

***Orchestrating French Music Conservatories:
European Political Interventions and Local Governances***

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Abstract

Supported by the omnipresent State in the past, the French music education leans increasingly towards more liberal and competitive model. In the current context of decentralized economy and European integration, the music conservatoires are called to contribute to regional and municipal development and enhance the European student mobility.

How do the conservatories react to the restructuring of competitive field? How do they impact the European territorial cohesion? Are they managing adaptive or hybrid strategies with new conceptions of music education? Or, conversely, do they gradually move away from the marketplace and become an obsolete and difficult heritage to maintain?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to analyze the current balance of power among the different elements of the French multi-level system of conservatories, that includes Communal, Inter-communal, Departmental, Regional, National and European institutions. By combining different sources of spatial and statistical data, this paper contributes to building the comparative institutional geography of French multi-level territorial divisions. The cartographic approach to music conservatories allows identifying the problems that deserve more detailed qualitative and statistical study in future.

Keywords: Cultural Policies; Music Education; Cultural Institutions; European Integration; Territorial Administration; Institutional geography.

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Conservatories balancing between national prestige and territorial needs

The French multi-level territorial divisions - Regions, Departments (counties) and Communes (districts) - are both administrative channels for central government and decentralised territorial units. The hierarchy of French music education system formally correspond to this territorial division, and include National Conservatories, Regional Conservatoires, Departmental Conservatoires, Inter-communal and Communal Conservatories.

Since the period of “Cultural Democratization” – cultural policy launched by the French Minister of Culture André Malraux in the 1960s - the Regional conservatories has become the major territorial instances of music education. The Ministry of Culture assigned the “Regional” label to the most competitive institutions, promoted by local authorities and strongly involved in territorial competition. Since their creation in 1967, the Regional conservatories have been subsidized not by the Regions themselves, but mainly by central state and cities.

The political and artistic networks were mobilized to spread over the country the elitist and selective pedagogical approach to orchestral musical disciplines and solfeggio. The well-known pianists, violinists, conductors were appointed directors of Regional conservatories. The Regional conservatories played the role of “selection agencies” (Boudon, 1979) that regulated the access of the best students from provinces to the National Superior Conservatory of Paris. The low enrolment fees and scholarships for the best students were established by the State to guarantee the democratic access to the high-level music education.

In early 1980s, the socialist government and the new minister of Culture, Jack Lang, criticised the “Democratization of Culture”, as a ‘top-down’ elitist homogenizing approach to culture that ignored cultural expressions and practices outside of the mainstream canon. As an alternative, Jack Lang launched the new inclusive policy called « Cultural Democracy » that enlarged the notion of “culture” and promoted the ordinary cultural practices. The conservatories, typically situated in cities’ downtowns, had to find the new inscriptions in the local and urban realities and attract the populations previously poorly integrated into the local cultural life.

The newly created peripheral annexes of conservatories were dedicated to teaching of improvised and “popular” music (rap, rock, etc.) that should be accessible to every music lover, regardless of age and musical capacity. At the same time, the old “central” annexes of conservatories maintained their role of “selection agencies” for the National Superior Conservatory of Paris and the National Superior Conservatory of Lyon (founded in 1980), that kept the national monopoly of professional music education. The students from provinces who wished to pursue their musical education in these institutions should have been prepared in the Regional conservatories according to the nationwide standard and the curriculum established by the State.

The nationwide standard of music education, because of its rigidity, allows an accurate transmission of traditional musical values and skills. By contrast, the relative flexibility of contemporary and improvised musical forms query the institutional legitimacy of conservatories that seek to preserve their traditional values. The nationwide standard of jazz, rock, and contemporary music education hasn’t been

established until today. Moreover, the French political vision that associates the contemporary music expressions with popular values and peripheral neighbourhoods create the new obstacles for its integration in the performance-oriented conservatories. In consequence, the conservatories interpreted the “cultural democracy” differently, according to allowance of the local authorities and musical networks implicated in the functioning of each institution.

Contradictory political interests and ideological debates divide the cultural policy-makers (but also musicians, directors of conservatories and pedagogues), and place the conservatories between two ferns: (1) the “centripetal” legitimacy of the National Superior Conservatories focused on national prestige and pedantic “writing music” education, and (2) the “centrifugal” legitimacy of regional and urban needs, typically associated with contemporary music, inclusive cultural policies, and territorial concurrence.

The new decentralized economy of music education

In the 1960s - 1970s, the state had the means of its ambitions in the field of musical policy. In 1969, so-called “ten-year plan for music” established by Marcel Landowski, transformed the economy of music profession. The state intervention in musical life in France was funded up to 51 million francs; in 1974, the state budget dedicated to the musical institutions reached 162 million. The conservatories were subsidized according to their formal territorial ranking. For instance, the government endowments for Regional Conservatories varied in different years from 12% to 20% of participation in budget of each institution.¹ The regular ministerial inspections to the provincial conservatories were called to evaluate their performance, and guarantee their strong “centripetal” links with the National Superior Conservatories of Paris and Lyon and their curriculum.

During this period of time, the music education system was in tune with the marketplace, strongly supported (and partly created) by the government itself. The “ten-year plan for music” expanded the number of ensembles subsidized by the State. France was divided into ten “music regions” each of which received at least one of symphony or chamber orchestra in addition to a lyric ensemble or opera troupe. The main effect of “ten-year plan for music” was to promote the cultural decentralization and secure the employment opportunities for musicians (Drott, 2011).

Nowadays, the situation has changed. The central state has devolved the management of cultural institutions to the territorial authorities. The state-based music marketplace has been also liberalised. Since 2008, the government has been entirely disengaged from the management of Communal and Inter-Communal conservatories that became entirely endowed by territorial authorities. In 2015, the central state has been quasi-disengaged from the funding of Regional and Departmental conservatories. Following the acute public debates provoked by this decision, 13,5M€ has been allocated in 2016 to the conservatories with the best “institution projects”, regardless of their

¹ Rapport d'information n° 458 (2007-2008). *Décentralisation des enseignements artistiques : des préconisations pour orchestrer la sortie de crise.*

URL : https://www.senat.fr/rap/r07-458/r07-458_mono.html

formal territorial ranking.²

The "institution projects" of conservatories should be based on the State cultural policies of youth inclusion, territorial equality and cultural diversity. Each conservatory should also justify its focus on marketplace and establish a durable cooperation with the local cultural and educative organisations and associations. This approach, based on selection of the most competitive structures, has replaced the previous distributive model based on the territorial ranking, and weakened the hierarchical links among the National, Regional, Departmental and Inter-Communal and Communal conservatories.

Innovations induced by the Bologna process

The selective approach to attribution of static endowments has been put in place in the particular context of inscription of the French conservatories in the Bologna Process, designed to ensure comparability in the standards and quality of higher education qualifications.

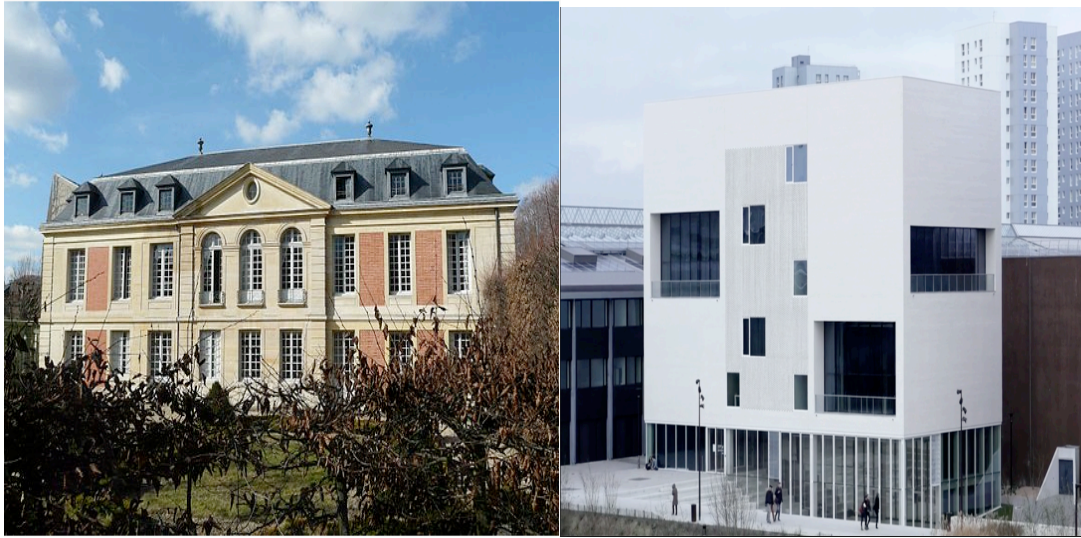
Until nowadays, the French conservatories couldn't afford to supply a general education, and took the cultural values of music for granted. The student, therefore, should have possessed a general education or should have acquired one at institutions best suited for this purpose. That was simply not feasible for most people (Sorce Keller, 1984). In consequence, the Regional conservatories turned out trained technicians who didn't have the intellectual grasp of what they perform. The major opportunity for these technicians was to succeed the auditions at the highly selective National Superior Conservatories of Paris and Lyon. However, the number of places in the National Superior Conservatories is strictly limited and disproportioned compared to the number of potential candidates. The growing number of unemployed Regional Conservatoires alumni questioned both the monopoly of the National Superior Conservatories and the nationwide music education standards. The equalization of French music diploma with their European counterparts has been also compromised.

This systemic inconsistency has been resolved through creation of the new decentralized Superior Conservatories of Performing Arts ("Superior Poles") that reunite the departments of music, dance and theatre studies. The Superior Poles are founded on the basis of the most competitive Regional and Departmental Conservatoires. In 2016, 5,8 M€ were allocated to the Superior Poles. The other 4,4 M€³ were attributed to so-called "clusters of artistic education" - Regional and Departmental Conservatories associated to the Superior Poles and engaged in their institutionalization. The Superior Poles are typically installed in the new and contemporary buildings contrasting with the classical aesthetics of the old Regional conservatoires (see Photo 1).

² Projet de loi de finances pour 2016 : Culture
URL : <http://www.senat.fr/rap/115-164-37/115-164-378.html>

³ Stroesser N. (2015). *Financement des établissements d'enseignement artistique par l'Etat : chronique d'un retour annoncé et attendu, mais ... ?*
URL : <http://conservatoires-de-france.com/blog/2015/12/03/financement-des-etablissements-denseignement-artistique-par-letat-chronique-dun-retour-annonce-et-attendu-mais/>

Photo 1: The premises of the Regional Conservatory of Versailles (since 1951) and the new building of the Superior Pole of Nantes (inaugurated in 2016)



The Superior Poles deliver, in collaboration with the Universities, the new diploma: National Superior Professional Diploma of Musician (DNSPM) equal to *Licence* level (1st cycle). The “hybridization” of conservatory and university curriculum is innovative for the French music education system. The University is called to fill the gap in “general education” of musicians, and give knowledge in the theory of music making and practice, historical and aesthetic doctrines, etc. The practice-oriented academic courses such as arts management or music pedagogy are geared to keep the young musicians in tune with society and job market.

The European standard of Superior Poles curriculum facilitates the enrolment of French students in foreign conservatories on *Master's* (2d cycle) and on *Ph.D.* (3d cycle) levels. In France, the *Master* diplomas are delivered by The National Superior Conservatories of Paris and Lyon, but also the Superior Poles of Poitiers and Strasbourg. The *Ph.D.* in Music is delivered exclusively by the National Superior Conservatories.

Analysing the territorial dynamics of music education

In the current context of decentralized economy of music education, the French conservatoires are called to strengthen regional and municipal development and enhance the European student mobility. Analysing the differences between American and European visions of music education, Marcello Sorce Keller once observed:

Schools must survive economically, and if they fail to attract students they may have to close down. While it is at times regrettable that education be linked to mercantile considerations, there is little doubt that total independence from the marketplace generates isolation and estrangement from the real world. The Italian case shows it very clearly. There is a need for scientific research, especially where technological breakthroughs are feasible, and colleges are unable to fulfil that need. There is a need for a variety of music, and conservatory graduates can provide only one kind. It would indeed be marvellous if we could have the best of both worlds. (Sorce Keller, 1984).

Supported by the omnipresent State in the past, the French music education leans increasingly towards more liberal and competitive model. How do the conservatories react to the restructuring of the competitive field? How do they impact the European territorial cohesion? Are they managing adaptive or hybrid strategies with new conceptions of music education? Or, conversely, do they gradually move away from the marketplace and become an obsolete and difficult heritage to maintain?

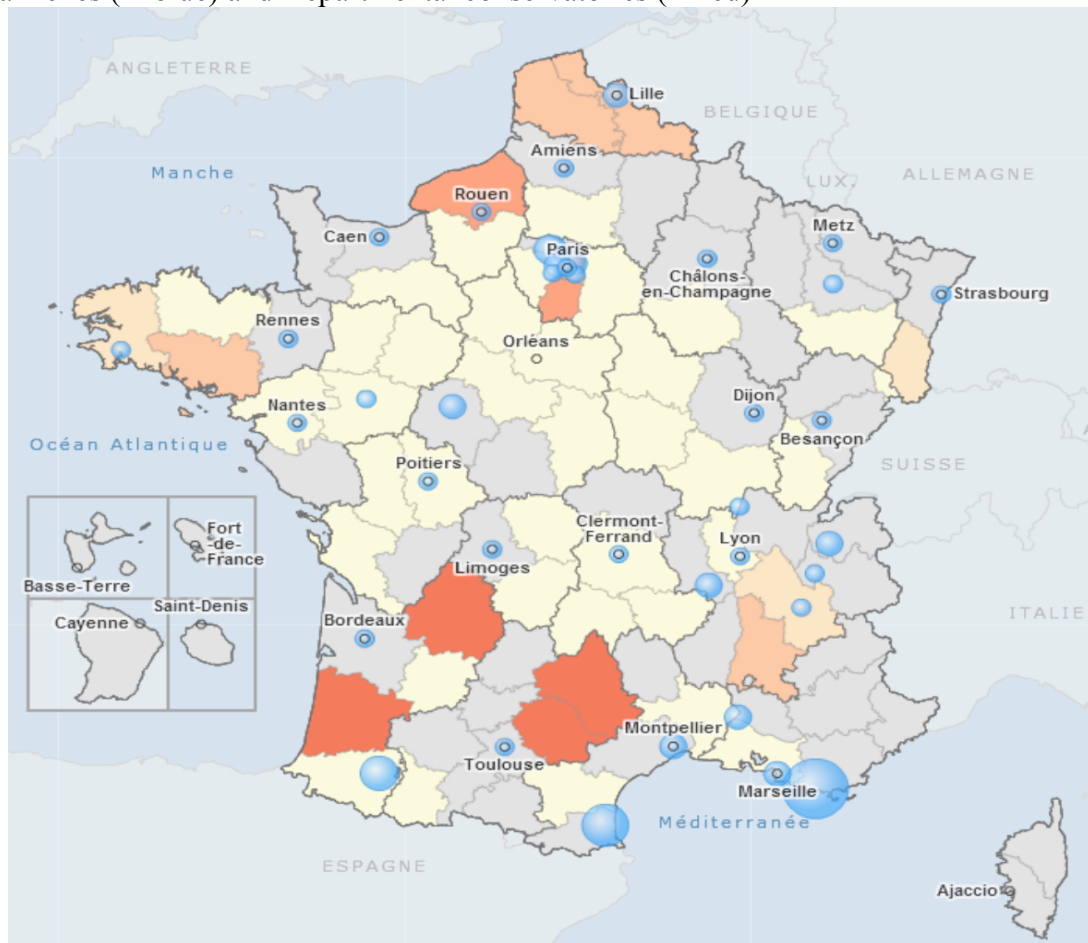
To answer these questions, it is necessary to analyze the current balance of power among the different elements of the French multi-level system of conservatories. However, the absence of coherent national or regional statistics prevents the quantitative analysis that could measure the overall territorial impacts of the cultural and educational policies.

Several sources of the *small data* – for instance, the forms filled by administrators of each conservatory that contains the data on the taught disciplines, territorial ranking, addresses, management and equipment of each conservatory, - could be found on the specialized open source websites, such as *lalettredumusicien.fr*. The data concerning the conservatoires recognized by the European instances could be found on the site of European Association of Conservatories (AEC): *www.aec-music.eu*.

By extraction and treatment of this *small data* with SPSS statistical software, we can build a number of small-scale datasets that could be merged to broader geographical databases such as those from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE). The geographical units that are structuring the INSEE databases (the zip and district codes, codes of regions, departments, GPS coordinates) allow locating of each conservatory in municipal, departmental, regional and national spaces, and build the comparative institutional geography of these territorial levels.

The combination of the spatial and the statistical data allow us to build the tailor-made interactive cartography. The Map 1 below is an example of a two-dimensional cartography that combines (1) the territorial indications and (2) the proportion meaning of Regional and Departmental conservatories. Obviously, we can observe the low cohesion between the two territorial levels: (a) the departments with the highest density of Departmental conservatories (in red), and (b) the regional metro-areas with the strong presence of Regional conservatories and their peripheral annexes (in blue).

Map 1: Graduated symbol map of the Regional conservatories and their peripheral annexes (in blue) and Departmental conservatories (in red)



The cartographic approach to music conservatories allows identifying the problems that deserves more detailed qualitative and statistical study in future. In the present paper, we will focus on three main questions:

- (1) Could the Superior Poles be *a priori* qualified as “European conservatoires”? What French conservatoires are recognized by the European instances?
- (2) Music education and decentralization: How has the recent reform and mergers of French regions impacted the territorial balance of music education?
- (3) Analyzing the effects of « Cultural Democracy »: teaching of baroque and contemporary music in Regional and Departmental conservatories

**Could the Superior Poles be *a priori* qualified as “European conservatoires”?
What French conservatoires are recognized by the European instances?**

What makes a conservatory “European”? Is the “European” administrative status capable to amplify the real international influence of an institution? Is this status as important as the orientation of musical and political networks that aim for the international cooperation – or avoid it? Or maybe the transversal “European” curriculum of music education is essential - even if the perfectly balanced compromise between the national traditions of music education seems to be unfeasible?

From the administrative viewpoint, the success of a Europe-oriented superior conservatory is measured by the relative concordance of its curriculum at the European level, augmented student's European mobility, and creation of the new European networks of artistic cooperation. The European Association of Conservatories (AEC) and the Erasmus network for music "Polifonia" are the two European organisations that address the European higher music education issues.

The European Association of Conservatoires (AEC) was created in 1953, and was initially based in Utrecht, Holland. Nowadays, the AEC has been moved to Brussels, and empowered by the European political instances as the representative of the EU in the area of music education. The AEC experts are engaged in « Quality Enhancement Process » that elaborate the insights and recommendations for the European conservatories. The three European countries are the most represented among the members of AEC: Italy (55 music schools), Germany (24 music schools) and France (20 music schools).

The blue circles on the maps below show the proportion meaning of the Superior Poles and other institutions that deliver the DNSPM in France (Map 2), but also point out the French members of the AEC (Map 3). Both of the maps indicate the proportion meaning of Regional conservatories and their annexes at the departmental level (in red).

Map 2:

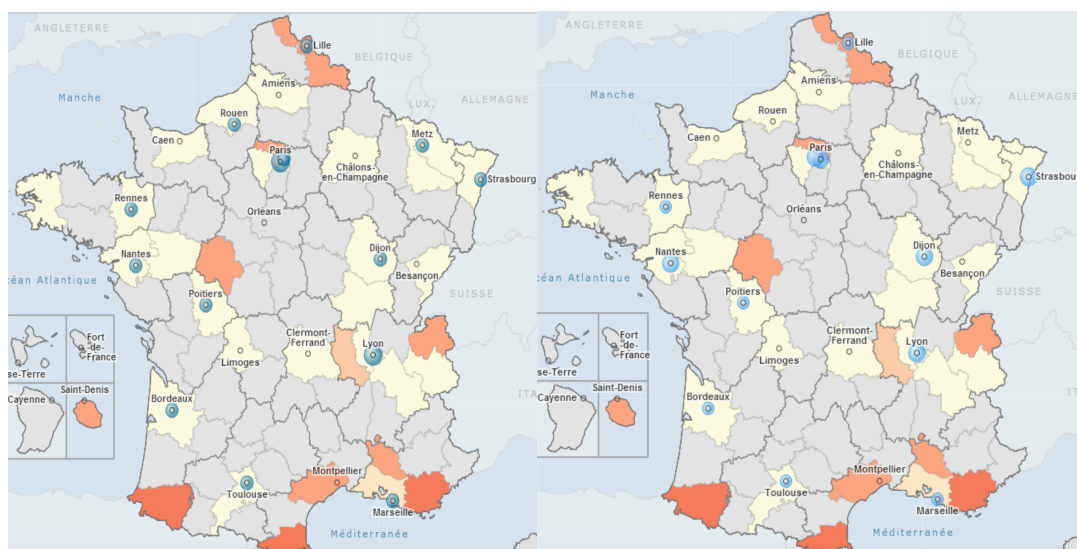
Proportion meaning of the Superior Poles and other institutions that deliver the DNSPM (in blue)

Proportion meaning of Regional conservatories and their annexes at the departmental level (in red)

Map 3:

Proportion meaning of the French institutions recognized by the European Association of Conservatories (in blue)

Proportion meaning of Regional conservatories and their annexes at the departmental level (in red)



As we can see, the two maps are almost similar. However, the list of French conservatories recognized by the AEC as "European" (Map 3), include not only 7 Superior Poles, but also 10 Regional Conservatories, 2 National Conservatories (Paris, Lyon) and 1 National Centre of Education of Music pedagogues (CEFEDM).

Most of these heterogeneous institutions are situated in the same cities as the Superior Poles (Map 2). Whereas some of the newly created Superior Poles are still not recognized by the AEC, the spatial proximity between the Superior Poles and the previously existing territorial institutions recognized by the AEC (i.e. the Regional Conservatories of Strasbourg, Nantes, etc.) creates the illusion of quasi-identity of the two maps. The only exception is the institutions based in the metro-areas of Rouen and Metz: neither the Regional Conservatoires, nor the Superior Poles are recognized by the AEC.

Obviously, most of the Superior Poles were created on the basis of previously existing clusters of music education that have been often recognized by the AEC *before* the equalization of French music diploma with their European counterparts. At this level, the top-down European policies have met the pre-existing bottom-up dynamics of the territorial political and musical networks strongly implicated in the territorial concurrence.

The other visible particularity consists in low correlation between (1) the territories with higher proportion of Regional conservatories and their annexes (in red) and (2) the territories with higher proportion of the Superior Poles and the other institutions recognized by the AEC (in blue). Indeed, most of the Superior Poles are currently based in the departments with one centralized Regional Conservatory (in yellow).

The obstacles to creation of the new Superior Poles on the basis of the strongly decentralized Regional Conservatoires with several peripheral annexes (such as the institutions situated in the Atlantic Pyrenees, Oriental Pyrenees and Var (in red)) deserve more detailed ethnographical and historical study in future.

Music education and decentralization: How has the recent reform and mergers of French regions impacted the territorial balance of music education?

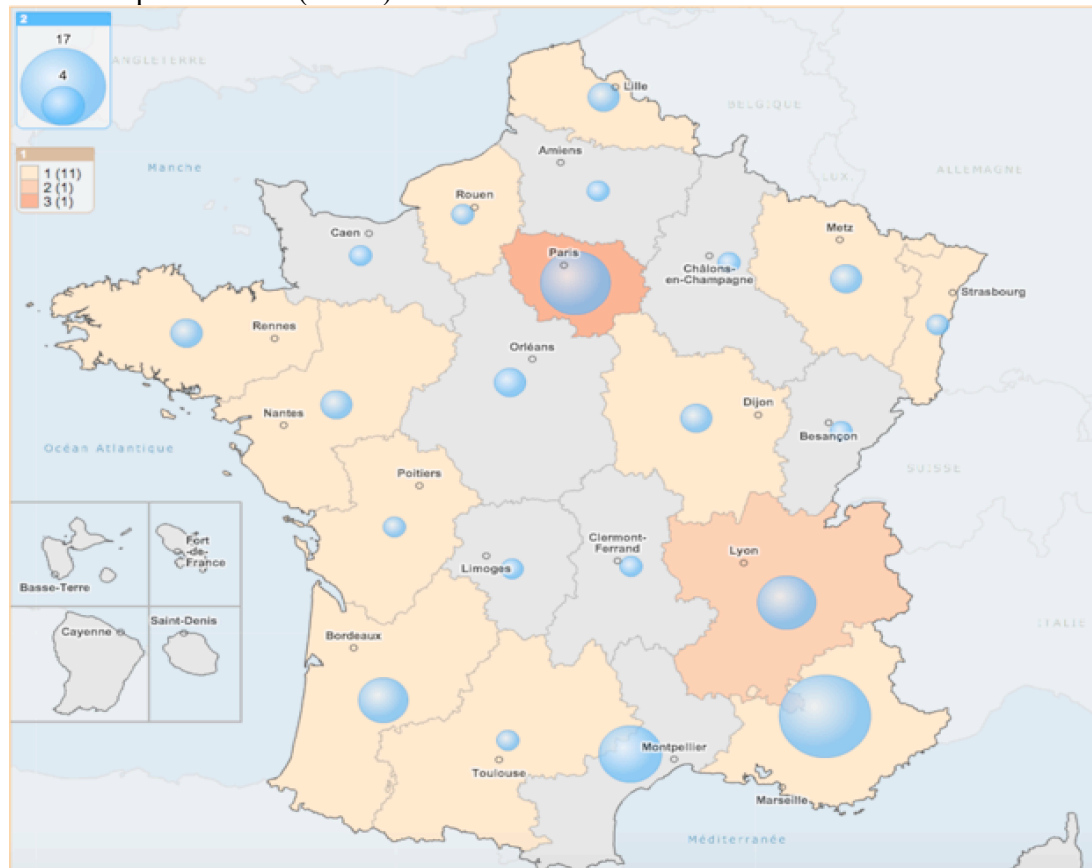
Encouraged by the European Union, regions become the frame of reference for European regional politics, aiming to promote the development of competitive territories. Since 2016, number of French regions has decreased from 22 to 13. The territorial reform aimed to accelerate decentralisation process and empower the regional metropolis (Marseille, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes, Nice, Rouen, Grenoble, Montpellier, Rennes and Brest), as well as the cities ranked "European metropolis" (Lille, Strasbourg). The initial project of decentralization reform provided also the suppression of Departments. Although the growing collisions between regional and departmental competences are still hotly debated, the final decision on this question has been delayed until 2020.

The new French Regions are highly impacted by intense development of local smart specialization strategies, based on the assumption of attractiveness to higher social fractions, or the "most educated and talented people", being able to migrate and reach the most culturally attractive regions and cities. If one believes the scenarios presented, investment in cultural capital in the broadest sense should lead to a concentration of social capital itself. In turn, social capital must generate economic capital for regions practicing the implementation of this new form of cultural policy and promote smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in all EU regions and cities.

From this perspective, the European conservatories contribute to territorial competition by attracting the young talented people that are potentially able to enhance the local cultural and economic dynamics.

The Map 4 below shows the distribution of Regional conservatories and their annexes (in blue) and the Superior Poles (in red) before the reform of French regions.

Map 4: Graduated symbol map of Regional conservatories and their annexes (in blue) and the Superior Poles (in red) before 2016.



In terms of implication in the Bologna process, only 13 among 22 French Regions were equipped with the Superior Poles, and were ready to integrate the European marketplace of music education. Parisian Region and Rhône-Alpes – pre-existing centers of music education due to the presence of the National Superior Conservatoires of Paris and Lyon – were the most saturated in both Regional and European Conservatories.

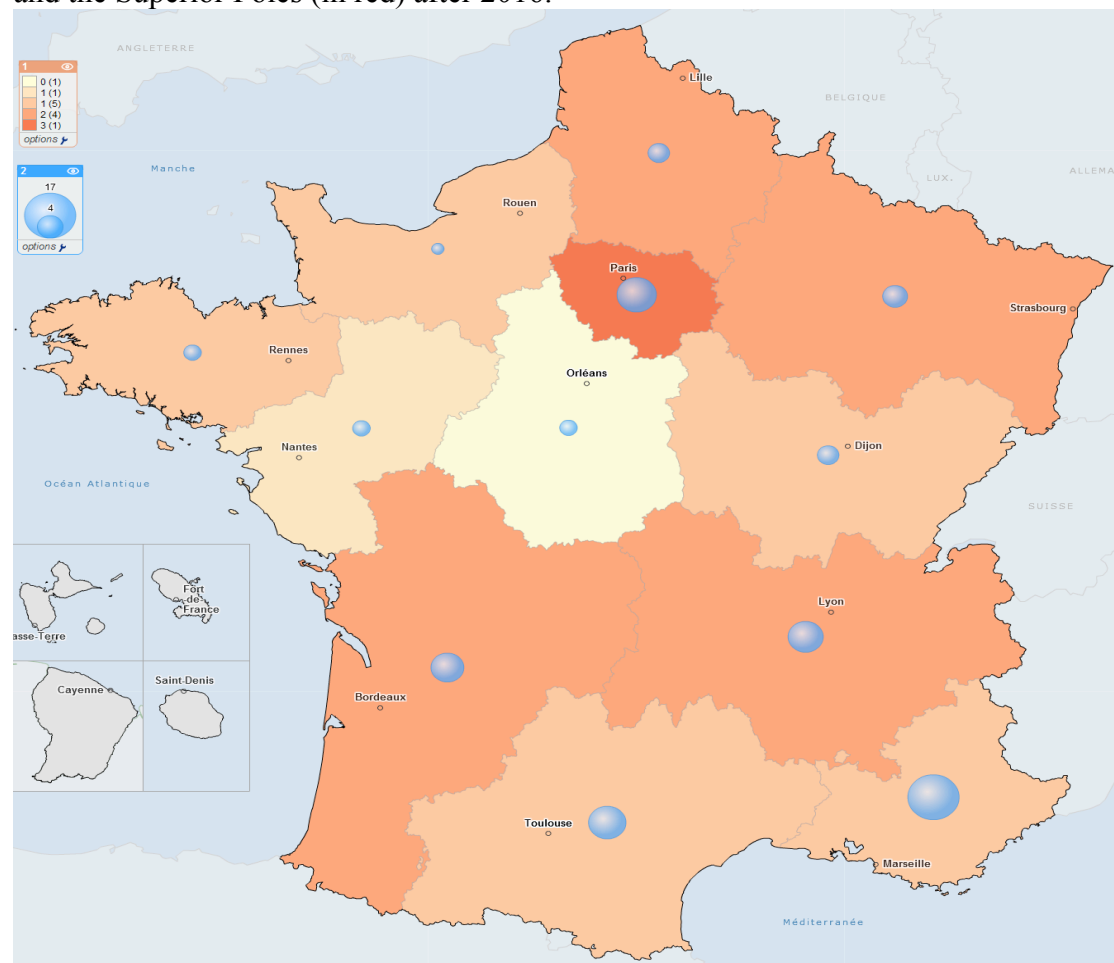
Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, that feature the biggest Regional Conservatory in France, the Conservatory of Toulon (11 territorial annexes), but also the Regional Conservatoires of Nice, Marseille, Aix-en-Provence and Avignon, - had however the only Superior Pole: the National Centre of Education of Music pedagogues (CEFEDM), based in Aix-en Provence.⁴

⁴ The European conservatory that delivers the DNSPM diploma in music practice hasn’t been installed in the Region PACA until nowadays, because of the concurrence issues among the Regional conservatoires. In-depth interviews with administrators of the Conservatories of Aix-en-Provence,

Montpellier and Perpignan - the most dynamic cities of Languedoc-Roussillon - featured the important Regional Conservatories that weren't however implicated in European dynamics. The opposite situation was observed in Midi-Pyrenees: the only Regional Conservatory in this Region, the Conservatory of Toulouse, has become, since 2011, an influential European cluster of music education.

After the mergers of French regions in 2016, the situation has changed. The Map 5 below shows the current distribution of Regional conservatories and their annexes (in blue) and the Superior Poles (in red).

Map 5: Graduated symbol map of Regional conservatories and their annexes (in blue) and the Superior Poles (in red).



The mergers of the Regions resulted in consolidation of the macro-regional units that reconvene the previously existing cultural institutions; the gaps between the different regional structures of music education decrease.

Although Parisian Region is still the most concentrated in the Europe-oriented conservatories, the new macro-Regions have reinforced their positions by uniting the territorial institutional resources. The areas previously poorly integrated in the new European dynamics of music education have joined the regions with the pre-existing Superior Poles.

Avignon and Toulon revealed the cleavages of institutional logics and disagreements concerning the installation of a Superior Pole in this Region.

The Superior Poles, formally attributed to a city, have an impact on the entire region, even beyond its national borders. For instance, the Superior Pole of the Region Picardy-Nord Pas de Calais is based in Eurometropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai that reunites several French and Belgian cities. The new 'horizontal' relations between French and other European conservatoires promote the new musical networks dissociated from the ancient administrative and symbolic hierarchy between Paris and the provinces.

Analysing the effects of the « Cultural Democracy »: teaching of baroque and contemporary music in Regional and Departmental conservatories

Since 1980s, the French conservatories has been strongly impacted by Jack Lang's « Cultural Democracy » political program. The European inclusive policies strengthen and support the similar approach to music practice open to everyone; regardless incomes, cultural origins, age, and education level. The contemporary disciplines (rock, rap, hip-hop, etc.), but also the disciplines that historically existed outside the conservatory frameworks (flamenco, baroque music, ancient music, etc.) have been integrated in the curriculum of the most Regional and Departmental conservatories.

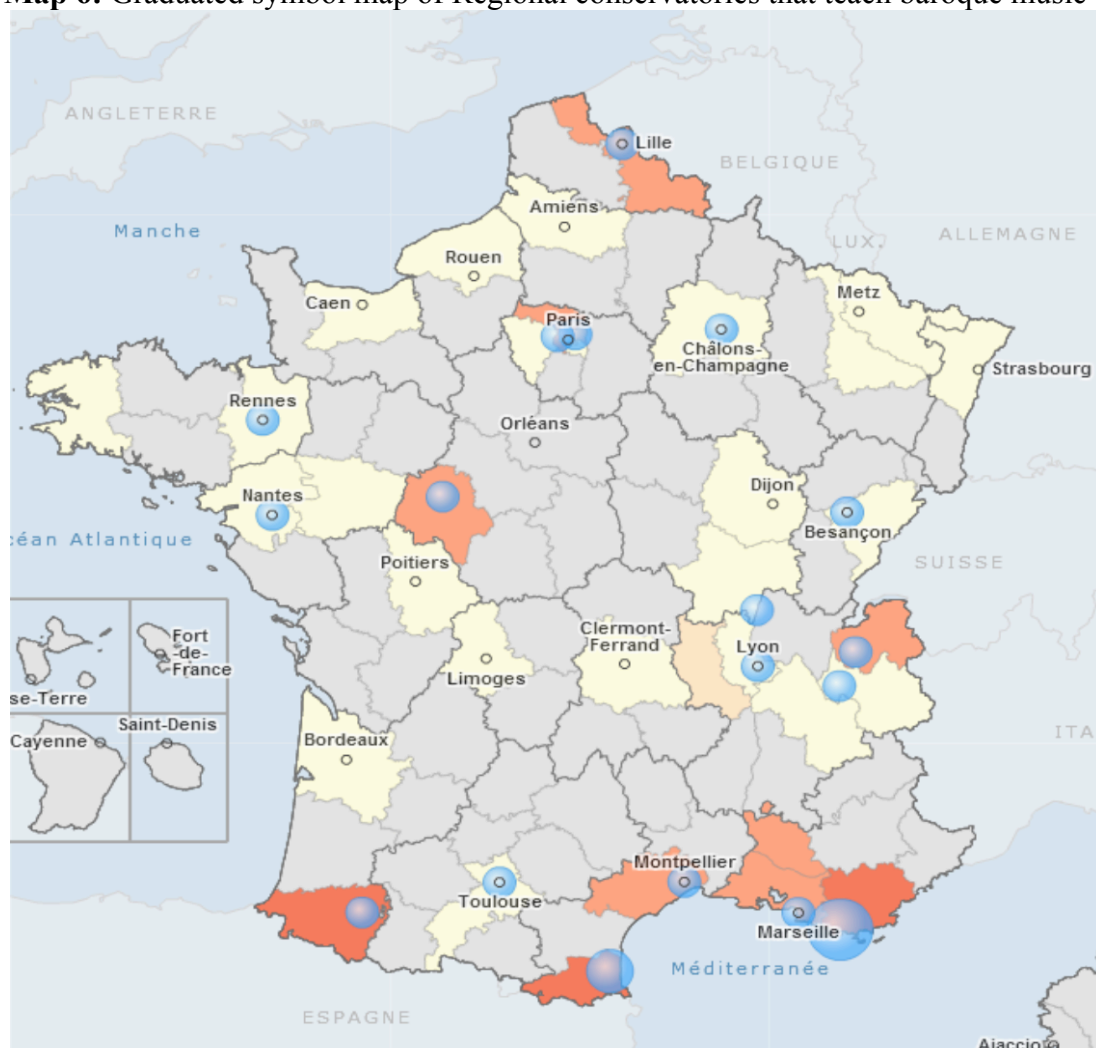
However, regardless of the "Cultural Democracy" long-term implementation, the institutional geography of the concerned institutions is far to be homogeneous. In the present paper, we will approach the teaching of (1) baroque music and (2) contemporary music. How do the conservatories that teach these disciplines are distributed at the Regional and Departmental levels?

The lack of official statistics on this question could be substituted by the data from specialized directories, such as *lalettredumusicien.fr*, that contains information communicated by administration of each conservatory on the disciplines taught in each institution. We will present here several results of cartographical analysis of this data.

Regional level

According to the directory, only 29 Regional Conservatories among 71 (40,8 %) integrate the baroque music in their curriculum. The Map 6 below shows the overall proportional meaning of Regional conservatories and their annexes (in red), and the Regional conservatories that teach baroque music (in blue.)

Map 6: Graduated symbol map of Regional conservatories that teach baroque music



Most of the conservatories that teach the baroque music are situated in the following Regions: Parisian Region (6 institutions), Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur Region (3 institutions based in Marseille, Nice and Toulon, but also several territorial annexes of Toulon Regional Conservatory), the new macro-Regions of Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes (3 conservatories based in Annecy, Chambéry and Saint-Etienne) and Languedoc-Roussillon-Midi-Pyrenees (3 conservatories based in Toulouse, Montpellier and Perpignan).

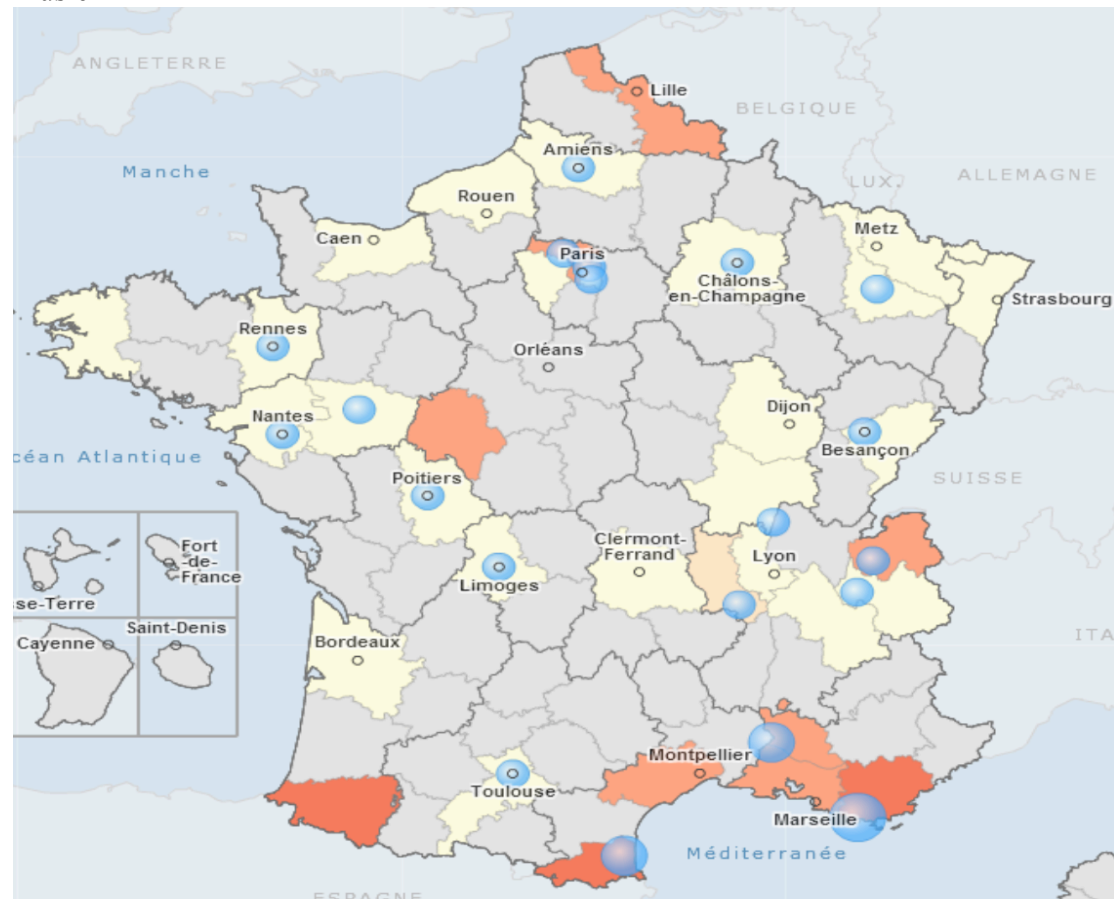
Concerning the contemporary music teaching, only 26 Regional Conservatories among 71 referenced in the directory (36,6%) has included this discipline in their educational program. Most of these institutions are based in the same Regions as the Regional Conservatories opened to the baroque music. However, there are some particular exceptions. For instance, the Regional Conservatory of Marseille teaches the baroque music, but still resists to teaching of the contemporary music.⁵ Several institutions that teach the contemporary music are also gathered in Pays de la Loire (Conservatories of Nantes and Angers), as well as in the new macro-region of

⁵ Raevskikh E. (2014) *Genèse et renouvellements des formes institutionnelles de la culture : une étude des conservatoires de musique et de leurs ancrages territoriaux*. Doctoral dissertation, EHESS-Marseille.

Aquitaine Limousin Poitou-Charentes (Conservatories of Poitier and Bordeaux).

The Map 7 below shows below the overall proportional meaning of Regional conservatories and their annexes (in red), and the Regional conservatories that teach contemporary music (in blue.)

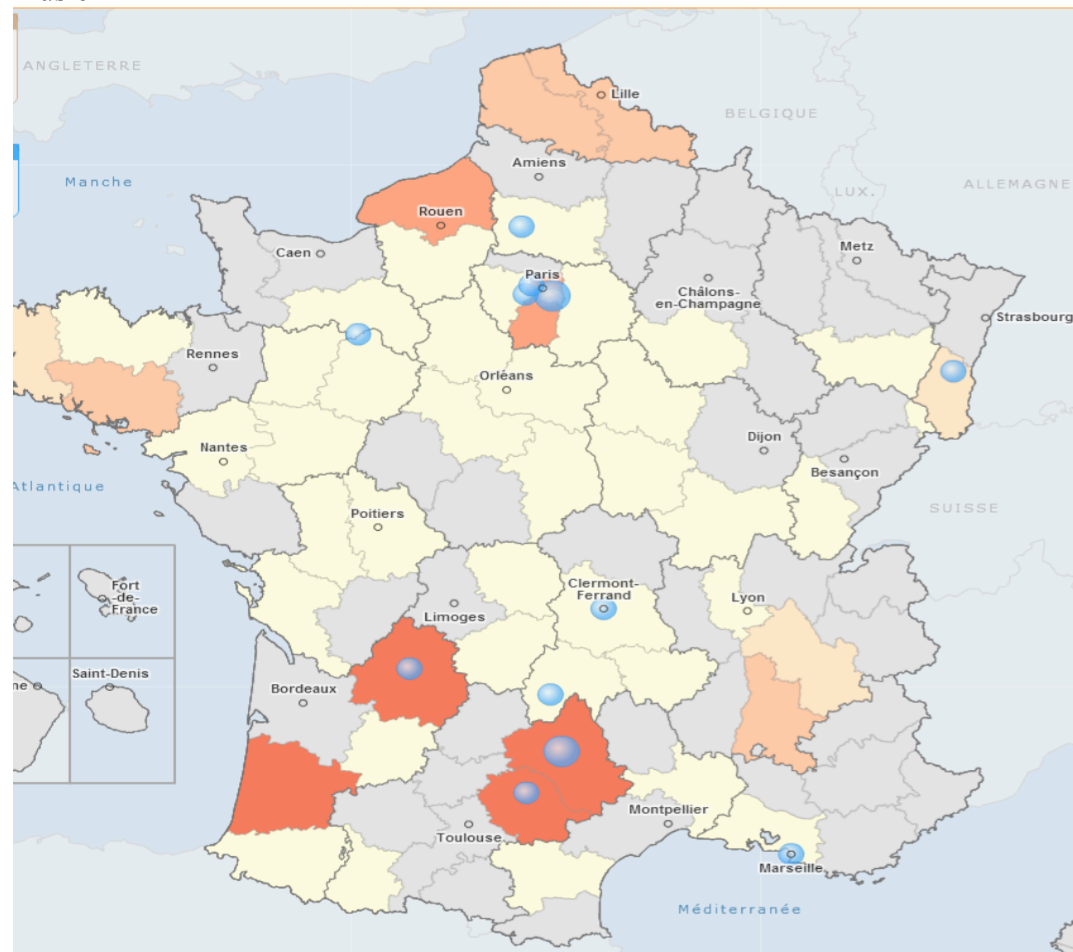
Map 7: Graduated symbol map of Regional conservatories that teach contemporary music



Department level

At the departmental level, the baroque music is taught in 40 Departmental Conservatories among 179 referenced in the directory (22,3%). The Map 8 below shows the overall proportional meaning of Departmental conservatories and their annexes (in red), and the Departmental conservatories that teach baroque music (in blue.)

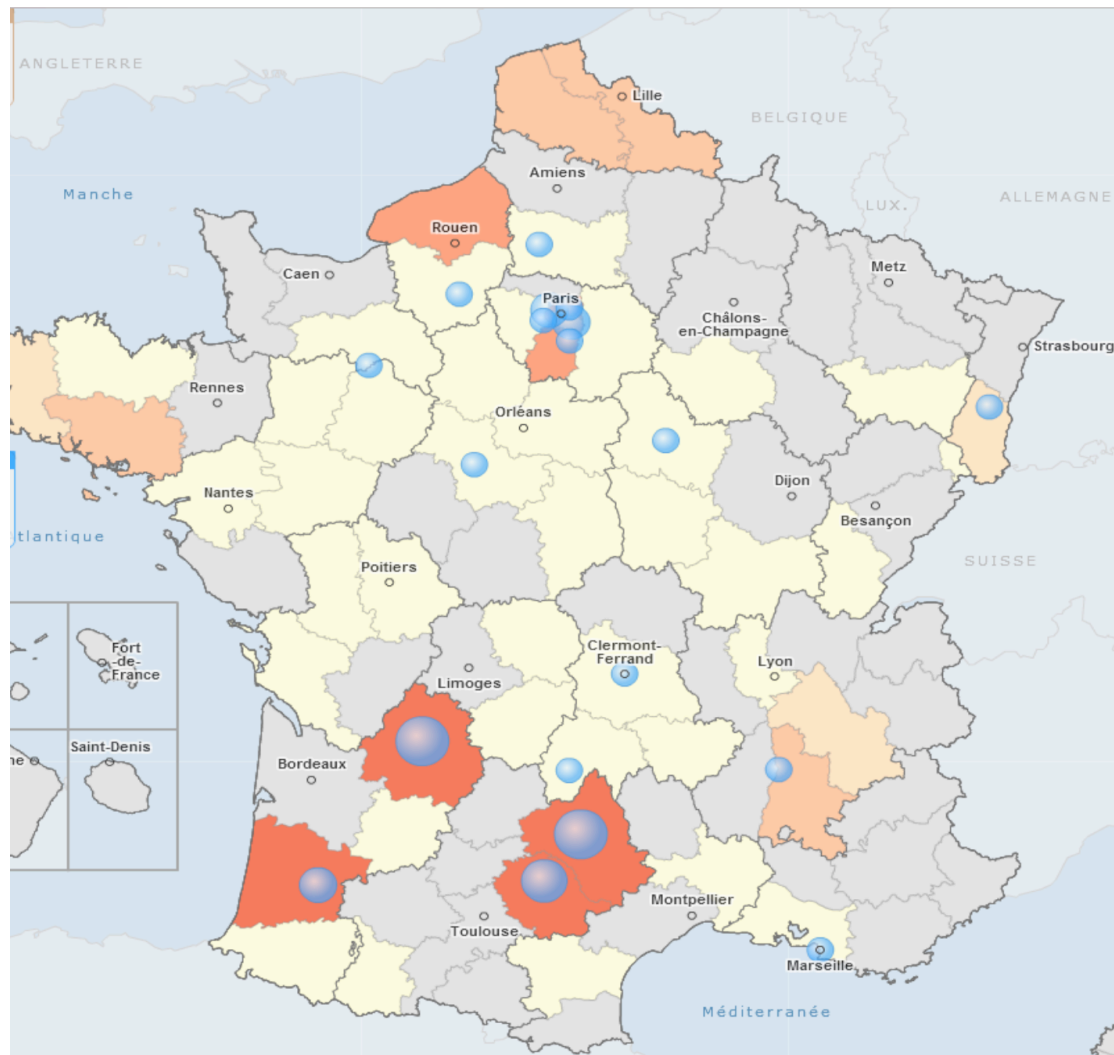
Map 8: Graduated symbol map of Departmental conservatories that teach baroque music



The Departments of Parisian area (Seine-et-Marne (77), Yvelines (78), Essonne (91), Hauts-de-Seine (92), Seine-Saint-Denis (93), Val-de-Marne (94) gather 10 institutions. The important centers of baroque music teaching are also based in the Departments of Tarn (81), Aveyron (12) and Haute-Vienne (87), which are as well strongly saturated with the territorial annexes of local Department Conservatories (marked in deep red).

The contemporary music is taught in 76 Departmental Conservatories among 179 (42,4%). The Map 9 below shows the overall proportional meaning of Departmental conservatories and their annexes (in red), and the Departmental conservatories that teach contemporary music (in blue.) Although the contemporary music is more spread at the departmental level than the baroque music, yet we can observe the concentration of both disciplines in Parisian area, but also in the departments of Tarn (81), Ayveronne (12) and Haute-Vienne (87) (in deep red).

Map 9: Graduated symbol map of Departmental conservatories that teach contemporary music



Discussion

In the current context of decentralized economy and European integration, the French music conservatoires are called to contribute to regional and municipal development and enhance the European student mobility. The previously existing territorial clusters of music education have become moving force for the equalization of French music diploma with their European counterparts. Although the formal European compatibility of the new French diploma (DNSPM) itself doesn't give an immediate rise to the European mobility, the conservatoires become gradually engaged in the territorial concurrence between the regional metropolises that seek to define their *smart specialisation* strategies. The new 'horizontal' relations between French and other European conservatoires promote the new musical networks dissociated from the ancient administrative and symbolic hierarchy between Paris and the provinces. We will indeed witness, in next decades, considerable changes in the way we conceive and understand the French music education system.

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