” — an attractive concept for politicians — while also defining citizens as *inhabitants* rather than those holding a French passport, which many project participants do not have.

This reclaiming of public space responds to the marginalization of and racist attacks against people of colour in public space. Audibly reclaiming space seems to respond to the policing of not just people (banning certain clothing, stop and frisk) but also policing of sounds and soundscapes in ways that have

silenced the sonic markers of Islam (though church bells often overpower public space; Moulin 2009; Calant 2008; Moore 2017). This aural reclamation of belonging also appears to respond to the Far-Right anti-immigrant political slogan “on est chez nous” or “we are at home” — that this is our home not yours (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Two Far-Right political posters from the Génération Identitaire and the youth arm of the Front National (renamed the Rassemblement National). They both read “we are at home!” in capital letters, which more broadly translates to this is our home. The poster on the right also states “enough anti-French racism” at the top and includes a portrait of a woman with her face painted in the French flag seemingly in the process of screaming. Note how these images seem to scream at readers, perhaps offering a sonic reclamation in visual form. The French government banned the Génération Identitaire group in 2021.

To respond to the marginalization and racism WSC participants experience, Satger, Stephan, and Tessier place WSC under the umbrella of policy objectives widely embraced by their political backers, albeit with some trepidation. For them, there is an ever-present danger that politicians will use project participants as an “alibi” — to claim they are not racist and engage with everyone (they are checking the diversity boxes) without delving too far into any of the social or political issues that these communities face. This is key for Stephan and Tessier. They must balance working with politicians’ objectives while protecting participants from those same objectives. “There is really not an instrumentalization of the participants,” they explained. “That’s the most dangerous. One should not instrumentalize. That’s really where you need to

be careful.” Of course, one could argue that Satger, Stephan, and Tessier are themselves instrumentalizing participants to a certain degree to make their own political argument. However, their focus on voice and agency, the voluntary nature of the project, and participants’ enthusiasm at the “citizen’s party” itself weaken this argument. Satger, Stephan, and Tessier reframe a few mainstream policy objectives — access and intercultural encounter — to respond to crises and the politics of diversity while positioning the project as non-partisan. The broad and vague nature of these objectives frees up space for Sager to redefine “access” and “encounter” to engage with the migrants’ experiences in France today.

Providing access to culture is a major part of French cultural policy and the state’s commitment to cultural democracy. By working with young migrants, WSC provides access to *les publics éloignés* (distanced publics), or those who do not have easy access to cultural institutions such as museums and concert halls in their neighbourhoods. Frequently dubbed a “deficit model” of cultural policy (Miles and Gibson 2016; Belfiore 2020), these access discourses often reinforce a patronizing approach to arts projects and cultural policy in under-resourced spaces in France: the government brings culture to those without. Access discourses presume certain (Western institutional) definitions of what counts as culture, who has it, and who does not. While ensuring broad access to the arts is a pillar of cultural democracy, this policy goal can often feel top-down, and, particularly in African-descended communities, colonialist. This approach not only fails to recognize the value of cultures in under-resourced spaces but also, as Belfiore has noted, “equates cultural authority with cultural value, and elevates production and consumption of traditional, ‘legitimate’ forms of culture over all others” (2020: 12).

Stephan and Tessier explained to me that they appeal to politicians’ desire to engage with *les publics éloignés*: “Clearly the politicians are very happy when we work with young people in the [disadvantaged] neighborhood.” But they also try to push against the top-down nature of this discourse by distinguishing their own work as more collaborative and focused on the people with whom they work, their cultures, and needs, instead of concentrating on their distance from resources. “Before,” Stephan and Tessier explained,

we would go talk to young people about opera. We had really normative visions. But now our participation has changed ... We are engaging more in exchange than in colonialism. ... [In WSC] we have valued the expressions of each person. We’re not going [to these neighbourhoods just] because they are young people in

[under-resourced] neighborhoods. The reason *we* go work with these people is not the same as the politicians.

Many arts administrators and musicians with whom I have spoken are critical of top-down access discourses. Satger, Stephan, and Tessier work to move beyond bringing culture to people who don't have it, to providing resources participants can use to express themselves. Instead of being the arbiter or shaper of taste — and hence illuminating perceived deficits in participants (see Durrer and Miles 2009) — they seek to draw out and illuminate the value of participants' preexisting tastes. The project's website notes that WSC encourages "participatory creation" of songs and performances based on both work songs and "participants' own propositions and expressions" — the voices that participants themselves bring to the project (Festival d'Aix 2019).

In practice, Satger, Stephan, and Tessier shift their focus from access to voice and power. When asked what was most important about the project, Satger told me that the music "permits [people] to get out of a state of invisibility ... How do we have the individual shine within this group?" Almost echoing Charles Taylor's argument that "Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being," Satger wants to make sure participants have a voice and are heard (Taylor 1994: 25). She seeks to empower participants and celebrate the cultures they bring with them by emphasizing the project's collaborative and participatory nature. She told me that she wants to meet participants where they are, acknowledge their complicated lives, and how hard it is for them to come to rehearsals. They need to approach the project "of their own volition," she explained. "We don't want to hold them by the hand and bring them and put them in a box." She aims to provide space for participants to actively engage with the projects in their own ways.

Satger asks participants, therefore, to bring their own ideas and musics to the project. In the street performance she demanded audience participation, using call-and-response singing and encouraging everyone to dance, making everyone part of a parade. Satger and Philippe asked participants to incorporate their own original musical and choreographic interpretations into the work songs. Syrian teens taught Syrian songs to perform alongside the work songs. Satger's goal was to make these young people feel included in the rehearsals, and later, in the streets of Marseille. "They all brought their own culture," Satger told me. "It's fun to see the Syrians move with what they bring from their own home. And the Africans, it's the same thing. I think this speaks to each person [and speaks] of their traditional music." This project is thus meant to offer an avenue through which migrant voices can reclaim downtown Marseille. These

voices seem to respond to their inaudibility in the French public sphere as well as the hostility people of colour often experience in these public spaces.

Just as they reframe access discourses to appeal to politicians while asserting participants' cultural values and agency, Satger, Tessier, and Stephan also reframe intercultural encounter, another widely celebrated policy goal. Politicians use intercultural encounter discourses to show how they are fighting *communautarisme* and fostering social cohesion. Thus, Stephan and Tessier promote WSC's ability "to create connections ... between our musical universes ... To create crossings, to decompartmentalize, open up." *Passerelles* itself was created to build bridges between the opera festival and diverse communities in the region, and WSC is supposed to foster encounters between participants of different backgrounds. In emphasizing encounter, Satger, Stephan, and Tessier prioritize the multi-directional nature of their work — and how this multi-directionality destabilizes traditional power dynamics. As Stephan and Tessier explained, encounters should include the "circulation of culture in two directions. Not just something that's really dominant that we'll inculcate into something else." Encounter becomes another tool for pushing against the top-down bringing-culture-to-the-masses model, and it is yet another way to emphasize participants' voices.

By focusing on encounter, Stephan and Tessier also pre-emptively counter possible accusations of *communautarisme*. Politicians and civil servants often speak of intercultural encounter and social cohesion in the same breath, offering encounter as an antidote to *communautarisme* and division. As one civil servant (*conseiller*) in charge of culture in the region told me: "The idea is to try to get people to share things rather than concentrate or reinforce them in something that of course could be their culture but, in the end, would recenter them on themselves ... also, these people don't need us in order to defend their culture." The city council person in charge of culture in Marseille, Anne Marie D'Estienne D'Orves, told me, "Today more than ever we have an obligation ... to prevent all divisions." A project cannot be fostering division if it promotes encounter. By celebrating cultural mixing, this project also helps politicians in their mission to brand the region to tourists as a dynamic Mediterranean space of cultural *brassage* (mixing, brewing).

Satger explained that encounters fostered in WSC go beyond those commonly promoted in government-sponsored events. For example, the regional government recently sponsored a sparsely attended event featuring a DJ playing music next to a large video screen in a large public square in the centre of Marseille. The event came off as tone-deaf to the local neighbourhood. "The idea of encounter there was to put a couple hundred people in front of a screen," Satger lamented. "That's to tell you where the financing and policies

are going right now” (I also attended this event and agree with her critique). Engaging in music together does not necessarily force people to interact and get to know each other. WSC, however, provides a more substantive model. It *requires* collaboration. Young migrants and locals “flirt and encounter people. Share things,” Satger explained. Participants taught each other songs and performed for each other. They brought snacks to share for rehearsal breaks and created a carpool network in which the people with cars drove those without (mostly young migrants) to rehearsals. This collaboration helped people get to know each other and encouraged rehearsal attendance.

Satger also framed her choice of repertoire in terms of encounter. “The first year I think there were about 17 different nationalities in this group,” she explained. “So, no common language ... So [work songs] allowed everyone to come together in one language.” Work songs are foreign enough to not privilege anyone in the group, and hence sow division or communitarism, but familiar enough to make everyone comfortable and foster participation. Satger, Stephan, and Tessier reframed African American music as a repertoire whose universalism facilitates encounter: “work songs is the foundation of the American music that is all over the world — West African youths, Syrian youths know American music. And it’s a way of bringing together everyone around a universal repertoire.” For WSC project directors, African American music serves to facilitate encounter and foster community cohesion.

While universalizing African American music here acknowledges how important African American musics are to popular music genres worldwide, this discourse also erases these musics’ distinct and complex origins. This erasure is particularly troubling in a nation that has a history of emphasizing colourblindness in the face of systemic racism. In some ways, universalizing African American music is consistent with France’s colourblind approach to race and difference. In this context, however, appealing to colourblindness is strategic. Universalizing this music gives French artists and politicians permission to engage with its aesthetics without having to engage with the sociopolitical issues the original composers confronted — issues public funders are not keen to take on. Thus, project directors position this music as a music associated with people of colour that does not force politicians to engage with the politics of race and difference or question their oft-favoured colourblind approach to social problems. This position allows WSC to avoid the scrutiny of politicians who condemn projects that foster American discourses on race and difference while allowing listeners to engage with a music culture associated with French liberation and tolerance. The universalist rhetoric here erases painful experiences and histories without completely erasing African American ownership. Ownership, however, is most meaningful (and, in the music industry, most

profitable) when its histories and experiences are understood. When ownership is understood in these terms, appropriation — taking without asking, without fear of repercussions, from people who do not have the power (or voice) to resist — becomes more difficult. Thus, the ways work songs are framed here are troubling. However, WSC participants are not seeking to minimize people of colour through universalist discourses. WSC is an interracial group seeking to use these discourses to effectively advocate for social justice within a specific policy context. That said, the project leadership is mostly white, as are the politicians to whom they are speaking. And they are minimizing the experiences of African Americans to work effectively within (and perpetuate) a colourblind system that marginalizes people of colour and often erases/denies the racism that so deeply impacts their lives.

Conclusion

To appeal to funders, WSC project directors trap themselves in this catch-22. They are stuck in a system that continues to marginalize the very voices Satger, Stephan, and Tessier hope to empower. In confronting the hypocrisy that plagues French cultural policy and universalist claims of equality, liberty, and human rights, they show that the policies and structures governing community outreach funding limit the projects' scope and imagination. Projects such as WSC need the freedom to recognize and amplify the many voices with whom they work through collaboratively conceived projects that are not expected to communicate specific predetermined ideas nor are dependent on short-term funding decisions. These projects need to be able to disentangle themselves, at least somewhat, from the politics of the day — from political discourses that have become so preoccupied with telling citizens how to address difference that they may have stopped listening to how minoritized communities themselves experience difference. But disentangling and restructuring are not easy or imminent.

Thus, Satger, Stephan, and Tessier create a project that pushes against and supports the status quo — that seeks to make space for unheard voices — in their own ways. They negotiate complex politics of culture to create a project that destabilizes and reinforces contemporary structures and politics, reframes public space, and amplifies marginalized voices. Satger, Stephan, and Tessier create space for new voices in the public sphere and redefine cultural value by reframing access and encounter. However, they also shape voices and values according to their own and their funders' ideas about the value of access, participation, and encounter — ideas formed over time and through dialogue

with discourses of French republican values, public policies, and their own neighbours. While they work to build what they see as a more multi-vocal and humanitarian public space, they also foster their own imaginaries within a specific system. They create a project whose framework allows participants — choir members and street party audiences — just enough agency, fun, and feel-good humanitarian politics that they will join the party. Satger, Stephan, and Tessier deconstruct value structures built into cultural policies and embed their ideas of the real and the possible into this project — ideas themselves constructed over time and through relationships with various peoples and politics. While government structures and policies play defining roles in community music projects, the intermediaries — civil servants, administrators, musicians — who put these projects together and get them funded while balancing political wills and community needs also shape production and value.

Satger, Stephan, and Tessier use work songs to disengage from (and work around) local politics and to allow audiences (and politicians) to recall a past when France welcomed artists fleeing American racism and Jim Crow laws. These songs do not force self-reflection on the current experiences of people of colour and migrants in France. Yet this is precisely what Satger seeks to do as she gives a megaphone (literally) to migrant youths to sonically reclaim public space. And there were a lot of people in the streets listening. 🍁

Notes

* Thank you to the European Institutes of Advanced Study and IMéRA – Aix-Marseille Université for funding this research and hosting me in Marseille. Thank you to my colleagues at IMéRA, Pascale Hurtado, Megan MacDonald, and Dezso Nemeth as well as my North American colleagues who have helped me develop this project: Siv B. Lie, M. Roger Holland, Arthur Jones, Mitch Ohriner, Gillian Gower, Kip Lornell, Jennifer Hellier, Angela Espinoza, Mark Pleiss, and Aubrey Schiavone. Thank you to my peer reviewers and editors Heather Sparling and Gordon E. Smith, who provided such thoughtful constructive feedback on this piece. Most of all, thank you to Alexandra Satger, Marie-Laure Stephan, Frédérique Tessier, and my other interlocutors who so generously took the time to speak with me about their work.

1. Between 2010 and 2020, there was a stark increase in migrants crossing the Mediterranean mostly from Northern Africa to Europe, resulting in a humanitarian crisis. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (2021), over one million migrants arrived in Europe in 2015 alone (compared to 225,455 in 2014). Over 5,000 migrants hoping to make it to Europe were counted as dead or missing (many at sea) in 2016 alone. Most migrants have landed in Italy, Spain, and Greece. The national government in France has refused to accept migrant

rescue boats at the port of Marseille (McAuley 2018; Wallis 2020). However, many migrants have travelled to France by land and France has seen an increase in first time asylum requests, from 48,074 in 2010 to 138,420 in 2019, including 32,516 minors (Ministère de l'Intérieur 2017a; 2021). There has also been an increase in unaccompanied minors and people experiencing homelessness. A particularly high number of these people are living in and around Marseille (Leca 2019; Rasteau and Rivière 2017; Pascual 2019; Ministère de la Justice 2020).

2. They are not alone in their critique of this system. Artists, administrators, and scholars around France are engaged in deconstructing and reexamining how French cultural policies engage with (or not) diverse cultures (see Oleksiak 2019; Cukierman et al. 2018; Bonet and Négrier 2011).

3. In 2021, Higher Education and Research Minister Frédérique Vidal asked for an investigation into these ideas in public universities in France (Onishi and Méheut 2021; Onishi 2021)

4. There were originally other scheduled performances that were cancelled because of an extreme heatwave.

5. Satger used markedly rhythmic versions performed by inmates in forced labour contexts at the Mississippi State Penitentiary in 1948 and 1933 respectively; Wallace 1948; Double Head et al. 1933

6. Many people of colour in France today have roots in former French colonies in Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean.

7. A 2012 study showed that a quarter of people experiencing homelessness in France were employed and 43 percent were actively seeking work. Contrary to much political discourse, laziness and a lack of desire to work is likely not a large contributor to homelessness according to social scientists (Yaouancq and Duée 2012; SudOuest.fr 2017).

8. Franco-French is a commonly used term to refer to white French people who identify as having French heritage. Although the term franco-French designates more than skin colour, I do not want, in using this terminology, to erase the fact that race and whiteness are very much present in this terminology. The common use of franco-French to refer to white French people demonstrates how people of colour are othered as not French.

9. Referring to people as white or using the phrase "les blancs" [the whites] is controversial in France because, many argue, it reinforces the idea that race exists. The widespread backlash against French soccer star Lilian Thuram's 2019 statements that racism is a problem within white culture provide a good example (see franceinfo 2019b; Diallo 2019). By using white in this article, I am imposing American discourses of race and whiteness on French phenomena. I find this language necessary for explaining structural racism in this context. See Fleming (2017: 12–13) for more on this issue.

10. For a more in-depth discussion of how groups might cultivate political power within the context of essentialist and anti-essentialist discourses, see Gilroy's (1993) discussion of anti-anti-essentialism

11. Delorme is now the director of the Conservatoire de Paris

12. A widespread movement in 2018/2019 that began in response to a proposed increase in fuel taxes and grew to critique many of President Emmanuel Macron's tax policy changes (Chrisafis 2018).

13. Research in the United States has shown how much racial profiling has been part of this practice (NYCLU 2019; Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007). I don't have similar data from France because statistics based on race are not legal in France. However, racial profiling in the *contrôle au faciès* (stop and frisk) is a widely discussed issue in France and several lawsuits claiming racial discrimination have been brought to the courts (see franceinfo 2019a, Halissat 2018, Le Monde with AFP 2015).

14. A term referring to various actions: helping directors build the project, following its progress, etc.

15. E. Patrick Johnson (2005: 68) writes about a similar phenomenon.

16. See Monson (1996), Chapter 6 for more on universalist and particularist discourses.

17. In making this critique, I do not intend to imply that private funding offers the solution. Private funders also have agendas and politics.

References

- Ahearne, Jeremy. 2014. Laïcité: A Parallel French Cultural Policy (2002–2007). *French Cultural Studies* 25 (3/4): 320–29.
- Ake, David. 2010. *Jazz Matters: Sound, Place, and Time Since Bebop*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bazin, Laurent, Robert Gibb, Catherine Neveu, and Monique Selim. 2006. The Broken Myth: Popular Unrest and the “Republican Model of Integration” in France. *Anthropology Today* 2 (22): 16–17.
- Belfiore, Eleonora. 2020. Whose Cultural Value? Representation, Power and Creative Industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 26 (3): 383–97.
- Bonduel, Ludovic. 2019. Gentrification Policies and Urban Protests in Marseille. *LabGov*. February 11, 2019. <https://labgov.city/theurbanmedialab/gentrification-policies-and-urban-protests-in-marseille/>.
- Bonet, Lluís and Emmanuel Négrier. 2011. The End(s) of National Cultures? Cultural Policy in the Face of Diversity. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 17 (5):5 74–89.
- Calant, Guénaële. 2008. Mosquée: polémique après l'appel à la prière par haut-parleur. *Le Parisien*. June 3, 2008. <http://www.leparisien.fr/seine-et-marne-77/mosquee-polemique-apres-l-appel-a-la-priere-par-haut-parleur-03-06-2008-3298541992.php>.
- Chrisafis, Angelique. 2018. Who Are the Gilet Jaunes and What Do They Want? *The Guardian*. December 7, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/>

- world/2018/dec/03/who-are-the-gilets-jaunes-and-what-do-they-want (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Collectif Manouchian. 2012. intégration et assimilation. *Les Mots Sont Importants*. June 5, 2012. <http://lmsi.net/Integration-et-assimilation>.
- Coquille, David. 2019. Marseille: évacuations d'immeubles, la tentation de la "table rase." *La Marseillaise*. January 27, 2019. <http://www.lamarseillaise.fr/societe/marseille-evacuations-d-immeubles-la-tentation-de-la-table-rase-PGLM074649>.
- Cukierman, Leïla, Gerty Dambury, and Françoise Vergès. 2018. *Décolonisons les Arts!* Paris: L'Arche.
- Dalton, Karen C. and Henry Louis Gates Jr. 1998. Josephine Baker and Paul Colin: African American Dance Seen through Parisian Eyes. *Critical Inquiry* 24 (4): 903–34
- Delannoi, Gil. 2005. Nation et Communauté. *Les Cahiers du CEVIPOF* 43: 29–61.
- Diallo, Rokhaya. 2019. French Whiteness is in Crisis. *Al Jazeera*. October 10, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/french-whiteness-crisis-191009182931542.html>.
- . 2021. Don't Let the Inspiring Story of Josephine Baker Story Erase France's Pervasive Racism. *Washington Post*. November 23, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/11/23/josephine-baker-pantheon-france-colonialism/> (accessed November 24, 2021).
- Feagin, Joe R. 2013. *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Festival d'Aix. 2019. Passerelles. Festival d'Aix (website). <https://festival-aix.com/fr/festival-daix/passerelles>
- Fleming, Crystal Marie. 2017. *Resurrecting Slavery: Racial Legacies and White Supremacy in France*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- franceinfo. 2019a. Le Défenseur des droits dénonce "un profilage racial et social" lors des contrôles d'identité à Paris. Franceinfo (website). April 14. https://mobile.francetvinfo.fr/france/le-defenseur-des-droits-denonce-un-profilage-racial-et-social-lors-des-contrôles-d-identite-a-paris_3397407.html.
- . 2019b. "Les Blancs pensent être supérieurs et ils croient l'être": Lilian Thuram se défend après ses propos polémiques. Franceinfo (website). September 6. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/sports/foot/lilian-thuram-se-defend-apres-ses-propos-polemiques-sur-le-racisme-dans-la-culture-blanche_3605541.html.
- Gelman, Andrew, Jeffrey Fagan, and Alex Kiss. 2007. An Analysis of the New York City Police Department's "Stop-and-Frisk" Policy in the Context of Claims of Racial Bias. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 102: 813–23.
- Gilroy, Paul. 1991. Sounds Authentic: Black Music, Ethnicity, and the Challenge of a "Changing" Same. *Black Music Research Journal* 11 (2): 111–36.
- . 1993. *The Black Atlantic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Graham, Sandra. 2018. *Spirituals and the Birth of a Black Entertainment Industry*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Halissat, Ismaël. 2018. Contrôle au faciès: l'Etat à nouveau attaqué. *Libération*. October 21. https://www.liberation.fr/france/2018/10/21/contrôle-au-faciès-l-etat-a-nouveau-attaque_1686850.
- Harbert, Benjamin J. 2010. I'll Keep on Living after I Die: Musical Manipulation and Transcendence at Louisiana State Penitentiary. *International Journal of Community Music* 3 (1): 65–76.
- Jackson, Jeffrey H. 2003. *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Johnson, E. Patrick. 2005. Performing Blackness Down Under: Gospel Music in Australia. *Black Cultural Traffic: Crossroads in Global Performance and Popular Culture*, 59–82. Ed. Harry Justin Elam. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Keaton, Trica Danielle, Tracy Sharpley-Whiting, and Tyler Stovall. 2012. Blackness Matters, Blackness Made to Matter. *Black France / France Noire*, 1–16. Ed. Trica Danielle Keaton, Tracy Sharpley-Whiting, and Tyler Stovall. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Le Monde with AFP. 2015. L'Etat condamné pour « faute lourde » après des contrôles au faciès. *Le Monde*. June 24. https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2015/06/24/l-etat-condamne-pour-faute-lourde-apres-des-contrôles-au-faciès_4660853_1653578.html.
- . 2018. Marseille: dix personnes introuvables après l'effondrement de deux immeubles. *Le Monde*. November 5. https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2018/11/05/marseille-deux-immeubles-mitoyens-s-effondrent-en-plein-centre-ville_5378980_3224.html.
- Leca, Gérard. 2019. Les Mineurs Non-Accompagnés: Un challenge pour notre département. *Département Bouches du Rhône*. https://www.departement13.fr/fileadmin/user_upload/Departement/Conseil_de_Provence/Contenus-2020/Nos%20travaux/Rapports%20et%20avis/02.%20MNA/Rapport%20-%20Les%20mineurs%20non-accompagn,s.pdf (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Léonard, Marie des Neiges. 2014. Census and Racial Categorization in France: Invisible Categories and Color-blind Politics. *Humanity and Society* 38 (1): 67–88.
- Levine, Lawrence W. 2006. African American Music as Resistance. *African American Music: An Introduction*, 587–637. Ed. Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby. London: Routledge.
- Lie, Siv B. 2021. *Django Generations: Hearing Ethnorace, Citizenship, and Jazz Manouche in France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maguire, Jennifer Smith and Julian Matthews. 2012. Are We All Cultural Intermediaries Now? An Introduction to Cultural Intermediaries in Context. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15 (5): 551–62.
- McAuley, James. 2018. 5 European States Reach Deal on Fate of 58 Migrants Rescued off Libyan Coast. *Washington Post*. September 25, 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/france-rejects-a-migrant-rescue-ship-as-tensions-mount-in-the-mediterranean/2018/09/25/>

- e59544dd-ad98-4699-9b85-3a7c1a6426a9_story.html (accessed November 20, 2021).
- McKenzie, Alecia D. 2014. Spreading the Gospel in France. *New African* (May): 90–92.
- Miles, Andrew and Lisanne Gibson. 2016. Everyday Participation and Cultural Value. *Cultural Trends* 25 (3): 151–57.
- Ministère de l'Intérieur. 2017a. Les demandes d'asile. *Ministère de l'Intérieur*. www.immigration.interieur.gouv.fr/content/download/99971/785946/file/Les-demandes-d_asile-en-2016_16_janvier-2017.pdf (accessed November 20, 2021).
- . 2017b. Résultats de l'élection présidentielle. *Ministère de l'Intérieur*. https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Elections/Les-resultats/Presidentielles/elecresult_presidentielle-2017/(path)/presidentielle-2017/093/093.html (accessed November 20, 2021).
- . 2021. Les demandes d'asile. *Ministère de l'Intérieur*. www.immigration.interieur.gouv.fr/fr/content/download/128337/1024060/file/EM-2021-68-Demandes-d-asile-publication-du-15-juin-2021.pdf (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Ministère de la Justice. 2019. Rapport annuel d'activité: Mission Mineurs Non Accompagnés. *Ministère de la Justice, Direction de la protection de la jeunesse*. https://www.vie-publique.fr/sites/default/files/rapport/pdf/274374.pdf (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Monson, Ingrid T. 1996. *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moore, Celeste Day. 2021. *Soundscape of Liberation: African American Music in Postwar France*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Moore, Jack. 2017. Why France is Banning Muslim Prayer on the Country's Streets. *Newsweek*. November 20, 2017. https://www.newsweek.com/why-france-banning-muslim-prayer-countrys-streets-716494.
- Moulin, Louis. 2009. En France, les minarets font profil bas. *Slate.fr*. November 2, 2009. http://www.slate.fr/story/13881/en-france-les-minarets-font-profil-bas.
- Negus, Keith. 2002. The Work of Cultural Intermediaries and the Enduring Distance between Production and Consumption. *Cultural Studies* 16 (4): 501–15.
- NYCLU. 2019. Annual Stop-and-Frisk Numbers. NYCLU (website). https://www.nyclu.org/en/stop-and-frisk-data (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Oleksiak, Julie. 2019. Aubervilliers, la musique pour être ensemble: Opérateurs culturels et migrations. *Cahiers d'Ethnomusicologie* 32: 97–118.
- Onishi, Norimitsu and Constant Méheut. 2021. Heating Up Culture Wars, France to Scour Universities for Ideas That "Corrupt Society." *New York Times*. February 18, 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/18/world/europe/france-universities-culture-wars.html (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Onishi, Norimitsu. 2021. Will American Ideas Tear France Apart? Some of Its Leaders Think So. *New York Times*. February 9, 2021. https://www.

- nytimes.com/2021/02/09/world/europe/france-threat-american-universities.html?searchResultPosition=1 (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Pascual, Julia. 2019. "C'est toujours mieux de dormir par terre qu'à la gare": à Marseille, des centaines de jeunes migrants sans abri. *Le Monde*. November 2, 2019. https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2019/11/02/a-marseille-des-centaines-de-jeunes-migrants-sans-abri_6017773_3224.html (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Poustis, Jean. 2019. Marseille: ses quartiers parmi les plus pauvres de France. *France3*. June 7, 2019. <https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/provence-alpes-cote-d-azur/bouches-du-rhone/metropole-aix-marseille/marseille/quartiers-nord/marseille-ses-quartiers-parmi-plus-pauvres-france-1681098.html> (accessed April 15, 2020).
- Quinn, Ben. 2016. French police make woman remove clothing on Nice beach following burkini ban. *The Guardian*. August 23, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/24/french-police-make-woman-remove-burkini-on-nice-beach> (accessed April 15, 2020).
- Rasteau, François and Clair Rivière. 2017. Migrants à Marseille: ces minots d'ailleurs qui dorment dans les rues d'ici. *La Provence*. May 31, 2017. <https://www.laprovence.com/article/edition-marseille/4473483/ces-minots-d-ailleurs-qui-dorment-dans-les-rues-d-ici.html> (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Schmeisser, Iris. 2007. "Un Saxophone en Mouvement"? Josephine Baker and the Primitivist Reception of Jazz in Paris in the 1920s. In *Cross the Water Blues: African American Music in Europe*, 106–24. Ed. Neil A. Wynn. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. 2007. *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Simon, Patrick. 2010. Statistics, French Social Sciences and Ethnic and Racial Social Relations. *Revue française de sociologie* 51 (1): 159–74.
- Southern, Eileen. 1997. *The Music of Black Americans: A History*. 3rd Ed. New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc.
- Stovall, Tyler. 1996. *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- . 2006. Race and the Making of the Nation: Blacks in Modern France. In *Diaspora Africa: A Reader*, 200–18. Ed. Michael A. Gomez. New York: New York University Press.
- SudOuest.fr. 2017. "Fact-checking" des campagnes politiques: des associations s'impliquent. *SudOuset*. February 9. <https://www.sudouest.fr/politique/fact-checking-des-campagnes-politiques-des-associations-s-impliquent-3418018.php> (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Taylor, Charles. 1994. The Politics of Recognition. *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, 25–73. Ed. Amy Gutmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tshimanga, Charles, Didier Gondoal, and Peter J. Bloom. 2009. Introduction: Examining Frenchness and the African Diaspora. In *Frenchness and the African*

- Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France*, 3–18. Ed. Charles Tshimanga, Didier Gondoal, and Peter J. Bloom. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 2021. Mediterranean Situation. Operational Data Portal: Refugee Situations (website). <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean> (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Vassal, Martine. 2020. Marseille est une ville riche de sa diversité. Facebook, January 24. https://www.facebook.com/pg/MartineVassal2020/posts/?ref=page_internal (accessed January 24, 2020).
- Wallis, Emma. 2019. Marseille “Ready to Welcome” Alan Kurdi Rescue Ship. *InfoMigrants*. <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/27523/marseille-ready-to-welcome-alan-kurdi-rescue-ship> (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Wynn, Neil A. 2007. “Why I Sing the Blues”: African American Culture in the Transatlantic World. In *Cross the Water Blues: African American Music in Europe*, 3–22. Ed. Neil A. Wynn. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Yaouancq, Françoise and Michel Duée. 2014. Les sans-domicile et l’emploi. *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques*. <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/1281440> (accessed November 20, 2021).

Discography

- Double Head, Rat, Tight Eye, and Unidentified Men. 1933. I’m Troubled About My Soul. *Parchman Farm* 8/33, Recorded by John A. Lomax at Parchman Farm (Mississippi State Penitentiary), Mississippi, USA. <https://archive.culturalequity.org/node/51301> (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Wallace, Henry (Jimpson). 1948. No More, My Lord (II). *Parchman* 2/48, Recorded by Alan Lomax at Parchman Farm (Mississippi State Penitentiary), Mississippi, USA. <https://archive.culturalequity.org/node/59508> (accessed November 20, 2021).
- Wallace, Henry (Jimpson) and Unidentified Men. 1948. No More, My Lord (I). *Parchman* 2/48, Recorded by Alan Lomax at Parchman Farm (Mississippi State Penitentiary), Mississippi, USA. <https://archive.culturalequity.org/node/59507> (accessed November 20, 2021).