

Jazz for the iPod Generation: Digital Media and Jazz in the UK

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Thesis submitted for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Salford

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Year of submission: 2013

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Acknowledgements

Pursuing doctoral research while doing a substantial amount of teaching is a considerable undertaking, and I could not have managed it without the support and understanding of friends, family and colleagues. My main employer, the City of Liverpool College, has contributed towards the fees and supported my attendance at several conferences. I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof. George McKay and Prof. Tony Whyton, for their guidance and constructive feedback on my work. I am also indebted to Tony for inviting me to join the Rhythm Changes research team, which has provided a unique opportunity to work alongside and learn from a prestigious international group of jazz academics – something I did not expect when embarking on this programme but which has been an enjoyable and rewarding experience. Other members of academic staff at the University of Salford have been generous with both their time and thoughts, particularly Ben Halligan and the late Dave Sanjek. I have received valuable suggestions from academics I have met at conferences in various parts of Europe and the US, and gained unexpected insights as a result of discussing my research with my undergraduate students. I am grateful to the concert audience members who completed my surveys and the festival directors who allowed me to distribute them and be interviewed about their festivals, the online survey participants, and those volunteers who agreed to be interviewed about their jazz activities. Finally, I must thank my parents, Mary and Rod Sykes, for supporting me over many years throughout my musical and academic pursuits.

Abstract

The central aim of this thesis is to address the research question: In what ways are digital media affecting the dissemination of jazz in Britain? Within this are four sub-questions:

1. Has the changing position of jazz in British culture since 1980 affected its audience?
2. Has digital media had the same impact on the dissemination of jazz as it has on mainstream popular music?
3. How is digital technology affecting jazz scenes in the UK?
4. Is there an ‘online community’ of jazz enthusiasts in Britain?

The term ‘digital media’ suggests that geographical boundaries are irrelevant, but basing this project in the UK provides a focus for the research, both in terms of jazz as an established cultural form in Britain and in order to investigate British jazz audiences. Theoretical approaches from several disciplines are drawn upon, including cultural studies, new media studies, ethnomusicology, popular music studies and jazz studies. Research methods include surveys of audiences at selected jazz festivals in Britain using questionnaires along with interviews with the festival directors, online surveys, and interviews with jazz enthusiasts. The broad findings indicate that while jazz is one of many types of music available to contemporary audiences who may also listen to other genres, there are fans of particular styles choosing to attend certain live events – increasingly making use of digital media to find information and facilitate their decisions. Sites such as YouTube are popular with jazz audiences, and there are independent jazz record labels that use digital media effectively, unlike, according to some respondents, certain jazz musicians. Audiences (which include a significant proportion of musicians) are now using social networking sites to create online groups with shared musical interests, but this activity has not prevented jazz being essentially a music of live performance – and indeed may be helping to keep it live.

Introduction

This introductory chapter will explain the topic of research and rationale for pursuing it, including my own personal interest in the area. I will articulate the main research question and subsidiary questions stemming from the different strands of this study, explain the use of the term ‘the iPod generation’ in this context, summarise the research methods used, and discuss the content of each of the chapters.

Research topic and rationale

The general topic of this research is jazz in Britain and the ways in which it is being affected by digital communications technologies, which have rapidly grown in the form of the internet and virtual networks during the late twentieth century and early twenty-first. There is a substantial body of work about the evolution of these technologies and their impact on society and culture in the ‘industrialised’ (or ‘mediatised’) world, both theoretical and empirical-based, the latter having developed alongside new methods of ‘virtual ethnography’ in which the activities of users of such technologies may be studied ‘in the field’. There is also a large amount of literature on the effects of digital technology on the mainstream popular music recording industry, by journalists, technology commentators, the industry itself and critical scholars, focusing mostly on the loss of revenue supposedly caused by the illegal sharing of recorded music files online. Jazz as a broad genre has experienced varying degrees of success in the UK, and though considered lying somewhere between a popular music and an art music (for example, jazz is often studied culturally in a similar way to rock but its performance is still supported to some extent by arts funding) it has enjoyed two periods of relative popularity during the period that digital technologies have been widely available for recorded music and, more recently, communication (since around 1980).

The aim of this research is to investigate the impact of easily accessible digital technology and the internet on a 'niche' genre of music, particularly in terms of its dissemination to and between members of its audience, using jazz as a case study and the United Kingdom as a location. The nature of the internet necessarily implies an absence of geographical boundaries, but using the UK as my focus provides a framework within which to base my research, contextually and for practical reasons. There appears to have been little academic research made in this area, particularly with reference to niche or specialist genres such as jazz (where, unlike much mainstream popular music aimed at teenagers, there is still a relatively healthy market for CDs). As a result, theoretical ideas and arguments from several disciplines have been considered, such as cultural studies, new media studies, ethnomusicology, popular music studies and jazz studies. Although there is a trend towards studying cultural production and the role of digital technology in the discipline of popular music studies, it is as yet an under-researched area within jazz studies. Jazz has relied throughout virtually all its history on physical recordings and traditional media for its dissemination and consumption, and indeed has been canonised on this basis. CD sales of mainstream popular music are declining, and digital technology and the internet are thought to be contributing (among other factors) to this, though revenues from legal online consumption are increasing. In addition, surveys have been conducted whose findings suggest that the jazz audience in Britain is ageing, and may be less inclined than young people to use the internet for their music consumption, though this cannot be assumed (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p.324). This study seeks to identify the role played by digital media in the dissemination of jazz in the UK, specifically the use of the internet by jazz enthusiasts, a topic into which little if any academic research has been conducted to date.

Personal motivation and interest

My personal motivation for researching and writing this topic stems from my interest in jazz from an early age (around eleven), which I discovered through BBC radio broadcasts, in particular *Jazz Record Requests* on BBC Radio 3 every Saturday afternoon – my father would listen to classical music on this station, and when the jazz programme came on I found myself increasingly fascinated by it. This interest, coincidentally, began around the same time as the period under discussion in the contextual part of this thesis (i.e. from 1980) but as my peers did not share my curiosity and jazz education had not reached the part of Yorkshire in which I grew up, it was not until I had been learning music in the classical tradition for ten years that I became aware of ways to learn about jazz. This started with occasional jazz piano lessons and improvisation workshops and led to my pursuing a jazz degree at Leeds College of Music at the end of the 1980s, a period during which there was a ‘jazz resurgence’ – indeed, opportunities to see concerts featuring popular artists (in jazz terms) such as Andy Sheppard, Martin Taylor and the Jazz Warriors in Leeds were highlights of my undergraduate years. During and after my training as a jazz musician I have become involved in the local jazz scenes of the areas in which I have lived and worked (since 1993 the north west of England) as a musician, an audience member and to some extent as a jazz educator. I have observed the way in which jazz sometimes appears to be music with an ageing and/or sparse audience and at other times attracts an enthusiastic crowd of young people, and the fear among some jazz enthusiasts that ‘true’ jazz will soon perish despite many music students showing an interest in jazz, even if it is one of many genres they enjoy.

My experience in music education and local jazz scenes has led me to question the ambivalent nature of jazz and its audiences in the UK, and the factors that may be contributing towards it – particularly the use of digital media, the basis of this research topic. As this research

concerns jazz in Britain and its place in contemporary British culture, I was invited to join the Rhythm Changes research team as a non-funded doctoral student (I had already commenced my studies at the time the project was launched). Rhythm Changes is a three-year research project (May 2010 to May 2013) based at the University of Salford, funded by Humanities in the European Research Area in partnership with the universities of Graz, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Stavanger, Birmingham City and Lancaster. The overall research theme is ‘jazz cultures and European identities’ and part of the research concerns changing ideas about canonicity and the use of available media, and the ways in which identities are constructed, which may now include digital media in the form of, for example, social networking.¹ Being part of this distinguished team has been an enlightening experience and highly beneficial to my development as an academic researcher.

Research questions

The main research question is:

In what ways are digital media affecting the dissemination of jazz in Britain?

There are various strands stemming from this general question, which produce further, more specific questions. One strand is concerned with the place of jazz within British culture and its audience; another is about digital media and its impact on the dissemination of music and jazz in particular; and a third is to do with communities and scenes in jazz in the UK, both geographical and virtual. The questions resulting from these strands are:

1. Has the changing position of jazz in British culture since 1980 affected its audience?
2. Has digital media had the same impact on the dissemination of jazz as it has on mainstream popular music?
3. How is digital technology affecting jazz scenes in the UK?

¹ The project’s full title is Rhythm Changes: Jazz Culture and European Identities, CRP number 09-HERA-JRP-CD-OP-017. Project Leader: Prof. Tony Whyton. Web site: www.rhythmchanges.net

4. Is there an ‘online community’ of jazz enthusiasts in Britain?

The iPod generation

The result of digitalisation and the wide access to music online is that the major record labels have had to rethink their business strategies (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013), in what may seem to be the detriment of ‘minority’ styles such as jazz (except for major label performers such as Jamie Cullum), but it has also provided, in theory, an opportunity for independent specialist labels and individual musicians and bands to disseminate their music to a potential worldwide audience. The ubiquity of recorded music available since the 1970s that has resulted in what Shipton (2007) calls ‘postmodern jazz’ has been vastly increased by digital technology and the internet, and perhaps young people who have grown up with this on-demand availability – the ‘iPod generation’² – are less concerned with being identified with one style of music than may have previously been the case. This thesis is not about how much jazz young people listen to – though that would make an interesting research project – rather, it is concerned with the ways in which digital media are used by members of the ‘jazz community’ in Britain as part of their jazz-related activities. If jazz recordings are being disseminated online by and between members of this community it may indicate the wider adoption of ‘iPod generation’ practices across what is often assumed to be an older audience, but this audience may also include young people; these practices would therefore contribute to the dissemination of jazz to a broader age range to provide ‘jazz for the iPod generation’.

Research methods

In this thesis I consider the contextual and conceptual ideas from a range of secondary sources and existing research in the relevant subject areas, informed by critical theoretical writings

² ‘It is the iPod generation – kids don’t want to listen to just one genre of music any more’ (Dawn McKay, quoted in Blake (2007, p.vii).

(particularly postmodern theorists). In order to find out whether the existing research findings are still relevant and to look at areas not previously investigated I also use mixed methods of data gathering as the original research undertaken for this thesis, primarily to provide 'snapshots' of audience activity to illustrate the points of my argument. In this sense, my thesis is not of the social science type as such, but it uses quantitative and qualitative methods within what is structured more as an arts and humanities thesis (Wisker, 2008, pp.262-264). These methods are explained in detail in a short methods chapter, but to summarise, they are paper-based audience surveys at two UK jazz festivals chosen for their contrasting music policies, interviews with the promoters of each of the festivals, an online survey and interviews with a few of the respondents. The paper and online surveys were conducted a year apart, with the interviews, which were semi-structured, taking place after the online surveys. Because I have been working with members of the public, ethical approval was gained before conducting the data gathering, both specifically (for the festival surveys) and under the umbrella of the Rhythm Changes project.

Thesis structure

Following this introductory chapter, this thesis is made up of seven chapters plus a conclusion chapter, appendices and a list of references. Chapter 1 is the main literature review chapter, divided into general areas according to subject or discipline. Not every text listed in the list of references is reviewed; the most relevant to this research that were published up to the end of 2012 are included, and others (such as those published in 2013) are discussed within the other chapters as they are cited. As digital technology and its use is rapidly evolving, new media research can be out of date before it is published, and even within the period of my research there have been significant changes in the way digital media are used, particularly social networking. Similarly, the recording industry has begun to adapt to digitalisation and the most

recent texts about the industry (in particular, Hesmondhalgh, 2013, and Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013) recognise this.

My methods for the data-gathering part of my research are discussed in chapter 2, a short chapter in which I mainly consider online investigation methods as developed by researchers such as Christine Hine, Nancy Baym and Robert Kozinets. As well as ‘virtual ethnography’ (Hine, 2000) there is the more explicitly articulated ‘netnography’ (Kozinets, 2010), the latter providing a methodological approach that can be used in a supporting way rather than as the main research focus. For this reason, such an approach is appropriate for my research here, as this thesis is not an ethnographic study.

Chapter 3 provides a historical context to jazz in Britain mainly from 1980, but with some background from the 1960s and 1970s. Jazz in the UK is considered to have gone through an innovative and transformative period from 1960, and during this time formal jazz education was established as well as greater recognition of the music by the BBC (Wickes, 1999 and Heining, 2012). After 1980, political and cultural changes, perhaps coupled with the presence of musicians and audiences who had benefited from jazz education, led to a revival in the popularity of jazz and its adoption as a mark of sophistication. Some jazz musicians, such as Courtney Pine and Django Bates, became almost household names for a time in the late 1980s and even after this brief resurgence had subsided, jazz education continued to grow and jazz in Europe continued to innovate – more so than in the US, according to Nicholson (2005). After 2000 there was another revival in the popularity of vocalists in particular, with performers such as Diana Krall, Norah Jones and Jamie Cullum enjoying a very high level (for jazz) of popular success among mainstream audiences (Shipton, 2007, pp.682-684). At the same time, some commentators argue that the UK jazz scene has over recent years divided

into smaller scenes along stylistic lines, even though many musicians are highly eclectic (Martin and Parsonage, 2008).

Digital media and music are discussed in chapter 4, in terms of theoretical approaches to both digital technology and its consequences for the recording industry. These include the problematic ideas of some media theorists such as Marshall McLuhan, who, though highly influential, could be overly deterministic. The merits and shortcomings of the more recently conceived historical periodisations of medium theory and media ecology are considered, and the music-specific model proposed by Jacques Attali, within which digital media is situated. The impact of digital technology is evaluated in terms of its consequences for both the recording industry and music audiences, not only regarding illegal file sharing but also the use of audio and video streaming, social networking and blogging. A range of viewpoints is considered, from those of ‘digital optimists’ such as some of the early internet theorists to cautiously critical authors – particularly in their recent work – as exemplified by Ardit (2013) and Hesmondhalgh (2013), and though it is dangerous to attempt to predict the future some theories are discussed, particularly the model suggested by David (2010).

Chapter 5 is concerned with theoretical approaches to ‘community’ as conceived by sociologists and adopted and adapted by music scholars, and the now established alternative concept of ‘scene’ as developed by popular musicologists as well as jazz writers. The problematic nature of the term ‘community’ is considered in both the way it has been traditionally used in a geographical context and its more recent re-conceptualisation in the virtual world as ‘online community’. A comparable situation has arisen with music scenes, where Bennett and Peterson (2004) classify traditional scenes as ‘local’ or ‘translocal’ and acknowledge the existence of ‘virtual’ scenes online. Jazz scenes are also discussed, as they

have had a place in journalistic writing for many years but have often been referred to uncritically by jazz authors, even academic ones, and the possible existence of ‘virtual’ jazz scenes in the UK with reference to examples from my research.

Chapter 6 deals with aspects of the jazz audience in Britain. It is an evaluation of existing research and a discussion of my own research involving samples of audiences at two jazz festivals in 2010 followed by an online survey in 2011, along with some contextual information from telephone interviews I conducted with the festival directors. My research data is considered along with the existing research findings, and some comparisons can be made despite the differing purposes of each project. Apart from the quantitative data that was gathered by my small-scale surveys, the qualitative interview data and comments left by online survey respondents are revealing and are analysed as a ‘snapshot’ of the behaviour and views of particular samples of jazz audiences (and promoters) at the times of the surveys and interviews. Among the aspects of behaviour suggested by respondents’ comments are varying levels of engagement with the ‘jazz scene’ (and those of other music styles), differing ways in which digital technology is used for jazz activities and quite a localised sense of scene, even when digital media is used to communicate with other jazz enthusiasts (who could potentially be, geographically, a great distance away).

I conducted interviews with some of the online respondents, the results of which are discussed in chapter 7. The interviewees were involved with their local jazz scenes in various ways (as, essentially, an amateur promoter, a music teacher and a live music fan) and their views on jazz audiences, the internet and jazz musicians’ use of online media are varied and revealing. The discussion of their comments is structured thematically, and though the qualitative data has been broken down and classified into three basic types of comments, for clarity the tables

displaying this data in the form of short comments are in appendix D rather than within this chapter, to enable longer quotations to be discussed and a better understanding of their contexts gained.

The conclusion chapter draws together the various strands of this study within appropriate theoretical frameworks, and the ways in which the research data discussed in chapters 6 and 7 illustrate these strands. These are articulated by addressing each of the four questions derived from the strands in turn, using the theoretical models and secondary data from sources consulted during my research, along with my own findings discussed in the previous two chapters and avenues for further research. I then address the main research question and summarise the original contribution my research has made to the understanding of the topic, and the wider outlook I have gained as result of this project.

Following the list of references are the appendices containing questionnaires and forms used in the festival and online surveys, survey and interview response data and transcripts of interviews.

Chapter 1

Jazz, digital media and popular musicology: a literature review

‘Where in the 1940s, small groups of enthusiasts might gather in a tiny apartment to listen to the latest records, today’s turntable is the internet, the small apartment has become a global network, and everyone is invited’ (Prouty, 2012, p.147).

This literature review chapter is divided into several broad subject areas, but as with all multidisciplinary research, some texts do not fall neatly into a single subject area, and have been categorised for convenience in the area within which I have mainly been using them. The subject areas are as follows: jazz in the UK,¹ what has become known as the ‘new jazz studies’ and related jazz literature, new media and the internet, the music industry and related technology including current debates about intellectual property, research methods relating to the study of subjects online including ‘virtual ethnography’, and aspects of popular musicology and related theoretical approaches from various schools of thought. This review reflects the wide range and number of texts I have read but for reasons of space does not include every source listed in the bibliography. With regard to new media and internet-related literature in particular, because both the technology and the general field of study are evolving rapidly I have reviewed (with the odd important exception) writing published up to the end of 2012.²

¹ There is an increasing body of literature concerning jazz in Europe, but for reasons of space and focus I will not include any examples here.

² Expanded versions of my reviews of Prouty (2012) and Heining (2012) have been accepted for publication in forthcoming issues of *Jazz Research Journal*.

Jazz in the UK: histories

Published histories of jazz in Britain can be divided into those written for the general reader and those aimed at the academic market, though it should be said that all the books reviewed below are well written and readable, and the most recent, Heining (2012), seems to be intended as a critical history (of a specific period) for a wide audience but written in a semi-scholarly style. Of the purely scholarly texts, only one is really a history (Parsonage, 2005); the others (McKay, 2005, and Moore, 2007) examine particular aspects of jazz in a British cultural context. Though not aimed at academics, Carr's (2008) book is not exactly a history either, but it provides some historical background and is a useful snapshot of contemporary jazz in Britain at the time of its first publication in 1973.

The first serious attempt to document jazz in Britain was that of David Boulton in 1958, *Jazz in Britain*. At the beginning of the book, Boulton makes it clear that he 'has written about jazz in Britain. There is a lot of difference between that and British jazz' (Boulton, 1958, n.p.). He makes a pertinent point here: of the other general histories, Godbolt's (1984 and 1989) volumes are about jazz in Britain, as is Carr (2008), whereas Wickes (1999) and Heining (2012) are on British jazz. Some of these texts make Boulton's distinction more clearly than others, but in post-colonial Britain, who and what we consider to be British can be difficult to define. This point should become clearer below, but Boulton sets out his stall by giving a brief account of the origins of jazz starting with the Atlantic slave trade, followed by minstrelsy and early jazz, and then the arrival of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band in London in 1919. The next few chapters comprise an account of the fortunes of jazz in Britain up to the late 1950s, and British jazz (as performed by British musicians) is very much part of the narrative, but placed in the context of the influence of American jazz. The rest of Boulton's book is a collection of short essays on subjects such as the definition of jazz, the Englishness of English

jazz, and even skiffle; it is less focused than the historical section but provides a revealing glimpse into the author's views and thoughts at the time.

Jim Godbolt produced two volumes, *A History of Jazz in Britain 1919-50* (1984) and *A History of Jazz in Britain 1950-70* (1989). Interestingly, in the introduction to the first volume Godbolt describes his work as what he believes to be 'the first attempt at a comprehensive examination of the first three decades of jazz in Britain' (p.xi) and makes no reference to Boulton in his bibliography (though in fairness, he acknowledges Boulton's work in the second volume in his review of British jazz literature). Godbolt's account is certainly more detailed than Boulton's and discusses jazz in Britain from the outset, starting with references to jazz in the press as early as 1917. He includes various aspects of the 'jazz scene' in Britain, such as rhythm clubs, magazines like *Melody Maker* and the 'Archer Street jazzmen' in London. Godbolt also discusses the significant roles played by certain individuals in the BBC and other organisations in allowing increased opportunities for jazz broadcasts and performances. In particular, it took a great deal of work to overcome the obstacles imposed by the Ministry of Labour and the Musicians' Union upon visiting American musicians, and Godbolt devotes an entire chapter ('The Ban is Breached') to the ending of the situation in his second volume. The importance of London as Britain's 'jazz city' is also given a chapter in volume two, as is the aforementioned literature review, though in all other respects, on balance the first volume is the better written of the two.

Ian Carr's *Music Outside: Contemporary Jazz in Britain* (2008, originally written in 1973) begins with Carr's own perspective on the contemporary jazz scene at the time and its creative practitioners, along with his perception of the place of jazz within British culture (largely one of a struggle for acceptance). Most of the following chapters are portraits of significant

individuals in jazz in Britain such as Mike Westbrook and Carr himself, and the inclusion of Chris McGregor and Mike Gibbs (both from southern Africa) indicates that Carr is thinking of jazz in Britain rather than British jazz. However, these musicians made their homes (temporarily at least) in the UK, and, as he points out, they 'have been, and are, crucial to the whole spectrum of developing British jazz' (p.17). In the 2008 edition there is a postscript by Roger Cotterrell, who provides an update on the careers of some of the musicians Carr discussed, and the legacy of the 'music outside generation' in helping to move European jazz away from purely American influences. He ends by noting that what has remained the same is a lack of recognition of jazz in British culture, but that new musicians are constantly emerging. Nonetheless, Cotterrell's implication is that, in terms of creativity, we are no longer in the period of Carr's original text, when 'Britain really was a special place of jazz innovation' (p.163).

The theme of innovation is central to John Wickes's *Innovations in British Jazz: Volume One 1960-1980* (1999), which is a detailed and comprehensive account of the period the book covers (though, unfortunately, Wickes does not appear to have produced any further volumes). The book is structured around musical developments in a broadly chronological way, but with individual musicians discussed in terms of their contributions to those developments, which can make it difficult to trace a musician's career (although there is an extensive index). It covers a wide range of styles, is well researched and includes references to many recordings, commercially successful and otherwise. As with Carr, Wickes includes non-British musicians including Chris McGregor and the Blue Notes, who were in exile from South Africa, and also Caribbeans such as Joe Harriott, whose quintet (experimenting with 'free form' music) influenced many London jazz musicians in the 1960s. Without question Wickes acknowledges the importance of Harriott's contribution: 'At a time when most of his

contemporaries still insisted on the intrinsic superiority of American models, Joe Harriott, a black Jamaican immigrant, had stood British jazz's self image on its head' (p.15).

Duncan Heining's recent book *Trad Dads, Dirty Boppers and Free Fusioneers: British Jazz, 1960-1975* (2012) covers a similar historical period to Wickes but with a wider stylistic scope, and considers social and cultural contexts rather than focusing on musical innovations (though these are looked at in terms of the creation of a British jazz sound). Heining writes as a journalist but in a fairly sophisticated style, making reference to various scholarly authors but without engaging very deeply with theoretical models. He has the benefit of access to many interviews with musicians (conducted himself or via secondary sources) and this substantial book contains a wealth of historical and biographical information, as well as social and political contexts for jazz in the UK during the period covered. Heining also discusses certain subjects that have perhaps been neglected by other general histories, such as racism, gender and sexuality, and drug and alcohol use experienced by jazz musicians. However, there is something of an imbalance in some of these discussions; homophobia is not covered nearly as extensively as anti-female sexism, despite the cultural and legal context explained in some detail, and the chapter on drug and alcohol abuse – notwithstanding its prevalence in, and negative effects on, jazz in Britain – possibly overstates its significance a little. Overall, there is much of interest in this book, but some of the arguments are slightly contradictory, such as criticising those who suggest the arrival of the Blue Notes was a 'watershed' moment in an early chapter only to later describe them as '[p]erhaps the most important and influential group of immigrants to impact upon British jazz' (p.261). Heining also discusses the significance of Joe Harriott and other immigrants such as Kenny Wheeler, and so, despite the book's title, is concerned with jazz in Britain rather than just British jazz.

George McKay looks at jazz in Britain – including British jazz – in his book *Circular Breathing: The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain* (2005). This academic text (which draws on many theoretical ideas) considers the political, as well as musical, influence of Joe Harriott, Chris McGregor and various other postcolonial immigrants, along with other aspects including the normally overlooked areas of female instrumentalists and gay jazz musicians (in more critical depth than Heining). Though intentionally not a history of jazz in Britain, this book covers substantial ground and a wide range of jazz styles as they developed in Britain from around 1919, in terms of their cultural significance regarding race, nationality, political appropriation (by the left in particular), gender, authenticity and (post) imperial society. Of relevance to the contextual background to this study are: Britain as a location for jazz (given its American origins) and its post-imperial connections with the Caribbean, South Africa etc, and the duality of the capitalism and military power of music's mother country with its adoption by the British left; the issues of colour and the experiences of white British jazz musicians (chapter 2); the (often forced) arrival of black musicians (from the Caribbean and South Africa in particular) and their contributions to the British jazz scene (chapter 3); and the male domination of jazz despite its supposed 'liberations' (chapter 5). In addition to the historical/theoretical discussions, the research has been given a distinct angle from the practitioners' perception resulting from many interviews and correspondence with musicians. This text provides a cultural and political basis for the social identity of jazz in Britain, which has tended to attract left-leaning people (p.302). The area perhaps less fully covered here is that of the changing cultural and social perception of jazz within current popular culture in Britain.

Similarly, Hilary Moore's *Inside British Jazz: Crossing Borders of Race, Nation and Class* (2007) 'explores specific historical moments in British jazz history' (as it states on the inside

of the dust jacket) rather than presenting a history of British jazz. That said, as with McKay's book, the examples chosen are discussed in chronological order and trace 'the process of jazz's arrival, absorption and assimilation into British life' (p.2). Moore's case studies include the Jazz Warriors in the 1980s, as well as the British New Orleans revival and Joe Harriott as McKay does, but analysed in different ways – Moore argues that in some respects Harriott seemed to identify himself as British more than anything else (even speaking in a 'Queen's English' accent, p.81). Moore can be considered, then, to be dealing with British jazz more than jazz in Britain. This text would appear to cover much of the area dealt with by McKay, if less extensively, but it has less emphasis on political use of jazz and concentrates more on the impact of jazz in terms of race, nation and class on both musicians and audience. The key themes are: fluidity of class and nation, the decline of British identity throughout the twentieth century, the relationship between music and meaning (the adaptation of jazz), and narratives of marginality and belonging (including cultural ownership). There are some interviews with musicians, particularly in the last chapter, and musical analysis of free improvisation in chapter 3, but Moore's theoretical approach has been criticised in Pete Martin's (2008) review as 'adopting a distinctly "old" version of sociology' (Martin, 2008, p.92) by, as he suggests, trying to find 'the meaning of the music itself by relating it to its socio-political context' (Martin, 2008, p.92). As Martin also points out, Moore gives no details of ethnographic methods used, or the basis of her choice of 'moments' to analyse.

Catherine Parsonage, in contrast, considers jazz in Britain in her scholarly history *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880-1935* (2005). She discusses the complex evolution of jazz in Britain in terms of the diverse 'perceptions of, responses to and modes of engagement with jazz' (p.ix). Although it deals with the early history of jazz in Britain, as a contextual reference on the establishment of the music in this country it provides an exemplar of a

critical approach to the history of jazz in Britain. The enforcement of the ban on visiting American musicians in 1935 provides a suitable endpoint, but the book also discusses the reaction to American jazz by Jack Hylton and other British musicians. Parsonage provides a very detailed and thoroughly researched account, questioning some previously held assumptions and taking into consideration many aspects of culture and the music industry, and the book succeeds in contributing 'to the critical development of the de-canonization and re-canonization of jazz [...] It also offers an entire alternative canon of "local heroes"' (p.xiv). The changing position of 'jazz' in contemporary culture is analysed in terms of the way it was regarded by the British establishment, i.e. the BBC, and Parsonage reminds us that 'jazz' was modern dance music in 1920s Britain. It is interesting how the cultural status of jazz was changed by critics in the popular music press, and by jazz fans once they started securing positions of responsibility in the BBC in the 1930s (p.259). Significantly, she summarises the jazz in Britain/British jazz distinction thus: 'Although jazz was increasingly recognized in Britain as primarily American music, there is evidence [...] that jazz was also adopted and developed in ways that were appropriate to the social and musical situations in which it was performed in Britain. As a result, by 1935 not only "jazz in Britain" but also "British jazz" can be identified' (p.xiv).

Jazz in the UK: other writings

Writings other than histories that are relevant to the contextual part of this thesis include some biographies and other material about jazz in Britain (such as reports by organisations such as Jazz Services). For example, because Ronnie Scott (along with his business partner Peter King) was instrumental in helping to overturn the ban and bring American jazz musicians to the UK, as well as providing a key venue, it is worth mentioning his biographies by John Fordham (*Let's Join Hands and Contact the Living: Ronnie Scott and his Club*, 1986) and

Rebecca Scott (*A Fine Kind of Madness: Ronnie Scott Remembered*, 2000). The latter is understandably more personal, the author being Scott's daughter (with the assistance of her mother), but both provide a contextual backdrop to post-war jazz in Britain (particularly in London), and Fordham's book was written while Scott was still alive and ends with a reasonably optimistic snapshot of the state of jazz in Britain at the beginning of the 1980s resurgence. Other biographies of note include: Maxine McGregor's *Chris McGregor and the Brotherhood of Breath* (1995), which provides an alternative reading of the 'progressive' London jazz scene of the 1960s (McGregor and the Blue Notes were initially welcomed as South African exiles but were then seen as a threat by some London jazz musicians); Alan Robertson's *Joe Harriott: Fire in his Soul* (2011), a updated edition of a 2003 biography (including a description of the relatively conservative 1950s London jazz scene when Harriott arrived); and Bill Bruford's *Bill Bruford – the Autobiography: Yes, King Crimson, Earthworks and More* (2009). Bruford writes about his disenchantment with the British jazz scene in the 1960s: 'The good drummers were mostly jazz drummers, but they were fast becoming ex-jazz drummers. [...] jazz in Britain sulked [...] for a couple of decades until the arrival of a whole new corps of revitalisers with names like Django Bates and Iain Ballamy in the early 80s' (Bruford, 2009, pp.31-32). As a result, Bruford pursued a successful career as a progressive rock drummer until returning to jazz during the 1990s with Earthworks.

There are surprisingly few book-length writings on jazz in the UK since 1980, though there are some articles, such as Jane Carr's piece on black jazz dance culture, 'Battling under Britannia's shadow: British dance battles before B boys' (2010), and Peter J. Martin and Catherine Parsonage's (2008) summary of the history of jazz in Britain (from its beginnings but including recent developments). Stuart Nicholson's *Jazz: The 1980s Resurgence* (1995) focuses on the United States, where there was a resurgence of jazz's popularity around the

same time as in the UK, and includes only one chapter on jazz outside the US, of which only seven pages are devoted to Britain. This is perhaps surprising considering Nicholson's usual championing of European jazz (in *Is Jazz Dead?* for example), but the American bias is repeated in his 1998 book *Jazz-Rock: A History*, in which the British contribution to jazz-rock is covered in a single fifteen-page chapter (plus a contextual chapter outlining the rise of rock in Britain in the early 1960s). Chris Horne's *Contemporary Jazz UK: Twenty One Lives in Jazz* (2004) is a collection of loosely structured interviews the author has conducted with jazz musicians on the contemporary UK 'jazz scene' (including Ballamy, Bruford and younger performers such as Jamie Cullum and Denys Baptiste), with little analysis of his own but from which the reader may infer some conclusions about certain aspects of jazz in the UK from the musicians' responses. Elizabeth Haddon's book *Making Music in Britain: Interviews with Those Behind the Notes* (2006) is not specifically about jazz, but is another collection of interviews with (mainly classical) musicians working in the UK and includes a revealing example from Django Bates of anti-jazz attitudes within the established conservatoire system in the late 1970s. These texts have some use as secondary sources and illustrative material, but there remains a lack of substantial critical literature on recent jazz in Britain.

The remaining sources I have consulted specifically regarding jazz in Britain are mostly reports used for their statistical data (many of which have been produced by advocacy organisations such as Jazz Services),³ but there are some texts not already discussed that are worthy of mention. Tim Wall and Paul Long's article, 'Jazz Britannia: mediating the story of British jazz on television' (2009) is a critical analysis of the way British jazz history, in the form of the BBC series *Jazz Britannia*, has been portrayed as a result of editorial decisions, and how that has presented a particular historiographical bias. Chris Searle's book *Forward*

³ Most of these reports were written by Chris Hodgkins, who chairs Jazz Services.

Groove: Jazz and the Real World from Louis Armstrong to Gilad Atzmon (2008) concerns jazz and political engagement, with a chapter about South African musicians including Chris McGregor and the Blue Notes. There are several texts about jazz education in the UK, including Bill Charleson's (1998) summary of the evolution of the jazz degree at Leeds College of Music, Lionel Grigson's (1985) thoughts on teaching jazz in a traditional conservatoire (the Guildhall), and Tony Whyton's (2006) critical evaluation of jazz in higher education in both Europe and the US (Stuart Nicholson also includes a chapter about jazz education in *Is Jazz Dead?*). Simon Frith considers the place of jazz within popular music studies in his journal article, 'Is jazz popular music?' (2007), and since its publication it has been interesting to note the increasing number of jazz-related papers being presented at popular music conferences. There are two journal articles by Michael Macaulay and Noel Dennis (2006; 2007) about jazz and marketing in the UK, which suggest that the marketing of jazz is a problem for both the music industry (because of the difficulty of defining what jazz is – this is also discussed by Frith, 2007) and some jazz musicians, who prefer to consider jazz a non-commercial art form. There is also an analysis of jazz audiences using the Edinburgh Jazz and Blues Festival 2007 as a case study by Karen Burland and Stephanie E. Pitts (2010), in which the authors conducted a survey and interviews with participants. Though the focus of this research was the contribution of social and experiential factors to festival attendance, the conclusions drawn about enthusiasts' behaviour are of relevance to my study.

The ‘new jazz studies’

There is a growing, and now substantial, body of work that represents what is now called the ‘new jazz studies’, which is regarded by some (such as Prouty, 2012, p.3) as having begun with the publication of Krin Gabbard’s edited collection *Jazz Among the Discourses* (1995). As a jazz scholar my critical approach is influenced by many of those working in this field, but because many are American or write about American jazz, I am concentrating here on those texts that are either directly relevant to jazz in Britain or whose theoretical frameworks may be usefully applied to non-American jazz. Gabbard’s (1995) introduction, for example, on canonisation, is a case in point. It starts with the institutionalisation of jazz in the academy (which in 1995 was in its infancy) and the ‘rising cultural capital’ of jazz as indicated by its use in the advertising of luxury goods (p.1). The ‘legitimization of jazz studies’ (p.2) would traditionally require the canonisation of jazz, but at the same time that other disciplines are being ‘re-canonized if not de-canonized’ (p.2) (which Parsonage, 2005, p.xiv has started doing for jazz in Britain) – the problems of establishing a jazz canon are what Gabbard seeks to address. The two themes of his argument are the way that jazz writers have resisted the ‘protocols of contemporary theory’ (p.2) regarding canon-building, and many theorists’ view ‘that ideological forces masquerade as disinterested aesthetics in the discourse around *all* canonical works’ (p.2, emphasis in original). He compares jazz studies with film studies (seeing films as ‘high culture’ works and applying ‘director as auteur’ theory, pp.4-5) and refers to theories from other disciplines such as feminism (p.6).

Gabbard suggests that postcanonical study can only take place once a canon has been formed (which in jazz it surely has), and that (with an ironic nod to Barthes) ‘with the collapse of the author has been the ascent of the critic’ (p.7). He believes that if the discipline of jazz studies follows the direction of film studies, jazz canons will become increasingly problematic as the

discipline matures, which itself will borrow from other disciplines until it achieves a unique identity. How far are we along this path? Gabbard predicts the problem of jazz academia becoming increasingly separate from jazz enthusiasts, which, as Prouty (2012, p.114) suggests, appears to have started happening. Canon formation in existing jazz writing is discussed in some detail and the academic ideology of jazz criticism, which ‘has tended away from pathobiography and toward explicit or implicit connections between jazz and canonical aesthetics’ (p.15). He concludes that jazz scholarship has to decide whether to continue building its canon or ‘take the consequences of letting in some fresh, if chilling, air’ (p.22).

Following this, in his contribution to Gabbard’s collection Jed Rasula (1995) states that historians have avoided theorising about what he calls ‘the primary evidence about jazz music’ (p.134), the recordings themselves, perhaps due to technical constrictions such as the lack of drums on early recordings and the three-minute limit of 78s, and because their impulse has been diverted by myth and historical distinction (p.135). His aim is to show that jazz history is ‘made audible’ in recordings, even though recordings ‘are technological mediations of an “authenticity” otherwise unavailable’ (p. 136), and that ‘few writers on jazz have had any training in historiography’ (p.138). This is perhaps less true now than in 1995, but this view is similar to that of Covach (1999) regarding writing on popular music in general (see footnote 22 below). As more recent cultural theorists (and some jazz scholars) have done, Rasula refers to the rhizome theory of Deleuze and Guattari in rethinking our approach to jazz history (p.147). He eventually calls for a revision of jazz writing practice: ‘The specific challenge of jazz’s recorded legacy is to admit a broader range of media to the historical palette of memory’ (p.153).

Even before Gabbard's supposed watershed collection, the jazz canon as it has been constructed historically was problematised by Scott DeVeaux in his essay, 'Constructing the jazz tradition: jazz historiography' (1991). In this article DeVeaux questions both the way that the 'official' jazz history has been written and its canon. He sees the problem as being what is defined as jazz (and, crucially, what is not) and why, suggesting the boundaries of such definitions being rooted in ethnicity and commercialism/economics, avoiding purely musical/artistic parameters (pp.82-83). Slightly differently from Hersch (2008) (see below), DeVeaux thinks of the 'jazz tradition' as an 'organic relationship' (p.83) of musics like branches of a tree connected to a trunk. He concludes that there is an anxiety regarding the 'jazz tradition' resulting from 'the inadequacy of existing historical frameworks to explain it' (p.84). DeVeaux opens up the debate in this article, but does not provide definitive answers at this stage.

DeVeaux's 2005 article, 'Core and boundaries', represents a development of his ideas since 1991. The 'core' of the jazz tradition is, for DeVeaux, a sense of 'knowing what jazz is' (p.15), and the construction of 'boundaries' requires 'deciding what to leave out' (p.16). He uses Slim Gaillard as an example of an artist who could be considered to be a jazz musician but who often is not, bringing in his association with Charlie Parker (who himself crossed boundaries). In order to set some boundaries to 'shape our perception of the music' (p.22), DeVeaux suggests criteria with common stereotypes/generalisations associated with them, for example, 'race' ('Jazz is black; it's not white', p.22). He then discusses two case studies involving Louis Armstrong and Tom Waits (which includes a saxophone solo by Lew Tabackin), making the point that the Tabackin solo on the Waits song is a 'representation' of jazz (to use Sherrie Tucker's terminology). Referring to Peter Townsend and John Szwed, DeVeaux explains that the jazz studies field is divided into two: the 'jazz tradition', and

‘jazz’, music that is drifting ‘precariously in the outside world’ (p.28). The latter is what the general public perceive as being jazz, and the *audiences* for jazz have been rather neglected by academic authors, including DeVeaux; even though he concludes that ‘boundaries are moveable and permeable’ (p.29), *who* should decide the core and boundaries?

Sherrie Tucker’s article, ‘Deconstructing the jazz tradition: the “subjectless subject” of new jazz studies’ (2005), is partly a response to DeVeaux’s 1991 article, but is also an analysis of the approach of new jazz studies and an opportunity to ask what the future of the field might be, along with three questions about: the extent to which new jazz studies has diverged from the ‘jazz tradition’ narrative, the institutional politics of constructing new jazz studies as ‘new’, and the kinds of narratives we want to tell in new jazz studies (pp.35-37). Tucker says more about people’s perceptions of jazz than DeVeaux, and calls for a need to study the artists missing from the canon and the desires for narratives that exclude them, as well as, interestingly, the danger of separating jazz studies too much from popular music studies (p.40) (and compares it with other disciplines such as gender studies). Tucker asks: what is the desire for jazz in new jazz studies? She goes on to list her own desires, and concludes that we should take into account the *practice* of jazz musicians who listen across boundaries and, as scholars, ‘we must listen beyond our institutional walls’ (p.44), suggesting that practising musicians collaborate with musicologists using different approaches to studying the ‘jazz tradition’ – a laudable aim, although some of us do try to be both scholars and practitioners of jazz.⁴

In a continuation of this discourse, Charles Hersch’s essay, ‘Reconstructing the jazz tradition’ (2008), follows those of DeVeaux (1991) (‘Constructing the jazz tradition’) and Tucker

⁴ For example, in the Rhythm Changes team at least 7 out of the 13 members (54 per cent) are regularly active as both jazz researchers and musicians.

(2005) ('Deconstructing the jazz tradition') discussed above. Hersch also draws on David Ake (2002), *Jazz Cultures*, particularly when discussing the use of traditionally non-jazz repertoire by Bill Frissell. There are many debates that Hersch opens up in this article, in particular the following:

- The idea of 'neotrad' versus 'antitrad' illustrates two sides of the 'jazz tradition' debate, but as Hersch concludes, this is a rather simplistic view, and he attempts to offer an alternative.
- The concept of 'core' and 'boundaries' in the tradition (from DeVaux, 2005): whose core and, in particular, whose boundaries – fans', musicians', scholars' or the general public's? When referring to Ake's (2002) 'people' who have their understanding of what music is jazz, Hersch assumes these are 'large numbers of people' (p.18), but this is rather vague.
- The problem of overexpansion of the category of 'jazz' (that new listeners may not be aware of the 'core', p.20) is particularly evident in music industry marketing practices and the way in which people discover music using new media, which Hersch does not really touch on.

The analogy of the dining table (pp.25-26), a 'stable foundation' (core, presumably built by scholars and musicians?) with a 'second tier' of expandable leaves, the outer edges of which contain the contested artists/works is an interesting one, but still does not allow for the flexibility of the core's edges that Hersch calls for (p.26). There may also be better ways of dealing with the content at the boundaries, such as having overlapping sets, in which an artist/work may belong to more than one.

Since Gabbard's 1995 edition, there have been several other collected editions published that attempt a 'new jazz studies' approach, along with some jazz histories. As well as the

collection in which DeVeaux's 1991 article is reprinted, *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History* (Robert Walser, ed., 1999), a good example is *Riffs & Choruses: A New Jazz Anthology* (Andrew Clark, ed., 2001). Clark's 'riffs' are starting points or themes, of which the 'choruses' are content sections that 'encompass a number of approaches to jazz study [... with texts covering] jazz history, musicological analysis, cultural study, sociology and sociolinguistics, essay, journalism, interview, review, (auto)biography, fiction, poetry and film' (Clark, 2001, p.3). These include views on historiography and canonisation, but this collection, as with most other collected editions of jazz writings, contains little if anything on jazz outside America.⁵ Of the various general histories of jazz published in recent years, Alyn Shipton's *A New History of Jazz* (2001) is a substantial work of research, which does present a new historiographical approach to jazz history. For this thesis, the most relevant chapter is the final one, 'Postmodern jazz', where Shipton begins by saying that it is possible to avoid canonising pre-1970 jazz by focusing on social, commercial or intellectual aspects, but as a genre it has developed by moving forward (p.873). From 1970 onwards the 'information age' has made the entire recorded history of jazz easily available, aided by the growth of jazz education; so, he contends, it is harder for a musician to remain part of a continuously developing tradition. He goes on to discuss those musicians who are 'in the tradition' but looking back, and those looking forward. One shortcoming of this book is its relative brevity regarding contemporary and European jazz, compared with the detail and length devoted to the rest of the music's history. In the revised edition (2007), Shipton goes a little way towards addressing this, by expanding the chapter on 'jazz as world music' (particularly the section on jazz in Britain since 1980) and adding a small amount of material to the final chapter, as well as adding a chapter on jazz singing since 1950, which includes a substantial section on the rise in popularity of singers in recent years. Similarly, Ted Gioia's *The History of Jazz* (1997)

⁵ O'Meally, Edwards and Griffin (eds.) (2004) is a good 'new jazz studies' collection that includes at least one chapter on non-American jazz, but is otherwise still US-centric.

discusses issues such as neoconservatism since the 1980s but does not include jazz outside America until the revised edition, published in 2011, in which Gioia adds sections on ‘the postmodern impulse’, ‘virtual jazz’, and ‘the globalization of jazz’, but the latter hardly makes up for the previous omission of almost a century of jazz development outside the US.⁶

One recently published text that attempts to bring together various debates in contemporary jazz is Ken Prouty’s book *Knowing Jazz: Community, Pedagogy, and Canon in the Information Age* (2012). For Prouty, ‘a core argument’ of the book is that ‘canon, the ultimate expression of knowledge about jazz, means different things to different people’ (p.9). To illustrate this, he focuses on jazz education, research, historiography, the impact of the internet on jazz fan discourse, and the changing perception of global jazz, choosing some interesting (if largely American) examples. Prouty begins by summarising the development of the new jazz studies and its interdisciplinary approach, breaking away from the musicological traditions of Western art music study, although he makes no comparison of the development of jazz studies with that of popular music studies. Prouty also, quite rightly, makes the case for studying jazz audiences and fans in more critical depth (p.8); this can be seen at work in non-jazz contexts in the recent work of scholars of popular fan culture such as Nancy Baym and Matt Hills, but, again, there are no references to these authors’ work. The concept of ‘jazz community’ is major theme, and Prouty uses a ‘community of practice’ model (based around listening) to describe the broader jazz community of artists, fans and other ‘stakeholders’, but acknowledges that more specific communities may be found within jazz, which provide the subjects for the following chapters. These include a chapter about jazz scholarship, with a chronologically-based literature review of jazz history texts, critically comparing the best known American publications. The more recent ones may provide alternatives to the

⁶ Postmodern theory is a major thread in the discussion about ideas of jazz, identity, representation and cultural practice in Heble (2000), though he situates it mainly in the context of African-American (and avant-garde) jazz.

‘prevailing narratives’, but Prouty concludes that authors are still finding it difficult to avoid a canonical approach.⁷ In a later chapter, Prouty aims to address the neglect of the ‘ordinary jazz fan’ by considering ‘the virtual jazz world’. He does this by looking at two forms of ‘online community’ as case studies: the evolution of a Wikipedia article (on jazz history) and the jazz message board, the latter subdivided into two discussion threads (each with a jazz-related theme). Though this is a new area for jazz research, it is more established in other fields, and what is lacking in the analysis here (which is rather superficial) is some reference to new media theory and the work of scholars such as Henry Jenkins, Lawrence Lessig and Nancy Baym. Having said this, Prouty is one of very few authors to have written about this subject in relation to jazz and is at least helping to open a discourse.

New media and the internet

Commonly labelled ‘new media’, digital media and the internet, despite being in existence in some form since the mid-twentieth century, have not been the subject of serious academic study until relatively recently.⁸ Media theorists such as Marshall McLuhan have influenced new media scholars, even though McLuhan was writing about analogue media. The 2003 Critical Edition of McLuhan’s best-known work, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (originally published in 1964), has helpful introductions to the book and each chapter by W. Terrance Gordon, who neatly summarises McLuhan’s ideas and points out McLuhan’s rather idiosyncratic use of literary references. McLuhan has a broad definition of what ‘media’ are, but it is easy to see how his theories have influenced new media scholars, including the concepts (of, for example, new environments ‘reprocessing’ old ones, p.13) that

⁷ Shipton (2001) discussed above does attempt to avoid a traditional canonical approach (and is successful to a degree), but Prouty makes no reference to this text.

⁸ Poster (1995) describes the digital media era as the ‘second media age’, the first being the age of electrification of analogue information such as telegraphy and broadcasting.

have given rise to ‘remediation’ (see below).⁹ Part I is a sort of definition of terms, where McLuhan tries to explain his phrase ‘the medium is the message’, ‘hot and cold media’, and ‘reversal’ caused by technological development. Part II (chapter 8 onwards) is a collection of short chapters, each concentrating on one type of medium, including clothing, housing, money, and perhaps of most interest here, the phonograph (chapter 28). McLuhan describes the history of the phonograph, saying that, eventually, ‘tape and the LP record suddenly made the phonograph a means of access to all the music and speech of the world’ (p.373). Gordon’s brief section on the critical reception of *Understanding Media* (pp.545-558) discusses the counter-arguments of Jonathan Miller and Umberto Eco in particular, but Gordon is generally supportive of McLuhan throughout the book. However, despite the influence of his work McLuhan has been seen as overly deterministic by writers such as Raymond Williams.

New Media: A Critical Introduction, by Martin Lister *et al.* (2003) is indeed a wide-ranging critical introduction to the subject of ‘new media’, involving theoretical discussions referring to McLuhan, Bolton and Grusin (‘remediation’), the Frankfurt School, Foucault, Baudrillard and many others. For a newcomer to this area of study, the most useful section is the first, which defines (p.12) and explains what is meant by ‘new media’ by comparing it with ‘old media’ (such as television), and discusses the consequences of ‘digitisation’ (p.16) and forms of interaction (pp.20-23). It is written in an approachable (but still academic) style, defining terms particular to this area where necessary and explaining more general theoretical terms and ideas in a glossary. Because this is a relatively new academic discipline (if, indeed, ‘new media’ is yet a discipline as such), some of the theoretical ideas come from existing literary theory and philosophy, which are then applied or modified for new media (Mark Poster, 1995, has also done this by making a bold attempt to theorise new media by building on existing

⁹ McLuhan’s work has also influenced ‘old’ media theorists of course, such as Friedrich Kittler, though Kittler’s work led in the 1980s to a German conception of ‘new media’ as ‘technical media’ rather than digital media.

critical theory in a postmodern context). Lister *et al.* make reference to online communities and digitalised music (particularly in Section 3, pp.164-218), though much of their book is devoted to visual cyberculture. As an introduction to new media, this text certainly succeeds in giving a thorough critical overview, including many social, political and cultural contexts of new media, and a general theme of the relationship between technology and culture. The problems of its emergence as a new discipline are addressed in the updated 2009 edition, which includes new case studies and conceptual discussions of mobile and networked media, and new chapters on subjects such as music as new media, ‘viral’ dissemination and Web 2.0. These updates are welcome, but there could be more on peer-to-peer file sharing and the content industry, and the impact of mobile technologies.

Another approach to new media study is demonstrated in *The New Media Theory Reader* (Robert Hassan and Julian Thomas, eds., 2006). The introduction to this collection tells us that there is no one body of new media theory, coming from many disciplines as it does, but an attempt is made to put new media theory briefly into an economic, social and cultural context, decade by decade since 1950, ending with ‘the network society’ (Castells) and technologies of ‘mediation’ (p.xxiii). The book is structured in five parts, each reflecting an aspect of current debates in new media studies. Three articles appeared to be relevant to this study, the first by Lev Manovich, ‘What is new media?’ (pp.5-10). This article presents a definition of new media in terms of the parallel histories of modern media (starting with photography) and computing (from Babbage’s Analytical Engine), which both began in the 1830s, which, according to Manovich, were complementary technologies that were both ‘necessary for the functioning of modern mass societies’ (p.7). By this history, new media were born as a result of the alliance of media and computer, when ‘existing media are translated into numerical data accessible for the computer’ and ‘media become new media’

(p.9). The consequences of new media objects being made up of numerical code are that they can be described as mathematical functions and that they are subject to ‘algorithmic manipulation’, making media ‘programmable’ (p.10). This would seem to be a good way of defining new media in a general sense, and does not contradict the definition put forward by Lister *et al.* (2003).

Michael Marien’s article in this volume, ‘New communications technology: a survey of impacts and issues’ (pp.41-62), is essentially a list of references to writers who have attempted to predict the effects of information technology society. It starts from the basis of ignorance, where the predictions have often turned out to be optimistic, pessimistic or just wide of the mark. The list includes information society enthusiasts such as McLuhan, information society critics including Postman and Klapp, television proponents and (mostly) critics, and areas such as democracy and governance and productivity and employment. Marien refers to the views of Tomlinson on cultural imperialism being less important than globalisation, which ‘weakens the cultural coherence of all nation-states’ (p.50), and Robinson *et al.*, who discovered that international homogenisation of popular music is *not* occurring (although this would seem as much of a generalisation as saying that it is). Ethics and privacy issues, among other subjects, are also briefly discussed, but the author unselfconsciously comes to no real conclusion other than that there are many questions left unanswered.

Jessica Litman’s chapter, ‘Choosing metaphors’ (pp.123-132) deals with the shift in emphasis in American copyright law, particularly since the 1980s. Litman starts by describing copyright originally as a ‘bargain’ between authors and the public, where authors were allowed to make enough money from their works to continue producing them and making them available for

public use (with certain restrictions). This 'bargain' idea has been replaced by an economic model, where the extent of copyright protection is proportional to the amount produced and distributed, in order to take advantage of America's content industry export advantage. What Litman calls the 'new metaphor' of copyright is the property the owner can control, 'the right of a property owner to protect what is rightfully hers' (p.126). The 'first sale doctrine' (where the buyer of a copyrighted work has the right to use it in certain ways without the copyright owner's permission) became less useful in the age of television and radio, and in 1984 was partially repealed in relation to recorded music and software (but not, interestingly, for audio-visual works). This, along with the restriction of 'fair use' (where permission does not have to be sought for short quotations, for example), Litman believes is causing a fundamental change in the way copyright can be used to *control* access and use of copyright material, especially on the internet. Although copyright law has been moving in this direction for a while now, it is made more significant now that we have the means of enforcement of this control. This is a reasonable argument, except that Litman does not take account of the ease with which it is still possible to access and download copyright material illegally online, particularly recorded music.

In another textbook edited by Leah A. Lievrouw and Sonia Livingstone (2006), *The Handbook of New Media: Social Shaping and Social Consequences of ICTs*, Nicholas W. Jankowski's chapter, 'Creating community with media: history, theories and scientific investigations' (pp.55-74) explores the idea of community and its regeneration via mediated communication. Jankowski goes back to the early days of radio and television, in particular *community* radio and television in the 1970s, and the debates involving a utopian internet (which have often ignored sociologists' concerns about the impact of industrialisation, p.56). There is a brief comparison of definitions of new media (p.56), but the main part of the article

gives a brief history of community and media studies, followed by a history of the development of the concept of 'community', from one of church, family or social class to the virtual communities of today. 'Community' appears to be a term that is still ill-defined in sociological terms, even though it is clearer in popular usage, and what is interesting here is the way in which 'virtual community' is seen by different social theorists including Rheingold, Jones, Stone, Fernback and Thompson, and van Dijk, who has applied social scientific methods in his comparison of virtual and 'organic' (traditional) communities (pp.62-63). Research methods for what is an under-researched area are then suggested, along with a plea from the author to study this phenomenon properly while it is still developing. As an introduction to the area of community studies as applied to online communities, this short article is useful, with an extensive bibliography.

Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's theory of new media is that of the title of their book *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (1999). They state that '[o]ur culture wants both to multiply its media and to erase all traces of mediation: ideally, it wants to erase its media in the very act of multiplying them' (p.5). Their argument is based on the way in which old and new media use the 'twin logics' of immediacy and hypermediacy to remake themselves and each other, and that in digital media these 'contradictory' logics do not simply coexist but are mutually dependent. Digital media borrow from each other and, in particular, from their analogue predecessors (such as television, film and photographs), a process they call 'remediation', although the effect can be reciprocal: 'What is new about new media comes from the particular ways in which they refashion older media and the ways in which older media refashion themselves to answer the challenges of new media' (p.15). What is less clearly addressed, probably because social media and user-generated content had not been developed at the time of writing, is the interactive aspect of digital media.

In *Cultures of Mediatization* (2013),¹⁰ Andreas Hepp develops an approach to media cultures drawing upon theorists, many of them German (as Hepp is), as far back as the Frankfurt School. He draws a distinction between ‘mediation’ and ‘mediatization’, arguing that: ‘While mediation is suited to describing the general characteristics of any process of media communication, mediatization describes and theorizes something rather different, something that is *based on* the mediation of media communication’ (p.38, emphasis in original). In this book Hepp attempts to formulate ideas rather than answer questions definitively: ‘The concept of media cultures as cultures of mediatization does *not* therefore aim to be a *finished theory*, but is rather a call to develop an empirically founded theorization of the manner *in which our cultures are changing with the advance of mediatization*’ (p.142, emphasis in original). There are many threads to Hepp’s argument, which he carefully and convincingly explains, and it is difficult to disagree with the ‘point of departure for understanding the relationship between media-communicative and socio-cultural change’ (p.144) that is the result of this text.

Philip Auslander’s book *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* (1999) sets out to analyse the way in which mediatization (in various forms) has affected live performance, and the way in which ‘liveness’ itself is changing. Auslander concentrates on two areas of performance, theatre (mediatized by television, which he regards as the dominant cultural form) and popular music (rock in particular, mediatized by audio and video recording). He presents some interesting questions about the nature of performance. One of his main themes is the ontological distinction between live and mediatized culture, and refers to Baudrillard and others when discussing performance theory – Auslander persuasively argues that there is

¹⁰ Although I have not generally included in this review texts published after 2012, this book was published in German in 2011, the English edition published in early 2013.

basically no difference, ontologically, between live and mediated forms, but accepts that there is a kind of opposition between them. However, just as television initially modelled itself on the theatre (which had itself been ‘remediated’ by film) (pp.11-13), theatre started incorporating ‘camera-ready’ staging so that it could be televised (pp.27-28). Rock music’s primary cultural object is the ‘original’ recording, a comparison with which performances are often judged (pp.62-63). The relationship between live and recorded music may be different in rock than in jazz because of jazz improvisation (p.81), but because of the way the music industry promotes some jazz artists there is perhaps not as much difference as Auslander suggests. Although there are more up to date examples in the revised (2008) edition, the general arguments remain the same, and there are some aspects that could turn out differently from Auslander’s expectations – for example, his conclusion is pessimistic about the future cultural prestige of live performance, but there seems to be little evidence of a decline in attendance at live popular music events, even though virtually all live performances are mediated in some way (including by the audience).

Digital networks and online communities

The rapid growth of digital networks has led to an increasing interest in the study of online communities and, more recently, social networking. Scholars such as Manuel Castells, Jan van Dijk and Barry Wellman have been pioneers in this area,¹¹ and theory (based on empirical research) has evolved as people’s use of the technology has developed (Henry Jenkins being one such theorist).¹² Johan Fornäs has argued for the intensification of cultural media studies into looking at computer mediated communication, such as Fornäs (1998). Nancy K. Baym has done significant work in this area, such as *Tune In, Log On: Soaps, Fandom, and Online Community* (2000), which provides some interesting theoretical approaches to audience,

¹¹ See, for example, Castells (1996), van Dijk (1998) and Wellman (2001).

¹² Jenkins’ best known text is probably *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (2006), which is not about new media theory as such but the way people use it.

community and practice but is perhaps a little outdated. She has undertaken research into music-based online communities, resulting in two papers (2007 and 2008), which, though not published in peer-reviewed journals reveal much about the behaviour of members of online groups predominantly connected via music rather than personal friendship. Baym explores the theme of networked relationships in more depth in her 2010 book *Personal Connections in the Digital Age*, in which she considers various aspects including online and offline relationships, arguing that we should be wary of technological determinism and that ‘real’ relationships will not be replaced by virtual ones. This text demonstrates an informed evolution of her earlier work, and her prediction that the ‘online/offline’ binary divide may become an outdated concept is perhaps already becoming true. Sherry Turkle explores much of the same territory to Baym in *Alone Together: Why we Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other* (2011), focusing on the relationships between humans and virtual social networks, but although it includes interesting case studies this book seems aimed at the general reader and has little if anything on music or the content industry’s engagement with social networks. Similarly, Clay Shirky’s 2009 book, *Here Comes Everybody: How Change Happens when People Come Together*, contains plenty of good examples but little on theory or even his research methodology.

Music and the internet

Perhaps not surprisingly, many texts specifically dealing with music and digital media (particularly the internet) focus on the impact the technology has had on the record industry and what the industry should have done – and what it could still do – to reconnect with paying customers. They offer an alternative approach to that of the industry itself, which, as represented in publications such as the annual IFPI reports,¹³ is quick to blame the

¹³ See, for example, Kennedy (2010) and Moore (2011).

perpetrators of illegal file sharing and tries to encourage them to ‘go straight’ (using the stick of threatened prosecution and the carrot of increased legal streaming services). Authors writing about this at an early stage when file sharing was a new phenomenon – brought to public and critical attention by the Napster case – include John Alderman in his general history of digital music and Napster in particular, *Sonic Boom: Napster, MP3, and the New Pioneers of Music* (2001), and Lawrence Lessig in his critical assessment of copyright law, *The Future of Ideas: The Fate of the Commons in a Connected World* (2001). Lessig’s thoughts are developed in his 2008 book *Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy*. Directed at the general reader but well written with good case studies, this is Lessig’s suggestion for the future of creative practice in the ‘remix culture’ enabled by digital technology. He starts by summarising the change in emphasis from the ‘Read/Write’ (RW) culture of the past, where people created and re-created the culture around them (such as playing from sheet music), to the increasingly commercialised ‘Read/Only’ (RO) culture of today of consumption (pp.28-31). The overall theme of the book is the criminalisation of young people as a result of file sharing in the ‘copyright wars’ (p.xv). Lessig’s argument is that ‘there are tons of incentives beyond money’ (p.291) for producing creative work, although he concedes that copyright regulation is necessary for some things (such as blockbuster films). Lessig’s arguments are well thought out, but there is a shortage of detail on how some of his ideas would work in practice, particularly regarding international copyright – he writes from his expertise in US law – and how corporate cultural industries would make sufficient profit to invest in new talent.

Andrew Blake’s *Popular Music: The Age of Multimedia* (2007) covers similar ground to Lessig (and supports Lessig’s Creative Commons licensing system) but concentrates on popular music, and Blake also argues that copyright law should be radically revised and more

remix opportunities made available. The ‘age of multimedia’ refers to the multimedia devices that have now become ubiquitous in the twenty-first century, and we can take this to mean the same as what other authors call the ‘digital era’, a term that most of Blake’s chapter titles include. The book is written from a largely UK perspective, with references to the US and other parts of the world, and considers both the rise of popular music since the early twentieth century and the way it is used, particularly in terms of listening practices. Blake argues that in the digital era the individualisation of consumer audio continues from the days of the Sony Walkman, while at the same time music in public spaces has increased and MP3s are used for sharing musical taste. Blake’s point that classical music has become pop due to the way it is marketed by the music industry, as well as the influence of Classic FM on BBC Radio 3, could equally apply to jazz, though he does include jazz as a form of popular music from the outset. There is a slightly pessimistic tone in places, such as the idea that because of ‘information overload’, ‘music is [...] of decreasing importance to the young’ (p.106). In terms of serious listening this may be true, but there seems to be no decrease in the number of young people wishing to study (popular) music at post-secondary level in spite of the difficulties in making a successful career from it.¹⁴ It does not look as though Blake’s hope for the music business ‘to relax some of its protective attitude’ (p.125) has yet been realised, at least as far as the major record labels are concerned; if anything, it has become greater.

Several authors suggest ways in which the music industry could embrace the internet. Patrick Burkart and Tom McCourt’s book *Digital Music Wars: Ownership and Control of the Celestial Jukebox* (2006) appears to be a description and discussion of music on the internet and American copyright law, but it rapidly becomes a diatribe against the protective practices

¹⁴ This is based on my own experience of working in post-compulsory education in Liverpool; the number of music students at my institution has grown annually for at least the past five years. Recent UCAS data on music degree applications indicates an increase of 20.5 per cent in 2013 (compared with an 8 per cent decline in 2012) (see www.thestage.co.uk/news/2013/09/drama-degree-applications-increase-7-3/).

of the music industry. The industry has, by using legal means to gradually change copyright law from something that allows the dissemination of an artist's work to a wide audience to something that is used to control the use (and therefore the financial gain) of the work, gone from 'copyright minimalism to copyright maximalism' (p.13). In their discussion of new media, the authors suggest that the technologies (customer-relationship management, CRM, and digital-rights management, DRM, in particular) do not fundamentally alter the industry, just 'extend the existing oligopoly of content distribution and manufacturing power into the digital domain' (p.6). Surely there is a fundamental difference in both the use of customer information for marketing (and more) and playback restrictions that simply was not possible before? They have possibly missed an opportunity to further their argument here (cf. Litman, 2006). There is a useful background description of the development of the 'Celestial Jukebox' of online music, including the many US lawsuits that have both helped and hindered the music industry, 'disruptive technology' such as file-sharing and the attempts of the industry to prosecute those who tried to circumvent its systems, even as part of academic research (the Felten case, p.115). However, as its subject matter is rapidly changing by its nature, some of the authors' views are now questionable, for example the predictability of CRM filtering (p.98) to suggest music to consumers and therefore less accidental exposure to new artists and genres (p.134), which, according to anecdotal evidence and some research, is not true of MySpace, YouTube and discovery-oriented services such as Last.fm.¹⁵

David Kusek and Gerd Leonhard's *The Future of Music: Manifesto for the Digital Music Revolution* (2005) is not an academic book as such (despite it being a required text for one of Berklee College's courses), but it is really a guidebook for musicians on how to survive in the music business in the future, the 'manifesto' expressed in a similar way to Burkart and

¹⁵ On music discovery, see Jennings (2007).

McCourt (2006). Much of the historical and legal information is also the same as in Burkart and McCourt, though without the bibliographical references, but the central theme differs slightly by thinking of the future of digital music as being like water, that could be licensed in the way music performance is and charged for like a utility. The authors' argument is presented in a fairly logical and thoughtful way, and even though the book was published a year earlier than Burkart and McCourt's, their predictions regarding the way the internet and mobile technology are being used are perhaps turning out to be more accurate. Their suggestions regarding marketing and distribution and the 'changing paradigms of work and leisure' (p.165), some of which are based on what has occurred with American cable television, seem credible enough. In summary, this is a reasonable account of a possible direction that should be taken for the music industry and musicians, but, frustratingly, lacks references and a bibliography, making it of more limited use as an academic research source.

David Hesmondhalgh, in *The Cultural Industries* (2002) aims to measure, evaluate and explain change and continuity in the cultural industries, mostly in the industrialised 'West' and looking in particular at the period since 1980. Case studies from a variety of cultural forms (including popular music) are used to illustrate his points, and there are critical references to a wide range of cultural theorists. The chapter on new media (pp.198-230) is largely concerned with digital technology and convergence, and includes digital music technologies for *creating* music, rather than disseminating it. The book as a whole is an impressive piece of work, but the conclusion (pp.256-266) is perhaps something of an anticlimax: measuring change accurately is difficult, the cultural industries have largely continued operating within established frameworks, and the determining factors are highly complex and entangled. Hesmondhalgh believes that '[T]he internet has not posed any substantial threat to the power and reach of [cultural] corporations, though amongst certain

social groups it has enabled and enhanced communication between people' (p.261), and although I agree with him in that we should avoid technological reductionism (p.264), the internet has surely had more impact on certain cultural industries (popular music in particular) than he thought in 2002. To be fair, Hesmondhalgh addresses this to an extent in the second edition (2007), and includes a section of digital music distribution and file sharing (pp.249-254), but he concludes: 'The radical potential of the Internet has been largely, but by no means entirely, contained by its partial incorporation into a large, profit-orientated set of cultural industries' (2007, p.261). This may have happened, but social networking and sites such as YouTube *have* given a certain degree of power to ordinary people, in ways that Hesmondhalgh may not have expected, even when discussing Web 2.0 in 2007. At the time of this writing, the third edition (2013) has just been published, in which Hesmondhalgh has acknowledged the unpredictable nature of the effects of technology and has extensively rewritten the chapters on digitalisation and the internet.

There are some authors who have considered the digitalisation of music in a more theoretical and less industry-focused way.¹⁶ Timothy Taylor's *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology & Culture* (2001) is divided into three sections, Theory (with references to Attali, Baudrillard, the Frankfurt School and McLuhan), Time (a historical look at technology in popular music), and Space (including globalisation, politics and the 'little culture' of Goa trance music). There are discussions of the effects of technology on human agency, technology and anxiety, and Taylor touches on consumption in his concluding chapter (pp.201-206). This book is useful for its extensive bibliography, although most of the URLs are no longer active. He says that there are few writings on consumption, which may still be the case, but he does not discuss

¹⁶ These include David Beer (2008 and 2010), one of the few scholars to have published about mobile music.

the ramifications of downloading at any length (which was becoming a big issue in 2001), which is disappointing.

Mark Katz's *Capturing Sound: How Technology has Changed Music* (2004) is a wide-ranging book that explores the milestones in the history of recorded music using case studies mostly from Western classical and popular music. A thought-provoking work throughout, of particular relevance to this study is chapter 8, 'Listening in cyberspace' (pp.158-187). Katz reminds us that, like recording itself, the MP3 format was not originally designed with music in mind, but has been appropriated by file sharers because of its portability; the question he asks is about the effects of file sharing on listeners rather than the music's creators, although he does make a case for the potential benefits of file sharing to musicians. There are some pertinent points made by Katz, such as: the status of MP3s as 'nonrivalrous resources' (p.163) (like ideas, their consumption by one person doesn't prohibit their use by others), the way MP3s allow a divergent (as opposed to convergent) approach to discovering music, and the irony of the existence of virtual communities of listeners – even though MP3 listening is often a solitary experience. Katz shows an awareness that his ideas about the effects of technology may be proved outdated very quickly, and he has addressed this in his updated edition (2010) by considering the digital 'mash-up', developments in online music services and social networking sites, as well as a reconsideration of file sharing. Equally thought-provoking is Jonathan Sterne, who, in his book *MP3: The Meaning of a Format* (2012), considers the history of the MP3 as a format in terms of audio compression, tracing its roots back to telephone research in the 1910s. He puts forward alternative philosophical, cultural and economic arguments to those of many other authors, particularly in his provocatively titled chapter, 'Is music a thing?'.

One theoretical model that appears to fit the record industry's response to the 'disruptive' MP3 technology is suggested by Aaron Furgason in his 2008 article, 'Afraid of technology?: major label response to advancements in digital technology'. Furgason refers to Philip Napoli's (1998) theory of media institution evolution when a new media technology appears (outlined below). He applies it to MP3 technology (not covered by Napoli in 1998), with plenty of examples to back up his argument, such as the Napster case (pp.158-159). The evidence certainly appears to fit the theory so far, but Furgason's emphasis on the increase of sales of CD burners as indicating a future direction seems somewhat misplaced. Philip M. Napoli's article, 'Evolutionary theories of media institutions and their responses to new technologies' (1998), is the chapter from which the theory used by Furgason (2008) originates. It follows previous work in defining the overall evolution of media (in 'elite', 'popular' and 'specialized' stages, pp.317-318). When a new media technology appears that threatens to replace existing media, existing media institutions respond by being complacent at first, then resistant (via 'rhetorical', legal and economic resistance), followed by differentiation, which is frequently accompanied by diversification. Napoli mainly uses the examples of television, radio and the film industry (not music) to illustrate his theory, and it is interesting to compare diversification, which he says 'involves the movement of a media organization in one media industry into the industry created by the new technology' (pp.324-325), with remediation – it is a similar concept with which Napoli was possibly unaware.¹⁷

There are many other writings on aspects of the music industry (and wider 'creative industries') in the twenty-first century, such as Chris Anderson's (2006) influential 'long tail' theory of digital sales (that niche products will always find buyers); he continues to be cited by many commentators, even though his 2006 book (based on a 2004 *Wired* article) has been

¹⁷ Napoli (2008) has developed his ideas on the way media audiences are changing in a working paper.

critiqued for its sweeping approach and is not supported by more recent empirical evidence.¹⁸ David Jennings (2007) has written about the way in which digital technology facilitates the discovery of new music online, but like Kusek and Leonhard (2005) the book seems aimed more at general readership and the industry than academics, though some of Jennings's models are useful. The decentralisation of the industry is considered by Gustavo Azenha (2006) and copyright law and content distribution is discussed by Peter Biddle *et al.* (2002) and Adam Marcus (2003), with the particular case of Swedish file sharing site The Pirate Bay (in the context of Swedish culture) the subject of Jonas Andersson (2009). More recent scholarly books on the music industry have been written by Patrik Wikström (2009) and Matthew David (2010).¹⁹ Both authors consider various theoretical approaches to the industry and, just as importantly, its consumers, and David in particular creates a theoretical model that could be used to classify different approaches of music companies or musicians towards their audiences. Wikström also considers 'communities of practice' ways of 'facilitating fans' creative expression' (p.178), and develops his thoughts on distribution models in Wikström (2012).

Online research methods

The use of the internet is a rapidly evolving area of research, and there is a growing literature on research methods that I will summarise here; I discuss it in more detail on the way it applies to my research in the methods chapter of the thesis. There are general guides such as Wisker (2008) on postgraduate research and Cresswell (2005), which is about educational research but is very comprehensive and is useful for all types of humanities research. However, neither of these texts deals with online methods – for these it is useful to consult

¹⁸ See, for example, Foster (2008), Hesmondhalgh (2013) and Lindvall (2013, p.17), who suggests that '[t]here is a possibility of a "long tail effect" [...] Yet, so far, online music consumption tends to still largely reflect what's being played on the radio'.

¹⁹ There is a new book on the music industries that was published after my review cut-off date and though aimed at undergraduates is more up to date than the others discussed here: Anderton, Dubber and James (2013).

pioneers in this area such as Christine Hine and Nancy Baym. Hine introduced the term ‘virtual ethnography’ in her 2000 book of that title, setting out ‘an ethnographic approach to the internet’ and some principles for this new type of research. Hine (ed.) (2005) shows how the field had developed in a short space of time and some of the issues that had been uncovered by various online researchers, with useful advice regarding, for example, the recruitment of participants. Baym (2000) was interested in online fan communities, in this case of soap operas, and developed her own ethnographic research methods in her ‘audience as community’ research. Since then she has also, like Hine, been involved in the development of qualitative online research as demonstrated in Markham and Baym (eds.) (2009). Miller and Slater’s (2000) book about an ethnography of internet use by people in Trinidad has become an influential text in terms of methodology and the results of their research. Boellstorff *et al.* (2012) is a recent addition to the literature, designed mainly for research into ‘virtual worlds’ such as Second Life, but contains useful sections on method and data analysis. For an alternative approach to virtual ethnography, Kozinets (2010) provides specific procedural guidelines for conducting an ethnography of an online community or culture, calling his approach ‘netnography’. I have found this text to be particularly helpful for the methodological approach of my research.

As well as the internet researchers above who have applied their methodology to a variety of online groups, there are those who have conducted such research in an ethnomusicological context, though Baym also has conducted popular music research in Baym (2007) and Baym (2008). Lysloff (2003) writes about ‘virtual ethnomusicology’, comparing online ‘fieldwork’ with traditional fieldwork and thinking of online communities as real communities that include their own subcultures, but despite raising theoretical questions about the real and the virtual does not say a great deal about methods. Cooley, Meizel and Syed’s (2008) chapter on

‘virtual fieldwork’ uses three case studies to illustrate aspects of online research in the context of ethnomusicology, the book in which it is published being the second edition of a seminal text on ethnomusicological fieldwork, Bartz and Cooley’s *Shadows in the Field*. The application of virtual fieldwork to ethnomusicology and the question of cultural practices (and whether they are changed by the ways people communicate them) are two of the topics discussed, as well as the issue of internet communication and older participants (pertinent to my research). In Bennett and Peterson’s (2004) edited collection on music scenes the final section is about ‘virtual scenes’, which includes one useful chapter regarding research methods by Laura Vroomen (investigating the ‘virtual scene’ inhabited by Kate Bush fans). Though she used a range of methods including questionnaires, Vroomen mostly discusses the results of some e-mail and face to face interviews, and though it is a brief summary it is quite instructive in terms of her methodology.

Popular musicology and theory

In formulating a framework of theoretical approaches to my research I have drawn upon a range of authors from various disciplines, and as the application of their ideas should become apparent in the following chapters I will again summarise the main texts I have used here. Because my areas of study are jazz and digital media, the theoretical basis of many of the authors is, or can be connected to, postmodernism. These texts include Bourdieu (1989), and though there are flaws in Bourdieu’s methodological approach and his distinctions between ‘legitimate’, ‘middle-brow’ and ‘popular’ taste are much less rigidly drawn in postmodern culture, his models have nevertheless been used by many theorists in recent years, including those looking at jazz audiences (such as Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). Brackett (2002) provides a summary of ideas about modernism and postmodernism in music, with an overview of theoretical frameworks that have been created to study these concepts (referring

to Foucault, Baudrillard, Jencks, Appadurai and others), but though in his examples of postmodern musicians he cites saxophonist John Zorn he tends to avoid the issue of postmodern jazz.²⁰ Attali's (1985) frequently cited text linking music and political economy, where political and social change can be seen in music before it happens in society, is generally well argued – and to some extent can be observed to have happened – but some of his predictions are not turning out as he would have expected. For example, his assertion that 'wherever there is music, there is money' (p.3) is now being challenged by digital technology, as is the traditionally expensive way of producing a recording (p.102).

There are sociological and cultural studies approaches that are relevant to the production and consumption of jazz, such as Becker's (1982) concept of 'art worlds' (communities of those involved in the production, distribution and consumption of art), particularly as Becker uses jazz as an example (being a jazz musician himself). Lopes (2002) applies the 'art worlds' theory to mid-twentieth century American jazz in order to take account of all the members of a 'jazz community', including the audience. Cultural theories about audience behaviour have been formulated based on research data, an example being Peterson's (1997) 'omnivore theory' (where 'high culture' audiences are increasingly broadening their cultural consumption), which is also referenced by DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004) in their research on arts participation in the US.²¹ 'Scenes' theory is another example, originating as a geographically bounded concept by Straw (1991) as an alternative to the subcultural theory of the Birmingham School and applied in the wider context of translocal and virtual scenes by Bennett and Peterson (eds.) (2004). The evolution of theoretical approaches to the study of cultural industries is very well explained by Hesmondhalgh (2002 and 2007), including

²⁰ See also Alper (2000), who also uses a John Zorn example.

²¹ There is also a growing body of literature on fandom, one of the critical texts being Hills (2002).

cultural imperialism and globalisation, and the concept of ‘glocalisation’ is discussed in relation to popular music by, among others, Shuker (2008) and Longhurst (2007).

‘Popular musicology’ includes a multitude of disciplinary approaches, and not all of it is applicable to jazz,²² but there are some texts that are relevant here, particularly regarding scenes. As well as chapters in Bennett and Peterson (eds.) (2004) such as Bennett’s (2004b, on the virtual ‘Canterbury sound’ scene) and Lee and Peterson’s (on a virtual country music scene), there are several relevant chapters in Scott (ed.) (2009). These include Krims’s (giving some context to the study of scenes) and Inglis’s (about the post-war jazz scene in Britain). Holly Kruse’s (2010) article on local identity in independent music scenes, including online, is also instructive. Hesmondhalgh (2005) agrees with Bennett and Peterson that the idea of ‘subcultures’ should no longer be applied to youth culture (in terms of music at least), but argues that both the scenes perspective and ‘tribes’ are also inadequate ways of theorising youth and popular music, suggesting instead the coupling of ‘genre’ and ‘articulation’ (as Stuart Hall uses it).²³ Hesmondhalgh’s argument is well thought through and convincing, but among his reasons for rejecting scenes theory are that it has been used ambiguously by different authors and that it does not necessarily suit youth culture very well. Because of Bennett and Peterson’s work in differentiating different types of scenes, and because jazz is not a youth culture, the scenes perspective is one I will use in my study. Indeed, as Hesmondhalgh concedes, many authors have continued to discuss scenes including Longhurst (2007) and Holt (2007), who includes jazz scenes in his book about genre.

²² See Frith (2007) for a discussion on the relationship between popular music studies and jazz, and Covach (1999) regarding the place of popular music within musicology, including its historiography.

²³ Hesmondhalgh uses Hall’s definition of ‘articulation’, that is ‘the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time’ (Hall, quoted in Hesmondhalgh, 2005, p.33).

Some theoretical approaches adopted from the literature

For my research focus on jazz in Britain I have chosen to adopt a scenes perspective, but one that takes into account the use of digital technology to create ‘virtual scenes’ as suggested by Bennett and Peterson. My online research methodology has been informed by internet research theorists such as Hine, Baym, and in particular Kozinets, with Baym’s work on social networks influencing my thinking about the use of online media by music fans. The growing literature on the effect of the internet on the music industry often spends much of the time blaming the industry for allowing the situation to develop, but Furgason’s model provides a useful theorisation, and authors such as Wikström and David provide plausible models for the future that may be applied to jazz. In considering the cultural context and recent history of jazz in Britain I use theoretical frameworks from jazz historiography and the ‘new jazz studies’, which will form the subject of chapter 3.

Chapter 2

Probing the jazz audience: research methods

‘Asking about jazz is like dancing to Thelonius Monk [*sic*]’ (anonymous online survey respondent, 2011).

In this short chapter I will discuss my methodological approach for the jazz ‘community’ research I have done, both online and offline, the results of which will be analysed in later chapters. Some of this has been influenced by the work of internet researchers such as Christine Hine, Nancy Baym and, in particular, Robert Kozinets, and though this is still a developing area of research there are some guiding principles that have been useful in helping form my thoughts on data-gathering methods for the online aspects of my research.

Doing research online

Since around 2000 various approaches to conducting research into online activities have been developed, largely qualitative and, particularly for ‘online communities’, ethnographic. I will consider those most useful for the data gathering part of my research for this thesis, followed by an explanation of the methods I have chosen. One of the pioneers in this area is Christine Hine, who has developed what she calls ‘virtual ethnography’. This is an approach to ethnographic research in what she considers an increasingly mediated world (Hine, 2000, p.10). As Hine (2005) points out:

The coming of the Internet has posed a significant challenge for our understanding of research methods. [...] Indeed, there are few researchers in the social sciences or humanities who could not find some aspect of their research interest manifested on the Internet. There is, then, a considerable will to research and understand technologically mediated interactions, both as a topic in their own right and as an important conduit for contemporary social life. At the same time, however, there is considerable anxiety

about just how far existing tried and tested research methods are appropriate for technologically mediated interactions (Hine, 2005, p.1).

Because this is a relatively new area of ethnography, there is a limited amount of published research within the area of popular music and in jazz in particular.¹ There is, however, a growing body of literature about the methodology of this type of research by Hine and other authors.

Cresswell (2005, p.435) writes that '[t]he term *ethnography* literally means "writing about groups of people"'.² As with any type of ethnographic research, virtual ethnography is also about studying groups of people, the difference being the location of these groups – defined by online spaces rather than geographical spaces, although Baym (2010) points out that 'people who are involved in online groups often think of them as shared *places*' (Baym, 2010, p.75, emphasis added). I shall consider here the study of 'online communities' of groups with shared special interests rather than those for whom the primary interest is the internet or digital technology itself. In her study of online communities of Swedish indie rock fans, Baym (2007) concludes that because of the multiple sites used, '[w]hether one calls it a community or not, this is an important new online social formation that raises many theoretical, methodological, and practical problems', and that '[f]or those seeking to study online communities, this sort of social formation poses the methodological challenge of how to bound the object of study' (Baym, 2007, n.p.). In separate research on friendship ties mediated by the music and social networking site Last.fm, Baym (2008) accepts that '[o]ur study is not without limitations. The sample is weighted toward those heavily involved with the site. [...] We also were limited in our ability to compare geographic regions, and human subjects concerns prevented us from being able to contrast teens directly with adults' (Baym,

¹ See, for example, Salavuo (2006), Baym (2007) and Andersson (2009).

² On ethnography in popular music studies, see Cohen (1993).

2008, p.23). So it can already be seen that the nature of online communities makes their ethnographic study problematic.

In studying the use of the internet by groups of people, Hine (2000) suggests that '[e]thnography can [...] be used to develop an enriched sense of the meanings of the technology and the cultures which enable it and are enabled by it' (Hine, 2000, p.8). My study is concerned more with how audience members make *use* of the technology than their actual relationship *with* the technology, which Hine supports by saying that '[a]n ethnography of the Internet can look in detail at the ways in which the technology is experienced in use' (Hine, 2000, p.4). It has been argued that much audience research has been mislabelled as ethnography, as Baym (2000) points out: 'As it has been developed within anthropology and sociology, ethnography involves explaining [...] a culture or subculture. By contrast, the *ethnographic* audience work has little to say about "the ideal of the cultural whole" [...], substituting instead social conditions such as gender, class, and ethnicity' (Baym, 2000, p.18, emphasis in original). Baym goes on to say that in a geographically bound culture or community, 'it is far simpler [...] to imagine what the cultural whole might be. By contrast, audience communities are diffuse. [...] (e.g., online communities) are one [*sic*] of many specialized communities in which people are members "simultaneously and over time" [...]. All members of audience communities are members of other communities as well' (Baym, 2000, p.19). She suggests, however, that research may be facilitated by the technology: 'if one wanted to find a nicely bounded, self-defined audience community of interrelated members, it has not been easy. The Internet has changed that, in part by making audience communities more visible and in part by enabling their proliferation' (Baym, 2000, p.19).

Virtual ethnography, as defined by Hine (2004), is built on several principles, including the following:

Instead of going to particular field sites, virtual ethnography follows field connections. [...] [It] is a process of intermittent engagement, rather than long term immersion. [...] [It] is necessarily partial. Our accounts can be based on strategic relevance to particular research questions rather than faithful representations of objective realities. [...] [It] is, ultimately, an adaptive ethnography which sets out to suit itself to the conditions in which it finds itself (Hine, 2004, pp.1-2).

Compared with conventional ethnographic research, virtual ethnography tends to investigate particular practices rather than, in an ethnomusicological context, entire musical cultures: 'it is less appropriate for the holistic examination of an entire way of life than for the study of people in specific aspects of that life such as, for example, people's practices as [...] music consumers' (Cooley *et al.*, 2008, p.91). Of course, musical cultures that primarily exist online may be studied using what Lysloff (2003) calls 'virtual ethnomusicology',³ but in Hine's conception virtual ethnography is more flexible and appropriate for music scenes that are geographically based but that have virtual extensions or counterparts.

'Netnography': a methodological approach

Robert Kozinets has developed his own approach to ethnography that includes studying online behaviour, using the term 'netnography', which he defines as 'a specialized form of ethnography adapted to the unique computer-mediated contingencies of today's social worlds' (Kozinets, 2010, p.1). Kozinets is from a marketing background 'where netnography is the preferred term' (Kozinets, 2010, p.6) and states that '[i]n the field of consumer and marketing research, netnographies have become a widely accepted form of research' (p.1). As with Hine's 'virtual ethnography', Kozinets emphasises the adaptability of various research methods while 'recommending an approach under one umbrella term [i.e. netnography]' (Kozinets, 2010, p.3). As with similar ethnographers such as Hine and Baym, Kozinets has no

³ Lysloff was researching an online 'music community, known as the *mod scene* (referring to the digital music *modules* that the scene members create and exchange)' (Lysloff, 2003, p.27, emphasis in original).

misgivings about using the term ‘online community’, but stresses: ‘Online communities are not virtual. The people that we meet online are not virtual. They are real communities populated with real people, which is why so many end up meeting in the flesh. [...] Online communities *are* communities; there is no room for debate about this’ (Kozinets, 2010, p.15, emphasis in original).⁴ He goes on to classify four types of online community: ‘cruising communities’, which have relatively weak social relationships and ‘low centrality of any particular kind of consumption activity’ (p.35) (such as some virtual worlds and chat rooms); ‘bonding communities’, where members have very strong social ties but ‘are not particularly focused on a shared or unifying consumption behaviour’ (pp.35-36) (typically social networking sites); ‘geeking communities’ primarily for the sharing of information rather than social relationships (including forums and blogs); and ‘building communities’, ‘that offer both a strong sense of community as well as detailed information [...] about a central, unifying interest and activity’ (p.36) (for example, social networking site interest groups and web site forums).

Kozinets has another model of study that is pertinent to this thesis, which he thinks of as research into ‘communities online’:

[S]tudies [of communities online] examine some extant general social phenomena whose social existence extends well beyond the Internet and social interactions, even though those interactions may play an important role with the group’s membership. Studies of communities online take a particular social or communal phenomenon as their focal area of interest and then extend this, arguing or assuming that, through the study of the online community, something significant can be learned about the wider focal community or culture, and then generalized to the whole (Kozinets, 2010, p.64).

This approach, Kozinets suggests, is useful where the study of internet use or the online aspect of the community is secondary to that of the purpose or wider activities of that community. Although it can be difficult to decide whether the focus of study is an ‘online

⁴ Kozinets refers to one 2008 study indicating that 56 per cent of online community members claimed to meet other members in person (Kozinets, 2010, p.14).

community’ or ‘community online’ and that there is a continuum rather than a strict demarcation between them, Kozinets’s suggested rule is ‘that *research on online communities should tend to have a primarily netnographic focus. For research on a community online, netnography should play more of a supporting or secondary role*’ (Kozinets, 2010, p.65, emphasis in original). Before deciding on my methods, then, I would need to determine whether it was ‘online community’ or ‘community online’ that I wished to investigate in order to address my research questions, also bearing in mind that, as Kruse (2010, p.632) argues, ‘the conventional and the virtual are not truly separate’.

The ‘conventional’ jazz audience: festival surveys⁵

An important feature of many scenes, and particularly the wider jazz scene in Britain, is the festival. As ‘niche’ or ‘specialist’ music, jazz is still popular – across Europe, there is a healthy audience for live jazz of all styles; although jazz festivals tend to be smaller in scale than rock festivals (and may receive state subsidy), there would appear to be a greater number of them.⁶ A festival can be thought of as a scene in itself, as Dowd, Liddle and Nelson (2004) suggest: ‘Festivals resemble local scenes, as they occur in a delimited space, offering a collective opportunity for performers and fans to experience music and other lifestyle elements. However, festivals are also components of broader music scenes’ (Dowd, Liddle and Nelson, 2004, p.149). I would suggest that this is true of many British jazz festivals, which often feature British performers (and are significant in providing them with seasonal work opportunities) and are attended by audience members who could be considered to represent to some degree the wider jazz audience. To gain a general idea of the ways in which

⁵ The forms and questionnaires used in the festival surveys are in appendix A and transcripts of interviews with the festival directors in appendix C.

⁶ In the course of my research, a brief internet search in April 2010 indicated that there are over 200 jazz festivals in Europe (www.europejazz.net/festivals.html), compared to 84 rock festivals (www.festivalsrock.com). However, this is a simplistic classification as many festivals blur the boundaries in any case – consider Gary Moore at Montreux or Al Green at North Sea jazz festivals, and Portico Quartet at Glastonbury.

festival audience members engage with digital media in their jazz-related activities, a quantitative method was appropriate, in this case the use of questionnaires. We have, however, to accept their limitations: the descriptiveness of information gained from basic questionnaires (Munn and Drever, 2004, p.5), particularly the first one I used, and the potential lack of representativeness inherent in convenience sampling, as used in this and the following survey (Davies, 2007, pp.55-56).

As a starting point I decided to conduct a small exploratory exercise with samples from the audiences of two contrasting British jazz festivals in 2010, which between them covered a fairly wide range of styles (the general audience demographic and artistic policy of each festival was put into context by interviewing the festival directors).⁷ Live jazz activity (including festivals) in the UK has been the subject of research commissioned by Jazz Services and others in recent years, but little research has been conducted into jazz on the internet, and even the report on Riley and Laing's (2008) study on jazz in the media barely mentions online jazz.⁸ Although my initial survey was restricted to two festivals, it was designed to help inform the direction of my main data gathering, which was conducted online. The festival study consisted of a short audience questionnaire asking mainly about ways of obtaining jazz recordings, obtaining information about jazz and the use of digital media for jazz activities, along with some basic demographic questions. I also conducted an interview with the main organiser of each festival, from whom I sought permission to conduct the surveys in advance. The audience participants took part voluntarily, completing the questionnaires (which were deliberately kept to no more than two pages) in between festival events or returning them by post (and in one case scanned and e-mailed). The results of these initial surveys will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6, but they indicated that these

⁷ Data gathering activities were conducted after gaining ethical approval.

⁸ For live jazz, see, for example, Maitland (2009), Hodgkins (2010) and Riley and Laing (2010).

festival attendees, at least, did not seem to engage with online groups very deeply as part of their jazz activities, suggesting that (although the terminology was not used in the questions) they did not regard themselves as belonging to an ‘online community’ or ‘virtual scene’. This is not to imply they did not use the internet for jazz, but most did not use forums or social networking sites as part of their online jazz activities.

The jazz ‘community online’

In my research I am treating the wider ‘jazz community’ in the UK as a group of people with a common interest – jazz music – and practices, at varying levels of participation, centred around that interest. My festival audience survey results suggested that digital technology had a part to play in these participants’ jazz-related activities, but as an extension or means of facilitating those activities rather than being considered as forming a separate ‘online community’. For this reason, it seemed that there was more likely to exist (if at all) a ‘community online’ of these (or other) jazz enthusiasts, for which netnography would be a way of supporting this hypothesis, and I decided that the next logical step should be to devise a survey similar to the one used for the festivals but disseminated (and to be completed) online. Kozinets (2010, p.45) suggests using online surveys in order to ‘draw conclusions about online community usage that are representative of a particular population’, and about participation generally. This is more appropriate in this case than using online depth interviews or journals (to provide detailed understanding of a person’s ‘lived experience’ online), focus groups (which are difficult to manage online), or social network analysis (on relationship structures between members) (Kozinets, 2010, pp.45-55).⁹ However, I wanted also to conduct some ‘offline’ interviews with a sample of participants, in order, as Orgad (2009, p.37) puts it, to ‘frame the online both in its own right and in relation to other contexts

⁹ Social network analysis is one of the methods proposed Howard’s (2002) ‘network ethnography’, but as he suggests, it is best suited for the in-depth study of ‘hypermedia organisations’ (Howard, 2002, p.553).

and realities', and to this end I asked respondents, if they were willing to be interviewed, to provide their contact details. Interviews would provide a more qualitative, 'netnographic' element to support the largely quantitative surveys by providing 'triangulation' (Dawson, 2009, p.20) as well as the opportunity to gain some personal views about the use of digital technology, sense of community and jazz scenes.

The design of the online questionnaires was informed by the results of the festival surveys, literature on research instrument construction, and feedback from several volunteers who agreed to pilot a draft version before the final survey went 'live'. It was based on the festival questionnaire as there were other findings from the festival audience samples that were consistent with behaviour that is often associated with jazz audiences, such as the collecting of records despite being in the 'digital age', and these were worth following up in the online survey. For example, most respondents bought jazz recordings as CDs, and it appears that there is still a healthy CD (and vinyl) market for 'niche' music genres. According to Anderton, Dubber and James (2013, p.92), 'it is not unusual to find independent record stores that specialize in electronic dance music, classical music, or jazz', and jazz CDs have been selling in significant numbers via independent online retailers such as JazzCDs and I Think Music.¹⁰ For the online survey I therefore retained questions about methods of obtaining jazz recordings along with questions about general internet use regarding jazz activities, but also asked about the extent to which respondents met in person other jazz fans with whom they had communicated online to ascertain the extent of the intersection of geographical community and 'community online' (or local/translocal and virtual scenes). As these respondents could have participated in jazz in a number of ways (as musicians and/or listeners, for example) I additionally asked them about the nature of their jazz activities.

¹⁰ Anecdotal evidence for the market in jazz CDs was gained at a seminar in May 2009 from Christine Allen, founder of JazzCDs and director of Basho Records, and Michael Cassidy, founder of I Think Music, a web-based platform for independent labels and artists.

Online survey method

Following authors such as Davies (2007) and Kozinets (2010), the online survey method is an efficient and, considering the area of research, an appropriate one. The drawbacks are that, as Davies (2007, p.29) suggests, ‘there is likely to be a disappointing response rate’ unless the researcher is targeting a closed group (and possibly because of people’s survey fatigue), and, as a result and as Salavuo (2006, p.258) found, ‘it is impossible to know how well they represent the community as a whole’. Salavuo warns that ‘[i]n general, one must be very cautious in making any generalisations about findings of open online surveys’ (Salavuo, 2006, p.258). This problem is mainly one of convenience sampling, which has been unavoidable for both the festival audience questionnaires and online surveys, as they relied on voluntary participation. For this reason, for the audience samples I chose two festivals with differing music policies and in order to keep the data in context I conducted structured interviews with each of the festival organisers. For the online survey it was impossible to achieve random sampling because of its open nature, but I was able to interview a small number of the respondents who replied to my contacting them after the survey.¹¹

The online questionnaire was designed to be simple and quick for the respondent to use (consisting mainly of closed and ranked questions just requiring one mouse click) while occasionally allowing for text responses that could be typed in where appropriate (but not open questions as such). The questions were ordered so that the more general and easier to answer questions were at the beginning and those involving personal information at the end (Munn and Drever, 2004, p.26).¹² After drafting the questions and answer options I chose a

¹¹ The questions used in the online survey are in appendix A and the survey results in appendix B.

¹² See also Dawson (2009, pp.101-102) for a comprehensive list of questionnaire design tips.

survey web site (Kwiksurveys)¹³ that would be able to host different types of questions, facilitate the analysis of results and allow a pilot survey to be done. Feedback from the pilot resulted in the slight alteration of some questions (such as adding an answer option about listening to downloaded music on a mobile device to the question about digital consumption habits) and the wording of instructions to make them clearer. As well as questions about jazz activities, obtaining jazz recordings and using the internet for finding information about jazz, there were questions on listening and/or watching jazz via digital media, communicating with other jazz enthusiasts via e-mail or social networking sites, and participation in jazz discussion boards and blogs. Respondents were also asked how often they saw people they had communicated with online at jazz events and where these people lived, and whether using the internet had influenced the way they consumed jazz. Finally, there were questions about other styles of music participants may be interested in and whether they used the same methods of following these styles as they do for jazz, followed by demographic questions.

In order to incentivise people into taking part I offered to send a free CD to all participants who gave their postal address, after emphasising that this information was for purely for the purpose of sending the CD, if they chose to take up the offer.¹⁴ The ethical issues of online research are discussed in detail in, for example, Markham and Baym (eds.) (2009, pp.69-98) and Kozinets (2010, pp.136-156). For this survey ‘implied consent’ was acquired in a straightforward way by asking participants to read a statement promising their anonymity (the software allocates a reference number to each respondent) and clicking ‘Yes’ when asked if they agreed to participate – the question was set up so that clicking ‘No’ would not allow them to proceed with the survey. ‘Implied consent’ can be problematic (see Kozinets, 2010, p.143) but it is practically impossible to get consent in an open online survey in any other

¹³ The survey took place in autumn 2011; the original web site is no longer operational.

¹⁴ Several respondents took up the offer. The CD was *Biorritmo* by the band BarrioViejo, of which I was a member, and the rest of the band agreed to let me give it away as we had plenty of spare copies!

way. An initial limit of around three weeks was set for the duration of the survey and a 'snowballing' technique was employed to gain participants, whereby an e-mail message containing a direct link to the survey was circulated among people I knew with an interest in jazz, asking them to forward the message onto their jazz enthusiast contacts. The danger with this technique is that it can lead to sample bias (Dawson, 2009, p.50), so social media on a wider scale (in particular, Twitter) and the Rhythm Changes project web site were utilised as well, by creating an announcement containing a link to the survey. After an initial flurry of activity during which around 30 participants attempted the survey within a few days of it going live, the response rate slowed down significantly, and the decision was made to send reminders to the initial snowballing contacts with a deadline extension of about a week. This resulted in renewed activity, particularly after one of my contacts posted a request on her Facebook page. By the (revised) deadline there had been more than 40 survey attempts.

Interviews

As mentioned above, the purpose of interviewing the festival directors was to provide contextual information to frame the audience questionnaire data, as the participants in each sample were self-selecting and the sample sizes were small (between ten and fifteen per cent of the audience at each event). Ideally I would have preferred to interview these individuals face-to-face, but their busy schedules during the festivals prevented this and I had to interview them later by telephone, which is an established method (Kozinets, 2010, p.110) but has obvious limitations such as the absence of visual cues such as facial expression (Drever, 2003, pp.15-16). The interviews were semi-structured and the recording method was note-taking, which was necessary because they were conducted by telephone – there are obvious disadvantages to this but it was adequate for the information I required from these interviews (Dawson, 2009, p.67). The questions were about the styles of jazz performed, selection of

performers, how promotion methods have changed since they started running the festival, methods of promotion used (from a list, and including digital media), typical audience profile and potential audience.

The interviews of respondents to the online survey were also semi-structured but intended to be more open and ‘ethnographic’ in nature. As well as providing some triangulation of data, they also gave interviewees an opportunity to expand on their (and other people’s) use of digital media for jazz, and their perceptions of identity and jazz scenes in the UK and online. Participation was voluntary, and participants’ consent could not be assumed without confirmation of their willingness to be interviewed – after several attempts to contact all those survey respondents who had provided contact details, only three replied. Two happened to live in my local area and I was able to interview them in person, recording the interviews on video and transcribing them afterwards. This was not possible with the third, and this interview had to be conducted via e-mail. Kozinets (2010, p.112) points out that e-mail interviews can provide ‘carefully considered answers’ and that the medium ‘conveys a sense of intimacy’, and even though the interview took place over a period of a week or more the interviewee was able to give quite revealing answers. These interviews are discussed in chapter 7, and the transcripts can be found in appendix E.¹⁵

Conclusion: using mixed methods

The nature of technological developments and the rate of evolution – and change – in the way people use digital media means that it is difficult to gain a full picture of what is happening without it becoming outdated very quickly, particularly in a research project being undertaken on a part time basis. In the short time that had elapsed between conducting the festival

¹⁵ Qualitative interview response data in the form of tables of comments can be found in appendix D.

audience surveys in early 2010 and the online survey in autumn 2011, MySpace had fallen out of favour by musicians and the general public whereas Facebook and Twitter were enjoying large increases in popularity, among both the public and many organisations. The purpose of the data-gathering part of my research is, intentionally, not to try to provide either a detailed statistical analysis of a jazz audience or a full ethnographic study of a jazz ‘community’, online or offline. It is, rather, to obtain some data that will, as a ‘snapshot’ of some members of what may be considered the wider UK jazz community, inform (along with some secondary data and other case studies) the theoretical arguments that will help me address my research questions. ‘Netnography’ is a usefully flexible methodological approach to online research that can include mixed methods, in this case surveys and semi-structured interviews, the results of which will be analysed in chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 3

Contemporary jazz in the UK: key issues

‘As if in response to those who repeatedly proclaimed its death, the nineteen-eighties bore witness to the remarkable and unexpected rebirth of contemporary jazz among a generation of young, British-born musicians’ (Wickes, 1999, p.1).

Jazz has been a part of British culture since the beginning of the twentieth century and even earlier (Parsonage, 2005), and its dissemination via recordings and live performance has helped to build audiences that have at various times (and for various styles) made it part of the popular mainstream, a form of art music and a more specialist or niche genre of popular music. The aim of this chapter is to provide a historical context to jazz in Britain, mainly from the 1980s onwards, focusing on key aspects of its development. During the 1980s jazz was adopted as a cultural signifier in Britain in a way that it previously had not been, and the decade marked the advent of digital recording and reproduction in the form of the compact disc (David, 2010, pp.31-32). The latter factor is relevant to this thesis in two ways. First, record companies increased their revenues, partly from re-releasing their back catalogues on CD (Wikström, 2009, p.64) and could therefore invest more in new artists, including jazz musicians. Second, the ease with which non-encrypted digital recordings (such as CDs) could be copied (David, 2010, p.5), once copying software and hardware had become widely available, led eventually to illegal file sharing and then legitimate digital music distribution.¹ The chapter will consider jazz in Britain since 1980 (with a brief contextual overview of the period leading up to this), and the cultural significance and identity, if there is one, of British

¹ Legal digital distribution has not, according to industry reports, stopped file sharing, but the market is showing steady growth (see, for example, the IFPI reports by Kennedy, 2010 and Moore, 2011).

jazz.² This includes its exposure in the mass media and value as cultural capital during the late 1980s, and the concurrent integration of jazz into education, both of which have contributed to a shift in the position of jazz within British popular culture. The jazz audience in the UK and the ways in which it may have been affected by digital communications technology will be discussed in later chapters.

A distinction between ‘jazz in Britain’ and ‘British jazz’ should be drawn at this point, one that historian David Boulton made as early as 1958 (see chapter 1). In this chapter I will be discussing, mostly, jazz performed by musicians either born in the UK or who have made their home here – i.e. British jazz, but within the wider context of jazz in Britain. While this chapter is primarily written from a historical perspective, it also draws on theoretical ideas including the historiography of jazz in Britain, aspects of postmodernism and concepts such as ‘glocalisation’ and transculturation. Recent scholarly writing on jazz in the UK draws on cultural studies and postcolonial studies among other disciplines, and uses themes including cultural industries in Britain, the fluidity of race, class and nation, and African American music as an export culture, to provide detailed analyses of specific cultural aspects of jazz in Britain: Parsonage (2005), McKay (2005) and Moore (2007). Although I draw on two of these sources in particular, my intention here is not simply to reiterate the debates and theoretical perspectives that have been well articulated by these authors. Nor is it to provide a comprehensive survey of the music and its practitioners – general histories of jazz in Britain and British jazz (other than biographies) can be found in Boulton (1958), Godbolt (1984), Godbolt (1989), Wickes (1999), Carr (2008), and Heining (2012), most of which I have used for background information and to consider historiographical approaches. Rather, it is to

² McKay (2005) has found that for some white British jazz musicians, (racial) identity is less significant than for black Americans: ‘National and/or ethnic identity is of no importance to me at all’ (Eddie Prévoist, quoted in McKay, 2005, p.10). However, Bakriges (2003, p.107), for example, talks of the time after the free jazz movement of the 1960s ‘when the terms “German Jazz” or “Italian Jazz” come to the fore, as the perception of national jazz traditions are formed’. Bakriges does not discuss British jazz as such in his article.

consider the recent evolution of jazz as it has occurred in Britain, and its place within British popular culture. Starting with the period leading up to ‘the 1980s resurgence’ of jazz (Nicholson, 1995) and continuing from 1980, this chapter will cover the significant developments in the music in a British – and what might be described as a postmodern – context. There will follow a discussion of the growth and pedagogical approaches of jazz in education in Britain during this time, the place of jazz in British culture and the commercialisation of jazz, the broadcasting of jazz, and, finally, the popularity of jazz in twenty-first century Britain.

Innovation in British jazz before 1980

It is worth giving a brief contextual background of British jazz leading up to 1980, as post-1980 British jazz has been shaped to some extent on the work of certain key musicians in the previous two decades. Although what Wickes (1999) calls the ‘great British jazz revival’ of the 1980s was celebrated by the media ‘in terms of a breakthrough’, he points out that ‘without the unstinting loyalty of their forbears, the new voices of the eighties would never have come about’ (Wickes, 1999, p.1). There has until recently been very little academic writing on the history of British jazz, particularly from the 1970s onwards; this is in many ways a neglected area, though there is now an increasing body of literature, the most significant (though not histories as such) being McKay (2005) (concerning the cultural politics of jazz) and Moore (2007) (on race, nation, and class). It seems generally accepted that although the British jazz ‘scene’ had been losing ground to rock (in terms of its popularity) since the 1960s, jazz was nevertheless enjoying a creatively fruitful period, and many of the musicians involved continued into the 1980s and beyond.³ Godbolt (1989) suggests that ‘the most significant development in the period 1950 to 1970 [...] was the

³ Kenny Wheeler is a case in point: at the time of writing, the trumpeter/composer who came to prominence in the late 1960s is still performing and composing in his eighties. The definition of the term ‘scene’ has been debated for some time in popular music studies and will be explored in more detail below.

immense improvement in the standard of British jazz' (pp.297-298), and that as well as British musicians' ability to copy American jazz, '[i]n recent years there has been less emphasis on comparisons with Americans' (p.299).⁴ Cotterrell (2008, p.163) asserts that 'Britain really was a special place of jazz innovation' (in the late 1960s and early 1970s),⁵ and Nicholson (2005, p.XII) more broadly states that 'since the 1960s, there has been a gradual realization, more outside the United States than in it, that jazz does not have to be American, or even sound American, to be jazz'. Shipton (2007) takes a similar position, stating that '[T]he 1960s was to become the golden decade of creativity in British jazz' (p.704). Although a detailed survey of British jazz of this period is beyond the scope of this chapter, the individuals discussed below had a direct impact on the succeeding generations of jazz musicians in Britain.

Significantly, it was migrant (and non-American) musicians who inspired some British instrumentalists, particularly in London, to break away from the hegemonic American styles of jazz being copied by many British musicians such as Ronnie Scott and Tubby Hayes (Cotterrell, 2008, p.164).⁶ One of these was saxophonist Joe Harriott, although it should be said that when he arrived in London from Jamaica in 1951 he was still a Charlie Parker-influenced bebop player (Wickes, 1999, p.13).⁷ Harriott came up with an approach to improvisation within the broad parameters of jazz that was genuinely original, even if, as

⁴ From 1935 until 1955, the performance of American jazz musicians in Britain was prohibited due to a disagreement involving the British and American musicians' unions and the Ministry of Labour, and restricted until 1961, when Ronnie Scott's business partner Pete King had negotiated a deal enabling American soloists to play in Britain with local rhythm sections. The lack of exposure of British audiences and musicians to live American jazz must have had an effect on the development of British jazz until the 1960s. See, for example, Godbolt (1989, pp.167-188), McKay (2005, pp.146-147) and Parsonage (2005, pp.254-260).

⁵ London has been seen as perhaps the most significant centre of jazz activity in Britain during this period – both in terms of British jazz innovation and performances by visiting musicians – by, for example, Godbolt (1989, pp.247-270), although sustaining an innovative career was not necessarily easy (see McGregor, 1995, p.96).

⁶ McGregor (1995, p.173) writes: 'The jazz world in Britain during the '60s and early '70s was particularly conservative' – perhaps a little harsh, but based on bitter experience of trying to find work for a progressive band, the Blue Notes (see below).

⁷ For some commentators, such as Simon Spillett (himself a bebop saxophonist), Harriott's bebop playing was his most important contribution to British jazz; Spillett (2004) barely mentions his other work.

Cotterrell (2008, p.168) argues, it ‘was a false start in historical terms’ – Harriott’s final album in this style, *Movement* (recorded in 1963), ‘closed this particular chapter, both for Joe Harriott and for the possibility of a totally free kind of music [in British jazz], for a few years’ (Wickes, 1999, p.15). The music, which could be described as ‘abstract’ and ‘free form’ (the titles of two of Harriott’s albums), was an experiment in group improvisation that was contemporaneous with, and could well have preceded, the ‘free jazz’ of Ornette Coleman in the United States around the same time, and Moore (2007, p.69) is certain that Harriott’s approach to free improvisation developed independently from Coleman’s. She suggests ‘that the quintet were outsiders, paradoxically pushing the boundaries of what was already a peripheral scene in an effort to form some sense of centralized identity within the jazz world’ (Moore, 2007, p.81).⁸ Moreover, Moore asserts that ‘[t]he birth of European free jazz, in fact, starts with *Free Form*: an album that represents the performance of an innovative musical and cultural aesthetic, influenced only minimally by the American model’ (2007, p.70). Harriott also collaborated with John Mayer to form Indo-Jazz Fusions in an attempt to combine jazz and traditional Indian music, which led to others pursuing similar projects, such as John McLaughlin (Shipton, 2001, pp.384-386). Harriott died in 1973, the last few years of his career and life having declined leaving him feeling rejected by the British ‘jazz establishment’ (Moore, 2007, p.94), and his work was largely unrecognized until the 1980s jazz resurgence, when the Jazz Warriors paid tribute to him (McKay, 2005, p.163).⁹

The impact of immigrant musicians on the London jazz scene was repeated in 1965, when six South African musicians came to Britain (officially as exiles) as the Blue Notes, including Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza and Louis Moholo. They were also playing

⁸ The other regular members of Harriott’s group were fellow Caribbeans trumpeter Ellsworth ‘Shake’ Keane and bassist Coleridge Goode, and pianist Pat Smythe and drummer Bobby Orr, both from Scotland.

⁹ For possible reasons why Harriott’s work had been so neglected, see Robertson (2011, p.98) and McKay (2005, pp.160-163); on Harriott’s final years see Robertson (2011, pp.179-203), Moore (2007, pp.93-95) and Carr (2008, pp.1-2).

American-influenced jazz, but with an emotional spirit that marked them out from local bands (McKay, 2005, p.177). As Carr (2008, p.105) recalls: 'Their music had its own strongly individual flavour even then, but it seemed to come out of the Horace Silver/Art Blakey sort of school, though the McGregor band gave the impression of being much wilder and more abandoned than the Jazz Messengers'. Shipton (2007, p.697) describes some of the Blue Notes' music as being played 'very freely'; Moholo claimed that '[m]e and John Stevens [*sic*] were actually the first drummers to play free music in Britain' (quoted in McGregor, 1995, p.116), contradicting (or in ignorance of?) the fact that the free form albums of Harriott had already been recorded.¹⁰ Around the same time, they, along with some British players including John Stevens, Mike Osborne and John Surman, were being influenced by the work of American free jazz musicians.¹¹ Stevens, along with Trevor Watts and others, developed during the 1960s what Shipton (2007, p.706) calls a 'very distinctive vein of free jazz' based at the Little Theatre Club in London, which was a reaction against the established British jazz scene (McKay, 2005, pp.198-200; Wickes, 1999, pp.41-59). The Blue Notes also experimented at the venue *with* Stevens (McGregor, 1995, pp.98-9), as well as at the 'Old Place'.¹² Though the Blue Notes was short-lived – 'there was just not the scene to sustain it' (McGregor, 1995, p.90) – in the late 1960s McGregor formed what would become the Brotherhood of Breath big band, the first incarnation of which 'most excitingly explored the tensions between arrangements and free improvisation [...] made accessible for a wider audience by virtue of the kwela style of the arrangements' (McKay, 2005, pp.181-182).¹³ As with the Harriott quintet, the band's impact on British jazz largely manifested itself as an

¹⁰ Indeed, *Free Form* was recorded in 1960, and, according to Harriott's biographer Robertson (2011, p.69), 'there are grounds for claiming that Harriott's free form ideas can be traced back as far as 1958'.

¹¹ In particular, for McGregor, these were Ornette Coleman, Albert Ayler, Don Cherry, and Cecil Taylor (Carr, 2008, pp.105-108) and for Stevens (following an air force posting in Germany where he saw American musicians perform), Eric Dolphy and Ornette Coleman (Wickes, 1999, p.43).

¹² The 'Old Place' was Ronnie Scott's first venue, which Scott made available to the progressive musicians while he still had the lease.

¹³ 'Kwela' is a style of penny whistle music made popular outside South Africa by the tune 'Tom Hark' (Broughton *et al.*, 1994, p.378). For more on the influence of members of the Blue Notes on some British jazz musicians see Searle (2008, p.210 and p.228).

influence on certain musicians, who, particularly in the 1980s (during which the Brotherhood of Breath continued, with different line-ups), developed an approach that was very much a part of the jazz resurgence, if not quite a British cultural identity in jazz.¹⁴

At this point it should be noted that British musicians made a considerable contribution to jazz-rock, and, unlike the other histories of British jazz, Wickes (1999) provides a comprehensive account of the musicians and developments in this area from the late 1960s onwards, and Nicholson's (1998) history of jazz-rock acknowledges the genre's British genesis (which, like free jazz, was concurrent with, and possibly earlier than, American developments). It can be argued, as Martin and Parsonage (2008) do, that blues and R&B bands gave jazz in Britain a 'source of stylistic diversity' (p.31) that led to the integration of jazz and rock in influential groups such as Cream, which was created by musicians with some jazz pedigree (Martin and Parsonage, 2008, p.32). Blake (1997), more specifically in relation to a national sound of jazz-rock, writes about 'a specific set of sonic relations in a music which was trying to adapt Anglo-American and other forms in order to find a more authentic British voice' (Blake, 1997, p.125). Carr (2008) also devotes two chapters to musicians involved in jazz-rock, Jon Hiseman and Carr's own band, Nucleus. However, as Hobsbawm (1999, p.385) points out when he says that jazz-rock 'did not permanently shape the future of jazz' and as even Wickes (1999, pp.316-325) attests, despite its relative commercial success and popularity with audiences, jazz-rock turned out to be perhaps one of the less significant influences on the jazz of the 1980s resurgence. Because of this, and as Wickes and Carr more than adequately cover this ground (along with Shipton, 2007, pp.605-610), I will not discuss it in depth here; it should be noted however that British jazz-rock is a neglected area by

¹⁴ There was cross-fertilisation of ideas between musicians – for example, as well as the collaboration with Stevens, McGregor also recorded with Harriott's bassist, Coleridge Goode, in 1967 (McGregor, 1995, p.103). However, mainstream success eluded the Brotherhood of Breath for some time; Wilmer (1994, n.p.) writes 'I still find it unbelievable to recall that when these musicians were playing their hearts out, the British establishment stayed asleep'.

academic authors. Notable bands of the period other than Cream and Nucleus include Hiseman's group Colosseum, King Crimson, Soft Machine, and the early work of Graham Bond and John McLaughlin (before McLaughlin left Britain for the US) (Wickes, 1999).¹⁵

Blake (1997) analyses the sonic and harmonic qualities of Colosseum's *Valentyne Suite* (1969), arguing that:

The Suite is characterised throughout by a hesitant, ambiguous attitude to tonality. [...] Although the modality of the English musical Renaissance is sometimes suggested, the suggestions are never confirmed [...] Like the progressive movement on the whole, [...] the band seems to be questioning both the Anglo-American tradition and the tonality established at the time of the Enlightenment – and looking elsewhere for an identifiable voice (Blake, 1997, p.156).

He concludes that although the idea of a 'suite' follows Duke Ellington, Hiseman was looking for 'a new language: the blues and jazz were seen as too American and too limited in appeal, and "prog rock" was one way to create a new and indigenous music which straddled the worlds of composition and improvisation' (Blake, 1997, p.160). The extent to which this approach defined a 'British sound' in a new language for future musicians is debatable, but Hiseman has built a successful career. It is worth mentioning a few other musicians working broadly within the genre who would continue to be influential in the 1980s, often in a jazz-rock context: saxophonist Barbara Thompson and her band Paraphernalia (which would eventually include Hiseman), guitarist Gary Boyle, and saxophonist Dick Morrissey and guitarist Jim Mullen, who worked together as Morrissey-Mullen (Wickes, 1999). Drummer Bill Bruford made his name in progressive rock (as did others such as guitarist John Etheridge, who played with Soft Machine), but also worked with jazz musicians such as Kenny Wheeler during the late 1970s. Bruford would return to jazz in 1986 with his band Earthworks, working with young exponents of the 1980s resurgence Django Bates and Iain Ballamy (Bruford, 2009, pp.182-187; also see Wickes, 1999, pp.180-185).

¹⁵ For an overview of early British jazz-rock, also see Nicholson (1998, pp.14-28).

Gender and sexuality of jazz musicians in Britain

Jazz is a particularly gendered music: that Barbara Thompson is the first female jazz musician to be mentioned in this chapter is reflective of ‘the masculinist bias of jazz music practice’ (McKay, 2005, p.245). Space does not allow for a detailed analysis here of the reasons for the historic lack of prominent female jazz musicians in Britain, but it has gradually become easier for women to be accorded a more equal status with their male counterparts. McKay (2005) and Heining (2012) each devote a chapter to the difficulties of female and of homosexual jazz musicians in gaining acceptance in the heterosexual male dominated world of jazz. McKay considers various aspects of ‘jazz masculinities’, the possible reasons for them in connection with music, culture and society, and how female and gay jazz musicians have coped with them (such as the formation of the Feminist Improvising Group). Heining similarly looks at the political and societal context (of the 1960s in particular) to explain why ‘women wishing to become involved in jazz as musicians, writers, promoters or fans faced a number of obstacles’ (Heining, 2012, p.277). He includes the issues facing homosexual jazz musicians by quoting Graham Collier (one of very few openly gay members of the British ‘jazz community’, who largely felt accepted by fellow musicians), but McKay goes much further here, and though his main example of a gay male British jazz musician is also Collier, he makes the point that what homophobia Collier did experience ‘came from *within* the [wider] jazz community’ (McKay, 2005, p.274, emphasis in original).

It should be remembered that homosexual practice was illegal in Britain until 1967, but the general point both authors make is that for many years both women and gay male jazz musicians faced similar difficulties, Heining (2012, p.298) suggesting that a successful strategy was to avoid working with those who were likely to negatively discriminate. It is,

however, easier to hide one's sexuality than one's gender, and Heining (2012, p.277) notes that it was easier for him to find sources regarding women in jazz than gay men.¹⁶ Heining's female case studies are saxophonists Kathy Stobart and Barbara Thompson, and vocalists Cleo Laine, Norma Winstone, Maggie Nicols and Julie Tippetts, all of whom 'seem to have dealt with their situation pragmatically' (Heining, 2012, p.298) while 'paving the way' (p.302) during the 1960s and 1970s for the female jazz musicians (such as Nikki Iles, whom Heining also quotes) who followed. McKay discusses some of the other women who were to make successful careers in jazz such as guitarist Deirdre Cartwright and trombonist Annie Whitehead, both of whom were members of Ivy Benson's all-women big band and went on to play in all-female ensembles such as the Guest Stars, which also indicated a 'progression from female to feminist musical activity' (McKay, 2012, p.285). Despite the achievement of female musicians, particularly instrumentalists (whose abilities were always measured against those of men, as Heining points out several times), when female musicians received recognition in the post-2000 resurgence of jazz, it was vocalists who were to achieve the greatest commercial success.

Jazz and 'Britishness'

By the early 1970s, as Fordham (2003b, p.17) describes it in what seems to have become an established historiographical viewpoint, 'the British scene was teeming with original jazz talent'. This included John Surman and Mike Westbrook, whom Carr (1988d, p.535) suggests having 'enlarged the jazz concept by bringing to it a rich variety of influences'. Howard Riley suggests, in an interview in the BBC documentary *Jazz Britannia: Strange Brew* (Connelly, 2005a), that theirs was the first generation of British jazz musicians (members of the Joe Harriott quintet notwithstanding) that acknowledged a debt to American jazz but wanted to

¹⁶ It should be noted that, unlike McKay, Heining in his chapter does not mention the sexuality of his female case studies, one of whom (Maggie Nicols) was a lesbian. McKay is not afraid to confront the difficult area of the connotations of all-female bands, radical feminism and lesbianism (2012, pp.293-296).

find its own voice. Shipton (2007, p.704) also writes of Graham Collier's 'move away from American models', realising that jazz musicians were free to pursue their own interests. In the interview previously cited Riley states that Collier, Westbrook and others 'questioned the orthodoxy of the day' (Connelly, 2005a) and sounded different from players such as Peter King and Ronnie Scott, who continued to play American bebop-influenced jazz (Connelly, 2005a).¹⁷ Fordham summarises the British jazz scene thus:

Stan Tracey and Michael Garrick were writing prolifically, and soloists including Peter King, Don Rendell, Dick Morrissey and Kenny Wheeler were world-class [...] Through the 1970s, the UK scene spawned much fine jazz, but jazz-rock fusion was commercially dominant, hitting straightahead jazz in particular (Fordham, 2003b, p.17).¹⁸

Shipton (2007) suggests that musicians such as Garrick (with his early arrangements of English folksongs) and Tracey (recording his Dylan Thomas inspired suite *Under Milk Wood*) had, from the 1960s, produced a form of jazz with a certain 'Britishness' (p.704), during a period that lasted into the 1970s. However, as Wall and Long (2009) argue in their critique of the way in which the *Jazz Britannia* series tells the story of British jazz, the idea of an identifiable Britishness in the recordings such as *Under Milk Wood* is questionable at best, and Tippet's statement about young musicians trying to find their own voice 'does not entail the conclusion that an essentially British "sound" was born' (Wall and Long, 2009, p.157).¹⁹ Moreover, Wall and Long make a point that may be applied to other proponents of the notion of a distinctly British jazz sound, in that *Jazz Britannia* 'does not look to evaluate the

¹⁷ It should be noted that Scott, whose famous club continued to flourish (culturally if not always financially), was open-minded enough to form a band that included John Surman, Kenny Wheeler and 'innovator' Tony Oxley on drums (Scott, 2000, p.145). The significance of Scott and his club – and the role they played in the development of jazz in Britain – is a factor in both the pre-1980 and, to a lesser extent, post-1980 British jazz scene (see Fordham, 1986).

¹⁸ Stan Tracey had gone through a crisis of confidence at one point, almost giving up jazz to become a postman (Fordham, 2003b, p.17).

¹⁹ Wall and Long discuss the depiction of *Under Milk Wood* (1965) as a watershed moment in British jazz in *Jazz Britannia* (Wall and Long, 2009, pp.150-151). They also quote the critic Richard Williams, who argues that 'the very best of British jazz seldom shows any sign of overt "Britishness"' (quoted in Wall and Long, 2009, p.150, and originally published in *The Guardian*, G2: Arts, 24 January 2005, p.14).

available evidence about the distinctiveness of the musical practices taken up by British people around jazz, but offers a nationalist, essentialist, and idealized set of connotations about such an idea' (Wall and Long, 2009, p.159). Wickes (1999) is not immune to this essentialism either, referring to the 'Englishness' of saxophonist Stan Sultzmänn's melodic and harmonic materials (on the 1977 album *On Loan with Gratitude*) (p.139) and (discussing Kenny Wheeler's 1975 album *Gnu High*) 'the extraordinary empathy and creative acumen with which musicians inured in American jazz [...] engaged this very English music' (p.142).

This approach to British jazz historiography suggests that the 1960s and 1970s marked a period when the music was particularly innovative and developed, for the first time, a distinctly British character to its sound. This is problematic in the sense that it is difficult to define precisely what characteristics of this music make it sound 'British' (as authors making this claim generally fail to do) and in any case, British jazz covered a wide range of styles, as becomes abundantly clear from reading Wickes (1999). Perhaps this historiographical path has been pursued by some commentators because 'in Britain there is no consensus narrative of British jazz's history' (Wall and Long, 2009, p.166). Another aspect is the portrayal of British jazz's decline during the 1970s: 'certainly much of Carr's pessimism about the status and economic well-being of British jazz in the early 1970s is stated as fact in the *Jazz Britannia* programmes' (Wall and Long, 2009, p.166).²⁰ However, it is generally accepted that, on the whole, the British jazz scene was affected during the 1970s by market forces and changing tastes in popular music.²¹ Simplistic pictures should not be drawn; for example, Fordham (1986) writes of The Jazz Centre Society, which 'was attracting Arts Council

²⁰ Wall and Long are referring to Carr's book *Music Outside* (2008, originally written in 1973).

²¹ Successful exceptions include: Keith Tippett's *Centipede*, a work written for a 50-piece orchestra, which was recorded by RCA; fusion trio Back Door, which eschewed fame and fortune but 'seemed to have appeared full-fledged, with an entirely original concept, from nowhere' (Wickes, 1999, p.188); and free improvisers such as Evan Parker and Derek Bailey, a guitarist who, according to Carr (1988a, p.20), 'has pursued the austere path of total improvisation and abstraction with monolithic integrity'.

funding to [promote jazz] in proportions that rose healthily through the 1970s' (p.174) at the same time that Ronnie Scott's club was struggling to stay in business (largely due to economic factors such as rising fees for American artists – see Fordham, 1986, p.178). Many British jazz musicians went to Europe, particularly countries like Germany, where contemporary jazz was well supported and where the ECM record label was based, with its 'visionary producer Manfred Eicher' (Carr, 1988b, p.158).²² Young jazz performers were not put off though, being encouraged by newly established educational opportunities in jazz such as the National Youth Jazz Orchestra and the Barry Summer School. Wickes (1999) suggests that without them jazz may not have survived in Britain (at least in the way it did):

In keeping faith with jazz, the young 'seventies generation would provide much-needed continuity with the 'jazz mainstream', in its broadest sense [...] For all this, without which any subsequent kind of 'jazz revival' would have been unthinkable, the 'seventies generation have yet to receive their due recognition (Wickes, 1999, pp.285-286).

The sentiment expressed here points to another aspect of the historiographical approach of narratives such as *Jazz Britannia*, as Wall and Long (2009, pp.157-158) note:²³ 'a passing remark from Django Bates that most of his contemporaries emerged from community workshops led by Graham Collier, as well as jazz courses at Trinity College, is at odds with the affirmation in episode two that jazz in the UK was all but extinct at the end of the 1970s'.

The contemporary scene: 'postmodern jazz'²⁴

I suggest that 1980 is the beginning of the contemporary scene in jazz in Britain, partly because of the 'resurgence' of its popularity during the 1980s (Nicholson, 1995, p.328). There were other factors such as increased educational opportunities, the growth of jazz festivals

²² British (or British-based) musicians who recorded for the label include Kenny Wheeler, John Surman and Dave Holland (Clarke, 1990, p.373).

²³ There is a slight irony here, in that *Jazz Britannia*'s producers are understood to have read Wickes's book (along with Carr, 2008) during the initial planning of the series (Wall and Long, 2009, p.166).

²⁴ Here, I use the term 'scene' in the wider sense of jazz activity throughout the UK, and 'contemporary' to indicate that the level of activity – if perhaps not the level of general popularity – of jazz appears to have remained from its 'resurgence' in the 1980s (and increased in some respects) to the present day.

and the use of jazz in the media – in television advertising and certain Hollywood films, for example (Nicholson, 2005, p.87) – that have arguably maintained its cultural presence ever since. Shipton (2007, pp.713-725) regards the most recent (and, arguably, current) era of what he calls ‘postmodern jazz’ as a product of the ‘information age’, and was born during the 1970s. One effect of this has been the ability for people to share the large amount of recorded jazz available by recording their albums onto cassette (and more recently, compact disc; now, file sharing) for each other (Shuker, 2001, pp.202-203). It is interesting that, apart from Shipton’s use of it, the term ‘postmodern’ has not been widely applied to jazz in the way it has to rock, for example, where it even became a music industry category (Goodwin, 1998, pp.413-415). However, jazz has been theorised in the context of postmodernism by, for example, Heble (2000), and there are recent references to a postmodern jazz concept by Martin and Parsonage (2008), Wall and Long (2009) and Gioia (2011). Heble (2000, p.61) describes the way in which, in his book, ‘the riven ethical terrain of modernism begins to give way to a newly articulated and equally contradictory postmodern understanding of the music as the product of a historically particular form of cultural practice’. Martin and Parsonage (2008, p.28) describe Joe Harriott’s eclectic approach as postmodern, and Wall and Long (2009, p.153) refer to ‘the postmodern jazz explorations of Courtney Pine’ in their discussion of *Jazz Britannia*. Gioia (2011, pp.357-367) devotes half a chapter to ‘the postmodern impulse’ in jazz in the updated edition of his 1997 history, although, unlike Shipton, does not include American swing saxophonist Scott Hamilton in this category as Hamilton ‘was dead serious about what he was doing’, unlike the ‘tongue-in-cheek humor’ of the ‘postmodernists’ (p.347).

The application of postmodern theory to music (in particular popular music) has often focused on technology, which, as Morley (1996, p.61) describes it, makes possible ‘an “amnesiac

culture”, where everything is jumbled up together in an over-polluted swamp of images and sensations’.²⁵ Taking a more positive view, Kramer (2002, pp.16-17) lists the characteristics of postmodern music, which include: the references to music of a range of traditions and cultures; the use of technology to not only record and transmit music but also to produce it and become a characteristic of the music itself; and the encompassing of pluralism and eclecticism. The technology of digital sampling is often cited as the reason rap music is postmodern (Goodwin, 1998, p.412), and sampling certainly puts rap into that category according to Kramer’s definition. However, jazz musicians have only relatively recently started using digital sampling to any extent (and only a minority do so), so the general concept of postmodern jazz in Shipton’s terms, where musicians can draw on the recordings of jazz and other genres for inspiration and unapologetic musical incorporation into their music (and where a multiplicity of styles co-exist), is my theoretical approach here.²⁶

At the same time as this availability of recordings, there have been reduced opportunities for young musicians to learn to play jazz via the traditional ‘apprenticeship’ methods; Berliner (1994, p.56) wrote of ‘the jam session’s decline and of decreasing employment opportunities with road bands’ in the United States.²⁷ Although empirical data is unavailable, there also appears to have been a general decline in this sort of ‘grassroots’ jazz activity in Britain. Anecdotal evidence suggests, however, that jam sessions did not disappear, and in London, as saxophonist Courtney Pine pointed out in 1992, ‘young cats are jamming with Gary Crosby at the Jazz Café. They’re willing to learn on the bandstand, rather than just practising in their

²⁵ Here Morley is referring to a term (‘amnesiac culture’) he cites as being used by Ignatieff (1989, 7 January), ‘Cleverness is All’, *The Independent*.

²⁶ An exemplar of ‘postmodern jazz’ is provided by the ironic pluralism of Django Bates, who, as Shipton (2007) puts it, ‘was a vital part of the self-consciously postmodern big band Loose Tubes’ (p.709). There is an interesting early example (from 1993) of a jazz record label, Blue Note, embracing the digital sampling of its back catalogue by US 3, in an attempt to attract a younger audience to jazz (Théberge, 1999, p.221).

²⁷ See also Lopes (2002, pp.248-250), who compares the jazz profession with that of classical music once college-educated jazz musicians entered the American scene during the 1960s.

bedrooms. The musicians in my circle used to play all the time' (Pine, quoted in Hrebeniak, 1992, p.18). On the other hand, young black musicians could also feel intimidated by the mainstream, white jazz scene in the early 1980s (Moore, 2007, p.112). Hodgkins (2000) has blamed the decline of informal jazz activity (in England and Wales) on the forty-year '2 in a bar' licensing law:

Under the '2 in a bar rule' whereby only two musicians can play on licensed premises without a public entertainment licence, jazz musicians are being denied employment opportunities and the public is being denied access to the live performance of jazz. [...] Furthermore, under the '2 in a bar rule', all styles of music suffer, but jazz has been hit particularly hard (Hodgkins, 2000, p.5).

It is difficult to quantify the effect of this law, as it is impossible to know how many venues would have had more than two performers had the rule not existed, but Hodgkins' point about the amount of live jazz being performed is a valid one, though a level of 'grassroots' jazz activity has remained in small, non-specialist venues such as pubs (ACE, 1995, p.25).²⁸ Young jazz musicians have had, to a certain extent, to adopt a different approach to learning how to play jazz. Not least of these is formalised jazz education, where it has been argued that the jam session method 'has never been fully captured by such schools' (Schuller, 2005, n.p.), along with summer schools and workshops such as those led by Pat Evans from the 1960s (see below), John Stevens with his Community Music workshops in the 1980s (McKay, 2005, pp.235-237) and Graham Collier (Haddon, 2006, p.35).

²⁸ The licensing laws have been reviewed, and licensed premises now require a special licence for *any* type of live music (Licensing Act 2003), regardless of the number of performers; this may have had the effect of either increasing or decreasing the amount of live music in small venues. Another factor that may have affected which venues currently provide live music is the cost of an entertainment licence, which varies considerably from one local authority to another (Hodgkins, 2003, section 1.3). At the time of writing the government is consulting on this issue with a view to deregulating elements of the Licensing Act 2003, so that any event under a 5000 capacity would be exempt from having to obtain an entertainment licence (retrieved from <http://www.ukmusic.org>, accessed 24/12/11).

The rebirth of British jazz during the Thatcher years

The advent of Thatcherism in 1979 brought political change, which occurred during a difficult economic period and rising unemployment. This was later followed by a rapid increase in prosperity among those working in the deregulated financial sector in the City of London, the so-called ‘yuppies’, some of whom appropriated jazz as a mark of sophistication.²⁹ The position of jazz within British culture was affected by the economic and political circumstances during the 1980s in two main ways: it came to be used as a form of expression by some young, largely working class, British-born black people (as both dance music and by musicians); and it was adopted as a status symbol by a number of young, financially successful and mainly white people. At the same time, white jazz musicians continued as they had before (along with a new generation of young players), but during the decade a black British jazz culture was also established. Young musicians could eventually consider having a career in jazz, aided for some by the establishment of jazz ‘collectives’ in the form of two high-profile ensembles in particular, discussed as case studies below.³⁰ Because unemployment among black people was particularly high, young blacks felt abandoned and wanted to assert their ‘cultural identity in opposition to white Britain’ (Moore, 2007, p.107), resulting in riots in London, Liverpool and other cities in 1981 (Christopher, 1999, p.12). Around this time, black saxophonist Courtney Pine had become interested in jazz, initially influenced, via punk, by John Coltrane and Weather Report (Connelly, 2005b),³¹ although, as Wickes (1999, p.325) points out, ‘[v]arious versions of how Courtney discovered jazz

²⁹ A ‘yuppie’ is a young, upwardly mobile professional. The perception of jazz being yuppies’ music was not only a British one; see, for example, Slobin (1992, pp. 31-32), who writes about one of the most jazz-supporting groups being identified in a 1988 US survey as ‘Young Influentials (white yuppies)’, and Sedano *et al.* (2005, p.68), who quote an interviewee (an American punk singer) stating that ‘Jazz is for yuppies’.

³⁰ The use of collectives to promote forms of political or cultural expression, create scenes and provide work opportunities is long established in jazz; see, for example, Heble (2000) and Lewis (2004) on the AACM.

³¹ From an interview with Pine in the BBC documentary *Jazz Britannia: The Rebirth of Cool*. Although the punk aspect has not been mentioned by other commentators, Swanwick (1988, p.111) said of punk: ‘whatever jazz musicians may have felt about this music and other forms of rock, some of the chord progressions and rhythmic “feel” have been assimilated into the aural libraries of jazz improvisers’. However, in his review of the BBC *Jazz Britannia* documentaries, Blain (2005, p.15) dismisses this ‘absurd notion that jazz was revitalised by the energy of punk’.

abound'; Jaggi (2000) states that Pine was also influenced by Caribbean immigrants such as Joe Harriott, Shake Keane and Harry Beckett. Following a weekend course with John Stevens, Pine formed a quintet with bassist Gary Crosby and pianist Julian Joseph (along with drummer Mark Mondesir and vocalist Cleveland Watkiss).³² Playing to enthusiastic, often dancing audiences, they attracted media interest, and Pine went on to become an icon (particularly in the mass media) of the British jazz resurgence – 'a personification of the new black British jazz' as Wickes (1999, p.325) described him.³³

As there seemed to be very few outlets for (and possibly some discrimination against) black jazz musicians at the time (Moore, 2007, pp.112-113), in an effort to increase playing opportunities for young black players, the Jazz Warriors was formed in 1985 by Pine and saxophonist Gail Thompson. According to Sinker (1990, p.34):

The first list of potential band-members was scribbled down in the back of a reggae van. At the same time, an even more utopian idea had begun to form, which would become the Abibi Jazz Arts (known as both Abibi and TAJA): a Black-run organisation that could coordinate a rosta [*sic*] of perhaps a hundred musicians, and all their different projects.

Working with Abibi, Thompson, among others, helped to organise the original band, and felt that Pine often gets too much of the credit: 'I put a lot of work into it. I don't want any bad feelings. But the press always get it wrong' (Thompson, quoted in Sinker, 1990, p.36). Harry Beckett provided much of the early material, along with trombonist Fayyaz Virgi and later Pine, and the band 'worked mainly outside Britain's orthodox jazz circuit, exposing the music to a new audience' (Wilmer, 2005, n.p.). This repertoire was influenced by the music the players had grown up with, including reggae and hip hop, but also bebop and free jazz (Moore, 2007, p.112), and recognition of Harriott's work was paid by the Warriors' 1989

³² From an interview in *Jazz Britannia: The Rebirth of Cool* (ibid.).

³³ Pine has had his critics however, often from the jazz world, such as Mike Westbrook and Ralph Peterson. Drummer Peterson had been fired from Pine's band mid-tour, Peterson claiming (according to Hrebeniak, 1992, p.18) that Pine 'prefers to play over the top of a band rather than engage his comrades in a creative exchange'.

‘Homage to Joe Harriott’ tour (McKay, 2005, p.163). After a successful start, by the end of the decade various internal problems and a lack of clear direction led to theatre administrator Kate Brooks taking on the management of the Jazz Warriors (Sinker, 1990, p.36), who was not universally welcomed. Saxophonist Ray Carless claimed, in 1991, ‘it’s stronger now than it’s ever been [...] The original concept is secure – the band is a platform from which people can launch their careers’ (quoted in Fordham, 1991, p.26). Gail Thompson, however, was of the opposite view: ‘Kate Brooks knows nothing about the Jazz scene, she comes from a theatre background. I think the whole thing’s wrong’ (quoted in Sinker, 1990, p.36). Disagreements aside, the concept of the Jazz Warriors (if not the original band, which finally ended in the early 1990s) has continued with bassist Gary Crosby’s youth project, Tomorrow’s Warriors.³⁴

The other significant large ensemble of young musicians to emerge in the late 1980s was Loose Tubes, a ‘21-piece UK cooperative band playing original music’ (Clarke, 1990, p.721), although later in the same article clarinettist Dai Pritchard is quoted as saying ‘what we do isn’t new stuff. It’s fairly old stuff, old stuff and very old stuff. But put into strange new combinations’ (Pritchard, quoted in Clarke, 1990, p.721). Carr (1988c, p.303) describes the band as ‘one of the most joyously original large ensembles of the mid-1980s [...] and is totally unlike the conventional jazz/dance orchestra’. Band administrator Colin Lazzerini described the band’s genesis to *Wire* in 1986:

Most of the players came together at [composer and educator] Graham Collier’s Creative Workshops. [...] He was working towards a repertory orchestra that provided advanced training for young musicians playing music they would not normally be exposed to. But gradually the band began to evolve a personality of its own, expressed best in material actually written from within the band [...] with Collier’s blessing, the band left his control to do their own thing (Lazzerini, quoted in Nicholson, 1986, p.21).

³⁴ Crosby followed the original approach of the Jazz Warriors in encouraging musicians from a non-academic background (Crosby, 2004, p.21).

The band, which included ‘members with wide experience in jazz and rock and various musical modes in between [and] some who have spent many years in music college and only recently “come out” as jazz musicians’ (Trench, 1988, p.43), had a good start with a week at Ronnie Scott’s club in May 1985 that was highly successful with audiences and critics alike (Nicholson, 1986, p.21). The music ‘shows an understanding of the whole jazz tradition and of rock, African and other ethnic music’ (Carr, 1988c, p.303), much of the writing done by pianist Django Bates (described by Shipton, 2007, p.709 as not ‘hidebound by American models’) and bassist Steve Berry, both of whom are have continued to be very active in British jazz.³⁵ There was a left-wing political side to the band as well, which was more successfully expressed some times than others: ‘There are the inevitable references to South Africa. But at least these references can be represented musically, unlike those to nuclear power and nuclear weapons’ (Trench, 1988, p.43). At the same time, the band was also supported by the ‘establishment’, playing in the first BBC ‘Prom’ concert to feature a jazz orchestra, in 1987 (Clarke, 1990, p.722).³⁶

Comparing the Jazz Warriors and Loose Tubes, it can be seen that they were both made up of young, almost all-male musicians, both played music written by their members and both had an unplanned characteristic to their approach: ‘This improvisatory, spontaneous aspect of The Jazz Warriors is their great asset, and it is assisted by Courtney Pine’s sense of risk’ (Watson, 1989, p.27). Of Loose Tubes, Clarke (1990, p.721) believes that ‘If they had tried to set up such an outfit it wouldn’t have worked, but it happened by accident’. The Jazz Warriors started out as an all-black band and Loose Tubes all-white, and the Jazz Warriors’ members

³⁵ In an interview Bates remembers the band gaining its ‘identity’ from the first time he and Berry tried out their compositions (Haddon, 2006, p.35). Bates goes on to recall that ‘when it came to Loose Tubes it was a very different thing that we were doing immediately, without sitting around and thinking about changing the voice of British jazz. [...] we all had a need to play in a different way’ (quoted in Haddon, 2006, p.35).

³⁶ There was, arguably, a precursor in 1970, when Soft Machine performed at a Prom featuring modernist music (Blake, 1997, p.152).

tended to be more urban in background and less formally educated than the largely middle-class, classically-trained players (though with jazz experience) in Loose Tubes. The Jazz Warriors passed up the opportunity of taking on saxophonist Nigel Hitchcock: ‘if he’d been a young black hip dude, they’d have signed him up!’ (Virgi, quoted in Sinker, 1990, p.37). Ray Carless is more defensive about the situation:

We could have been called racists. No one said it, but maybe a few people thought it. But we had only ever intended to provide a platform for a group of musicians who wanted to play jazz but for one reason or other felt they couldn’t. [...] And anyway, we were able to bounce off Loose Tubes, because if we didn’t have any white players, they didn’t have any black ones and nobody was saying anything about that (Carless, quoted in Fordham, 1991, p.24).

Gary Crosby regards the bands’ differences as being also about class (in an interview with McKay, 2005), the ‘racial framework’ of British jazz reception being largely constructed by ‘the media and the newly vibrant jazz PR machines’ (McKay, 2005, p.164). Jazz Warrior Adrian Reid took the humour of much of Loose Tubes’ approach as not taking jazz seriously (Moore, 2007, p.126), but in describing his music, Django Bates claims that ‘it’s very hard to discuss that because it’s not blatant humour’ (quoted in Haddon, 2006, p.36).³⁷ There are areas of commonality (if not common identity) between the two bands. One is the influence of the South African musicians who had arrived in 1965: members of the Jazz Warriors worked with Brotherhood of Breath members, and some of Loose Tubes’ repertoire was directly influenced by that of the Brotherhood of Breath (McKay, 2005, p.182).³⁸ Another is a connection with John Stevens’ Community Music organisation: Pine taught for the charity, and Loose Tubes flautist Eddie Parker was both involved with Community Music (frequently

³⁷ Also see Shipton (2007, p.709) on the use of humour in Bates’ music. Reid describes Loose Tubes as ‘a bunch of middle-class white kids who had schooling and privilege, playing their take on jazz [...] they were good musicians but their whole approach and concept was a joke’ (quoted in Moore, 2007, p.126).

³⁸ The Jazz Warriors even commissioned music from Chris McGregor (McGregor, 1995, p.226). Loose Tubes trumpeter Dave Defries also played in the Brotherhood of Breath at that time. Having worked with Defries and also Steve Berry in jazz education projects, I have observed them both using South African material for teaching.

performing with Stevens) and played alongside Pine in Stevens' group Freebop in 1984-5.³⁹ And, finally, as McKay (2005, p.234) points out: 'It is telling that the notable big bands of the 1980s, Jazz Warriors and Loose Tubes, both had some origin in education projects'.⁴⁰

The growth of jazz in education

Music education in Britain developed leading up to and during this period due to a number of factors, including the growth of extra-curricular instrumental tuition provided by local education authority music services and specific projects such as the Tower Hamlets strings project (Nelson, 1985), and the establishment of 'a national curriculum in which music is acknowledged as a vital part of all childrens' education for 5 to 16' (Odam, 1989, p.206).⁴¹ Formally recognised jazz education took some time to become established, particularly in specialist music institutions; as Moore (2007, p.32) points out, 'until the 1980s, playing jazz remained an expellable offence in some of London's music conservatoires, true bastions for the reproduction and perpetuation of European culture'.⁴² This is perhaps due to the lack of formal jazz training among British musicians – Graham Collier, for example, was 'the first British musician to study at Berklee in Boston, an institution understood by the British jazz community as an important imprimatur of American jazz authority or authenticity' (McKay, 2005, p.272). Individuals were instrumental in providing opportunities for young people interested in learning about jazz, such as Bill Ashton with the National Youth Jazz Orchestra (Shipton, 2007, p.708), and summer schools such as that initiated by Pat Evans in 1966, 'because he wanted to learn more about jazz himself and couldn't find any institution to teach

³⁹ Information about Eddie Parker was found at Parker's web site, <http://www.eddieparker.co.uk> (accessed 23/12/11), in particular an interview conducted by Duncan Heining in 2010. Pine discusses his early career in Jaggi (2000).

⁴⁰ Here McKay is considering Abibi Jazz Arts as having an educational dimension, listing the organisation as an 'extramusical' one (McKay 2005, p.227, emphasis in original).

⁴¹ As far as jazz is concerned, by the mid-1990s it was noted in an Arts Council report: 'Now that Jazz Studies are included in the National Curriculum for Music many new opportunities exist in schools – opportunities which jazz musicians have not been slow to exploit' (ACE, 1995, p.36).

⁴² Django Bates remembers when, on his first day at the Royal College of Music, he saw a notice on a practice room piano saying 'this piano is not to be used for playing jazz music' (quoted in Haddon, 2006, p.33).

him' (Carr, 2008, p.10). Jazz in British higher education began to develop in the late 1960s, with the official approval as an advanced course of study the Diploma in Jazz and Light Music in 1967 at what was to become Leeds College of Music (Charleson, 1998, p.1).⁴³ Though this was later to become an undergraduate programme, it was not an honours degree and Charleson notes that 'the light music tag remained for some ten years before a redefined course title was deemed necessary. [...] Jazz as a vocational objective was not the prime mover in those days' (1998, p.1). According to Charleson, the programme was built on two basic principles: '(i) what had gone before i.e. the conservatoire model of a course of study in music [and] (ii) the perceived needs of a musician intending to work in the jazz and light music idioms' (1998, pp.1-2). Charleson goes on to describe the vocationally-driven content of the programme, delivered by staff 'whose background was very much that of the "jobbing pro"' (1998, p.2), including improvisation, which was taught mainly using the bebop chord/scale theory approach.⁴⁴

This general approach has now become exemplified in the teaching materials published by Aebersold and the ABRSM jazz examinations (although it should be noted that the musical language in these publications has moved beyond bebop and encompasses other stylistic and harmonic approaches such as those used in modal jazz, Latin jazz and jazz-rock).⁴⁵ It has been adopted precisely because the bebop approach is relatively straightforward to turn into a pedagogical method, combining harmonic theory with the practical application of scales in a way that can be assessed against specific criteria (in the case of ABRSM and many

⁴³ Carr noted (in 1973) that '[a] sign of the beginnings of cultural acceptance [of jazz] is that the Leeds College of Music now has a permanent jazz course, and, incidentally, one of the tutors is Pat Evans' (Carr, 2008, p.10).

⁴⁴ After some years of development, by 1991 this undergraduate programme had been validated by the University of Leeds, which was formal recognition enough for its graduates (including myself) to be accepted onto postgraduate study.

⁴⁵ These are the jazz 'playalong' method of Jamey Aebersold and the jazz syllabus of the graded examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. Charleson (1998, p.3) refers to Leeds having 'impro groups of four players and a teacher playing to pre-recorded rhythm tracks, made in-house, pre-Aebersold [*sic*]'.

undergraduate jazz programmes). This is despite the attempts of some practitioners to broaden the musical language of jazz education: ‘The first bebop flowering of jazz education established important and influential norms [...] for some, this has tended to codify jazz education and slant the players it produces toward the mainstream styles and tunes of the United States’ (ABRSM jazz examiner Charles Beale, quoted in Nicholson, 2005, p.105).⁴⁶ Because of its use of jazz ‘standards’, this ‘American approach’, as Whyton describes it, has been associated with a canonical view of jazz history:

Clearly emphasis on bebop and repertoire studies had advantage for those who sought to legitimize jazz as a serious art form [...] The downside of the American approach is that it encourages the presentation of history as a defined entity, rather than something in constant flux, constructed in the present (Whyton, quoted in Nicholson, 2005, p.117).

Because European jazz is often considered more pluralistic in style than American jazz (or at least the bebop/hard bop/post bop used in the ‘American approach’), Nicholson (2005, p.118) suggests that there is ‘a European approach to jazz education that has grown out of, and often runs parallel to, the basic American model’. However, Whyton (2006) finds that assumptions have been made about the pluralism of European jazz and its influence on jazz education: ‘the suggestion was that many European jazz courses have a much looser approach to jazz education, not rooted in one particular style [...] generalisations such as these create an unhealthy environment, where musicians, academics and enthusiasts feel they have to take sides’ (Whyton, 2006, p.68). He goes on to suggest that ‘to overplay the essentialism of the European/American divide is [...] unhelpful and potentially problematic, as it serves to widen the perceived gulf rather than address it’ (Whyton, 2006, p.75).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Interestingly, the ABRSM jazz syllabus has also been launched in the US.

⁴⁷ Whyton (2006, pp.75-76) puts forward a nuanced distinction: ‘the “American approach” [...] [is] one that seeks to unify and underline jazz as a canonical artform, celebrating the contributions of a handful of iconic individuals at the expense of a more pluralistic perspective, no matter where it is taught. [...] the “European approach” to jazz can be characterised as more eclectic, reflecting both the multinational perspectives of different jazz communities and a lesser fixation with the idea of one “authentic” canon’.

In Britain at least, during the expansion of jazz education in the 1980s, there was no single approach. Some HE programmes, such as the one at Leeds, were (at that time) perhaps more like the American model (at least in terms of jazz historiography and improvisation), whereas others developed a more ‘European approach’.⁴⁸ Graham Collier, who founded the jazz degree at the Royal Academy of Music in London in the late 1980s, took a wide view of learning about jazz history and improvisation: ‘My views on jazz education are, not surprisingly, an extension of my views on jazz composition: that we should celebrate its past, as well as looking to its future [...] This is the approach I [...] took as founder and artistic director of the jazz course at the Royal Academy of Music’ (Collier, 2011, n.p.).⁴⁹ He deplored the narrowness of only learning to improvise in a bebop style, and when asked in a panel discussion about the reaction of his students to group improvisation answered: ‘Because the Academy is a small school we can pick and choose. The students we choose are those we think to be more creative and they are generally open to freer forms of jazz’ (Collier, 2010, n.p.). The fact that Royal Academy jazz graduates have gone on to successful careers in the wider British jazz scene perhaps validates Collier’s methodology.⁵⁰ In a report on American jazz education, Collier found that in the US there were also ‘two approaches to jazz education, that of preparing the all-round musician [similar to the Leeds approach] and that of preparing the people who will contribute to jazz’s development. [...] where I learned most was at those schools who want to develop tomorrow’s jazz musicians. I also derived encouragement from them that the Academy course was on the right track’ (Collier, 1993, n.p.).

⁴⁸ Like Leeds, the Guildhall School of Music’s jazz programme took a pragmatic approach to improvisation, emphasising an aural and theoretical understanding of harmony (Grigson, 1985, pp.187-194).

⁴⁹ See <http://www.jazzcontinuum.com> (accessed 10/12/11). This statement is not dated; it is Collier’s own web site, which continues to be maintained (at the time of writing) following Collier’s death in September 2011.

⁵⁰ A recent example is Gwilym Simcock, who won the Principal’s Prize for outstanding achievement at the Royal Academy and is described on his record label’s web site as ‘breaking new ground between genres’ (<http://www.bashomusic.co.uk/gwilym.htm>, accessed 12/12/11).

Jazz in popular culture and its cultural capital

During the 1980s jazz attained a certain ‘trendiness’ in a number of ways. What has been described as ‘British jazz funk & soul’ developed a strong following, albeit underground at first, led by DJs playing the music for club dancers (Connelly, 2005b).⁵¹ By the mid 1980s, the British club scene, exemplified by, for example, jazz DJ Paul Murphy at the Electric Ballroom, was vibrant, with young people dancing a mixture of lindy hop and break dance. This was known as jazz dance, and was particularly popular among unemployed black men: ‘For many young Black men, dance became one of the few avenues to prove themselves [...] many of the jazz dancers were battling to “have something” when there was “nothing to have”’ (Carr, 2010, p.3). At first, tracks such as Lee Morgan’s ‘Sidewinder’ (1964) were played, but musicians responded to what was happening in the clubs and began producing music specifically for dancing. Working Week was formed (by Simon Booth and Larry Stabbins) for this very purpose, and came to be considered the ‘house band’ for the emerging (or re-emerging) jazz dance scene (Connelly, 2005b). However, Spencer (1989, p.20) asserts that ‘despite Booth’s contribution and the quality and popularity of much of his work, he’s never enjoyed an easy ride from the critics; Working Week were always too jazzy for rock crits, too lacking in “purity” for most jazz writers’. According to Adams (2005), jazz DJ Gilles Peterson labelled this music ‘acid jazz’ in 1987 (due to his set being preceded by one from an ‘acid house’ DJ) and is thought to be ‘the first jazz term to have been coined by a disc jockey rather than a musician or critic’ (Adams, 2005, n.p.). Peterson regards that period as having two parallel scenes (the ‘concert’ scene and the dance scene), Courtney Pine being one of the few to succeed in both (Connelly, 2005b).⁵² Adams suggests that acid jazz was central to the 1980s resurgence:

⁵¹ There is still something of an ‘Old Skool Jazz Dance’ scene maintained by groups such as the Jazz Co Tech dancers.

⁵² From an interview with Peterson in *Jazz Britannia: The Rebirth of Cool*.

By inserting obscure jazz-funk of the 1960s into popular jazz-based and jazz-oriented dance music of the 1980s in an open-minded way, practitioners of acid jazz turned their backs on the sometimes rarefied and academic jazz world. As such, acid jazz was a marketing phenomenon that commercialised a musical revival (Adams, 2005, n.p.).

Acid jazz exemplifies the fact that jazz had, to a certain extent, permeated British culture to become a 'lifestyle accessory' to the 'yuppies' who had grown wealthy during the Thatcher years:⁵³ 'There was a new generation of aspirational, stylish and image-conscious consumers, and spending on restaurants, clothes, cars, homes and holidays reached record levels' (Christopher, 1999, p.13). Jaggi writes:

[Pine] and other jazz musicians, including Andy Sheppard and Tommy Smith, became the soundtrack to the Thatcherite 80s. Fordham explains: 'With all that money in the economy, a new, young, champagne-and-red-braces class was looking for art forms that were emblems of quality but not dusty old high culture' (Jaggi, 2000, n.p.).

Magazines with jazz content such as *Straight No Chaser*, *i-D* and *The Face* were more to do with lifestyle than music; McRobbie notes that '[t]he enormous space in [these] magazines [...] given over to images and illustrations means that the printed word is pushed to the sidelines. There are few sustained reviews or critiques' (McRobbie, quoted in Shuker, 2001, p.88). However, jazz did benefit commercially, with major record deals acquired by Cleveland Watkiss, Orphy Robinson, Jason Rebello and Julian Joseph. Andy Sheppard, Steve Williamson and Tommy Smith were also 'both artistically significant and briefly fashionable by the end of the 80s' (Fordham, 2003b, p.17). Sheppard and Smith have continued to be successful both in Britain and abroad – although industry support in the UK waned in the 1990s, at least these musicians 'were beginning to be known all around the world' (Fordham, 2003c, p.21).⁵⁴ Acid jazz bands such as the Brand New Heavies, the James Taylor Quartet and Jamiroquai remained successful. By the turn of the century, what were seen as new innovations in jazz such as 'some of the boldest cross-genre experiments (jazz improvisation

⁵³ 'Acid jazz' was also seen to have become part of popular culture: 'What [acid jazz album] *The Freedom Principle* signifies is the engagement of British jazz in mainstream popular music' (Spencer, 1989, p.21).

⁵⁴ There was also a resurgence in the popularity of jazz in the US during the 1980s; see Nicholson (1995).

with classical music, or DJs, or hip-hop forms, or ambient electronics, or local folk traditions) [were] beginning to be made on this side of the ocean' (Fordham, 2003c, p.21).⁵⁵

The idea that the evolution of jazz is no longer an American phenomenon is the thesis of Nicholson's (2005) provocatively titled book *Is Jazz Dead?*, in which he argues that the corporate music industry (including live performance) has created a homogenised jazz culture in the US since the 1990s, despite the experimentation of the New York 'loft scene': 'ultimately, experimental jazz remained an interesting sideshow to the main event, the omnipresent jazz mainstream' (Nicholson, 2005, p.5). He asserts that because much European jazz has benefited from government subsidy, free from commercial pressure it has been more innovative – in Britain at least, the situation is not as straightforward as Nicholson suggests. Despite the creation of the Arts Council funded organisation Jazz Services in order 'to promote the growth and development of jazz throughout the United Kingdom' (Nicholson, 1995, p.227), as Nicholson himself indicates (pp.227-229), other European countries such as the Netherlands and Norway have invested far more public funding in contemporary jazz as part of their national culture. This can be seen as giving jazz cultural capital, and jazz is used for 'cultural diplomacy' by the Dutch (Nicholson, 2005, pp.230-231). However, unlike some countries the British government has not given cultural capital to jazz by, for example, employing jazz musicians directly: 'There are no salaried jazz musicians in England, and no national or regional salaried jazz orchestras [...] Most jazz musicians live by a mixed economy, supplementing their income with commercial opportunities (not always playing jazz), teaching, and part-time work of other kinds' (ACE, 1995, p.18). Later in the same report (which was published by the Arts Council for England), the unnamed author notes that,

⁵⁵ Examples of these include Django Bates and John Surman collaborating with classical musicians, Courtney Pine fusing jazz with urban beats and soul, and Soweto Kinch, a product of Gary Crosby's workshops, who combines jazz and hip-hop (Connelly, 2005b). Wall and Long (2009, p.154) make the point that the *Jazz Britannia* series treats jazz, on the whole, as popular music.

financially, 'British musicians overseas by comparison do much better. [...] A European festival such as Wiesen, near Vienna, will offer British bands two to three times the fee they earn in the UK' (ACE, 1995, p.21).

The commercialisation of jazz

Despite the difficulties faced by many British jazz musicians, the increased popularity of jazz in Britain and the US since the 1980s has led to an increase in its commercialisation (particularly of well known American artists) as Nicholson (2005, p.240) acknowledges, and surveys conducted during the 1990s suggested a significant size of audience for jazz (Macaulay and Dennis, 2006, p.138).⁵⁶ The development of large-scale jazz events such as concert hall tours and festivals has required the services of promotion companies, one of the best-known British ones being Serious Speakout. This organisation (now known as Serious Productions), headed by former theatre administrator John Cumming, played a significant role in promoting jazz in Britain from the 1980s onwards.⁵⁷ After successfully promoting the Bracknell Jazz Festivals, Serious began to organise the UK tours of major artists in the fields of jazz, world music and contemporary concert music, as well as supporting jazz in London with some help in the form of Greater London Arts Association funding (ACE, 1995, p.30). Of Bracknell Jazz Festival, Wright (in 1988) wrote:

According to [...] John Cumming, the festival 'aims to seek out and develop the best in modern British jazz', and has been a platform for many new jazz names. [...] The Festival is also committed to promoting collaborations between British and European jazz musicians by setting up sessions with different bands and commissioning new works which extend the jazz repertoire in fresh ways. This might include a string quartet playing with a big band or any other interesting formation that probably won't be heard elsewhere (Wright, 1988, p.41).

⁵⁶ Macaulay and Dennis (2006, p.138) cite one survey undertaken in 1991 indicating that the number of people with 'a definable interest in jazz' was 6 million (almost ten per cent of the UK population).

⁵⁷ General information on Serious Productions is taken from the Serious web site, <http://www.serious.org.uk> (accessed 18/7/12). See also the 'Jazz Green Paper' (ACE, 1995, pp.28-30).

This tactic of putting on jazz performances alongside other styles in unusual combinations, along with an effective publicity and marketing strategy (as well as receiving both public funding and private sponsorship), has been a successful one for Serious, which continues to promote tours of well-known artists and the London Jazz Festival, and provides an example of what might be called a ‘postmodern’ approach to jazz promotion.

The jazz record industry, from the mid-1980s onwards, started transferring reissues of ‘classic’ recordings to CD, often with ‘bonus tracks’ added (Humma, 2005).⁵⁸ As far as new music is concerned, the large companies were increasingly choosing a few artists, often young ‘rising stars’, who were heavily promoted and targeted at particular sections of the record-buying public, which, according to Fagien (2005), privileged the few at the expense of others:

Selling jazz has become an especially vexing problem. While the G-man [Kenny G] and Norah [Jones] are doing fine, other jazz artists [...] find their music buried in racks at the local mega-store, with virtually no chance of discovery by new listeners. Even with hundreds of thousands of different titles, mega-stores still rely on a relatively small number of best-sellers for the vast majority of their CD sales (Fagien, 2005, n.p.).

Humma regards the jazz record industry as operating on three levels since the advent of the CD, ‘the industrial giant, the jazz company, and the home operator’ (Humma, 2005, n.p.). Because of their limited budgets, the last two of these were only likely to be able to market their products within the jazz community, whereas the ‘industrial giants’ could reach a much larger market.⁵⁹ This was facilitated by the use of mass media, both to advertise the music

⁵⁸ Some labels have more recently attempted to appeal to a wider (or perhaps new) audience by ‘remixing’ (adding electronic backgrounds or samples) Blue Note and other existing recordings: ‘Verve’s commercially successful (but critically assailed) *Verve Remixed 1* (2002) and *Verve Remixed 2* (2003) were undeniably catchy and fun’ (Micallef, 2004, p.36). In defence of this practice from the critics, Dahlia Caplin (Verve’s A&R director) is quoted as saying ‘Jazz is not as popular as it once was [...] this is helping to put some of the songs back in the limelight for an audience that has not heard this music before. That is why we put out *Unmixed*, which has the originals on it’ (quoted in Micallef, 2004, p.36).

⁵⁹ Image was also a factor, as Moore (2004, p.176) points out: ‘The mainstream music industry speaks in a clear shorthand vocabulary of visual clichés. Established genres such as rap, jazz, country, Latin, and classical, all have performance conventions and “looks” that provide the currency mass marketers use to efficiently market a new music act to the public’.

itself and to use jazz to advertise other products, as well as a deliberate use of jazz in film and television (even as a comedy vehicle, such as the ‘jazz club’ sketch in *The Fast Show*).⁶⁰

The commercialisation of jazz can further be observed in the way live performance is ‘packaged’ via festivals. Jazz festivals have existed in some form in Britain since the late 1950s, Beaulieu (beginning in 1956) being ‘one of Europe’s earliest and highest-profile jazz festivals’ (McKay, 2005, p.70). As Martin and Parsonage (2008, p.40) point out, since the 1960s ‘there has been a gradual proliferation of jazz festivals’, but they suggest that festivals can lead to risk-averse, routine performances on a concert stage, and, like formalised jazz education, the formality of concerts (compared with informal pub and club gigs) separates performers from audiences (p.40). Paradoxically, the need to make festivals financially viable requires headlining artists to be presented in relatively large, formal venues while at the same time organisers are trying to create an informal festival atmosphere. Many festivals do this by holding many small, informal events as well as the headline concerts, but the commercialisation of jazz festivals (including the broadening of who may be included as ‘jazz’ performers) is an inevitable result of their proliferation, as they try to attract audiences from a pool that has not grown as quickly as the number of festivals.⁶¹ The problematic nature of the commercial marketing of jazz in the UK is explored by Macaulay and Dennis (2006 and 2007), and the jazz audience will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

⁶⁰ *The Fast Show* was a popular sketch-based comedy television series in the mid 1990s, which occasionally featured an avant-garde performance in a dark jazz club followed by the ‘expert’ presenter turning to camera to say the word ‘nice!’.

⁶¹ Indeed, several successful festivals, such as Appleby, Brecon and Lancaster, have struggled to stay in business (Appleby ending completely and Brecon and Lancaster becoming independent of local authority involvement).

Jazz and broadcasting

Martin and Parsonage (2008, p.37) note that there is very little jazz on commercial radio (despite the commercialisation of jazz described above), but an opportunity arose for commercial jazz radio in the early 1990s following the Broadcasting Act 1990, when the Radio Authority was created to grant licences to independent radio stations.⁶² Jazz FM started as a London-based station called JFM, and was launched as a specialist jazz broadcaster, but it ‘soon became a safe haven for dopey middle-of-the-road sounds. [...] In fact, there was much surprise that the London licence was renewed this year. For all its good intentions, the station has lost the trust of the jazz community in London’ (Martin, 1994, p.4).⁶³ The station expanded in 1994 with the establishment of JFM 100.4 in Manchester. At its launch, this new station was described by Martin (1994, p.4) as playing ‘a mix of jazz, soul, blues and R&B’ during the day, ‘quieter, laid-back sounds’ in the early evening (which became known as ‘dinner jazz’), and ‘music for “the real jazz lover”’ in the late evening. The specialist programmes were hosted by knowledgeable presenters such as Mike Chadwick, who at the time ran Decoy Records in Manchester and had access to the latest jazz releases. Martin (1994, p.4) expected that the ‘London JFM debacle’ would not be repeated: ‘For one thing, lessons have been learned, and the station’s presenters include a number of respected and authoritative voices. For another, [programme director] Mike Henfield emphasises his commitment to respond to the wishes of his listeners’. He concludes: ‘inevitably, JFM in the North West is going to incur the wrath of the jazz fundamentalists. [...] [but] it’s hard to disagree with Mike Henfield when he says that “the jazz public is so factionalised – you can’t please all the people all the time”’ (Martin, 1994, p.4). However, the Manchester station followed the path of its London counterpart, and Jazz FM eventually dropped its specialist

⁶² See www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/42/contents/enacted for details (accessed 10/11/12).

⁶³ Courtney Pine criticised the station in 1992: ‘The [then] head of JazzFM told me to my face that young people don’t listen to jazz. In a survey they placed a disco tune next to Art Blakey, and asked people which one they preferred. Where’s the logic in that?’ (Pine, quoted in Hrebeniak, 1992, p.20).

jazz programming completely to become rebranded as Smooth FM in 2005 (Martin and Parsonage, 2008, p.37). However, the situation was more complex than this summary – and perhaps some of the commentators at the time – would suggest, and Jazz FM has more recently (2008) been resurrected as a digital-only station available online and via digital radio and television, thereby not existing as an FM station (despite using the Jazz FM name).⁶⁴

The BBC has broadcast jazz for a long time, even though it was initially classed as ‘light music’ (Martin and Parsonage, 2008, p.35), but has increased its quantity of jazz programming in recent years. In Hodgkins’ (2000) report, BBC radio is described as running ‘jazz programmes primarily on Radio 2 and Radio 3 with very occasional magazine programmes on Radio 4’, but that ‘there is currently no coverage of jazz on terrestrial television [...] and in the past coverage has been at best sporadic’ (Hodgkins, 2000, appendix 3). Hodgkins shows that the percentage of total air time devoted to jazz by BBC radio has only increased by 0.09 per cent, but does say that ‘Radio 3 has made great efforts in 1997/1998 to brand its jazz output, a move that is welcomed in its explicit recognition of the importance of jazz’ (Hodgkins, 2000, appendix 3). Fordham praised the inaugural BBC Jazz Awards in 2001: ‘Coming on the heels of the corporation’s showing of Ken Burns’ high-profile, if controversial imported American TV documentary series *Jazz*, could it be a real sign of a lasting climate-change in the corridors of broadcasting power?’ (Fordham, 2001, p.5).⁶⁵ The slight expansion of jazz coverage on Radio 3 in particular, described by Martin and Parsonage (2008, p.37) as having ‘a particular emphasis on contemporary styles and developments, and on projects which mix jazz with other genres and musical traditions’, is seen as a positive move. Jazz has, as a result, ‘succeeded in being defined as “serious” music’, with more knowledgeable presenters. They are critical nonetheless: ‘Despite this expansion,

⁶⁴ The station’s web site, www.jazzfm.com, has a high level of interactivity and the company is involved in an increasing number of live events.

⁶⁵ For critiques of Burns’s *Jazz* series see Stanbridge (2004) and Lipsitz (2004).

however, the presence of jazz on the BBC's music-based radio stations is still severely limited, and it may be argued that current jazz programming does not reflect either the actual or potential size of the audience' (Martin and Parsonage, 2008, p.37).

Another broadcaster criticised by the jazz press has been Channel 4 Television, which was set up by Act of Parliament in 1982 to include programmes of an experimental nature and for a relatively minority audience, including jazz. It is a publicly owned corporation, but is self-supporting.⁶⁶ By 1996 it was becoming profitable, and in one editorial in *JazzUK*, with the prospect of full privatisation, it was feared that 'the bottom-line commercial mentality would take over, and there would be no more screening of challenging or experimental programmes, or attention to the interests of minorities' (*JazzUK*, 1996, p.5). The station was then criticised for not showing many jazz programmes other than in its early years, that the Campaign for Jazz on Television had found in 1995 that the amount of jazz on television overall was at a twenty-year low, and that during the 1980s Channel 4 bought forty-five jazz films but in the 1990s none at all. The editorial concluded by saying 'if [Channel 4 boss] Mr Grade wants our support, he'll have to work a lot harder for it' (*JazzUK*, 1996, p.5).⁶⁷

Jazz as popular music in the 21st century

Of the artists who have come to prominence in what might be described as a recent and newer 'jazz revival' (after 2000), there appears to be, broadly, a division between the innovative musicians seeking to take jazz forward, those recreating past styles and the 'smooth jazz' artists at the commercial end of the spectrum.⁶⁸ The first of these categories in particular

⁶⁶ Information from Channel 4 web site, www.channel4.com (accessed 29/12/11).

⁶⁷ BBC Four, launched as a digital-only television channel, has broadcast a number of jazz documentaries and concerts, including the *Jazz Britannia* series cited above.

⁶⁸ 'Smooth jazz' developed as a US radio format from jazz-rock and exemplified by artists such as Kenny G – see Shipton (2007, pp.625-626) and Nicholson (2005, pp.10-12), and for more on the history of 'smooth jazz' see Barber (2010).

could be subdivided into different approaches, in a similar way to Wickes's quite nuanced categorisation of young British jazz musicians at the end of the 1970s, though he also sees them as either pursuing 'new directions' or choosing 'to affirm stylistic links with conservative emergent trends in American jazz, partly consequent on the growing number of academic institutions offering jazz' (Wickes, 1999, p.316).⁶⁹ There are many young British jazz musicians seeking to push the boundaries, the more established ones including Matthew Bourne, Soweto Kinch, Kit Downes, Empirical and the various combinations of the F-ire collective.⁷⁰

Many of the artists looking to the past are singers, and have been, as far as Nicholson is concerned, nothing less than the saviours of the record industry: after the crossover success of North Americans Diana Krall and Norah Jones in 2003, British 'jazzy singers' Jamie Cullum, Clare Teal, Gwyneth Herbert and Katie Melua were signed to major labels (Nicholson, 2005, p.78). The industry was trading on a cultural perception of jazz among the general public: 'Unlike their counterparts in pop music, these young artists sang in a style that was popular decades before they were born, evoking jazz's relationship to time as nostalgia' (Nicholson, 2005, p.79). Similarly, Shipton (2007) categorises these vocalists as members of the group of those 'postmodern' jazz musicians who are in the tradition looking back (pp.718-720) – as opposed to those in the tradition looking forward (pp.720-725) (Shipton's examples being mainly American but including John Zorn's collaboration with British musicians Tony Oxley and Gavin Bryars). British jazz musicians interviewed by Macaulay and Dennis (2007, p.231) 'were concerned, however, about the fact that much current pop music is marketed as jazz' (referring to singers such as those mentioned above, as well as pop stars such as Robbie

⁶⁹ This is a telling comment on formal British jazz education at the time. See also McKay (2005, p. 235).

⁷⁰ For more on the F-ire collective and its musician-owned independent record label as an example, along with Gary Crosby's Tomorrow's Warriors and Dune Music, of ways of nurturing young jazz talent, see Shipton (2007, pp.709-710). In 2007, Soweto Kinch received national industry recognition, being given the MOBO award for Best Jazz Act.

Williams recording 'jazz' albums). They continue: 'Respondents argued that jazz was therefore being subsumed into other musical forms, which has diluted its identity among UK audiences [...] It was perceived that this was leading to musicians diluting their music to ensure commercial success' (Macaulay and Dennis, 2007, pp.231-232).

Providing another perspective from jazz musicians, in a series of interviews Horne (2004) asked a number of musicians working in 'Contemporary Jazz UK' for their views 'on the health and future of jazz in Britain' (Horne, 2004, p.7).⁷¹ Horne summarises their responses to this question: 'One view was that the commercial fortunes of jazz here are sound, though always subject to some fluctuation. [...] But players are nevertheless concerned about a shrinkage of jazz venues and the incursions of non or near-jazz into jazz festivals' (p.7). On reading the individual interviews, some other issues emerge: that the jazz scene varied considerably from one place to another (particularly outside London, where audiences were often smaller and older); that jazz was largely ignored by the mass media, the major record labels and arts funding; and that there were too few opportunities for young musicians to perform jazz. It is revealing that some of the musicians who thought the jazz scene was healthy were those with established, successful careers such as Guy Barker, Alec Dankworth and Clark Tracey (although Tracey did point out the need for musicians to be their own managers and create work opportunities). For his part, Jamie Cullum suggests that 'no doubt you're playing amazing music but you've got to do something to promote it and bring people in – some sort of gimmick, because that's the sort of world we live in' (quoted in Horne, 2004, p.85).

⁷¹ 'Contemporary Jazz UK' is the book's title, and in his foreword Dave Gelly states: 'This really is a picture of Contemporary Jazz UK at the beginning of the 21st century' (p.1).

The problematised popularity of jazz is discussed by Parsonage (2004), using as her case study the album *Swing When You're Winning* featuring the pop artist Robbie Williams singing 'Rat Pack' material in imitation of Frank Sinatra.⁷² She highlights the fact that jazz studies occupies 'a field of study largely separate from both contemporary musicology or popular music studies', and that with jazz's popular origins 'it is ironic that jazz has been largely excluded from serious consideration in popular music studies' (Parsonage, 2004, p.60).⁷³ After analysing the reactions of those who rated the album on the Amazon web site, her conclusion is that although the 'music may be regarded with derision by the musical and academic establishments', it has significance to its 'middle-of-the-road' audience, and that '[j]azz has a vital role in the construction of this middle ground, and there is need for further research that examines the relationship between jazz and popular music' (Parsonage, 2004, p.79). Frith (2007) further discusses the marginalisation of jazz studies by considering the place of jazz within popular music studies, the status of jazz records in the UK jazz market, and the attitude of jazz musicians and authors to popularity. One of Frith's findings (from a market survey for Scottish jazz label Caber Music) is that the jazz market is difficult to identify: 'Record companies, radio stations, musicians, educators, promoters, state funding bodies, and consumers all give different accounts of what jazz is' (Frith, 2007, p.18).⁷⁴ Perhaps this is the inevitable outcome of Shipton's 'postmodern jazz' – Norah Jones and Jamie Cullum are both described by Shipton (2007) as 'on the fringes of jazz' (p.682) and Jones' singing as 'jazz-inflected pop' (p.683).

⁷² Nicholson also mentions this album, describing it as a 'calculated, one-dimensional Sinatra "tribute"' (2005, p.84).

⁷³ I agree with Parsonage in that I believe jazz should, on the whole, be studied as a form of popular music, and 'the new jazz studies' tends to share a similarity of approach to popular music studies; indeed, jazz is now being discussed and written about by popular music scholars more often than in 2004.

⁷⁴ The difficulty of defining what jazz is, as Macaulay and Dennis (2006) point out, is precisely what makes the marketing of it difficult.

Conclusion: the continuing evolution of jazz in Britain and British jazz

Jazz has been part of the culture of Britain (and many other European countries) for at least a century, and Parsonage (2005) argues that forms of *British* jazz have existed since the 1930s: ‘Although jazz was increasingly recognized in Britain as primarily American music, there is evidence [...] that jazz was also adopted and developed in ways that were appropriate to the social and musical situations in which it was performed in Britain. As a result, by 1935 not only “jazz in Britain” but also “British jazz” can be identified’ (p.xiv). One theoretical approach suggests that although globalisation could be considered to have helped jazz spread from America (Gioia, 2011, pp.380-381), the concept of ‘glocalisation’, which emphasises ‘the complex and dynamic interrelationship of local music scenes and industries and the international marketplace’ (Shuker, 2001, p.72) has led to a perception of different jazz identities in different European countries.⁷⁵ Examples range from the varying English, German and Dutch approaches to free jazz since the 1960s to the so-called ‘Nordic tone’ of Scandinavian jazz.⁷⁶ However, because identity formation is highly complex, it would be simplistic – and essentialist – to assume that it is mainly inherent national or racial characteristics that manifest themselves in ‘glocalised’ forms of European jazz; there are many cultural and social factors involved. In addition, as Heble (2000, p.13) points out, the intersection of jazz with broader debates about language, identity and representation has received ‘scant attention’, compared with, for example, that of hip-hop and rap music, as discussed by Longhurst (2007, p.146): ‘as whites and Latinos have become involved in rap-like forms, there has been the creation of new languages and a form of multiculturalism’.

⁷⁵ Nicholson (2005, pp.171-174) uses a language analogy to explain the glocalisation of jazz outside America. Gioia (2011, p.381) agrees with Nicholson in that the idea of glocalisation may be more appropriate for jazz, rather than globalisation. For more on the concept of glocalisation, see Robertson (1994).

⁷⁶ Bakriges (2003) uses the example of Dutch free jazz to illustrate how ‘this musical emigration [of free jazz from America] redefines the meaning of the word *diaspora* in African American culture’ (p. 99, emphasis in original). For a detailed examination of free jazz in Europe see Heffley (2005), and for more on the ‘Nordic tone’ see Nicholson (2005, pp.195-222).

Because there are large numbers of black and white jazz musicians in Britain, with inevitable cultural differences, it would seem to make little sense in thinking of one ‘glocalised’ British form of jazz – the stylistic range of the music makes this impossible in any case, despite what Cotterrell (2008, p.180) asserts about European jazz: ‘it came to have not just a distinctive flavour but a clear identity of its own’. As Wall and Long (2009, p.157) point out, ‘Keith Tippett comments that the 1960s was “a period where, I think, young English musicians [...] really wanted to find their own voice.” Yet this does not entail the conclusion that an essentially British “sound” was born’. A better approach (than ‘glocalisation’) may be that of ‘transculturation’, which is Bakriges’s argument: ‘George Yudice defines *transculturation* as a dynamic whereby different cultural matrices impact reciprocally, though not from equal positions, on each other, not to produce a single syncretic culture, but rather a heterogeneous ensemble’ (Bakriges, 2003, p.99, emphasis in original). Moore’s conclusion is ‘that through the Jazz Warriors stream and the Loose Tubes/ECM streams, space for both black and white British or European identities have been forged’ (Moore, 2007, p.130), although she does not define those identities. In an interview with Moore, Soweto Kinch believes that ‘the sooner we can get away from diametric forces, the sooner we can find a *British* aesthetic’ (quoted in Moore, 2007, p.130, emphasis in original).

As I have discussed in this chapter, the historiography of some accounts of British jazz since the 1960s have emphasised both the development of an identifiable ‘British jazz sound’ and the decline of jazz (other than jazz-rock) in Britain during the 1970s. For the reasons explained above, these are generalisations; it is also a generalisation to suggest (as Nicholson, 2005, does) that Britain and other European countries produce more experimental jazz than the US because they support the music with more state subsidy. However, there were factors perhaps unique to Britain that have shaped British jazz: the twenty-year ban on visiting

American musicians and the comparative ease with which some postcolonial immigrant musicians could perform here (and their musical influence) even after the ban had been lifted; the popularity of British blues and rock, with which many musicians tried to fuse with jazz (with varying degrees of artistic and financial success); and the development of British jazz education, which contributed towards a renewed interest in jazz among young musicians (and possibly their audiences) during the late 1970s and 1980s, putting them in an advantageous position when jazz became relatively popular with certain social groupings. Other occurrences, such as the licensing of commercial jazz radio in the early 1990s and the revival in popularity of jazz (or ‘jazzy’) singers after 2000, have also contributed to the changes in the position of jazz in British culture, if not so much to the evolution of British jazz.

Martin and Parsonage (2008) consider jazz in Britain to have fragmented: ‘Since the 1970s, the various stylistic approaches to jazz which had developed earlier in the century – for example, traditional, big band, modern, free jazz, fusion and so on, have formed the basis of more-or-less independent “scenes” existing simultaneously but often independently’ (pp.32-33). This they regard as ‘a factor which has inhibited collective action or a sense of common identity’ (p.33), but because the young musicians of the 1980s resurgence were so eclectic in their influences, there was ‘the development of what may be described as a (literally) post-modern aesthetic sensibility among many younger players’ (p.34). Martin and Parsonage conclude that jazz in Britain has entered a postmodern period (p.42), and their conception of multiple ‘scenes’ co-existing fits with recent theoretical approaches to scenes in popular music (as a replacement for subcultural theory – see Peterson and Bennett, 2004, p.3) and will be discussed in a jazz context later in this thesis.

The diversity of jazz in Britain is an important aspect of the styles of jazz featured in these ‘scenes’ and, perhaps, the types of audience consuming jazz, and the primary aim of this chapter has been to provide the reader with an awareness of the historical background of this diversity. Despite this diversity, it can be argued that at least part of the influence on many of the most creative British jazz musicians of the past thirty years has directly or indirectly come from immigrant musicians from the Caribbean and South Africa, and the fact that they chose to stay here (particularly in London, considered to be the creative jazz city of Britain at the time) is significant.⁷⁷ The ‘postmodern’ nature of jazz in Britain – and, significantly, British jazz – since 1980, with music that has often become characterised by these and other influences, intertextual references, irony and humour, and a multiplicity of styles and scenes, is probably a result of various factors. These include postcolonial immigration, and the contradictory nature of increasing educational opportunities for jazz musicians (and apparent popularity of jazz) but decreasing work opportunities and state funding.

In some ways the music industry has supported jazz by heavily promoting certain popular performers, but outside the major jazz festivals much ‘grassroots’ activity is dependent on volunteer promoters in small venues and semi-professional British jazz musicians. The web of forces created by musicians, promoters, venues, festivals, educators and audiences may to a certain extent result in separate jazz ‘scenes’ in Britain, but it is also possible to think of jazz in Britain – which includes British jazz – as one wide and complex ‘scene’. An alternative to the ‘scene’ has been conceived by Becker (1982) and developed by Lopes (2002) as an ‘art world’, and more recently by Prouty (2012) as a ‘community of practice’.⁷⁸ These concepts are useful but not without flaws; in this context of the postmodern period a suitable model is to consider jazz in Britain to be a broader cultural entity that contains within it an evolving

⁷⁷ Hobsbawm (1999) makes the point that young blacks are generally more interested in rap than jazz, but believes that those of Caribbean origin in the UK ‘dream of playing horns’ (p.390).

⁷⁸ I will discuss these ideas of Becker, Lopes and Prouty in more detail in chapter 5.

range (via transculturation and other processes) of styles of British jazz, and scenes that are based around jazz styles (British or otherwise) and the locality of their practice.

Chapter 4

From simulacra to social networking: digital media and music

‘We didn’t understand what the unexpected consequences of moving into the digital domain would be. We thought we were doing this great thing of improving the sound and being able to make perfect copies, and we just did not understand that we had crossed a line that meant we could never go backward’ (anonymous record executive, quoted in Furgason, 2008, pp.152-153).

Digital technology in the form of digital recording and the compact disc has been available since the early 1980s, but whereas CD sales have been highly profitable to the recording industry the more recent developments of MP3 compression and the internet have, as Wikström (2009, p.64) puts it, ‘proven to be more of a challenge than an opportunity to the music industry’. When authors such as Wikström refer to the music or recording industry they tend to imply the mainstream popular music industry, even if they do not explicitly state this.¹ One notable exception is Blake (2007), who discusses the rise of popular music in ‘the age of multimedia’ while not ignoring the influence, and recent ‘popular music’ style marketisation of, classical music. Blake also recognises that jazz is a form of popular music, and just one of a seemingly limitless range of styles available via digital media if one is prepared to trade the audio quality of CD for the choice of music available in compressed form online. However, there is a certain ‘collector’ mentality among serious jazz enthusiasts (Whyton, 2008) that maintains for them the ‘aura’ of canonic jazz recordings, and perhaps for the ‘jazz industry’ the crisis has been less severe than that faced by the major labels selling mainstream popular music.

¹ Wikström’s examples are almost all from rock and pop music, the closest to jazz being Amy Winehouse.

The opportunities that digital media present to music have been widely discussed by various authors, so here I have selected those aspects that I believe have relevance to this thesis.² These are: increasingly affordable music technology for recording, composing and editing music (and music video), which can then be made available online; MP3 technology, which has enabled file sharing and searching for and discovering music;³ the creation of online communities of music enthusiasts via the internet, and social networking sites in particular; new ways for the industry to distribute and sell recordings, including the advent of direct digital niche marketing;⁴ and the growth of mobile networks and inexpensive wireless connectivity, which along with digital radio and music streaming services makes access to recorded music on demand wider than ever before, as well as (again) music discovery. For the purposes of my research I will concentrate on the dissemination and consumption of music rather than its production, although one consequence of digital technology is that there is a blurring of the lines of separation between these activities.⁵ Therefore, the creative processes of editing audio for online use are more relevant in this respect than those of recording and composing, but all have been revolutionised by the availability of relatively inexpensive hardware and, in particular, software that can produce professional-sounding results. This has led to the decentralisation of music production (in the same way that MP3 technology has decentralised music listening) which, Frith (1992, p.69) suggests, is what makes recording innovations ‘catch on’.⁶

² See, for example, Burkart and McCourt (2006), Kusek and Leonhard (2005), Blake (2007), and relevant sections of texts such as Katz (2004, pp.137-87), Hesmondhalgh (2002, pp.202-8), and Taylor (2001, pp.3-6).

³ On music discovery online see Jennings (2007).

⁴ This includes CDs. It could also be said that the CD itself preceded MP3 technology in the digital revolution in that it is easily reproducible (see Kusek and Leonhard 2005, p.4), but I have excluded it from this list because it is representative of the physical model of the past rather than the online virtual environment.

⁵ See, for example, Lessig (2008) and Wikström (2009, pp.176-178).

⁶ Frith also points out that ‘[t]echnological change has also been the basic source of resistance to the corporate control of popular music’ (1992, p.69). For a critique of the decentralisation thesis see Azenha (2006).

The purpose of this chapter is to consider theoretical approaches to digital media in general and the impact that digital media has had on music in particular. There is insufficient space for a detailed discussion of the evolution of scholarly thought about ‘new media’ from its origins in the Frankfurt School and elsewhere; Hassan and Thomas (2006) suggest that there is no one body of theory or group of ‘experts’, new media theory being drawn many disciplines including cultural studies, economics, law and politics. I will, however, consider some ways of thinking about digital media that have been applied to music, particularly in an industry context. The recording industry is generally acknowledged to have been the first of the cultural industries to be economically affected by digital media, and the first to bring a major lawsuit against the use of digital media for the unauthorised sharing of cultural texts in the form of MP3 files (Lessig, 2008, pp.39-40).⁷ The consequences of digitalisation can be seen to have been both positive and negative for producers of music and for audiences, and these will be discussed in this chapter, along with the ways in which web-based media in particular have been adopted and used. I will also consider some of the discussions of the future of the recording industry put forward by authors including Wikström (2009), David (2010) and Anderton, Dubber and James (2013) and what influence these may have on a ‘niche’ music such as jazz.

‘New’ media and technological determinism

The idea of ‘new media’ is no longer new, but it is a contentious term in some ways, such as when it comes to defining a date from which ‘old media’ were supplanted (but not replaced) by ‘new media’. Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.310) argues that communication technologies such as e-mail are not really ‘media’ in the ‘mass media’ sense, and Sterne (2012, p.7) makes the point that digital technologies in their contemporary sense have existed for over fifty years.

⁷ Lessig calls this the beginning of the ‘copyright wars’ (Lessig, 2008, p.39).

‘The media’ in terms of journalism and mass communication such as newspapers is a long-established concept,⁸ but Poster (1995) divides media into two ages, both introduced within the twentieth century: the first, in which the electrification of analogue information enabled its distribution over wide areas (i.e. the ‘broadcast model’ of communications of one to many); and the second media age, of digitalised information being exchanged via a system of integrated technologies (satellite, television, computer and telephone) – what is now known as ‘convergence’ – which was starting to become widespread in the 1990s. Poster’s intention is to interrogate the prevailing theoretical approaches to the first media age and evaluate their appropriateness (in a postmodern context) when applied to the second: ‘Among critical social theorists there has been a debate over the political effects of these technologies, with one side (Benjamin, Enzensberger, McLuhan) arguing for potential democratization and the other side (Adorno, Habermas, Jameson) seeing the dangers to liberty as predominant’ (Poster, 1995, p.3). In a turn of events not predicted by Poster, these ‘political effects’ became significant when those who controlled the media and circulation of cultural texts began to lose control as a result of the way people used digital technology, as I will discuss later.

The unpredictability with which new technologies are put to use is one of the principal arguments against ‘technological determinism’, in which technology is thought to directly affect its users. The cultural studies scholar Raymond Williams was critical of media theorist Marshall McLuhan’s deterministic approach to technology (encapsulated in his famous statement ‘the medium is the message’).⁹ When applied to MP3 technology, for example, ‘hard’ technological determinism is inappropriate – the personal, portable aspect popularised in the widespread use of the iPod player existed in the 1980s with tape cassettes and the Sony Walkman, so this particular phenomenon did not originate from MP3 files. It is true to say

⁸ See Lister *et al.* (2003, pp.9-10) for a brief definition of ‘the media’ in this sense.

⁹ McLuhan (2003, pp.18-35).

that the technology has facilitated the sharing of recorded music on an unprecedented scale, and it could be argued that this would not have occurred in this way without it. However, because MP3 technology was originally developed for the compression of digital audio with video for the film industry (see Katz 2004, pp.160-161 and Sterne, 2012, pp.128-137), its subsequent applications illustrate Williams's view 'that technologies have uses and effects which were unforeseen by their conceivers and developers' (Lister *et al.* 2003, p.81).

Baym (2010) suggests four ways in which the relationship between 'new media' and society may be theorised, of which the first is technological determinism:

When media are new, most popular messages about them are deterministic. A second perspective, the *social construction of technology*, argues that people are the primary sources of change in both technology and society. The *social shaping* perspective sees influence as flowing in both directions. Ultimately, over time, people stop questioning individual technologies. Through a process of *domestication*, they become taken-for-granted parts of everyday life, no longer seen as agents of change (Baym, 2010, p.24, emphasis in original).

As well as 'hard' technological determinism Baym further identifies 'a milder [or soft] form of technological determinism, media choice, [in which] technological features are seen as having direct consequences, but people are seen as making strategic, and usually rational, choices about which media they use for different purposes' (p.27).¹⁰ The social construction perspective takes account of how people use technology, the vested interests of different stakeholders (such as software companies and governments) and the range of socio-economic, political and cultural factors that influence the behaviour of individuals (Baym, 2010, pp.39-40). 'Social shaping' takes an approach somewhere in between technological determinism and social construction: 'From this perspective, the consequences of technologies arise from a mix of "affordances" – the social capabilities technological qualities enable – and the unexpected and emergent ways that people make use of these affordances' (Baym, 2010, p.44). The

¹⁰ For more 'hard' and 'soft' determinisms see Lister *et al.* (2003, pp.310-314).

domestication argument is self-evident and hardly needs explanation; Baym's point is that both it and social shaping regard technological influences on behaviour as 'emergent' rather than deterministic.¹¹

The concept of 'affordances' in the passage quoted above is central to the argument against 'hard' technological determinism. Sanders (1997) defines affordances as 'opportunities for action in the environment of an organism, the opportunities in question include everything that the organism can do, and the environment includes the entire realm of potential activity for that organism' (Sanders, 1997, p.108). The concept as applied to digital technology is frequently referenced by Baym, who defines it in terms of 'packages of potentials and constraints' (Baym, 2010, p.17). It is increasingly being used by other authors, such as David (2010, p.2): 'In making their music collections available online, file-sharers create a community of sharing that takes the affordances of network technology in a radical new direction'; and Sterne (2012, p.198): '[MP3's] affordances harmonized with other, broader cultural, technological, and political forces in the 1990s'. It is important to remember that affordances are limiting as well as enabling – the audio quality of MP3, for example, has made it less attractive for audiophile music lovers with high quality hi-fi systems. As an alternative to technological determinism, Baym's 'social shaping and domestication' approach, where human agency and practice, together with the affordances of the technology, explain more convincingly the relationship between new media and its use.

Poster's 'second media age' is the age of what other writers have called, problematically, 'new media', but what makes 'new media' new? Manovich (2006) traces the beginnings of new media back as far as 1936, when Konrad Zuse started to build what was to be 'the first

¹¹ A chapter dealing with technological determinism issues specifically regarding MP3 technology is in Taylor (2001, pp.15-38).

working digital computer. One of his innovations was using punched tape to control computer programs. The tape used was actually discarded 35 mm movie film' (2006, p.9).¹² This use of binary code is one aspect of new media, but additionally, 'Zuse's film, with its strange superimposition of binary over iconic code, anticipates the convergence that will follow half a century later' (p.9).¹³ Convergence of different media forms, along with the digitality of binary code and interactivity, are three of the defining characteristics of new media,¹⁴ and to make the distinction with 'old media', Lister *et al.* (2003, p.12) include the following as consequences of 'new media': new textual experiences (including patterns of consumption); new relationships between users/consumers and media technologies; changes in the personal and social experience of time, space and place; and new patterns of organisation and production of media content. The term 'digital media' correctly describes the way in which data is used by electronic devices as digital binary code, though as Lister *et al.* point out: 'Many digital new media are reworked and expanded versions of "old" analogue media' (2003, p.12), a process known as 'remediation' – an example would be the CD remediating the vinyl LP.¹⁵ In this case, because the digital aspect of 'new media' is what has changed recorded music distribution so fundamentally, I will use the term 'digital media' here.

Digital media

Digital media are the most recent manifestations of an evolutionary process that has been conceptualised by the 'medium theorists', who were influenced by McLuhan. According to medium theory, human history is characterised by a series of four cultures, each dominated by a different medium: traditional oral culture (referring to purely oral communication); written

¹² See also Hesmondhalgh (2002, pp.198-202).

¹³ Punched paper rolls were used in player pianos before this, but player pianos cannot be considered computers.

¹⁴ 'Convergence' of new media formats is described in Lister *et al.* (2003, p.214), Hesmondhalgh (2002, pp.221-223) and Jenkins (2006). See Lister *et al.* (2003, pp.21-22) for more on interactivity of new media.

¹⁵ 'Remediation' is discussed in depth by Bolter and Grusin (1999). This tends to happen when new media are still a novelty (Lister *et al.*, 2003, p.390). It is debatable as to whether MP3 files are remediations of CDs, as they are simply compressed versions of the audio tracks found on CDs, which are already digital.

culture (making communication longer, more complex and over time and space, but resulting in unequal societies in terms of literacy); modern print culture (giving rise to mass communication and intellectual property and a greater equality of literacy); and global electronic culture (Hepp, 2013, pp.12-13). The technology of this final – and current – culture ranges from the telegraph, through television, to the internet, and, as Hepp (2013, p.13) explains, ‘Medium Theory argues that these electronic media recapitulate features of oral culture’ rather than trying to create completely new ways to communicate (i.e. they are, in a McLuhan sense, extensions of what humans did before). Meyrowitz (1995) summarises the work of some of the medium theorists in this respect:

[Walter] Ong describes the similarities and differences between the ‘primary orality’ of preliterate societies and the ‘secondary orality’ that results from the introduction of electronic media into literate societies. [...] [Daniel] Boorstin describes how new media ‘mass produce the moment’, make experience ‘repeatable’, and join many other recent technological inventions in ‘leveling times and places’ (Meyrowitz, 1995, p.53).

Hepp (2013, p.13) suggests that these ‘oralities’ – the (re)privileging of the word – can be seen in the written scripts required for television and the use of text in many electronic communications such as e-mail.

One of the limitations of medium theory is its tendency to reduce each media culture to one dominant medium without taking into account the way in which people continue using previous forms of media, a weakness both Meyrowitz and, in particular, Hepp, point out: ‘It is [...] less the *individual* dominant medium that defines media cultures, but *extremely complex arrangements of media-based, communicative action*’ (Hepp, 2013, p.17, emphasis in original). Another issue is that the final, and current, culture of global electronic media is too wide and does not recognise the significance (as medium theory does, say, of printing) of *digital* electronic media in the late twentieth century and which has particular relevance for recorded music. An alternative to medium theory, but similarly developed from McLuhan’s

ideas, is ‘media ecology’, which is being applied to music – in particular the music industries – by scholars such as Andrew Dubber, and which ‘examines the far-reaching impact of a changing technological environment, and regards technologies as environmental forces that exert influences over human affairs’ (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013, p.16). The main point here is that although media cultures are conceptualised in media ecology in a similarly linear way to that of medium theory, the latter’s ‘global electronic’ era is broken down into the ‘electric age’ and the ‘digital age’ in the media ecology perspective. Moreover, the ‘ecology’ approach is a way of avoiding accusations of technological determinism, to which medium theorists may be subject.¹⁶

[T]he ecological framework offers a more subtle relationship than mere cause and effect. As with any environmental shift, it is necessary to adapt in order to survive and thrive when the technological environment shifts. However, adaptations are not caused by environmental change, but are developed in response to them. That is to say, we choose our responses and so our uses of technology are socially negotiated (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013, p.17).

This choice of response to the change in media environment is made within the affordances given by the technology. Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.311) emphasises the importance of digitalisation (though he dislikes the ‘technological reductionism’ that terms like ‘digital era’ imply, p.407), and because it recognises the significance of digitalisation the media ecology approach would appear to be a more appropriate framework than medium theory for thinking about digital media and music.

Digital music

Running parallel to both the medium theory and media ecology periodisations is another model, this one relating directly to music. In it, Attali (1985) divides the history of Western music into four stages, which are ‘illustrative of the evolution of our entire society’ (p.5). The first stage was ‘Sacrifice’, pre-commoditisation, when music was used for ritual purposes in

¹⁶ See Meyrowitz (1995, p.71).

an oral culture. This was followed by ‘Representation’, when music performance gained a use-value as spectacle and music-making became a profession (and analogous to written culture). The third stage was ‘Repetition’, where copies of sound recordings could easily be manufactured, and therefore the creation of demand was necessary for the recording industry in capitalist societies (this encompasses both the print and electronic cultures).¹⁷ Attali’s final stage is that of ‘Composition’, which at the time of his writing was just beginning and during which he believed that the marketplace would be much less influential and people would make music by and for themselves. It is unlikely that, when Attali originally published his book in 1977, he could have predicted digital technology and the internet facilitating the production, copying and distribution of recorded music by non-professionals.

Given that we have been in the era of recorded music – and therefore the Repetition stage – for more than a century, what evidence is there for a shift towards Composition? Taylor (2001, p.5) points out that Attali’s stages ‘correspond neatly to the most important stages in the development of music technologies’, and although he criticises Attali’s deterministic view of technology, Taylor makes a link between digital technology and the Composition stage. This is partly because music technology now makes it possible for untrained musicians to create music and manipulate sound more easily than has previously been the case, but it is also due to the ease with which digitalised music can be directly transmitted between people, particularly via the internet. Again akin to medium theory, Taylor outlines milestones in music history such as the invention of moveable type for music printing and gramophone recording, and suggests that ‘the advent of digital technology in the early 1980s marks the beginning of what may be the most fundamental change in the history of Western music since the invention of music notation in the ninth century’ (Taylor, 2001, p.3).

¹⁷ This is partly achieved by creating ‘scarcity’ artificially (see Hesmondhalgh, 2002, p.19).

In order to appreciate the significance of digital technology as applied to music, it is necessary to be aware of the ways in which it differs from analogue technology. The term ‘digital’ has come to imply a ‘non-physical’ technology (if the movements of computer hard drives and electronic data are ignored),¹⁸ but there are of course formats that combine a physical carrier with digital content such as the compact disc. Anderton, Dubber and James (2013, pp.18-19) point to two characteristics of digital media that make them distinct from analogue media: that digital is discrete and that digital is perfectly replicable. For recorded music, the discrete nature is in the sampling of the sound many times a second in the process of being converted to binary information, which, because it is not truly continuous, necessarily results in an approximation (albeit a very good one) of the original sound. The more important aspect in my view is the exact replicability of digital files, as copying via analogue methods results in a loss of quality. Anderton, Dubber and James compare digital copies (where the original is just another copy) with Jean Baudrillard’s concept of ‘simulacra’,¹⁹ and they suggest that ‘[c]opying could, in fact, be said to be the natural state of digital media’ (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013, p.19). Indeed, this can be traced back to the 1980s, when, as Furgason (2008, p.152) points out, the advent of the compact disc changed the recording industry from an ‘analogue industry’ to a ‘digital industry’ and the consequences of digital replicability were not appreciated by the industry at the time.

¹⁸ For a philosophical discussion of the materiality of digital data see Sterne (2012, pp.194-198).

¹⁹ ‘Simulacra’ are copies with no original. See also Auslander (1999, pp.92-111) for an extended discussion of Baudrillard’s ideas with regard to music videos, authenticity and performance as well as digital music technology.

Consequences of digitalisation for the music industries²⁰

Digital technology has affected the music industries in varying degrees, but the sector most affected by digitalisation in the form of MP3 technology is the recording industry, in particular the major record labels. Many commentators have written about the ‘crisis’ in the industry resulting from illegal file sharing, including Alderman (2001), Katz (2004), Kusek and Leonhard (2005), Burkart and McCourt (2006), Knopper (2009), David (2010) and Sterne (2012).²¹ For this reason, here I am going to discuss a theoretical model that has been applied to the major record labels by Furgason (2008), based on a model used to theorise the reaction of media institutions to new technologies (Napoli, 1998). Media institutions are defined by Napoli as ‘the looseknit set of organizations that comprise the various components of the entire media industry’ (Napoli, 1998, pp.315-316), and the media industry is part of the cultural industries.²² As summarised by Hesmondhalgh (2002, p.17), the cultural industries have built their success on several principles: risk, which is managed by offsetting misses against hits through a repertoire; high production costs and low reproduction costs, which has led to concentration, integration and the co-opting of publicity; and semi-public goods which necessitate the creation of artificial scarcity. In addition, they have developed a relatively loose control of ‘symbol creators’ (artists) but a tight control of distribution, marketing and copyright. Copyright control has been critical to the success of many of the cultural industries, the recording industry as much as – if not more so – than any other, to the extent that Wikström (2009, pp.12-45) thinks of the popular music industry as a ‘copyright industry’.²³

The greatest threat to this established model brought about by digital technology and the

²⁰ Here, I am using the term ‘the music industries’ in the way that Anderton, Dubber and James use it: ‘The music industries exist in a multitude of forms: a network of businesses that vary from the very small to the very large, and represent a wide range of commercial activities’ (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013, p.1).

²¹ I have also written about this in Sykes (2012), from which part of this chapter is adapted.

²² See Hesmondhalgh (2002) for a detailed and well-argued discussion of what constitutes the ‘cultural industries’.

²³ Although Wikström later defines the term ‘the music industry’ (2009, pp.46-53), and further relates the history of ‘the music recording industry’ as a distinct part of the music industry (2009, pp.60-69), the lack of this distinction early on in a book about music and digital media could lead to confusion; as Kusek and Leonhard (2005, pp.20-34) warn us, the record business is not the same as the music business.

internet is the undermining of scarcity and distributive control, along with a greater difficulty in protecting intellectual property (described by Wikström, 2009, p.85 as ‘high connectivity and little control’).

In the third edition of his book on the cultural industries, Hesmondhalgh (2013) addresses the disruption to their existing business model, citing four digitalisation-related technological advancements as the reasons why the recording industry faced a ‘crisis’ (in the late 1990s/early 2000s) before the other cultural industries. These were: the development of MP3 compression (followed by other audio compression formats); the increasing availability of high speed internet connection; the increasing power, storage and multimedia capabilities of home computers; and the development of user-friendly and often free software to ‘rip’ tracks from CDs and find and download MP3 files from other networked computers (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p.342). Although the digitalisation of music (as digital audio and the compact disc) occurred around a decade before the development of MP3, the issuing and reissuing of recordings on CD was highly profitable for record companies, who could re-sell music to customers who already owned it on LP – the so-called replacement cycle, which has now come to an end (Kusek and Leonhard, 2005, pp.82-83). MP3, on the other hand, has, along with unauthorised peer-to-peer file sharing, caused the recording industry to prosecute its potential customers as a result of its perceived effect on CD sales. As was mentioned earlier, MP3 was not originally created for the purpose of music dissemination, but once the software for converting and playing MP3 files had been refined (see Sterne, 2012, pp.198-202) the relatively small file size of MP3s enabled their transmission over digital networks

with no perceptible loss of quality (other than that which occurred as a result of the process of compression from the original audio source).²⁴

The significance of unauthorised file sharing for the recording industry as a whole, and the major record labels in particular, has taken the industry some time to come to terms with. Despite MP3 files as we know them being available for use from 1995, '[t]he recording industry's inaction until 1997 is a key part of the story because it allowed other industries to develop and organize the online music environment according to their needs' (Sterne, 2012, p.203).²⁵ Furgason (2008) discusses the reaction of the major record labels to the advent of MP3 technology using a model devised by Napoli (1998), who observed that 'the introduction of a new media technology was initially met by complacency and ignorance on the part of the institutions controlling the existing technologies' (Napoli, 1998, p.319).²⁶ As Furgason puts it, '[t]his complacency and ignorance would have a profound impact on the industry' (Furgason, 2008, p.153). The file sharing potential of MP3 was not fully realised until peer-to-peer (P2P) networks were established and portable MP3 players were available in the late 1990s.²⁷ This made possible the sharing (and in the process the copying) of recorded music between any members of the network, bypassing the direct control of the recording industry. Had the industry taken advantage of this technology earlier, they could have avoided the crisis, although Sterne (2012, pp.200-202) gives some examples of early online distribution platforms that had limited success in the mid-1990s with independent-label music as they could not come to an agreement with the major labels at the time.

²⁴ See Sterne (2012, pp.128-183) for a highly detailed explanation of the development of digital audio compression used in MP3 technology.

²⁵ In 1997 the Recording Industry Association of America successfully sued illegal File Transfer Protocol (FTP) sites (Sterne, 2012, p.203).

²⁶ Napoli uses examples from more traditional media, such as newspapers being threatened by television news.

²⁷ See David (2010, pp.32-37), Katz (2004, pp.160-161) and Sterne (2012, pp.198-208).

Complacency is the first of four stages in Napoli's model of industry response to new technologies, the others being resistance, differentiation and diversification, Napoli coming from the field of communication theory (Napoli, 1998, pp.319-326). Furgason illustrates the complacent response of the major record companies by quoting several executives, including Time Warner president Richard Parson, who admitted that 'the major labels were asleep at the switch' (quoted in Furgason, 2008, p.155).²⁸ Furgason goes on to show how the recording industry (initially in the form of the Recording Industry Association of America) used various methods of resistance, differentiation and diversification that appear to follow Napoli's model (Furgason, 2008, pp.155-166). It should be noted that, although Furgason's application of Napoli's model to MP3 technology and the recording industry is convincing, his prediction of the increased use of CD burners to copy downloaded recordings (Furgason, 2008, p.166) has not transpired quite as perhaps he expected – many people (particularly those who have grown up with this technology) listen to music primarily on mobile MP3 players/phones, and some computers are no longer equipped with CD burners.²⁹

There has been a good deal written about the resistance of the recording industry to the unauthorised sharing of MP3 files over peer-to-peer networks – namely its legal action against the providers of file sharing services and networks, the most famous case being that of Napster in 1999-2002, though as Sterne (2012, p.206) points out, '[b]y the time Napster appeared on the scene, online file-sharing was well established'. There were also attempts to sue individual internet subscribers suspected of downloading copyright material.³⁰ There was also what Napoli calls 'rhetorical resistance', in the form of a public relations campaign to

²⁸ Originally quoted in Clark, D. and Matthews, A. W. (2000, 28 July), Key change: Napster ruling shifts balance of web power back to music industry, *The Wall Street Journal*, p.A1.

²⁹ A sociological approach to the study of mobile music devices is offered by Beer (2010).

³⁰ For a summary of significant American lawsuits with references see Furgason (2008, pp.157-160), and for more on the Napster case see Burkart and McCourt (2006, pp.55-63), David (2010, pp.33-34), Knopper (2009, pp.121-149) and Alderman (2001).

dissuade people from file sharing, which was ultimately unsuccessful. Differentiation was eventually attempted by lowering CD prices, adding extra content (such as embedding multimedia files onto CDs), introducing new formats (SuperAudio-CD, for example) and subscription-based services set up by the major labels. The latter were limited due to their cost to consumers and by a lack of cross-licensing of copyrighted content, making them uncompetitive compared with file sharing networks. Diversification was then required, which was initially in the form of relatively low priced downloads (compared with what had been charged for CDs) from third party providers, the best known being iTunes.³¹ However, the reluctance of major labels to enter the digital marketplace has given, McLeod (2005) argues, independent labels and artists a new opportunity to distribute their music outside the major label system, often by allowing file sharing as a form of free promotion.³² The changes afforded by digital technology, therefore, are sometimes predicted to ‘threaten to help break the music monopoly that has existed for a century, something that, at the very least, will increase the diversity of music available to music fans’ (McLeod, 2005, pp.530-531).

Subsequent years have seen the rapid growth of many other ways of providing digital music, which have not been discussed by Furgason (though to be fair many have grown to prominence since he wrote his article). These include: subscription downloading services such as eMusic (offering various levels of membership allowing a certain number of monthly downloads); on-demand access from services like Rhapsody (where music may be downloaded temporarily but not ‘owned’); and streaming services such as Pandora and Spotify that may charge subscription fees, be supported by advertising revenue, or both

³¹ Furgason (2008, pp.155-166). For more on the pricing of iTunes tracks see Blake (2007, p.30) and Knopper (2009, pp.174-178).

³² See also Anderton, Dubber and James (2013, pp.179-180).

(Wikström, 2009, pp.103-109).³³ The commercial development of the so-called ‘celestial jukebox’ was not without its problems, however.³⁴ The success of Apple’s iTunes service and iPod MP3 player came at the cost (to its competitors) of Apple’s market dominance coupled with its downloading restrictions, in the form of digital rights management (DRM). As David (2010) explains, this encryption system meant that ‘[s]ongs downloaded from iTunes could only be played on an iPod, yet iPods played songs from other commercial and non-commercial MP3 downloading sites’ (David, 2010, p.37). Although iTunes initially offered the widest choice of music – having, following negotiations, persuaded all the major record labels to sign up to their service (Knopper, 2009, p.174) – eventually, competing services increased their availability and, more importantly, removed their DRM restrictions. Under pressure from such competition, hackers and free sharing services, Apple removed its DRM restrictions in 2008. Despite the industry’s efforts, however, some believe that iTunes’ pricing (set at 99 cents per track) was too high,³⁵ particularly when compared with free file sharing or streaming services.³⁶ In addition, some copyright holders have resisted the opportunity to make their music available online; the Beatles’ catalogue, for example, was only released to iTunes in 2010.³⁷

Licensed streaming services such as Last.fm and Spotify have to pay fees in order that royalties are paid to copyright holders, which are negotiated and administered by collection societies. Sometimes negotiations have broken down; in Britain, the popular video streaming service YouTube blocked the playing of commercial music videos accessed via its UK site for

³³ In a more recent article Wikström points out that: ‘Over time, Spotify’s ability to charge a premium for their service will not depend on their ability to provide access to a large music library via a wide range of mobile devices, but on their ability to provide an array of contextual features that allow subscribers to discover, share, organize, and be creative with music’ (Wikström, 2012, p.12).

³⁴ For more on the ‘celestial jukebox’, see Burkart and McCourt (2006).

³⁵ For more on iTunes’s DRM, uniform pricing and challenges made to them see Wikström (2009, pp.102-103).

³⁶ See Kusek and Leonhard (2005, pp.123-24) and David (2010, p.37).

³⁷ It should be mentioned that this is largely due to the long standing trademark dispute between the Beatles’ record label and iTunes’s parent company, both called Apple (see BBC News, 2010).

a period during 2009. This was a result of the service's refusal to pay performance royalties at the level requested by the British collection society, PRS for Music (Waters, 2009). This debacle illustrates the way that the licensing situation of the state can curtail its subjects' legitimate activities online, simply because 'any company wishing to stream music overseas has to negotiate [royalty] deals on a nation by nation basis' (BBC News, 2008, n.p.). There is therefore a tension between the content industries and the companies providing legal digital distribution as well as illegal file sharers. In his 2009 report on the digitalisation of the UK, Carter cites research indicating that, among young people, 'only 10% of those surveyed are currently deterred from file-sharing by a fear of being caught' (Carter, 2009, p.42). Carter recommends the formation of a Rights Agency to discuss ways of encouraging the legal use of copyright material, prevent infringement, 'and enable technical copyright-support solutions that work for both consumers and content creators' (p.42). In another example, Kennedy (2010) emphasises how legal music services are growing in market share (of recorded music sales), but also refers to various studies indicating 'that the net impact of illegal file-sharing is to reduce spending on legitimate music' (Kennedy, 2010, p.18). Reports such as these tend mainly to reflect the problems of the cultural industries without suggesting viable solutions other than further increasing DRM or co-opting internet service providers in identifying file sharers. It is therefore no wonder that, despite an increasing growth in legal digital downloads and diversification,³⁸ some feel that the underlying crisis in the recording industry remains to some extent unresolved. As Sterne (2012, p.212) suggests, 'a sense of crisis persists, largely because of the sheer scale and apparent impossibility of stopping the file-sharing tide'.³⁹

³⁸ See, for example, Kennedy (2010) and Moore (2011).

³⁹ Burkart (2013, pp.9-10) suggests a reason for this: 'The patchwork of national licensing systems across the world renders even the most global of the vendors' catalogs, such as iTunes, incomplete. The incompleteness of catalog access further exacerbates the scarcity that contributes to the need for file-sharing'.

Consequences of digitalisation for music audiences

As well as anxiety within the recording industry about the effects of file sharing, there have been concerns expressed by both the industry and government about media literacy, resulting in the *Charter for Media Literacy* launched in 2005 (Blake, 2007, p.104). Blake argues that:

The utopian vision of techno-lifestyle-choice is offset by the industry's huge fears about originality, piracy and theft, but also by these equally fundamental fears about the capacity of the population to make such choices in an informed way. The proliferation of communications technologies has brought with it a new form of anxiety within the entertainment industry about the ordinary user's lack of media literacy, which the industry has begun to see as a key inhibitor of take-up (Blake, 2007, p.103).

Taylor (2001) also discusses anxiety about technology, but for a different reason: 'The introduction of every major new technology, at least in the course of the twentieth century, has been accompanied by a complex mixture of wonderment and anxiety. Digital technology is no different' (Taylor, 2001, p.201).⁴⁰ The anxiety has often been about the extent to which, as Taylor posits, technology diminishes human agency. The example Taylor uses to illustrate one particular anxiety, that human history may become a history of technology, is the 1999 film *The Matrix*, in which machines create a virtual reality to replace human reality (Taylor, 2001, p.202). However, the human connection remains: as Martin Lister *et al.* (2003) point out, even this simulated world 'is produced by very real connections between machines, programs and nervous systems, and cannot therefore be discounted as illusory. [...] Therefore, simulations are importantly real by virtue of the technologies necessary to producing them, and the effect they have upon us' (Lister *et al.*, 2003, p.361). This may be seen as an extension of Baudrillard's (1983) theory of the hyperreal, in which simulation (the process through which the distinction between original and copy is destroyed) and reality 'implode' into one another, and that, as Storey (2006, p.133) puts it, '[s]imulations can often be experienced as more real than the real itself'.

⁴⁰ There are also, of course, many examples from before the twentieth century, ranging from the development of the printing press the fifteenth century (with the anxiety on the part of the political and religious authorities) to mechanised weaving of cloth and its resistance by the Luddites in 1811-1812.

However, in spite of the pessimistic side of the media literacy argument discussed by Blake, people are engaging confidently with digital technology and music in various ways (though, as Hesmondhalgh, 2013, pp.323-327, points out, there remains a 'digital divide', an inequality of access to the technology). As the widespread practices of downloading (legally or otherwise), music streaming and music sharing via social media indicate, concerns about media literacy and the diminishing of human agency have, at least in these cases, been overstated. File sharers are not only comfortable using digital technology but also tend to think of music exchange as part of a gift economy, as Giesler (2006) found as a result of his research on Napster users before the site was closed down as a file sharing site: 'What distinguishes Napster from music market exchange is that music is shared among users as a gift' (Giesler, 2006, p.287). Participants were aware that Napster functioned as a polyadic rather than a dyadic exchange system (because users were often connected to many other users simultaneously with multiple file exchanges occurring) and their 'social discourses, practices and structures of sharing give rise to, and subsequently reinforce, users' self-identification of the difference between Napster and its music marketplace environment' (Giesler, 2006, p.287). This is an example of the social distinction Napster users gave themselves, the first of three traditional characteristics of gift systems. Giesler argues that the other two, the norm of reciprocity and the existence of rituals and symbolisms, were also evident among Napster users, and that there was a hierarchy of sorts in which 'expert' sources (of, for example, Beatles songs) were accorded more esteem than other users (Giesler, 2006, pp.287-289). This resonates with the findings of Wall and Dubber (2009) in their research on what they describe as 'online communities' of fans of 'specialist' music, which will be discussed later.

The interactivity of digital media is one of the main characteristics that differentiate it from analogue media, and as Lister *et al.* (2003, pp.21-22) explain, the opportunities that users have to ‘write back’ into the text, known as ‘registrational interactivity’, allow interactive communication in varying degrees. Levels of interactivity depend on the format: for example, comments posted in response to an online video clip are relatively less interactive than the conversational style of instant messaging. Online communication (other than e-mail) has been possible since at least the 1980s in the forms of Talk and Usenet groups, and in the 1990s, once the World Wide Web was established, web boards and blogs (Baym, 2010, pp.14-16). Jennings (2007, p.4) suggests that ‘[b]logs provide the diversity and participation in spreading buzz, fueled by individual, authentic voices and relationships between people’. More recently, interactivity, networks and user-generated content have become more significant: ‘The technologies known as Web 2.0 provide a platform that enables and accelerates social explorations, which reach into corners of our culture that mass media have largely ignored’ (Jennings, 2007, p.5). However, Hesmondhalgh (2013, pp.334-335) warns that ‘Web 2.0 businesses’ may be seen as exploitative, as the work of bloggers provides feedback and publicity for cultural texts, and social networking sites extract a substantial amount of information about their users, which they can then sell on to marketing companies.

One of the most popular ways for people to use digital technology to view, share and comment on video clips is YouTube.⁴¹ Despite its initial intentions as an ‘amateur’ video sharing site and not a music service as such, YouTube has become a significant site used by audiences, individual musicians (whether amateur or professional), music teachers, students, and record companies, and Carayi (2011, p.2) suggests that YouTube ‘challenges the way we perceive music, musician and audience’. YouTube hosts a large quantity of commercial

⁴¹ Because of YouTube’s popularity, wide reach and commercialisation it could be considered a form of mass media, but individual participation is not controlled as such, even though videos may be blocked or removed. Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.351) describes it as a ‘hybrid cultural form’.

material (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, pp.351-352); its popularity can be gauged by the proportion of professionally produced music videos in the YouTube Top Charts of the most viewed – ninety per cent, compared with ten per cent user-generated (in March 2013), and data from YouTube viewings (and other streaming services) are now used to help compile more established pop music charts such as the Billboard Top 100.⁴² User-generated videos that utilise authorised music are also tracked, indicating an acknowledgement by the recording industry that audiences are ‘consuming’ music in active and creative ways. Some performers have rapidly risen to national and even worldwide fame as a result of their videos ‘going viral’ – Korean pop singer Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’ became the most ‘liked’ YouTube video in history (as of October 2012). Significantly, it inspired many people to make their own parody versions of the video and upload them to YouTube, which may well have contributed to the song’s popularity (Liu, 2012). In another example, despite, or because of, negative comments from many YouTube viewers, Rebecca Black’s video of the song ‘Friday’ (made by a music production company) made the teenager a star, and as with ‘Gangnam Style’ spawned many parody videos that have themselves ‘gone viral’ (Goodman, 2011).

Musicians who are not supported by record labels or music production companies – i.e. outside the mainstream recording industry – use YouTube to try and further their careers in various ways. Carayi (2011) has conducted a case study of one such ‘YouTube musician’, Wade Johnston. Johnston created his own YouTube channel, uploaded videos of his songs and subscribed to the channels of other YouTube musicians. As a result of his videos being featured on more established artists’ channels Johnston was invited to perform at the ‘YouTube Live!’ event in 2008, which led to collaborations with other YouTube musicians and a large increase in the number of his subscribers and views. This supported rather than

⁴² Listings of YouTube’s most popular music videos can be found at www.youtube.com. On the use of YouTube for test marketing by record labels see Anderton, Dubber and James (2013, p.153).

replaced Johnston's live performances, which he sometimes advertised by announcing them at the end of his videos and adding links to venues' websites to the sidebar. Therefore, as Carayi argues, Johnston's use of YouTube was as a social networking site as much as anything else. He connected with other musicians, read viewers' comments, posted video blogs (vlogs) and made use of tags, particularly when performing cover versions (Carayi, 2011, pp.10-18).

Music fans (rather than musicians) use YouTube in various ways, from sharing their favourite music videos to uploading concert footage they have recorded themselves and creating 'mash-ups' and remixes of existing and their own material.⁴³ YouTube's interactive nature allows conversations to be had on the site, but links to videos can also be embedded into other social media such as Facebook, allowing videos to be accessed (increasingly on mobile devices) without having to go to the YouTube site. The YouTube site has always promoted a sense of 'community', but because of its size this has been questioned by Baym (2010, pp.73-74): 'What did it mean when YouTube, with its millions of users, prominently featured the term "community" on its navigation bar, as though all of its users were united into a common group through the mere use of the site?' Lange (2008) agrees that YouTube as whole is not a community, but argues that there is a community feeling engendered in many of YouTube's members, and because of that and its social aspects it is far more than simply a video sharing site (Lange, 2008, p.88). Waldron (2013) argues that user-generated content and Web 2.0 platforms such as YouTube are integral to 'online communities as sites of participatory culture' (Waldron, 2013, p.260), particularly in her research into music education via such networks (which make substantial use of YouTube). The social use of YouTube can come into conflict with the recording industry, however, with cases of unintended copyright infringement. For example, in 2007 Stephanie Lenz uploaded a video clip of her young son

⁴³ A 'mash-up' overlays two pre-existing recordings at the same tempo, whereas a 'remix' is an alternative version of a recording created from parts of the original with added effects, drum loops, samples etc. (see Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013, pp.211-213).

dancing to a radio playing the Prince song 'Let's Go Crazy' for her family to see. The song's copyright holder Universal Music Group was alerted to this and threatened Lenz, and fearing a lawsuit YouTube removed the video, despite the clip being only half a minute long with very poor sound quality (Lessig, 2008, pp.1-4).

Music fans and social networking

Blogs and online discussion boards are long-established ways for people to use digital media for expressing opinions and having conversations about all manner of subjects. Jennings (2007) suggests that many blog posts, in referencing other posts and web sites, 'digest and synthesize the web, making it more comprehensible to other like-minded people. Gradually, clusters of bloggers emerge, reinforcing each other and developing a loose network of affiliated people and ideas' (Jennings, 2007, pp.48-49). Jennings classifies members of online groups into originators (who initiate groups or discussion threads), synthesisers (who respond to others and make some contribution) and lurkers (who read but do not participate). The relative proportions of these, based on data from Yahoo! Groups, are made up of 1 per cent originators, 10 per cent synthesisers and the rest lurkers.⁴⁴ Jennings also refers to a model of music fans resulting from research conducted in the UK by media company Emap in 2003 and 2005 that classifies fans into four categories: savants, whose lives revolve around music; enthusiasts, for whom music is an important, but not the only, aspect of life; casuals, for whom music plays a role but not as much as other interests; and indifferents, who claim to have little interest in music. In 2005, of the 16-45 age range, savants made up 7 per cent, enthusiasts 21 per cent, casuals 32 per cent and indifferents 40 per cent (Jennings, 2007, pp.30-31). This classification bears similarities with a model of live music attendance I will

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Jennings draws upon only one set of data, so these figures should not be assumed to be consistent across all online groups, but the classification is convincing enough. He also makes the mistake of stating that there are one hundred per cent lurkers, which cannot be the case if lurkers are deemed to be non-participating (Jennings, 2007, p.45).

discuss in chapter 5, but as Jennings makes clear, the figures ‘represent a snapshot in a particular country [...] at a particular time’ (Jennings, 2007, p.31).

Jennings, borrowing or adapting analogies from the sources of his models, conceptualises these classifications as ‘pyramids of influence and activity’ (Jennings, 2007, p.46) with originators and savants at the top of their respective pyramids, representing the smallest number but most active. Blogging is one method ‘in which Savants or Enthusiasts can express themselves and demonstrate some leadership across the fan economy’ (Jennings, 2007, p.48). Wikis, where users can edit content (such as in Wikipedia), provide another way in which an originator may contribute significant amounts of information in an area of expertise and a synthesiser may edit this information for contextual or presentational reasons (Jennings, 2007, p.50). The shared practices within online groups of fans, where there is a diversity of activities in a ‘division of labor’ (Jennings, 2007, p.52) are thought of as ‘communities of practice’ by Jennings, in which knowledge may be shared in different ways: ‘word-of-mouth recommendation via the email list [a fan web site creator] started is one of the main ways in which he discovers new bands. So influence does not just flow from the head of the pyramid to its base’ (Jennings, 2007, p.53). These groups can be considered ‘online communities’, and both online communities and ‘communities of practice’ (which Prouty, 2012 considers in relation to jazz) will be discussed in the following chapter.

For those music fans who do not wish to create an individual blog or web site, social networking sites now provide user-friendly platforms on which to share their interests. These can be defined

as web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made

by others within the system. The nature and nomenclature of these connections may vary from site to site (boyd and Ellison, 2007, n.p.).⁴⁵

Early group communication platforms such as The Well, mailing lists like SF-Lovers (for science fiction fans), Usenet newsgroups and special interest websites were the precursors of purpose-designed social networking sites (Baym, 2010, p.72). Napster software was originally conceived (in 1999) as a way of allowing college students to view each others' digital music collections. As an information sharing platform it was similar to these group communication sites, and Napster tried (unsuccessfully) to use the information sharing service in its legal defence (arguing also that its members were engaging in activities that could be classified as 'fair use') when it was sued (Furgason, 2008, p.158).

Social networking sites developed in the late 1990s and became popular after 2000. Wellman *et al.* (2003) suggest that technology is affording a move away from traditional notions of community and towards a 'networked individualism' where each person has a personal online community, and social networking sites are designed specifically to allow an individual to build and access such a community. Baym (2010, p.90) argues that these sites differ from earlier online communities where messages could normally be seen by all members of the group: social networking sites allow each member to construct his or her own profile with varying degrees of public access so that postings are usually intended to be seen only by members of that person's network. A list of other members connected by friendship, family or interest can be viewed on each person's profile; each of these connections' profiles may also be seen (depending on access settings), so that each individual network overlaps with those of his or her connections as parts of a much larger network (Baym, 2010, p.90).

⁴⁵ This article also provides an overview of the history of social networking sites.

Some social networking sites were designed with musicians and music fans in mind. MySpace, launched in its first incarnation in 1999 as a general social networking site (David, 2010, p.38), quickly became popular among musicians and bands wanting to connect with each other and promote their music to fans; in 2008 MySpace Music was re-designed to cater specifically for them. The ease with which members could post biographical information and upload music tracks and videos to their page were useful features, and David (2010, p.38) argues that '[w]here peer-to-peer file-sharing encourages a de-commodification of informational goods, social networking sites promote the democratisation of information'. Social networking has become an increasingly important way for unsigned artists to try to get noticed by the music industry. Pop acts such as Lily Allen and Arctic Monkeys were discovered at least partly thanks to MySpace, though members of the Arctic Monkeys claimed not to have created their own MySpace page (David, 2010, pp.147-148). The band's page could have been made by an 'originator' fan and maintained by 'synthesisers', and certainly helped in the building of a significant fan base (David, 2010, p.148), but Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.347) suggests that '[t]heir success owed much more to their repeated exposure on traditional media, notably radio'.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, the audience-building potential of social networking has not been lost on record labels, which 'have been approaching fans with successful social media fan sites to act as "mavens" [taste-makers] in their marketing campaigns. Ironically the fans themselves become "weasels" [industry insiders], but are accepted as being an authentic voice' (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013, p.154). Perhaps not surprisingly, the industry has been accused of paying for fake 'likes' on social media – in an affair akin to the scandal of 'payola' bribery in American radio, YouTube stripped Universal and Sony of billions of views after suspecting viewing counts to have been falsely inflated (Gayle, 2012).

⁴⁶ Arditi (2013) also makes the point that the Arctic Monkeys and other frequently cited examples such as Radiohead succeeded online 'because of already established popularity' (Arditi, 2013, p.4).

Last.fm is often considered a type of internet radio station/streaming service similar to Spotify. It does, however, have social networking features as well, allowing users to connect and communicate with one another based on their musical interests. Indeed, Baym (2007 and 2010), who has conducted online ethnographic research into friendship ties among Last.fm users, considers the site to be a social networking platform that emphasises music in the way that Facebook emphasises people (Baym, 2010, p.136). Among Baym's observations were that, as one would expect of a site that uses software to determine a user's musical taste and suggest music on this basis,⁴⁷ people connected as 'friends' were likely to share musical taste, but unlike sites such as Facebook – which asks people to use real names – it was unusual to see a real name on Last.fm (Baym, 2010, p.109). Baym's (2007) research on fans of Swedish 'indie' music shows that social networking sites, along with blogs, news sites and band websites, are used by fans from around the world as a virtual meeting place to discuss music of a particular genre and, in this case, from a specific nation. Furthermore, certain members of a group may have an identifiable role – the MP3 blogger, for example, was observed by Baym to gain status (and sometimes used by record labels as a 'maven') among the other members who were fans, musicians and members of the music industry ('connectors').⁴⁸ Social networking sites (and other digital media) have interactive features that are utilised by music fans in various ways. As Wall and Dubber (2009) have found, in sites such as Last.fm the informal tagging and classification of music known as 'folksonomy' creates what may be considered to be a user-generated canon (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.37). Rather than simply downloading digital music files, information about the music is shared among members of the social network, and the music itself may be accessed legally via links to the streaming services of mainstream sites such as YouTube (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.36).

⁴⁷ Last.fm does this using a technique known as 'scrobbling', or 'collaborative filtering' technology (Jennings, 2007, p.85).

⁴⁸ See Anderton, Dubber and James (2013, p.120) for an explanation of 'mavens' and 'connectors'.

Possible futures for the music industries

The direct interaction between performers and their fans is undoubtedly a beneficial aspect of digital social media if used appropriately. Sites specifically designed for musicians such as SoundCloud (an audio distribution platform with social networking features), as well as more general sites like Facebook, enable artists to communicate with their virtual fan networks via those sites or by embedding links to them within their own web pages or blogs. However, to be successful musicians' sites must be highly interactive in terms of artist-to-fan and fan-to-fan communication (using message boards, photograph uploading and so on), offer incentives and rewards for users, be continuously interesting and not be perceived as simply a marketing tool. Smartphone and tablet computer 'apps' are increasingly being developed by the music industry as novel ways of enabling interaction between musicians, their music and their fans. Björk's *Biophilia* album (2011), for example, was released in various formats including an Apple iPhone/iPad app offering a range of multimedia and interactive experiences in addition to the music itself (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013), and some of the music was created using new software and unusual instruments.⁴⁹ Its novelty was probably a major part of its appeal, and while Björk's project was partly to find new ways of teaching music and engaging with young people (Hooper, 2013), as Anderton, Dubber and James (2013, p.15) point out, '[f]ew [musicians] have the financial backing to create an elaborate package of this sort'. These platforms are designed as much as anything else to foster a sense of community between fans and a personal connection with the artist, and such communities in their virtual manifestations will be discussed in the next chapter; they may also provide a way for the wider music industries to create sustainable business models for the future.

⁴⁹ There was also a series of live performances at the Manchester International Festival in 2011 (see www.mif.co.uk/event/bjork-biophilia).

Various authors have suggested ways in which the music industries may be able to survive, and perhaps thrive, following the crisis suffered by the recording industry. One of these is the ‘long tail’ theory (Anderson, 2004 and 2006) in which the abundance of cultural texts available online will result in more sales of niche music (i.e. non-major label) than would otherwise occur (matching or exceeding sales of ‘hits’). However, this does not appear to be the case, even within peer-to-peer file sharing, Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.330) suggesting that this is because ‘consumers probably don’t know that the tracks are there’.⁵⁰ The ‘convergence of corporate ownership’ described by Hesmondhalgh (2002), whereby ‘the boundaries between media, telecommunications and computing have really come down’, may help corporations maintain some control of digital distribution platforms (Hesmondhalgh, 2002, pp.221-222). As he points out, however, until AOL-Warner merger in 2000-2001, there had been little actual convergence between different cultural industries, and mergers between content providers and internet service providers had not often occurred; also, the recent financial crisis has actually resulted in ‘de-merger and de-conglomeration activity’ (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, pp.191-192). To add to the recording industry’s problems, Wikström (2009) suggests that, because artists in the new music economy can control the process of producing and distributing recordings, ‘[t]here is no place for the record label’ (Wikström, 2009, p.143). He also expects the use of online multimedia in promoting music via other experiences (using the example of Nine Inch Nails using an alternate reality game to ‘promote’ an album) to become more common: ‘in the new music economy, the distinction between promotional material and the “actual experience” is rapidly disappearing’ (Wikström, 2009, p.165).

⁵⁰ Hesmondhalgh (2013, p.330) describes Anderson’s theory as ‘digital ultra-optimism’.

Of the possibilities suggested by Kusek and Leonhard (2005, pp.57-79), who argue that music-as-experience and music provided as a service is the way forward, the two that appear to be proving popular are internet radio and music downloaded or streamed to mobile devices. Mobile phones, web browsers and MP3 players are increasingly becoming integrated into the same device, and streaming services such as Spotify and Last.fm are often free to use but allow the purchase of music as well. Blake (2007) similarly sees music as an ‘increasingly personalised [commodity] for the individual choice of an aware consumer [...] [and] also a source for the re-use of all and sundry with access to a computer. Yet music is also still a form of social cement, bringing people together as musicians and fans alike’ (Blake, 2007, p.125). The ‘social cement’ reference recalls the terminology of Frankfurt School theorist Theodor Adorno who applied it to the audience (Adorno, 1998, pp.206-208); here, Blake is extending it to producers as well as consumers, arguing that as the distinction is becoming more blurred copyright legislation should be revised: ‘The materials of music itself, in other words previous iterations of music in all forms, need to be made freely available’ (Blake, 2007, p.125).

David (2010, pp.156-159) suggests four alternative music business models along axes of high to low trust (or ‘legitimacy’ – whether or not people choose to pay for recordings) and high to low proximity (live or mediated music). ‘Field colonization’ (low trust/low proximity) is where artists rely on commercial sponsorship, other product tie-ins and synchronisation deals to make money, rather than purely the music. ‘Delegitimation/reterritorialization’ (low trust/high proximity) is essentially the so-called 360 deal, where live performance income is more lucrative and dependable than sales of recordings. ‘Relegitimation/deterritorialization’ (high trust/low proximity) involves self-management online and the ‘honesty box’, hoping that fans will pay despite free options. Finally, ‘reterritorialization and relegitimation’ (high trust/high proximity) is the model in which free online distribution builds a fan base for live

performances and future sales of recordings. The only one of these scenarios that may require the services of major record labels is the first. Unless a way can be found – as Lawrence Lessig hopes in the subtitle of his book *Remix* – to make ‘art and commerce thrive in the hybrid economy’ (Lessig, 2008), the traditional model is unlikely to survive. Wikström (2009) even suggests that, in the future, what will provide competition for artists will not be other artists but ‘other platforms which are able to facilitate fans’ creative expression and social interaction [...] If that is the case, is it even relevant to talk about a music industry at all?’ Wikström (2009, pp.177-178).

Anderton, Dubber and James (2013) are more cautious about predicting the future of the music industries, wanting to avoid ‘grand unified theories’ or metanarratives, arguing that because the music industries cover a wide range of practices and because many new technologies have had unanticipated consequences, the future is unforeseeable. What they prefer instead ‘is to contemplate and examine how the diversity and complexity of those music industries are altering, and then to reflect upon the meanings and implications of those changes’ (pp.204-205). This seems a reasonable approach, and the authors make three observations. The first is that ‘[t]he many and varied technologies that are changing the business and consumer practices of the music industries are creative, socially negotiated and innovative responses to the potential of digital technology and the interconnectivity of the internet’ (p.205), which suggests that users will continue to come up with new and perhaps unforeseeable ways to utilise the affordances of digital media. The second ‘is a fair assumption that any future developments for the music industries will neither be universally adopted, nor a simple case of consumers doing more of something they were already doing’ (p.205) and that new practices will supplement existing ones, though some may be

marginalised.⁵¹ The authors' final point is about the shifting of economic size from major record labels and traditional music retailers to technology companies and large retailers such as supermarkets. And 'small and innovative independent companies and entrepreneurial organizations are making the most of the upheavals, uncertainties and new opportunities that digital technologies have contributed to' (p.205) – I would also include individual musicians, many of whom are making use of social networking sites in particular in an attempt to get their work known.

Conclusion: digital optimism versus reality, and the jazz industry

Hesmondhalgh (2013) is cautious about the 'hype' surrounding digital technology, particularly in the light of what is actually happening with the recording industry. He is critical of what he calls the 'digital optimists' (such as Howard Rheingold and Nicholas Negroponte), and identifies and critiques two particular sets of claims they make: that non-professional users and audiences can have greater control and participation as a result of digitalisation and the internet; and as a result, that institutionalised professional cultural production is diminishing in influence, with a more democratic communication system than before (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p.315). Many of these commentators emerged at a time (predominantly the 1990s) when, paradoxically, 'the internet and world wide web were framed as democratising, life-enhancing forces in culture and communication, but at a time when neo-liberalism, marketisation and commodification inhibited the realisation of their emancipatory potential' (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p.314). The more recent rhetoric about 'prosumers'⁵² and 'user-generated content' has been, Hesmondhalgh argues, simplistic and reductionist: 'it remains impossible to conceive coherently of economic life without a distinction between production and consumption, though the two should obviously be seen as

⁵¹ The marginalisation of printed sheet music in the twentieth century is cited as an example, but sheet music is still widely used in the West so it is perhaps not as marginal as the authors imply.

⁵² 'Prosumer': a conflation of 'producer' and 'consumer' (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p.316).

interconnected, overlapping circuits, and the relations between them can change over time' (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p.316). As well as the 'digital divide', Hesmondhalgh (2013, pp.327-339) identifies the control of circulation by, for example, search engine companies such as Google (in which high page rankings can be bought), and the surveillance/data mining of web site users and 'free labour' of bloggers, as issues for which the 'digital optimists' do not always have satisfactory answers. Other authors such as Vaidhyanathan (2011) also worry about the commercial interests of Google (which owns YouTube):⁵³ 'The imperatives of a company that relies on fostering Web use and encouraging Web commerce for its revenue may understandably morph into a system that privileges consumption over exploration, shopping over learning, and distracting over disturbing' (Vaidhyanathan, 2011, p.12).

The recording industry, despite its diversification, has yet to find a digital distribution method that is as profitable as physical distribution was, and possibly never will. For the musician or composer, despite Longhurst's (2007, p.44) hope 'for the music industry to adapt to the new consumer and technological realities' and to compensate musicians fairly, there is a significant degree of variation of remuneration among different services and in different countries (Lindvall, 2013). Licensing fees and downloading stores are, nevertheless, providing increasing amounts of revenue and in some ways may be providing better opportunities for 'niche' music genres. Jennings (2007), a proponent of the 'long tail' theory (and therefore a digital optimist), cites the example of classical music, which 'accounts for about 3-4% of total sales of music in shops, [whereas] on the iTunes Store it accounts for 12% of sales' (Jennings, 2007, p.75). However, he acknowledges that effort and experience is required to find information about classical music: its fan economy 'becomes institutionalized, and listeners come to rely relatively more on professionals and less on

⁵³ Google bought YouTube in 2006 (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p.352).

fellow fans' (Jennings, 2007, p.77). This does not fit the thesis of the rest of his book, though he does concede that this difference 'is part of the reason why classical music is not rock 'n' roll' (Jennings, 2007, p.77). Jennings's models of fans (savants, enthusiasts, etc.) and people who engage in online discussion (originators, synthesisers and lurkers), though, are ones that may possibly be applied in a jazz context. As with many music industry theorists, Jennings is essentially considering popular music (though in his case, not necessarily 'mainstream' popular music), and though I consider jazz studies to fall within the wider remit of popular musicology (rather than traditional musicology, for the most part),⁵⁴ when it comes to the 'jazz industry' some popular music industry models may not be appropriate.

The concept of digital affordances within a media ecology approach (i.e. the affordances of technology in the 'digital age' of media) is applicable to jazz to the extent that jazz musicians, industry personnel and audiences are bound to use the affordances of digital technology to some degree in their jazz-related activities. Whether they use them in the same way that musicians, industry personnel and audiences do for mainstream popular music is another matter; how they are used, primarily by jazz audiences in the UK, is the focus of this study. The idea of a 'long tail' that benefits niche genres such as jazz seems not to have worked quite as Anderson (2004 and 2006) predicted, at least for music, and, indeed, Arditi (2013) argues that the major labels have actually increased their digital market share: 'Theoretically, file sharing put major record labels on equal ground with independent musicians [by disintermediation].'⁵⁵ By creating an easy-to-use online store [iTunes] and suing file sharers, the major record labels could once again direct consumers to a place where they held the power' (Arditi, 2013, p.15). Some of the other expectations of 'digital optimists' are also wide

⁵⁴ See Frith (2007); I believe jazz is, on the whole, a form of popular music.

⁵⁵ This is because the costs of intermediaries such as physical distribution companies are lowered (Arditi, 2013, pp.3-4).

of the mark, particularly regarding the conflict between the ‘freedom’ of the web and the interests of the commercial companies through which web users have to operate.

Within this environment, however, individual musicians, independent record labels, promoters and venues, and enthusiasts within the wider ‘jazz scene’ are able to make use of the affordances of digital media, such as the reproducibility and transferability of digital music files or the interactivity of digital communication platforms. This may be in the form of online distribution of recordings and streaming, blogging and personal web sites, or trying to engage with jazz enthusiasts using social networking sites. One such independent jazz label in the UK is Edition Records, which releases albums as CDs but also allows visitors to its web site to listen to tracks in full, buy and share them digitally and watch videos of its artists via YouTube links. This is not particularly unique to this label, which is run by pianist Dave Stapleton, but what makes it different from major labels and mainstream popular music is Stapleton’s high level of direct engagement with his audience via social media (including Facebook, Twitter and the music sharing site SoundCloud), in which he invests a significant amount of time.⁵⁶ In this respect, Wright (2013, p.17) observes that ‘Stapleton seems driven by the need to connect with the audience in ever more ingenious ways’, and Stapleton cannot be accused of not using social media effectively. The audience with which Stapleton engages could be considered to be an ‘online community’ of his customers, and the concept of online communities will be considered in the next chapter.

⁵⁶ See www.editionrecords.com for more information. Stapleton has been advised by Simon Barber of Birmingham City University, who presented a paper about this project at the Rhythm Changes conference in April 2013.

Chapter 5

Where music happens: communities and scenes

‘There was the phenomenon of the Beatles and so on, but for many people – on the jazz scene at least – it was we who were the happening thing during the late sixties and early seventies – it was we who gave the new breath’ (Chris McGregor, quoted in McGregor, 1995, p.115).

In this chapter I will evaluate recent theoretical approaches used in the study of music communities and scenes, particularly how they have developed with the growth of music scenes based around or connected via virtual networks. The study of scenes in popular music is well established, and the idea of ‘the jazz scene’ has enjoyed an enduring fascination among jazz writers for more than half a century – David Boulton, for example, wrote about the changing fortunes of the ‘modern jazz scene’ in Britain during the 1950s (Boulton, 1958, pp.87-88). The two theoretical approaches of community (from a sociological background) and scenes (as developed in popular music studies) – particularly their re-conceptualisations in the ‘digital age’ – in a jazz context will be considered in this chapter.

Communities and jazz communities

In his chapter about community and media studies, Jankowski (2006, p.55) writes about the hopes of a resurrection of communities since the early days of radio, later, television, and in particular community radio and television in the 1970s. The academic study of ‘community media’ is well established, even though, as Jankowski (2006, p.59) points out, the term ‘community’ is ill-defined sociologically, one scholar having collected as many as 94 definitions.¹ Rather than discussing traditional scholarly approaches to community I would

¹ The scholar to which he refers was George A. Hillery, who wrote about this in 1955.

like to consider recent ideas of ‘jazz community’, and ways in which theorists have conceptualised communities that can be thought of as existing in varying degrees online. For my purposes this does not include entirely virtual worlds such as Second Life;² rather, it is about communities that have grown out of existing ‘real life’ communities and therefore exist simultaneously, and maintain some connection with them. This is because jazz, while having been canonised in recordings, is a genre characterised by live performance and it seems unlikely that it could exist only in virtual form.

One of the few authors to write about community and jazz in what he calls ‘the information age’ is Prouty (2012). Though he does not define precisely what he means by ‘the information age’, it could be understood to be roughly equivalent to ‘the digital age’ (by comparison, Shipton, 2007, p.713 suggests that the information age began in the early 1970s). On the other hand, Prouty (2012, p.10) states that ‘[b]oth community and canon are products of the information age; without it, they could not exist’, so perhaps he has a rather broader conception of it. Leaving aside this ambiguity, Prouty devotes a chapter to ‘the problem with community’ to address the difficulties in defining and understanding the nature of community in jazz. He reminds us that the term ‘jazz community’ has existed in printed discourse since at least the 1950s, but in a variety of contexts and with a range of connotations. This ranges from the ‘typically adolescent’ 1950s jazz community of Margolis (1954) to Gerard’s (1998) ‘casual conflation of jazz, race, and “heroin addict communities”’, as Prouty (2012, p.18) describes it.

In formulating his approach to jazz community Prouty considers a number of models, including: Merriam and Mack’s (1960) definition of jazz community in terms of jazz as an

² For more on the virtual world Second Life see Boellstorff *et al.* (2012, pp.9-10).

occupation; McMillan and Chavis's (1986) concept of a 'sense of community' fostered by, among other things, membership and a shared emotional connection; and Becker's (1982) 'art worlds'. Prouty, with justification, criticises Merriam and Mack for their assumptions that, one, professional musicians are the most important members of the jazz community and, two, audience members identify with their occupational role in an intense manner. Merriam and Mack also thought of the jazz community as consisting of cultural outsiders on the margins of society.³ McMillan and Chavis's general but more inclusive idea of a 'sense of community' provides a model that can be applied to jazz, such as jazz terminology being a 'common symbol system', a feature of membership that helps create a 'sense of community' – although, of course, jazz terminology can equally be *exclusionary* to the uninitiated (Prouty, 2012, p.37). Prouty also draws on Anderson's (1991) idea of 'imagined communities', his reasoning being that '[a] particular feature of broadly defined jazz communities is that the members of the community often have little actual interaction' (Prouty, 2012, p.27), Anderson calling his communities 'imagined' 'because the members [...] will never know most of their fellow-members' (Anderson, 1991, p.6). This is less likely to be true of jazz communities at a local level, however, jazz being a relative minority interest.

Moving on to Becker's model, the 'art world' is defined by Becker 'to denote the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for' (Becker, 1982, p.x). While referring to art in general, Becker includes jazz in many of his examples to illustrate his argument, and, indeed, acknowledges that his experience as a jazz pianist has helped form his thinking (Becker, 1982, p.ix). Martin (2005, p.10) suggests that, for jazz, '[t]he concept of the art world is particularly appropriate in that it deliberately includes not only players, but

³ Merriam and Mack (1960, p.211). See Martin (2005) for a critique of this idea.

audience members, promoters, journalists, educators, agents, record producers, and so on'. He argues that, rather than seeing the jazz community as some sort of 'deviant subculture', 'it is more useful to think in terms of a "community of interest", and to understand the jazz scene as [...] an "art world"' (Martin, 2005, p.10). Prouty agrees with this general analysis but finds that in Becker's work 'the dynamics of relationships *between* members of the audience are conspicuously absent' (Prouty, 2012, p.34, emphasis in original). After stating his case, Prouty settles on a 'community of practice' model (in which members actively engage in a practice)⁴ based on the shared interest of *listening to jazz*, particularly recordings, as the wider jazz community can then include the audience as a group of actively participating members. Of course, within this wider community we can – as Prouty does – think of distinct communities such as those of jazz education or academic research.

As an overarching model, communities of practice may represent something more appropriate than previous ideas. As Martin (2005, p.8) points out, though, Merriam and Mack recognised, even in 1960, that the 'jazz community' is a complex entity: 'We use the term community here not to denote a group with a geographic locus, but in the sense of a community of interest; what is implied by the word is that the people described here share a set of norms which in turn define roles for them' (Merriam and Mack, 1960, p.211). Although Prouty feels that the 'community of interest' model does not give the same sense of agency among members as the 'active engagement in the field, beyond simple interest' (Prouty, 2012, p.39) that 'community of practice' possibly does, Martin makes the observation that Merriam and Mack's definition of 'community of interest' has another significance: 'To use a more contemporary metaphor, the jazz world may be understood as a "virtual" rather than an "actual" community, in the sense that people feel a sense of belonging to it, and may derive

⁴ This concept draws on the field of 'cognitive anthropology, particularly the work of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger' (Prouty 2012, p.39); see www.ewenger.com/theory for more on 'communities of practice'.

their sense of personal identity form it, irrespective of their physical location' (Martin, 2005, p.8). 'Virtual communities' will be discussed below, but Prouty is perhaps a little dismissive of both art worlds and communities of interest. Though it may be partly due to 'the rather unsystematic' (Martin, 2005, p.6) methodological approach of authors such as Becker, Becker does acknowledge that '[w]e know little about how critical assessments of art are passed around among various audience segments' (Becker, 1982, p.55), which may explain his model's lack of insight into intra-audience dynamics. Martin suggests that in a community of interest, the community 'represents a potential source of identification for individuals, and one which can offer them considerable benefits and satisfactions' (Martin, 2005, p.9). Furthermore, I would suggest that it does not require a great deal of active involvement (as Prouty implies it does) to be part of a jazz community.

'Virtual' communities

'Virtual communities' are defined by Rheingold (2000, p.xx) as 'social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on [...] public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace'.⁵ Jankowski (2006, p.62) makes the point that, unlike their traditional counterparts, virtual communities are not usually geographically based, and that they can be described, in a way Stone (1991, p.85) suggested, as 'incontrovertibly social spaces in which people still meet face-to-face, but under new definitions of both "meet" and "face"'. In their definition of virtual community, Fernback and Thompson (1995, n.p.) further nuance such a cyberspace relationship as 'forged through repeated contact within a specified boundary or place (e.g. a conference or chat line) that is symbolically delineated by topic of interest'. van Dijk (1998, pp.44-45) compares virtual communities with real-life (what he calls 'organic') communities, an example of their

⁵ Kozinets (2010, pp.8-9) examines Rheingold's definition in more detail.

differences being that while an organic community tends to have a tight age group and several activities, a virtual community has loose affiliation and special activities (such as a specific musical interest). However, he concludes that virtual communities ‘will not *replace* organic communities and ways of sociability, they will be *in addition to them*, build on them and possibly strengthen them’ (van Dijk 1998, p.60, emphasis in original).

Bennett (2004a) writes about contentious existence of virtual communities, citing arguments about the digital divide and ‘that the question of individual commitment is a key problematic in the realization of virtual communities’ (Bennett, 2004a, p.164). He points out that such questions reflect the problems of defining conventional communities:

Through their implied notion of community as a fixed and ‘stable’ collective, reliant upon, for example, regular face-to-face interaction and shared local experience – as opposed to the allegedly fleeting and unstable nature of interactions on the Internet – [studies of virtual communities] fail to acknowledge the increasingly romantic nature of such interpretations of community (Bennett, 2004a, p.165).

Bennett suggests that virtual interactions can be thought of as continuations of ‘offline’ ones rather than completely separate communities, which is, in my experience, the way in which many people use social networking sites. For the ‘youth culture’ subject of Bennett’s chapter, he theorises: ‘Rather than viewing the Internet as a “cultural”, or “subcultural” context, it is perhaps better conceptualized as a cultural resource appropriated within a pre-existing cultural context, and used as a means of engaging symbolically with and/or negotiating that context’ (Bennett, 2004a, p.165). Similarly, Miller and Slater (2000) approach their ethnographic study of Trinidadian internet users with the view ‘that we need to treat Internet media as continuous with and embedded in other social spaces, that they happen within mundane social structures and relations that they may transform but that they cannot escape into a self-enclosed cyberian apartness’ (Miller and Slater, 2000, p.5). Though this theoretical position would not be

appropriate for studying complete ‘virtual worlds’ such as Second Life it would seem to be suitable for many forms of ‘virtual communities’.

It should be noted that since these early conceptions of such communities, ‘online’ rather than ‘virtual’ community seems to have become the preferred term for this type of community, as people can form ‘real’ relationships (rather than simply virtual ones) with one another (see Salavuo 2006, p.254).⁶ Salavuo describes online music communities as functioning partly as ‘*knowledge communities*, since they include members with a wide range of expertise who are seeking and sharing knowledge’ (Salavuo, 2006, p.256, emphasis in original), and Wellman (2001) writes about such shared-interest networks as transforming ‘*cyberspace* into *cyberplaces*’ (Wellman, 2001, p.229, emphasis in original). Online activity between members of an audience is a characteristic of what Napoli (2008) calls ‘audience autonomy’, which, he argues, increases ‘the extent to which audiences have control over the process of media consumption’ (Napoli, 2008, p.23). For music, this has been possible not only because of MP3 technology but also the way in which internet users can form their own networks of people with a shared interest, using digital technology. Baym (2010) suggests that such online communities have a ‘sense of space, shared practice, shared resources and support, shared identities, and interpersonal relationships’ (Baym, 2010, p.75). Baym is careful to stress that these are ‘qualities found in both online groups and many definitions of community that make the term resonate for online contexts’ (Baym, 2010, p.75) but by doing so risks Bennett’s ‘romanticisation’ of ‘community’. Perhaps part of the difficulty is in deciding what counts as an online community – what about wikis and discussion boards?

⁶ For more on online communities from a new media studies perspective see Lister *et al.* (2003, pp.172-176).

Online music discussions: a 'sense of community'?

Prouty (2012, pp. 115-150) devotes a chapter the 'the virtual jazz world', focusing on two platforms that could be said to form 'communities', Wikipedia and message boards. He describes the 'intense debate' – indeed, 'flame war' – between two editors of the Wikipedia entry on 'jazz', who differed in their approach to historiography in terms of the importance of the African-American contribution to early jazz. As Prouty points out, these debates are not new within jazz communities, but:

The difference here is that these debates are not just being played out by professional critics and scholars in the pages of major jazz publications; they are conducted by everyday people with an interest in the music and a desire to contribute to the fostering of jazz knowledge. Are they 'citizen scholars,' whose role is to wrest jazz from academic and critical discourses? Or are they just people who have listened to a few jazz records and have too much time on their hands? Both of these are represented in the Wikipedia community; sorting out who's who is the problem (Prouty, 2012, p.129).

As for discussion boards, Prouty cites case studies from All About Jazz, the Organissimo Jazz Discussion Forum and the 'Speakeasy' on the web site JazzCorner, and describes them as 'relatively harmonious places [...] Occasionally conflicts arise on the boards that become contentious, and it is at these times that message boards reveal their full potential as sites of community formation and maintenance, of contesting and negotiating knowledge' (Prouty, 2012, pp.131-132).

In his discussion of these platforms, Prouty does not engage with theoretical models as much as he does elsewhere, and his case studies do not demonstrate a particularly strong 'sense of community' in spite of his observation above regarding contentious discussions. Indeed, in one example of a heated exchange about Wynton Marsalis, he asks: 'Do users like [two particularly antagonistic posters] see themselves as part of the same community?' (Prouty, 2012, p.141). This seems to raise the question of whether this is really a 'community' at all, though he suggests that '[p]erhaps the experience of participating in such debates is really

what this community is all about' (Prouty, 2012, p.141), and later describes these platforms as providing 'an avenue for jazz fans to speak for themselves, to construct their own communities, in which they can exchange, debate, and generate what it is that they know, or think they know, about the music, its history, and its practice' (Prouty, 2012, p.145). I am still not convinced that people contributing to online discussions are forming sufficiently strong relationships to be described as communities, particularly according to Rheingold's (2000) definition above.

Such online discussions about music could instead be regarded as digital versions of 'old media' communications. Audience feedback has long been possible with traditional media – one only has to think of radio listeners writing to or calling DJs about records they have played – but with digital technology there are now many easy and inexpensive ways to communicate. Programme makers appear increasingly to be encouraging listeners to contact them with their comments. In an example from BBC Radio 3's contemporary jazz programme *Jazz on 3* (2012) the presenter Jez Nelson, following the broadcast of a performance by the controversial artist Robert Glasper, received many comments – some positive but most, it seems, negative – about Glasper. He decided to set up a 'rant line' for people to call, and broadcast some of the messages he received. After listening to the programme I looked for online discussions about Glasper, particularly concerning his appearance on BBC radio.

What is noteworthy is that most of the *online* posts I found about Glasper were positive and enthusiastic about his music, reflected in the success of his 2012 UK tours. However, I did come across a short conversation on the Organissimo discussion board that represented more mixed views. It was initiated by A Lark Ascending, who alerted the group that Glasper was due to be interviewed by BBC radio for a news programme (previous to the *Jazz on 3*

broadcast referred to above), and that: ‘We are promised Robert Glasper talking about how he intends to shake up the world of jazz [...] Oh, the power of marketing’. This received a reply from Clunky, who said Glasper ‘is a nice chap and came across very well, he also denied he was the future of jazz and didn't strike me as egotistical at all. I even started enjoying the music, but it's not jazz’. This prompted a lengthy reaction from A Lark Ascending, which began: ‘The snippets I heard aren't what appeals to me - in fact the sort of thing I run a mile from generally. Whether it's jazz or not doesn't really bother me. And, yes, he did deny his Messiah status’. The post ended: ‘I don't imagine jazz will ever be at the cutting edge of popular culture again - but I suspect it will tick along quite nicely doing things in a variety of ways both verging on the popular and deliberately seeking something other. And the industry will try and turn someone else - willingly or otherwise - into the “sound of now” before too long’. Another group member asked of jazz, ‘Can it stay on, as a classical music?’ to which A Lark Ascending replied: ‘Outside the world of the academic and professional critic I don't think listeners are all that bothered. They just want music they can enjoy, be absorbed and excited by. If Robert Glasper does that to some listeners, then that's what matters rather than if he “shakes up” jazz or not. Holds true of “classical” too’. What this discussion illustrates is the way in which some people with a shared interest use technology to freely express their opinions, seemingly bypassing traditional gatekeepers such as the BBC and the music industry (though many online discussion forums are moderated).

From online communities to scenes to ‘virtual scenes’

As people's exchange of information about music increasingly occurs via the internet, the study of online communities of fans (and musicians) will become increasingly important to music scholars. Indeed, a survey of musicians was carried out by the Pew Internet and American Life Project (Madden, 2004) which was, by its own admission, ‘self-selecting and

non-projectable onto the general population of musicians' (p.ii). Among its findings were: that musicians 'use the internet to gain inspiration, build community with fans and fellow artists, and pursue new commercial activity' (p.ii); that 'the vast majority do not see online file-sharing as a big threat to creative industries' (p.ii); and that 'like most internet users, online artists are also active consumers of media content online' (p.vii). However, academic research into online communities of music enthusiasts in general (and jazz fans in particular), appears to be in its infancy. Sociological studies have been made: for instance, Baym (2008) has observed the extent to which users of music streaming and social networking site Last.fm form lasting relationships, Salavuo (2006) has made a study of online forums for informal music education, and Partti and Karlsen (2010) have investigated an 'online music community' in a similar informal education context.⁷ However, audience activity has not been the principal object of research in these cases.

A more relevant example is that of Wall and Dubber (2009), on online communities of fans of 'specialist' music, including jazz. 'Specialist music' is a term used by the BBC and is 'music which appeals to specific groups of listeners – focusing on a specific genre of music or on cutting-edge music from a range of genres (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.28). Although this research is intended to uncover the implications of online fan community development for specialist BBC music programming, it may also have relevance for understanding audience activities using online media. The authors state that the public service remit governing the BBC's specialist music broadcasting is based on 'cultural uplift' and scarcity, but suggest that '[t]he emergence of new distribution technologies based on the Internet, the way that interaction is engineered into them, and the way that communities have been built around them require a new analysis' (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.29). They point out that one of the

⁷ Salavuo (2006) and Partti and Karlsen (2010) also refer to the 'community of practice' model, which is perhaps more relevant in these educational contexts than for audiences in general.

issues is that ‘scarcity has been superseded by ubiquity’ (p.29): that the availability of virtually all commercially recorded music online should provide an opportunity for specialist music such as jazz to be discovered by a new audience without the help of public service broadcasters (or, for that matter, the record industry). Indeed, Kusek and Leonhard (2005) believe that ‘[t]he Internet, and digital networks in general, are starting to flip the niche genres from the bottom to the top’ (Kusek and Leonhard, 2005, p.7). If we think of jazz as a ‘niche’ genre, this would imply that jazz will not be niche for much longer, but this does not yet appear to be the case; as discussed in the previous chapter, the situation does not appear as straightforward as Kusek and Leonhard suggest.

Wall and Dubber’s study of the online activities of specialist music fans has produced some findings that are instructive. The interactivity of digital media (largely in the form of discussion boards and blogs) is an essential feature: ‘Central to the Internet’s infrastructure is the interactive nature of the activities it allows and enables. This is an extension of fan culture, which [...] is most often built around activities of sharing and the formation of fan communities’ (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.36). In Wall and Dubber’s survey, blogs and discussion boards, along with dedicated web site pages, were principal means of communication, used with online radio stations and other music streaming sites. These findings point towards online fan activity encompassing more than simply downloading; discussions and blogs tend to contain links to ‘highly branded’ legal sites such as YouTube (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.36). The interlinking of different online platforms by members of online fan communities is described by Baym (2007) as ‘convergence culture’, in which ‘fans [...] have increasing influence in shaping the phenomena around which they organize’ Baym, 2007, n.p.). This social, communal aspect of such an otherwise individual activity reflects the democratic nature of online activity and music fandom in general, particularly evident in the

‘folksonomy’ of recordings that takes place on Last.fm and other networks. However, this is not to imply that there is no hierarchy within such online communities; on the contrary, Wall and Dubber found that ‘there exists an unofficial and fluid hierarchy of esteem and prestige, ordered around knowledge and around the provision of access to music’ (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.37). At the top are the ‘savants’ to whom less knowledgeable fans refer for guidance, but as Salavuo (2006) points out, as in face-to-face communities, ‘an implicit or explicit status is *earned*’ (Salavuo, 2006, p.255, emphasis added).

As a subject of academic discourse within popular music, scenes were introduced by Straw (1991), from an idea suggested by Shank (1988), who ‘pointed to the usefulness of a notion of “scene” in accounting for the relationship between different musical practices unfolding within a given geographical space’ (Straw, 1991, p.373). This foregrounds the sense of a scene being situated around a physical place, but Straw continues:

As a point of departure, one may posit a musical scene as distinct, in significant ways, from older notions of a musical community. The latter presumes a population group whose composition is relatively stable [...] and whose involvement in music takes the form of an ongoing exploration of one or more musical idioms said to be rooted within a geographically specific historical heritage. A musical scene, in contrast, is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization (Straw, 1991, p.373).

In a more recent paper, Straw (2006) defends his continued use of the term ‘scene’, as it ‘is usefully flexible and anti-essentializing [...] For those who study popular music, “scene” has the capacity to disengage phenomena from the more fixed and theoretically troubled unities of class or subculture [...] [and] seems able to evoke both the cozy intimacy of community and the fluid cosmopolitanism of urban life’ (Straw, 2006, p.6). Peterson and Bennett (2004) explain that ‘[w]ork in the scenes perspective focuses on situations where performers, support facilities, and fans come together to collectively create music for their own enjoyment’ (Peterson and Bennett, 2004, p.3). They reject the term ‘subculture’ in this context (which has

in recent years become less relevant to popular music since Dick Hebdige's influential book on the subject was published in 1979) partly because 'identities are increasingly fluid and interchangeable' (Peterson and Bennett, 2004, p.3).⁸

Bennett (2004c) suggests that, as well as Straw arguing 'that scenes may be both local and trans-local phenomena' (Bennett, 2004c, p.225), scene membership may include a range of class, gender and ethnic categories, and 'scene encompasses a much more diverse range of sensibilities and practices than subculture, or indeed, other popular alternative terminologies to subculture' (Bennett, 2004c, p.225).⁹ Several theorists have critiqued the slightly imprecise nature of Straw's definition of 'scene' such as Krims (2009), and Hesmondhalgh (2005), who suggests that although Straw takes account of 'the politics of cosmopolitanism' many popular music scholars have since used the term 'to invoke a notion of the musical [...] practices occurring within a particular geographical space' (Hesmondhalgh, 2005, p.29). Nevertheless, I think the term is useful, particularly in the way it has been adopted by Peterson and Bennett because of their application of it in translocal and virtual contexts, as that is the nature of my current research, and these contexts avoid the implied geographical restrictions of 'scene'. Indeed, Straw refers to the way that the scenes perspective 'functions to designate face-to-face sociability and as a lazy synonym for globalized virtual communities of taste' (2006, p.6). This duality of 'scene' is significant, although I accept Longhurst's (2007) warning that this wider remit 'may reduce the specificity of the concept itself and make it descriptive rather than analytical' (Longhurst, 2007, p.253).

⁸ In Hebdige's (1979) thesis, there is a 'homology' between musical style and personal style and identity. Interestingly, Bennett (2004a) concedes that '[d]etached from the meanings inscribed by sociologists, subculture has become an increasingly reflexive and arbitrary term, both in its use by the mass media and, as a direct consequence of this, by young people themselves' (Bennett, 2004a, pp.167-168).

⁹ The alternatives Bennett mentions are 'post-subculture' and 'neo-tribe', 'which refer largely to sensibilities of music consumption and the possibilities for the construction of identity that emerge from this (Bennett, 2004c, pp.225-226).

As mentioned above, Peterson and Bennett apply the scenes perspective in an electronic context to produce what they call ‘virtual scenes’, though a ‘virtual scene’ may still be centred around a geographical one. Connell and Gibson (2003) observe that the internet has enabled the connection of geographically disparate parallel scenes, separating ‘the notion of scene from locality (although scenes continue to rely on fixed infrastructures within localities for their survival)’ (Connell and Gibson, 2003, p.107). Virtual scenes and online communities can be regarded as very similar things – and indeed, Peterson and Bennett state that one virtual scene in their book ‘illustrates a virtual community whose focus is the nostalgia for rock associated with a particular English city’ (Peterson and Bennett, 2004, p.11)¹⁰ – but there is a music-specific implication to the term ‘scene’ that I think ‘community’ lacks. As Peterson and Bennett point out:

Whereas a conventional local scene is kept in motion by a series of gigs, club nights, fairs, and similar events where fans converge, communicate, and reinforce their sense of belonging to a particular scene, the virtual scene involves direct Net-mediated person-to-person communication between fans, and the scene is therefore much more nearly in the control of fans (Peterson and Bennett, 2004, p.11).

‘Virtual diasporas’

An interesting alternative approach is taken by Pinard and Jacobs (2006) in their study of two ‘alternative hip-hop’ fan sites, questioning the assumptions that, first, ‘cybercommunities coalesce around “shared interests and backgrounds”’, and second, ‘[r]ace and ethnicity, in particular, are seen as the primary “ties that bind an [online] community together”’ (Pinard and Jacobs, 2006, p.84). They refer to what they call ‘virtual diaspora’ communities, ‘constructed according to their (symbolic) marginalization as a result of their cultural, ethnic, and most importantly, musical orientations’ (Pinard and Jacobs, 2006, p.84) (in this case within the broader genre of hip-hop). Drawing on Bourdieu, Pinard and Jacobs (2006, p.84)

¹⁰ They are referring here to Bennett’s (2004b) chapter about ‘the Canterbury sound’.

‘conceptualize virtual diasporic communities as spaces or fields in which social agents struggle for more autonomy over their cultural production’. They also refer to Anderson’s (1991) concept of the ‘imagined community’, finding that members of virtual diasporas ‘are consciously aware of their “imagined” nature’ (Pinard and Jacobs, 2006, p.84), in that, despite the fact that most will never meet face to face, they share a strong connection with the music. While I agree that the connection with music is an important – probably the most important – reason for people to be members of a genre-related online group, and the concept of ‘virtual diaspora’ is an intriguing one, it is not entirely appropriate for the purposes of my research in this thesis.

Jazz scenes

The notion of music scenes in journalism and popular discourse has existed for some time, and as Krims (2009) points out, the informal use but loaded meaning of ‘the scene’ by fans ‘may, in retrospect, have been something of a liability’ (Krims, 2009, p.399), something Hesmondhalgh (2005, p.29) also believes could be a disadvantage for theorists. Indeed, in journalism it has its roots in jazz writing in the 1940s (Peterson and Bennett, 2004, p.2), and an example of the imprecise nature of the term as applied to jazz can be found in the preface by W. Royal Stokes to his (1991) book *The Jazz Scene*: ‘The book is really a sort of odyssey through almost a century of jazz, our heroes being the musicians who traveled the highways and byways, grew up in myriad hamlets, and resided in the main centers of jazz activity’ (Stokes, 1991, p.v). This covers a large historical span and there is a translocal aspect to Stokes’s ‘jazz scene’, particularly as there is a chapter devoted to ‘jazz around the world’ and another called ‘the contemporary scene’.¹¹ Similarly, Eric Hobsbawm, in the introduction to the 1989 edition of his book (originally published in 1959 and updated in 1961), also titled

¹¹ This reminds me of my undergraduate days at Leeds College of Music, where our final year dissertation had to be on some aspect of ‘the contemporary scene’, which may seem vague but I think most of us had essentially the same idea of what it meant.

The Jazz Scene, explains that ‘even in 1960 it was not the object of *The Jazz Scene* to provide a survey of the scene at the time’ (Hobsbawm, 1989, p.viii). It was, rather, to give a ‘historical perspective’ to the music and ‘to provide a general introduction to jazz for the generation of fans and sympathizers which had discovered it in the 1950s, and for the educated and “cultured” readers in general, who were just then becoming aware that they ought to know something about it’ (Hobsbawm, 1989, p.viii). The use of ‘the jazz scene’ as the title of both these books perhaps owes as much to its marketing appeal as to what ‘the jazz scene’ actually means.

Another example of the use of ‘scene’ in a historical jazz context is Wickes’s (1999) survey of British jazz innovators between 1960 and 1980, in which the final chapter is about ‘the youngest musicians emerging onto the British jazz scene at the end of the 1970s’ Wickes, 1999, p.316). Again, in this book there is an unstated but fair assumption that the reader knows what is meant by the word ‘scene’. The scene in this case is more geographically bound, particularly in this chapter, to England, and mostly London, which has arguably been the locus for British jazz innovation until relatively recently. There is even an implied sense of emerging cultural identity for black British jazz musicians in London in the quoted extract from a Courtney Pine interview that ends the book: ‘I think there will be a black British style because a lot of guys getting into it here come from the reggae thing or the calypso thing, which is very different from the New York musicians. A sound will evolve – if the music is given a chance’ (Pine, quoted in Wickes, 1999, p.325).

Academic authors have also used ‘the jazz scene’ in a wider context, such as Inglis’s (2009) study of ‘the jazz scene in postwar Britain’, in which he states that:

The cumulative effect of these three issues – the status of jazz, the geography of jazz and the politics of jazz – was to produce, in postwar Britain, a musical site or scene that was distinguished by a high degree of self-segregation, a specialist musical

knowledge, a tacit refusal to acknowledge the validity of conventional cultural (including racial) barriers and an acute sense of collective membership (Inglis, 2009, pp.385-386).

Another approach is taken by Lopes (2002), who applies Becker's concept of the 'art world' to jazz in America. As well as artists, Lopes's jazz art world 'included record producers, concert producers, club owners, music critics, magazine publishers, and diverse audiences [...] So while artists brought their own meanings and practices to bear on jazz music, others joined them in fashioning the meaning, practice, and success of jazz as an art form' (Lopes, 2002, p.2). Becker, being a jazz musician himself, has written (2004) about development of the music in American locations, where '[t]he place made the musical opportunity', his argument being 'where jazz players perform affects what they perform' (Becker, 2004, p.19). Here he cites examples such as the multiplicity of clubs in Kansas City during the 1930s and the exploitation of the West Coast college circuit by the Brubeck Quartet in the 1950s, the different purposes, settings and audience expectations shaping musical innovation in different ways. The term 'scene' is implied (and, indeed, used) here as Becker's paper is reprinted in Bennett and Peterson's (2004) edited collection about music scenes.

Conclusion: communities, scenes and digital media

Despite the academic debates around 'communities' and 'scenes' in recent years there remains ambiguity and disagreement about the uses and theorisations of these terms. When it comes to the appropriation of 'community' for digital networks, scholars who have done much research in this area such as Baym are 'reluctant to drop the term altogether' (Baym, 2010, p.75), and it is readily used by those studying online fan behaviour – Wall and Dubber (2009, p.27) write about 'the development of online fan communities'. Prouty (2012) has considered various approaches to 'community', deciding to apply the 'community of practice' model in various jazz contexts, but has neglected theorisations of online community in his

discussion of the ‘virtual jazz world’, and his case studies seem to show a certain lack of the ‘sense of community’ he finds elsewhere in the ‘real world’ of jazz. Baym (2010, pp.90-91) makes a distinction between ‘traditional’ online platforms such as message boards and discussion groups (where messages are seen by all group members), and a ‘Web 2.0’ approach that Baym calls ‘*networked collectivism*, meaning that groups of people now network throughout the internet and related mobile media, creating a shared but distributed group identity’ (Baym, 2010, p.91, emphasis in original). Though she still uses the term ‘community’, Baym feels that the characteristics of offline communities that are shared by online ones (the metaphor of space, shared practices, etc.) are not as easily identifiable in these new networks: ‘This development has empowered members of these communities to share more kinds of media with one another, and to interact in a wider variety of ways, but also challenges many of the qualities that can make these groups cohere into something more than the sum of their parts’ (Baym, 2010, p.91).

The concept of ‘scene’ has a musical resonance, but can be no less problematic than ‘community’ – even for popular music and youth studies Hesmondhalgh (2005, p.30) finds that ‘the term [scene] has been used for too long in too many different and imprecise ways’. However, Peterson and Bennett (2004) go some way to addressing this (regarding geographical boundaries at least) by thinking of scenes as being local, translocal or virtual, and as far as jazz is concerned, it may be useful for my thesis to consider jazz in Britain in these ways. The wide use of terminology by music enthusiasts is not helpful in deciding on a theoretical approach; both ‘community’ and ‘scene’ have widely-held connotations, and even academic authors sometimes use a mixture of terms (albeit in inverted commas in this example): Martin and Parsonage (2008, p.33) suggest that ‘the jazz “scene” can only be described as highly fragmented’, later stating that ‘the British jazz “community” at the

beginning of the 21st century is in fact fragmented into various different stylistic groupings' (Martin and Parsonage, 2008, p.42). The alternative concept of 'art world' may help avoid such mixed terminology and, as Martin (2005) argues, suits jazz well, and 'allows us not only to view "the scene" from a sociological perspective, but also to penetrate to the heart of the jazz aesthetic – to understand how, in improvisation, individual inspiration and established conventions, spontaneity and organisation, the individual and the social, can be reconciled' (Martin, 2005, p.11). On the other hand, Prouty's point that the art world model does not take account of communications between audience members is a valid one, but only because at the time Becker developed his theory there was no easy way of investigating such interaction, and indeed he called for a study that might reveal this (Becker, 1982, p.55).

Overall, then, the scenes perspective – in its more focused application in local, translocal and virtual contexts by Peterson and Bennett – is my preferred approach. However, the idea of community, particularly in the forms of 'community of interest' and 'online community' have their place as well; there is a variation of 'online community' that I have considered in the research methods chapter. For music purposes, an 'online community' should perhaps be thought of as an extension (made possible by the affordances of digital media) of, rather than replacement for, a 'real life' community of musicians, fans, members of the music industry and venues. Emphasising the community aspect of digital media, Jenkins (2006) suggests that '[r]ather than talking about personal media, perhaps we should be talking about communal media – media that become part of our lives as members of communities, whether experienced face-to-face at the most local level or over the Net' (Jenkins, 2006, p.245). The connection between online and 'real' life is similarly made by Cooley *et al.* (2008): 'The Internet [...] is a socially embedded phenomenon; the virtuality of the Internet is not separated from reality' (Cooley *et al.*, 2008, p.91).

Local jazz scenes in the UK, offline and online

Returning to the scenes perspective, Lee and Peterson (2004, p.202) suggest that, as with the community commentators quoted above, '[p]erhaps the virtual scene that remained entirely virtual could not endure'. To illustrate this aspect of 'real' scenes being supported (rather than replaced) by online activity, I will end this chapter with two further examples involving British jazz scenes. If digital media is used in an appropriate way it may be effective in supporting local scenes, and anecdotal evidence from the creator of the London Jazz News blog site, Sebastian Scotney, indicates that this is the case in London.¹² He describes the weekly e-mail newsletter as being 'the real success', going to 3000 subscribers around the world, and states that:

- It demonstrates QED the depth and vibrancy of the scene in London every day of the year
- It aggregates the site's content and orders it for the benefit of the reader, people tell me they find that useful
- It aggregates and always acknowledges the source of interesting content from elsewhere
- It has the capacity to serve as a promotional tool
- It is up-to-date regular and habit-forming
- People tell me it is a model of good practice
- Several promoters and musicians have regularly told me it makes a difference to increasing audiences (Scotney, 2013).¹³

As I suggested in the chapter on jazz in the UK, since at least the 1960s London has been seen as having a vibrant jazz scene and this view is evidently still held by Scotney. Despite the large size of the city, if we consider this scene as being local but not style-specific (though much of the music promoted via the web site could be broadly described as contemporary

¹² See www.londonjazznews.com for more information.

¹³ Personal e-mail communication, 10 September 2013. The full text can be found in appendix F.

jazz) it appears, at least anecdotally, to be positively impacted by the existence of Scotney's weekly e-mail posting and the site itself (to which readers are redirected via embedded hyperlinks). The web site operates essentially as a blog site for which Scotney is an editor, uploading content supplied to him by contributors as well as contributing his own material, the newsletter drawing attention to the latest items. As well as material contributed by musicians, promoters and reviewers, there is another, more direct opportunity for interactivity whereby visitors may comment on blog posts – in these ways, the blog site and e-mail distribution could be considered, together, a 'virtual scene' based on the London jazz scene. The existence of this scene is dependent on that of the local scene, and audience support of the local scene appears to be improved by its existence. However, according to Peterson and Bennett's (2004, p.11) conception of a 'virtual scene' being distinct from a 'conventional local scene' based around live music (and, by implication, *not* involving live performance to any extent) the London Jazz News site is not really a 'virtual scene'.

My second example is the 'Gypsy jazz uk' Facebook group recently started by a Django Reinhardt fan.¹⁴ Social networking groups are often made up of people that have been invited to join by existing members, who know them offline, which appears to be the case here. The group's membership is mainly UK-based but also includes Reinhardt enthusiasts from elsewhere in Europe. Apart from YouTube links to gypsy jazz recordings, photos and other fan-related material, members advertise their own gigs, festivals, recordings, local fan clubs, jam sessions and so on – in short, the activities in which they participate in 'real life' in various parts of Britain. Insofar as social network groups with invited members engender some 'sense of community', 'Gypsy jazz uk' could be described as having a sense of community. It is not based around events in one specific location – a local scene – so does not

¹⁴ The 'Gypsy jazz uk' group was created by Stewart Rowles on 18 July 2012.

have the sense of locality of London Jazz News, but it is much more style-specific (even though Reinhardt's gypsy jazz style is more French than British). Does that mean, then, that it is merely a way of connecting and supporting a group of local gypsy jazz scenes? Being a form of social media where members may post material without being moderated there is more obvious informal interactive communication than in Scotney's edited blog site, but both serve to provide virtual extensions to local (or translocal) jazz scenes, and people decide to what extent they wish to participate. As Baym (2010, p.98) points out, 'new media do not offer inauthentic simulations that detract from or substitute for real engagement'.

Semi-virtual scenes

Local jazz scenes in the UK are traditionally formed around geographically-based 'grassroots' activities in small venues (often pubs) putting on regular gigs, medium to large sized theatre and concert hall performances that may be more occasional, and annual festivals (ACE, 1995). Festivals make an important contribution to local jazz scenes and festival culture in general has become an increasingly significant and successful part of musical culture in Britain, partly because of their 'congregationist' effect of bringing like-minded fan communities together (McKay, 2010). The local scenes in urban areas have continued to survive and even thrive throughout recent changing economic times, largely due to the work of volunteers (Hodgkins, 2010). Digital technology in the form of web sites, e-mail and social networking is now available for promoters, venues and musicians to use much more cheaply – and potentially far more effectively – than traditional methods such as postal mailing lists and advertising in print media. At the same time, the corporate music industry has also been able to utilise this technology to market its stars (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, pp.346-348), and the potential of digital media to facilitate the maintenance of grassroots jazz scenes may be limited by the expertise of amateur promoters trying to be visible in a very crowded virtual

world. The impact of this visibility is something Scotney claims his newsletter and blog site are successful in making, but it is very difficult to measure with any degree of accuracy.

‘Virtual scenes’ are considered by Peterson and Bennett (2004, p.10) to exist so that ‘virtual scene participants around the world come together in a single scene-making conversation via the Internet’, rather than being based on music activities taking place in particular geographical areas. The groups of online jazz enthusiasts discussed above – contributors and subscribers to London Jazz News and ‘Gypsy jazz uk’ – are therefore not ‘virtual scenes’ under Peterson and Bennett’s definition as there is a degree of mutual dependency between the online and offline activities of their members. I therefore put forward a further categorisation: the ‘semi-virtual scene’, which exists online but also intersects with a local or translocal scene by providing a forum for members to publicise and discuss their activities in the ‘real’ scene, as well as allowing the sharing of views, information and music in the way that a fully ‘virtual scene’ does. The semi-virtual scene has a mutually supportive role with its local or translocal scene: the online group will have been created by and consist of people who are involved (in varying degrees) with the performance-based scene and many members may already know one another, and the opportunity for contributors to publicise a live event via this online forum may help increase attendance at that event. London Jazz News and the ‘Gypsy jazz uk’ group, then, are examples of semi-virtual scenes, which exist in symbiotic relationships with, respectively, the wider London jazz scene and the translocal genre-based gypsy jazz scene.

Chapter 6

Festivals and fans: sampling jazz audiences

‘I follow Soweto Kinch and Russell Gunn on Twitter, however, they don’t say much!’
(anonymous online respondent, 2011).

In this chapter I will investigate aspects of jazz audiences in the UK. I have conducted ‘snapshot’ surveys at two British jazz festivals and interviewed the directors of each festival, and I will present this original survey work in this chapter and also draw on existing data, which come from secondary sources such as the findings of published research commissioned by Jazz Services and other organisations.¹ Festivals were chosen because of their significance in the wider jazz scene and the way in which they represent the ‘congregationist imperative’ to which McKay (2010) refers when he argues that ‘[t]he desire for community through culture and congregation is [...] evident in Britain in the phenomenal success and expansion of festival culture in recent years’ (McKay, 2010, p.47). This could be perceived as the antithesis of purely mediated consumption, as McKay suggests when he describes such congregationist aspects of festivals as ‘sociocultural responses to the perceived atomizing effects of the technologies of the digital era’ (McKay, 2010, p.47), but do festival audiences use these technologies as well? The rapidly changing nature of digital media and its use means that my own findings will reflect the situation at the time I conducted the research in 2010 and 2011, and not necessarily current practices. The reason for devoting a chapter to jazz audiences is partly because the use of online media by jazz enthusiasts is one of the main strands of this study, and also because, as Prouty (2012, p.114) points out, ‘[t]he gatekeepers of jazz discourse, scholarly and critical, have seldom assessed the role of the ordinary jazz fan

¹ It should also be noted that these organisations, particularly Jazz Services, are advocacy bodies whose purpose is largely to justify the need for greater investment in jazz.

as a participant within it, or within the jazz community at large.’ Prouty goes on to make the digital connection: ‘And just as jazz scholarship has long been a function of the mediating effects of print and recording, jazz fans have turned to technology to assert themselves: the internet’ (p.114).

UK jazz audience research after the 1980s resurgence

Within the last two decades there have been several attempts to gather data on the audience for jazz in the UK, but as one key report suggests: ‘There is a large gap in knowledge of audiences [in general, and ...] There is limited previous research on jazz’ (JazzDev, 2000, p.60).² Some of this has been summarised in reports such as the *Review of Jazz in England Consultative Green Paper* published by the Arts Council of England (ACE, 1995), one of the aims being ‘to describe and analyse the current size of jazz activity in England’ (p.14). Reflecting the growth in popularity of jazz in the late 1980s discussed in chapter 3, this review cites data published in the *Jazz Research Digest* (1991) that ‘shows a 20% increase in the number of people claiming an interest in jazz during the years from 1986 to 1991’ (p.7), but though ‘the market’ for jazz is described in reasonable detail the most recent figures used are from 1992 (ACE, 1995, pp.43-48). Furthermore, the *Jazz Research Digest* data was itself ‘[b]ased on little jazz specific research [and] primarily extrapolated from research into contemporary music generally and wider performing arts research’ (JazzDev, 2000, p.60). According to both reports a qualitative study was conducted by Mike Paxton in 1990, but though described as ‘[a] seminal piece of qualitative research [it] has not been followed up’ (JazzDev, 2000, p.60).³

² This publication is a report that was prepared for the Arts Council of England (ACE) by The Jazz Development Trust (JazzDev) with the help of research consultancy Morris Hargreaves McIntyre.

³ Both the Paxton research (*Expanding the Audience for Jazz*) and the *Jazz Research Digest* were commissioned by the Arts Council but are not currently available and in any case are not directly relevant here.

The JazzDev (2000) report cited above is part of a larger project created to develop audiences for jazz in the UK by The Jazz Development Trust. It acknowledges the difficulty of estimating the size of the jazz audience, ‘depending primarily on the definition of jazz adopted! If the full range of music [is] included, the audience is potentially huge. As with most music, it also depends on what we mean by “audience”, given the variety of forms in which audiences can experience music from recordings to radio to attending live concerts’ (JazzDev, 2000, p.60).⁴ The difficulty of defining jazz in this context has also been mentioned by DeVaux (1999) in his analysis of American surveys, pointing out that ‘the information provided by the SPPAs [Survey of Public Participation in the Arts], it must be emphasized, does not distinguish between potentially conflicting definitions of jazz [...] The SPPA figures should be understood as reliable data regarding the aggregate audience for jazz in all of its current manifestations. The respondents defined jazz as they saw fit’ (p.390).⁵ JazzDev (2000) provides some indication of the size of jazz audiences in the UK by offering a range of examples from, for example, Jazz FM’s listenership (750,000, having tripled within two years), the Serious mailing list (10,500 nationally) and Manchester Jazz Festival’s mailing list (5,000) (p.61). In terms of audience profile, ‘[t]here is a perception that in Great Britain audiences are more genre specific’ (JazzDev, 2000, p.61), which concurs with Martin and Parsonage’s (2008) suggestion about the existence of separate genre-specific scenes in jazz in the UK. The only figures of any accuracy given are regarding Jazz FM listeners, who are ‘60% male / 40% female; getting younger, primarily 25-45’ (JazzDev, 2000, p.61).

⁴ I should perhaps point out that I was one of 80 ‘professional’ participants interviewed (in my capacity as a music lecturer) as part of the research that produced this report, and I later became a member of JazzDev’s Education Steering Group.

⁵ The data used by DeVaux are from National Endowment for the Arts surveys conducted in 1982 and 1992 (DeVaux, 1999, p.390).

For ‘venue specific audiences’, JazzDev presents quotations from a variety of promoters and concert critics, whose anecdotal evidence suggests a range of ages, gender profiles and ethnic diversity depending on the venue and the event. One interviewee named Monument observed:

There are the Trad jazz audience (the image is clear – middle aged white male) who would never go to contemporary jazz and vice versa. The contemporary jazz stereotype is a woolly jumpered WASP – pipe smoking, intellectual. But the really cutting edge contemporary jazz pulls in an entirely more unpredictable audience – from students (music and otherwise) to rock audiences and contemporary classical audiences – a real mixed bag (Monument, quoted in JazzDev, 2000, p.62).⁶

Another quotation suggests that although the jazz audience is an ageing one, because of the ‘inquisitive’ students at Leeds College of Music there is ‘more of a mix [...] Also, increasingly, [I am] beginning to see 20 – 30 something couples who have growing curiosity about different forms of music and will start to collect and look for a more eclectic range and, as this age group grow out of the club scene, they are looking for a different social arena’ (Vine, quoted in JazzDev, 2000, p.63).⁷

Market research into small scale jazz venues undertaken by Jazz Services (Hodgkins, 2000, appendix 2) appears to indicate this widening audience age range nationally, showing that 70 per cent of the audience were aged between 16 and 35, and that 30 per cent were full time students (whether they were music students is not known). Another interesting result, of another survey but also published in Hodgkins’ report, is that:

From the Research Digest for the Arts (RDA) dealing with jazz it is seen that those interested non-attendees are much more similar in profile to the population as a whole, whereas the current jazz attendees’ profile is younger, more upmarket and is more likely to be male. [...] it should be noted that D2DEs are interested to a significant degree which is contrary to the widely accepted view that the arts are only for the ABC1s (Hodgkins, 2000, appendix 2).⁸

⁶ The person quoted is Mark Monument, Northern Arts Board.

⁷ This quotation is from David Vine, Chief Reporter and Jazz Reporter, *Yorkshire Post*.

⁸ ABC1 and C2DE are classifications of social groupings, ABC1 being the most affluent/educated (see Ipsos MORI, 2009).

The figures show that although ABC1 adults *attending* jazz events constituted 62 per cent of the audience (C2DE attendees being 38 per cent), C2DE adults who claimed to be interested but who did *not attend* made up 55 per cent (compared with 45 per cent of ABC1s). These statistics are somewhat at odds with The Jazz Development Trust audience data (Abbott, 2000), which indicates that 60 per cent were aged 45 or older and 79 per cent belonged to social classification ABC1, but this could be due to different locations, types of venues and events targeted in each survey.

Arts participation and cultural ‘omnivores’

Organisations such as The Jazz Development Trust and Jazz Services have an advocacy role and have therefore been drawing attention to the potential of jazz – which they regard as having a high value of cultural capital – to reach a wider audience if given the means to do so.⁹ In their paper about the trends in overall arts participation in the United States between 1982 and 2002, DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004, p.169) note that, although the rapid decline in the arts as cultural capital would have suggested large declines in high culture participation among young people, the trend data produced mixed results. This decline would be expected particularly strongly among those for whom cultural capital is traditionally most important (the highly educated and women), and DiMaggio and Mukhtar call this the ‘meltdown scenario’ (2004, p.169). They found that the data ‘are *not* consistent with the meltdown scenario, but *do* suggest change in the position of different arts genres *within* cultural capital and ongoing attrition in the audience for many of the arts’ (p. 169, emphasis in original). The attendance of young people at most high culture performances had decreased (though not as rapidly among women and college graduates), but art museum and jazz concert attendances

⁹ My use of the term ‘cultural capital’ concurs with that of DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004, p.189), who (following the work of Pierre Bourdieu) define it ‘as comprising types of tastes, knowledge, and modes of appreciation that are institutionally supported and very broadly acknowledged to be high-status and worthy of respect’.

had actually increased. DiMaggio and Mukhtar interpret these results as showing two trends: that there was a greater 'interest in the visual arts and jazz and less in classical music, ballet, and theatre' (p. 169), and that there was a general decline among most groups in live cultural event attendance due to a greater choice of in-home entertainment and demographic changes. DiMaggio and Mukhtar suggest various reasons for this decline in traditionally high culture arts as cultural capital in the US: they identify the pervasive nature of commercial popular culture (exacerbated, interestingly, by the rise of the internet); argue that high culture was contributing to its own de-institutionalisation, due to multiculturalism and postmodern artists and educational institutions breaking down cultural boundaries; and point out that audiences were now becoming cultural 'omnivores', happy to participate in a wide range of artistic activities (p.171). They conclude that, 'although some forms of arts activity are losing patronage in the face of competitive pressure, the decline of the arts as a form of cultural capital in the U.S. is taking place more slowly than many observers had predicted, if indeed it is taking place at all' (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004, pp.191-192).

The reference to cultural 'omnivores' refers to the work of sociologist Richard Peterson. In summarising various American studies made into levels of what he calls 'highbrow snobbery', Peterson believes the findings indicate that:

Persons in high status occupations are not only more likely to choose art music and participate in arts activities than their low status compatriots, but also that they are more likely to be active in the full gamut of leisure activities and to like a wide range of popular musics as well. In summary, they suggest that being high status now does not require being snobbish but means having cosmopolitan 'omnivorous' tastes (Peterson, 1997, p.87).

Referring to a previous paper he wrote about the 'omnivore' theory, Peterson goes on to say that 'the shift from highbrow snob to cosmopolitan omnivore is due both to elite people of all ages becoming more omnivorous, and also to the replacement of older more snobbish cohorts by later more omnivorous ones' (1997, pp.87-88). Kolb (2001), in a paper which is essentially

about classical music attendance, draws on data from both the United States and Britain, and seems to concur with Peterson, in that her article ‘contends that changes in attendance are not based on changes in practical considerations or the decline in arts education, but rather on changes in taste and socio-demographics’ (Kolb, 2001, p.1). How Kolb differs from Peterson’s approach is that she concentrates on classical orchestral music, although the data she uses is from an American National Endowment of the Arts (NEA, 1998) and an Arts Council of England (ACE, 2000) survey, and these data do include figures for jazz attendance. As far as classical music is concerned, she found that attendance rates have at best kept flat and have decreased among the young, who are not attending when they grow older, and that many members of ethnic minorities are not attending, regardless of their social status (p.1). Outreach work being done by orchestras may or may not address the decline in attendance, but it appears that ‘there remains a strong preference for listening to classical music that cuts across all education, age and ethnic groups. These data suggest that the decline in attendance among the young and ethnic minorities is not due to an unfamiliarity or dislike of classical music, but to the concert setting itself’ (Kolb, 2001, p.2).

Martin (2004) discusses the relevance of work such as that cited above to the state of live jazz in Britain. He describes jazz as having reached ‘high culture’ status (p.17), and as a result, asks whether its audiences will decline as they have for high culture arts in America, referring to DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004). He believes that, looking at the broader picture, the American conclusions of DiMaggio and Mukhtar as well as DeVaux (1999) suggest that the situation for jazz is (or was in 2004) improving. Martin also refers to data from the ACE (2000) survey included in the Kolb (2001) article, as well as Peterson’s ‘omnivore’ theory. Martin goes on to say:

Peterson’s theory is contentious, but it does explain the decline of traditional art forms, and the simultaneous increase in such forms as the visual arts – and jazz, as a

non-European style of music. These, it has been suggested, are much more appealing in a postmodern era which values multiculturalism and an openness to a range of experiences (Martin, 2004, p.19).

Martin concludes by saying that the jazz audience may continue to grow, but that careful consideration should be made about the way jazz is presented to contemporary young, informal audiences (2004, p.19). Here, Martin is confirming the common theme running through the conclusions of DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004, p.191) and, particularly, Kolb (2001, p.32).

A mixed picture

A regional survey conducted in north east England during 2003 (Hodgkins *et al.*, 2004) concluded that, from the statistics seen (1994 to 2003), '[j]azz, like opera and ballet, has appeared to have reached a plateau [*sic*]' (p.29). The study found that attendances (in terms of the percentage of adult population) at jazz events in the north of England were at a lower level than the English national average (4.5 per cent in the north of England compared with 6.4 per cent nationally during 2002/2003: Hodgkins *et al.*, 2004, p.30). The authors further state that 'the core audience, defined as those people who attend more than once a year, remains [in north east England] between 1.7% and 1.5% in terms of reliable statistical data' (Hodgkins *et al.*, 2004, p.31). Unlike the other research discussed above, this does *not* indicate a growing audience for live jazz. A contemporary report of a jazz audience development project in Greater Manchester (using the web site getintojazz.com) points out that 'the main unexpected finding is that a large proportion of the audience felt alienated by the presentation of the event and the stagecraft of the bands performing', despite the fact that 'these bands and the presenter were recommended and specifically chosen for their perceived accessibility' (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2004, p.10). Though not a statistical study of jazz audience size, this report points to the difficulty of expanding jazz interest to new audiences, and again

suggests that the presentation of concerts may a critical determining factor in audience development. Other issues in audience retention and development, resulting from data gathered from musicians and promoters in north west England, are identified by Dyson (2004, p.8): ‘Lack of national media coverage for jazz is cited here along with various demographic and cultural changes in society including a reluctance of certain groups of people to go out at all’.

From the ‘snapshots’ of jazz audiences in the UK presented by the authors cited above, along with the views of musicians such as those interviewed by Horne (2004), it would appear that the post-2000 ‘jazz revival’ has, as I suggested in chapter 3, been one of music that may loosely be categorised as jazz but has been marketed as – and is perceived as – more mainstream popular music (particularly that of many vocalists). The advocacy organisations such as JazzDev and Jazz Services have, on the other hand, been more concerned with music that is not supported by the major record labels – largely instrumental jazz by British artists not well known to the public (JazzDev, 2000; Hodgkins *et al.*, 2004). Their findings suggest that the audience size for performers who were not household names had not increased in the way it had for vocalists such as Jamie Cullum and Amy Winehouse. Indeed, it appears that the overall audience for live jazz may have actually decreased; two reports on the economic value of jazz by Riley and Laing (2006 and 2010) are revealing in this respect. From research conducted in 2005 it was thought that Arts Council data indicated ‘a growing audience for jazz which is predominantly male, middle-aged and of socio-economic groups ABC1’ (Riley and Laing, 2006, p.4), but between 2004/5 and 2008 there was a slight decline in the total jazz audience. This could be seen as a trend in Wales, where, in 2004, 9 per cent of adults had attended a jazz performance, falling to 8 per cent in 2006 and 7 per cent in 2008.

Hodgkins (2009) compares data from 1986 and 2009 in the UK, finding that:

In 1986, 38% of the audience for jazz was aged between 15-24 years as compared to the general population of 15-24 years of 16%. The general population of 65+ was 15% and the audience for jazz aged 65+ was 5%. By 2008/09 this had changed dramatically. 17% of the audience for jazz are aged 15-24 whereas the audience for jazz in people aged 65+ has risen to 15% (Hodgkins, 2009, p.6).

This may be at least partly attributable to the ‘jazz resurgence’ and strong UK economy in the late 1980s compared with the economic crisis in 2008, but again we must remember that Hodgkins has an advocacy role that will understandably lead him to focus on data showing a decline in jazz audience size, particularly among young people. Comparing the figures for 2005 and 2008/9, Riley and Laing conclude that:

The 2005 statistics show a significant bias towards the over 45s, with these constituting 55% of jazz audiences but only 50% of the general population. However, the 2008-9 results indicate a more youthful audience, with jazz listeners mirroring the general adult population, which is split almost equally between people aged between 15 and 44 and those aged 45 and upwards. In fact, the jazz audience had a greater share of young people aged between 15 and 34 (35%) than did the general population (32%). Nevertheless, these figures are based on a small sample of the national population and the margin of error is relatively high (Riley and Laing, 2010, pp.24-25).¹⁰

The Welsh data includes socio-economic groupings, indicating ‘that a higher proportion of social groups A and B (13%) had attended jazz concerts than that of the C1 group (9%), C2 (7%) or D and E (only 3%)’ (Riley and Laing, 2010, p.24). As the authors point out, unless there is a sufficiently large sample size the statistics will have limited accuracy as a measure of jazz audience size and composition.¹¹ However, this is the only longitudinal data on British jazz audiences available, and these figures would seem to suggest that although the average age of the audience for jazz in the UK had risen between the late 1980s and early 2000s, in recent years this situation has reversed.

¹⁰ Hodgkins (2009) and Riley and Laing (2010) were using the same jazz audience data, but it is worth noting that there is some discrepancy between the general demographic data for the UK population used by Hodgkins (cited as National Statistics Office) and by Riley and Laing (no citation given).

¹¹ To make accurate comparison more difficult, a report commissioned by Audiences Data United Kingdom (Verwey, 2005, p.20) shows how different organisations, including the different Arts Councils (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) classified arts events in different ways – for example, the Scottish Arts Council is the only one to separate orchestral and chamber music events rather than classify them all as ‘classical’.

The ‘Taking Part’ surveys and audience comparison

Riley and Laing (2010, pp.23-26) use data from two sets of Arts Council-commissioned surveys called ‘Taking Part’ conducted among a cross-section of the English population during 2005-6 and 2008-9 (similar surveys were made in Scotland). The data gathered was analysed and also combined with Target Group Index demographic data, resulting in the ‘identification of 13 arts consumer segments’, the profiling of which provides ‘information on socio-demographic characteristics, lifestyle habits, media profile and attitudes’ (ACE, 2008, p.4). The segmentation is grouped into three categories of participants: those who are highly engaged with the arts (as both consumers and hobbyists), those with some engagement, and those not currently engaged. Looking at the figures for each segment there is little change in the proportion of population per segment between the 2005-6 survey (ACE, 2008, p.6) and that conducted in 2008-9 (ACE, 2011, p.6). Revealing though the data appears to be (such as the type of media each audience segment prefers), this segmentation analysis (which is normally used for marketing) makes rather broad generalisations about each type of audience member, and detailed analysis of the data for different art forms is not provided by these reports.

More detailed analysis of the same data is provided by Bunting *et al.* (2008) (and is cited by Riley and Laing, 2010), which ‘explores how people attend the arts today, and the socio-demographic factors that have an impact on that attendance’ (Bunting *et al.*, 2008, p.7). This analysis of data from the first Taking Part survey concludes that in England there are four main categories of arts attendee: ‘Little if anything’ (57 per cent of the population), ‘Now and then’ (27 per cent), ‘Enthusiastic’ (12 per cent), and ‘Voracious’ (4 per cent) (Bunting *et al.*, 2008, p.8). One finding that appears to fit with Peterson’s ‘cultural omnivore’ theory is that:

In particular, there does not appear to be any evidence of a cultural elite that engage [*sic*] with ‘high art’ rather than popular culture: the groups that are most active in the more niche arts and cultural activities such as ballet are also the most frequent attenders of those activities might be classed as popular culture, such as cinema (Bunting *et al.*, 2008, p.9).

There are other theoretical approaches (one of which is a development of Peterson’s) that are considered by two of the authors of this report in a separate sociological paper, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), to which I will return.

Jazz is one of the art forms examined in Bunting *et al.* (2008), and as a ‘niche’ type of music, it may be useful to compare the result of jazz data analysis with that of classical music and opera (all other music is classified as ‘other live music event’, which is too general for meaningful comparison – see Bunting *et al.*, 2008, p.10). For the analysis of each arts ‘domain’ (music being one – the other two domains being theatre, dance and cinema; and visual arts, museums, festivals and street arts) the authors ‘identify three well-differentiated patterns of attendance’ (Bunting *et al.*, 2008, p.20): these are the same categories listed above except ‘Voracious’. Within music, if we ignore the ‘Little if anything’ group (as their attendance is so low) the figures for the ‘Now and then’ group are remarkably similar for jazz and opera but not for classical music, 6 per cent having attended 3 or more jazz performances during the past year, 5 per cent for opera but less than 0.5 per cent for classical music. For the ‘Enthusiastic’ group the figures are 14 per cent for jazz, 19 per cent for opera but, perhaps surprisingly, 99 per cent having attended 3 or more classical performances (Bunting *et al.*, 2008, p.34). The data in this report are not detailed enough to show how many jazz attendees also attend opera or classical music, but the authors conclude that patterns of arts engagement in general are correlated with education level and social status: that a higher level of education and social status (in terms of profession) tend towards a higher level of arts attendance

(Bunting *et al.*, pp.42-45). Furthermore, females and older people are more likely to attend arts events (pp.49-50), but again this is for all art forms referenced in the survey.

Bourdieu and beyond

Using data from a previous (2001) Arts Council survey, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) consider three theoretical approaches they call ‘homology’, ‘individualization’ and ‘omnivore-univore’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, pp.1-3). The homology argument in its most basic form proposes ‘that social stratification and cultural stratification map closely on to each other. Individuals in higher social strata are those who prefer and predominantly consume “high” or “elite” culture, and individuals in lower social strata are those who prefer and predominantly consume “popular” or “mass” culture’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.1). For the purposes of their research, the authors prefer a slightly more sophisticated model of homology based on the work of Bourdieu (1989). Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* forms the basis of this model, *habitus* being ‘both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification [...] of [social] practices’ (Bourdieu, 1989, p.170). According to Chan and Goldthorpe’s interpretation, Bourdieu separates *class* position (determined only by economic relations) from *status* position (within a social hierarchy), and status position is expressed by lifestyle: ‘status has to be seen as the symbolic aspect or dimension of the class structure, which is not itself reducible to economic relations alone’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.2). The *habitus* of a class is the means by which a homology with its practices ‘is crucially mediated [...] within and integral to the class structure, there are created the internally coherent but sharply contrasting lifestyles that are expressed by the status order’ (p.2). So, members of the dominant class, according to this argument, assert their superiority of lifestyle by appropriating ‘those cultural forms that are generally recognized as “canonical”, “legitimate”, or otherwise “distinguished”’ (p.2). The homology relates to the

opposition between the cultural practices of this class, ‘the fractions richest in both economic and cultural capital, and the practices socially identified as vulgar because they are both easy and common, those of the fractions poorest in both these respects’ (Bourdieu, 1989, p.176). In between these extremes ‘are the practices which are perceived as pretentious, because of the manifest discrepancy between ambition and possibilities’ (p.176).

The individualisation argument rejects the homology argument as being outdated, and, in what Chan and Goldthorpe regard as the stronger versions of individualisation, ‘often developed under postmodernist influences, lifestyles are now seen as lacking any kind of structural grounding or indeed inherent unity. Individuals are increasingly able to form their own lifestyles independently of their social locations’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.2). This is partly a result of the wide range of cultural and lifestyle choices easily available to most people in the contemporary industrialised world. The omnivore-univore argument, relating more specifically to cultural consumption, is another rejection of the homology argument, ‘not because cultural consumption has lost all grounding in social stratification, but because a new relationship is emerging [...] the cultural consumption of individuals in higher social strata differs from that of individuals in lower strata chiefly in that it is greater *and much wider in its range*’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.3, emphasis in original). This has resonances with Peterson’s ‘cultural omnivore’ theory, and indeed seems to have originated from Peterson’s research – the addition being the contrast of ‘cultural omnivore versus cultural univore’ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.3). The omnivore-univore argument can be interpreted, Chan and Goldthorpe suggest, in two alternative ways: that omnivores are open (perhaps due to being highly educated) to a range of cultural styles, which relates to the individualisation argument; and that, when seen against the narrow culture of the univores, the ‘new aesthetic’ expressed by the omnivores may still be used to assert their superiority. This

would relate it more to the homology argument, particularly if the uses to which the omnivores put popular culture are ironic or dismissive (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.3).

The results of Chan and Goldthorpe's analysis of the Arts Council data lead them to the following conclusions. Because neither an exclusively highbrow English musical elite nor a 'dominant class' have been identified, Bourdieu's homology model is found to be unsuitable; for the omnivores, 'status – and education – do far more to account for membership [...] than does class' (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.13). But even the effects of status on music consumption 'are not overwhelmingly *strong*. And thus the idea of such consumption being more or less compulsively determined by the *habitus* of the individual's status group – or class – would appear [...] to be quite misleading' (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.13, emphasis in original). However, the authors go on to state 'the probabilities of individuals approximating one rather than another type of musical consumption are [...] associated in fairly clear, if not always straightforwardly "homologous", ways with their position in the status order and with educational attainment' (p.13) – that music consumption is to some extent still socially stratified. The analysis of the data does appear to fit broadly with the omnivore-univore argument; and further, that as far as the interpretation of omnivorous behaviour is concerned, their findings 'incline us to favour the "self-realization" than the "status competition" view' (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, p.14). Interestingly, one of the findings indicated that, though the data were insufficiently detailed to show whether omnivores rejected certain popular music styles, 'omnivorousness can be qualified by an apparent dislike of kinds of music, such as opera or jazz, that do not have low status associations' (p.14). The closest to a specific jazz work used by Bourdieu in his research was Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, which he classified as an example of 'the minor works of the major arts' (Bourdieu, 1989, p.16) and therefore 'middle-brow'. However, he believed that

‘legitimate works’ (i.e. those of the Western art music canon) could be combined ‘with the most legitimate of the arts that are still in the process of legitimation – cinema, jazz or even song’ (p.16), counting jazz as neither fully ‘legitimate’ nor ‘popular’ taste.¹²

Jazz festival audiences

Festivals have a significant role in live jazz dissemination, as a major contributor to the jazz economy (Riley and Laing, 2006 and 2010) and as a part of, or even a type of, a ‘scene’ (Dowd, Liddle and Nelson, 2004). Little scholarly research has been conducted into jazz festival audiences, and estimated jazz audience sizes in the reports cited at the beginning of this chapter have generally not indicated festival audiences explicitly. However, two recent articles have been published about jazz festival audiences in Britain, Oakes (2010) and Burland and Pitts (2010). Each is based on a single case study: the Oakes paper (published in an event management journal) is a quantitative profile of the audience at the Cheltenham International Jazz Festival, and Burland and Pitts provide a more qualitative analysis of a sample of audience members at the Edinburgh Jazz and Blues Festival 2007.¹³ Oakes divides the audience into two types (based on CD purchases), those who like ‘modern jazz’ exclusively and those who have a broader taste (‘hybrid jazz’ fans) – in this festival, ‘70-80 per cent of concerts would normally be categorised as modern jazz’ (Oakes, 2010, p.111). This classification immediately presents a problem in that the term ‘modern jazz’ is difficult to define with any precision; it could be interpreted as any style from bebop (which is now 60 years old) onwards, which covers a wide range of music. However, there are similar patterns within each group regarding, for example, age (the majority over 35, the largest age bracket being 45-54) and educational attainment (40 per cent of both categories having postgraduate qualifications) (Oakes, 2010, pp.114-115). Oakes states that the findings on levels of

¹² Bourdieu refers to jazz very little throughout his book, and thinks of ‘popular taste’ to include works such as the dances of the Strauss family and singers such as Petula Clark.

¹³ The date of the Cheltenham festival discussed by Oakes is not given.

education are consistent with previous research on jazz audiences ‘that revealed how the “elite” nature of jazz has typically appealed to educated people who are higher up the social class structure’ (p.115). At the same time, ‘[i]nterest in attending rock/pop music, comedy, literature, drama, folk music and contemporary classical music festivals was relatively high (19-42 per cent) for hybrid jazz and modern jazz fans’ (p.116), which suggests a cultural omnivorousness among a significant number of attendees of this festival, many of whom belong in the higher social strata.¹⁴

In comparison, the audience sample of Burland and Pitts (2010) has the largest segment in the 55-64 age range and ‘shows a familiar trend towards older listeners in retirement or professional occupations’ (p.128), though the authors point out that ‘while they were strongly represented at each gig, the festival as a whole was attracting listeners of all ages’ (p.128). Edinburgh Jazz and Blues Festival is described as containing a wide range of styles (p.126), but ‘[d]espite the diversity of tastes and levels of engagement represented across the audience survey, most respondents perceived themselves to be amongst like-minded jazz enthusiasts’ (Burland and Pitts, 2010, p.130), and the experience of attending live jazz at the festival is largely what respondents were being questioned on. However, they were also asked about listening to recorded music, which ‘extended beyond jazz to styles including classical, pop, punk, folk and world musics [...] emphasising the open-mindedness of this particular jazz audience’ (p.131). Another finding, which is pertinent to this thesis, is that audience members ‘were willing to try out new performers, using online, print and word of mouth recommendations to inform their choice of gigs’ (Burland and Pitts, 2010, p.133). A comparison of some aspects of the research findings cited above will be made with the results of my own jazz festival surveys below.

¹⁴ It should be noted that the author ‘acknowledges the limitations of using a convenience sample’ (Oakes, 2010, p.118), although, as discussed in chapter 2 in relation to open online surveys, in these types of voluntary audience surveys it is generally unavoidable.

Case studies: two jazz festivals in northern England

The two festivals chosen are both in the north of England but with differing music policies, types of venue, income streams, dissemination methods and target audiences, and the audience sample surveys and interviews with organisers were conducted during 2010. The first, called Jazz on a Winter's Weekend, takes place on the first weekend of February and is based in one location, the Royal Clifton Hotel in Southport, Merseyside. It takes place over two and a half days, which are heavily programmed – the Saturday and Sunday events start at 11.00am and continue until around midnight, with lunchtime talks and continuous exhibitions in addition to several concerts each day. Many members of the audience stay at the hotel for the duration of the festival, which allows the organisation, Southport Melodic Jazz (SMJ), to keep costs to a minimum by using one location with a (mostly literally) 'resident' audience, making special arrangements with the hotel regarding room rates for the audience and musicians (at a time of year when it would otherwise be very quiet). SMJ has been presenting live jazz in the Southport area since 1991, operating as a 'society' until 2001 when it became a 'club', putting on monthly jazz concerts (with subscription-paying members but run as a non-profit company by volunteers).¹⁵ The festival was launched in 2005, and despite relying virtually entirely on ticket sales for its income it has remained financially secure, and has sold out every year since 2009.

In my interview with the organiser, the music policy was described as a balance between the 'comfort zone' of a general jazz audience and music that would challenge to an extent; as he put it, music that would 'not frighten the children but not be boring and predictable'. Although a fairly broad range of styles is covered, 'trad' is not, dismissed half-jokingly in the

¹⁵ See www.jazzinsouthport.co.uk/about/ for more information (accessed in August 2013).

interview. This may be a deliberate attempt to distance the club's music from the traditional jazz played by amateurs and semi-professionals in several local pubs, and the club's name – Southport *Melodic Jazz* – hints at mainstream jazz.¹⁶ Music that is 'new' is also avoided (described as being 'faddy') as well as 'scratch' bands (understood as those that are not regular outfits, put together for the occasion), and the one rule that guides artist selection is not to book anyone not heard in live performance. This implies a certain 'safeness' in programming, and given that the club (and by extension, the festival) relies to a significant degree on the patronage of its members this is perhaps not surprising.¹⁷ The festival is promoted via SMJ's web site and the efforts of the club committee members distributing leaflets at other events around the UK (the club, as with the festival, receives very little external funding). The web site is an amateur site maintained by the organiser, and does not allow online ticket sales. There is an e-mailing list and links to other jazz related and artists' sites, but social networking sites such as MySpace and Facebook are not exploited – there is 'a high level of repeat business' and the organiser thinks there is little need to change the promotion methods. He also feels that the audience profile is 'too old', many of them over sixty years of age, but the club's policy is to develop a younger audience by including daytime concerts, and having discounted student tickets.

The second festival is Manchester Jazz Festival (mjf), which receives local authority and (until 2012) Arts Council funding, runs for nine days at the end of July and apart from two main stages in central Manchester holds events in various venues around the city. The festival has been running since 1996 by a small team of paid staff augmented by volunteers during the festival, and many of the events are free of charge, particularly at the Festival Pavilion at

¹⁶ A few pubs in the area, such as the Hesketh Arms, have become known for hosting traditional jazz regularly. 'Mainstream' is usually used to describe swing revivalist styles, but often contains bebop and post-bebop elements (Priestley, 1988, pp.318-319).

¹⁷ Club members receive small discounts to SMJ events, including the festival.

Albert Square.¹⁸ The festival focuses on contemporary and original work – ‘left of mainstream’, as the organiser described it during my interview with him – promoting British, and, in particular, regionally based musicians in northwest England. Artists are invited to apply via submission forms and recordings and are selected on these criteria, as well as how the music sounds.¹⁹ The organiser told me that communication and technological advances have improved the marketing effectiveness for the festival (estimating a total audience size of around 15,000), and that the festival web site is becoming more important as a promotional tool. Online ticket sales are possible, albeit via third party services such as Ticketline and those of individual venues; there are direct links to artists’ and other jazz web sites; e-mailing lists are used in an increasingly sophisticated way (such as festival ‘e-shots’); and social networking sites, particularly Facebook and Twitter, have started to be used to target certain types of audience. There is also an interest in seeing which web sites users have come to the festival site from. The organiser described the audience profile as being ‘very broad’, much of the audience being between the ages of 25 and 45, but varying depending on the artist and venue – he suspected that the audiences in the bigger concert hall venues such as the Royal Northern College of Music may generally be older than those in Matt and Phred’s Jazz Club, for example. He said he would like to target ‘non-specialist’ audiences ‘who don’t think they like jazz but go to live events’ in order to ‘convert’ them to jazz, but wondered whether this varied for one city to another, perhaps depending on the financial wealth of the audience.

The differing locations of these two festivals perhaps reflect their programming policies and audiences: Southport is a Victorian seaside resort with a significant number of retired people and a small and ‘conservative’ music scene; whereas Manchester is a large urban centre with an ethnically diverse population, high numbers of students and a large music conservatoire,

¹⁸ See www.manchesterjazz.com/about-us/more-info/ for more information (accessed in August 2013).

¹⁹ There is now also an opportunity for jazz composers to submit new work and have it performed by a selected ensemble during the festival.

and a wider music scene that supports the kind of contemporary music that in a smaller town may not find an audience. The interviews revealed marked differences in these festivals' approach that appear to have developed in order to cater for the audiences they have built up. Jazz on a Winter's Weekend has an established, older audience that seems prepared to trust SMJ's programming and returns year after year. Though social class was not commented upon, the fact that a large proportion of the audience – despite being of retirement age – pay for a full weekend ticket and stay at the hotel suggests that they have a reasonable amount of disposable income, which is in line with the observations of Burland and Pitts (2010). mjf seems to have successfully avoided the problem of marketing jazz identified by Macaulay and Dennis (2006), attracting a large audience with a wide age range, but it should be remembered that SMJ is run entirely by volunteers with a very small marketing budget whereas mjf is supported by external funding and has more substantial marketing resources.²⁰ The fact that mjf is a large festival involving the participation of a number of otherwise unconnected venues means that the organisers need to provide a central point of information. During the festival, the Festival Pavilion is a physical hub, but the web site and e-mailing list, along with the increasing use of social networking sites, provide information throughout the year as well as the means by which musicians apply for the chance to perform; in Southport the programming is decided by the organisers without such open opportunities offered to musicians. Therefore, mjf's web site needs to be – and is – rather more sophisticated and interactive than that of SMJ.

²⁰ Both festivals have benefited in recent years from coverage by BBC Radio 3 jazz programmes in the form of interviews with the organisers and concerts recorded for edited broadcast.

Festival audience survey findings

For the festival audience surveys I will briefly summarise the general findings rather than analyse the figures in detail because of the sample sizes.²¹ The audience samples were relatively small, for both Southport (n=18) and Manchester (n=13), though the audience for the mjf event at which I gave out questionnaires was actually smaller than that in Southport and the sample represented a similar proportion.²² As expected from the organiser's comment above, the Southport sample was older with 72 per cent (13) aged 60 or more. 38 per cent (5) of the Manchester sample were in that age range, with 31 per cent (4) aged 50 to 59 and the same number between 30 and 49 years, not quite reflecting the organiser's observation about the festival audience being mostly in the 25-45 age range.²³ The older demographic in the two samples broadly matches the findings of Burland and Pitts (2010). Across both samples the participants were mostly male, largely from northwest England, almost all having attended the festival before. Most used the internet to look at specialist jazz sites (along with music streaming services to listen to jazz) and follow favourite jazz artists or find out more about jazz events, but not particularly to discover new jazz artists; some felt that some musicians (the younger and better known ones) were easier to follow online or updated their web sites more frequently than others. E-mail was used by the majority to communicate with other jazz fans, but most did not use social networking sites or online forums for this purpose. One of the main differences between the two surveys was that the festival web site was cited as the way a number of respondents had found out about the festival by the Manchester sample, but

²¹ The complete figures are presented in the appendices, with some charts included below for comparison with some of the online survey data. Percentages here are rounded to the nearest integer.

²² The sample was between ten and fifteen per cent in each case. For mjf in particular it would have been preferable to sample several different audiences at different venues, but I did not have the time or resources to do this, and it was in any case an initial exercise to use as a basis for further research.

²³ This could be because this particular concert was held at lunchtime/early afternoon during the working week and was free of charge, therefore attracting those not busy doing a regular job.

not by any of those in the Southport sample (partly to do with the postal mailing list used by SMJ).²⁴

In both samples jazz recordings were mostly obtained as CDs bought from physical and, increasingly (according to several respondents) online shops, but only six people (19 per cent) from both samples claimed to download recordings. A few commented on the changes (in recent years) in the way they obtain recordings, saying that there is better availability and a lack of traditional record shops. One member of each sample received CDs for review, suggesting a high level of participation in jazz for these individuals. When asked about other styles of music they were interested in, 52 per cent (16) of the total across both samples cited classical music, with 32 per cent (10) interested in rock and pop music and 23 per cent (7) folk and world music. As with the findings of Burland and Pitts (2010), this suggests a musical ‘omnivorousness’ among these jazz festival audience members. However, the internet was not used by many participants in activities related to non-jazz styles – for example, it was only used for classical music by six people across both samples.

Methods of finding information about jazz were varied, with, for example, 50 per cent (9) using jazz periodicals in the Southport sample compared with only 23 per cent (3) of the Manchester sample. Prouty (2012, p.27) suggests that ‘[r]elationships between members [of broadly defined jazz communities] are largely constructed through media [including] magazines such as *Jazz Times* or *Downbeat*’, and such magazines evidently still have their place. Also, more of the Southport sample, 72 per cent (13) compared with 31 per cent (4) in Manchester, listened to jazz on digital radio, whereas 62 per cent (8) of the Manchester sample used online streaming services compared to 22 per cent (4) in Southport. Digital radio

²⁴ Several of the Southport respondents said they had found out via word of mouth or the recommendation of a friend.

is essentially the use of digital technology for traditional over-air broadcasting (as opposed to more interactive online technologies), and as Wall and Dubber (2009, p.32) argue, radio ‘has made a significant contribution to forming and sustaining both the idea of specialist music, and the fan and music-making cultures associated with specific specialist musics’. Traditional radio listening, as well as using jazz magazines as a source of information, could therefore be considered part of established culture among fans of jazz, and that may explain the higher proportion of radio listeners among the older Southport sample, but with these small samples, ‘even when discussing music radio the specificities of the debates can only be generalized with great care’ (Wall and Dubber, 2009, p.29).

The online survey and comparison with festival audience data

The online survey was launched towards the end of 2011 following a pilot. There were 42 respondents for the first question and 37 who completed the survey, and because not all questions were answered by all respondents statistical data will be given for individual questions rather than the whole survey. Following Munn and Drever (2004, p.65), because the numbers are small charts expressed as percentages may be misleading, so I have displayed the figures according to the actual number of replies as stacked bar graphs below. As with the festival samples, participants’ gender was mostly male (see figure 1) at 78 per cent (29 out of 37 replies), but their age range was much more evenly spread, including a substantial proportion of 51 per cent (19) under 40 years of age, 8 per cent (3) being under 20 (figure 2).²⁵ Not all respondents answered the question about their location making meaningful comparisons with the festival data impossible, but the answers that were given include various parts of the UK, Europe and the US.

²⁵ Following Munn and Drever (2004, p.26) I left the more personal questions about age, gender and location until the end.

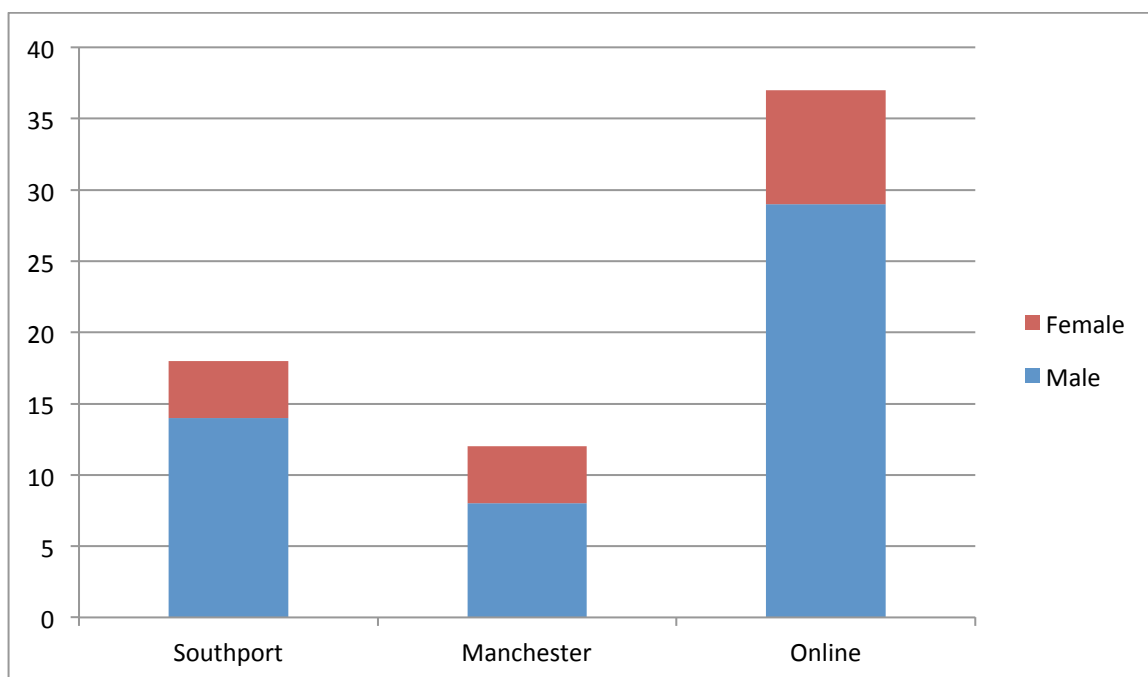


Figure 1: Gender of respondents (by number of replies)

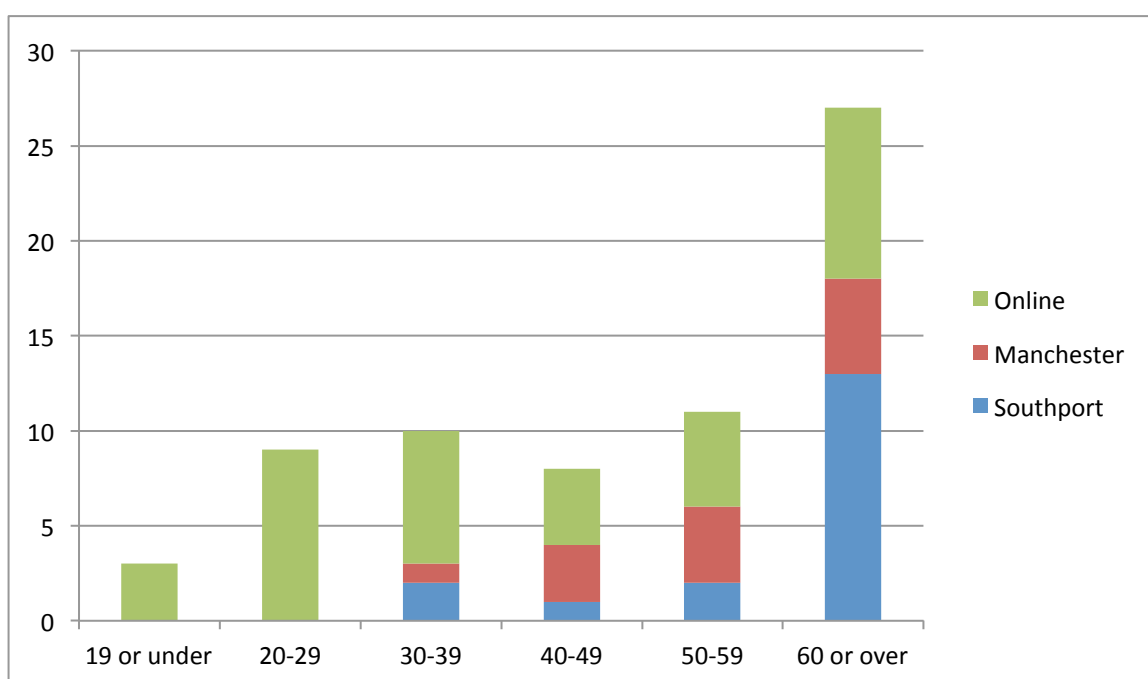


Figure 2: Age groupings of respondents (by number of replies)

When asked about using e-mail to communicate with fellow jazz enthusiasts, 82 per cent (31 out of 38 replies) claimed to do this, compared with 62 per cent (18 out of 29 replies) of the

festival samples (see figure 3). However, the use of social networking sites for this purpose was much higher in the online survey (figure 4) – 58 per cent (22 out of 38 replies) – than in the festival samples where it was just 17 per cent (5 out of 30 replies). Similarly, a greater proportion of the online respondents claimed to participate in online jazz forums (figure 5): 45 per cent (17 out of 38 replies), compared with 20 per cent (5 out of 25 replies) in the festival samples.²⁶ In the online survey, those who used social networking sites for jazz were invited to name them: of 10 who did, 9 cited Facebook and 2, Twitter (one person stating both). Participants claiming to take part in online jazz forums were also invited to name any they used: 5 people did, listing a variety of sites, the only one mentioned more than once being allaboutjazz.com (named by two respondents). When asked which e-mailing lists and artists' blogs were followed, respondents listed several Facebook and Twitter pages as well as general jazz blogs and venue and promoter sites and e-mailing lists. Similarly, when asked which jazz-specific web sites were used, a variety of sites and blogs were listed, again including allaboutjazz.com.²⁷ As with the festival samples, many of the online respondents claimed to be interested in other styles of music including classical, rock, world music, soul and rap, indicating – among some participants at least – a significant level of musical 'onmivorousness'. 81 per cent (26 out of 32 replies) of those for whom it was applicable said they followed these styles using the same methods they did for jazz.

²⁶ These figures are across both festival samples; there were some who gave no answer to these questions.

²⁷ Some respondents may have repeated the same information when answering different questions, as a site such as allaboutjazz.com can be considered to be a blog, a discussion forum and a web site.

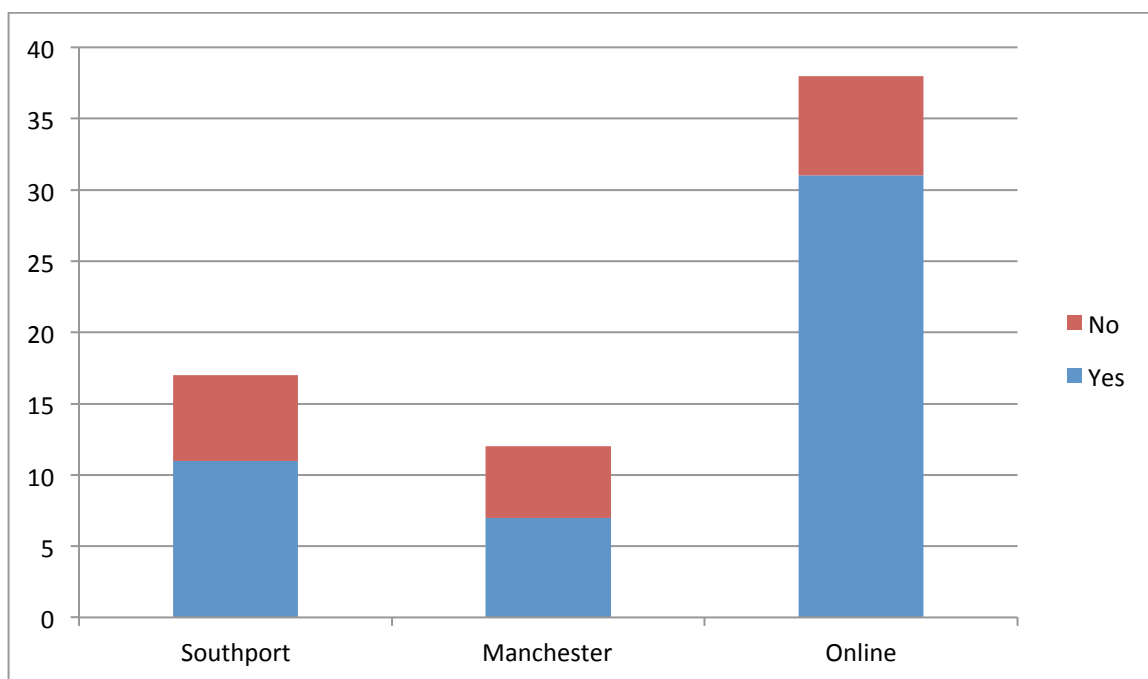


Figure 3: Respondents' use of e-mail to communicate with other jazz enthusiasts (by number of replies)

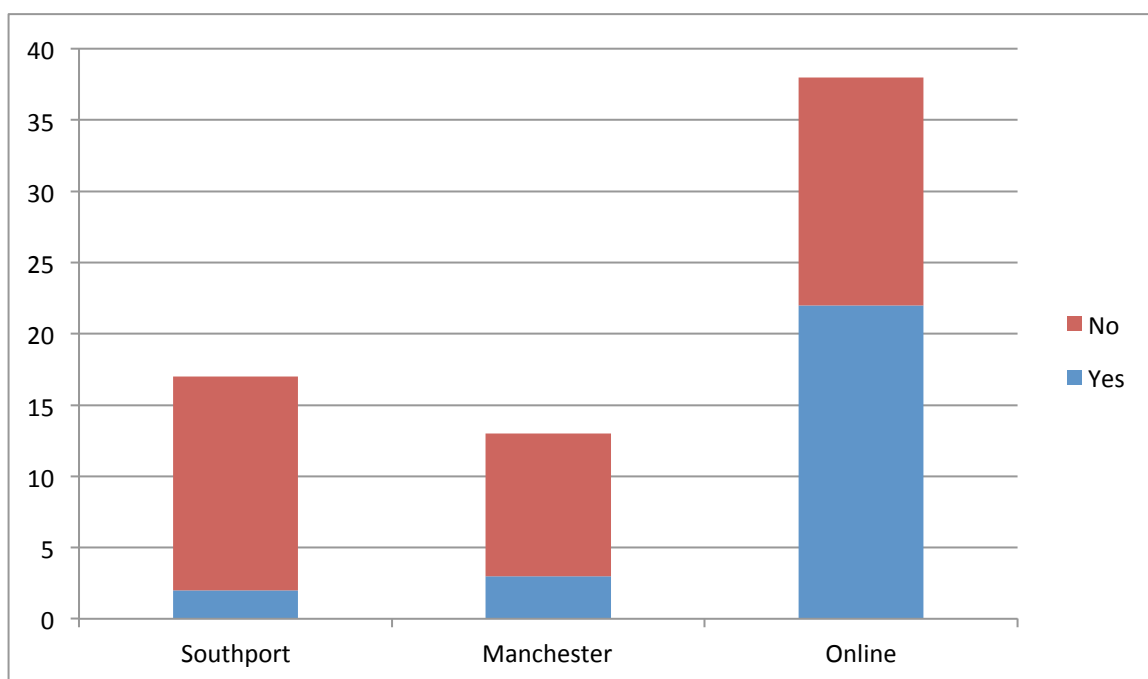


Figure 4: Respondents' use of social networking sites to communicate with other jazz enthusiasts (by number of replies)

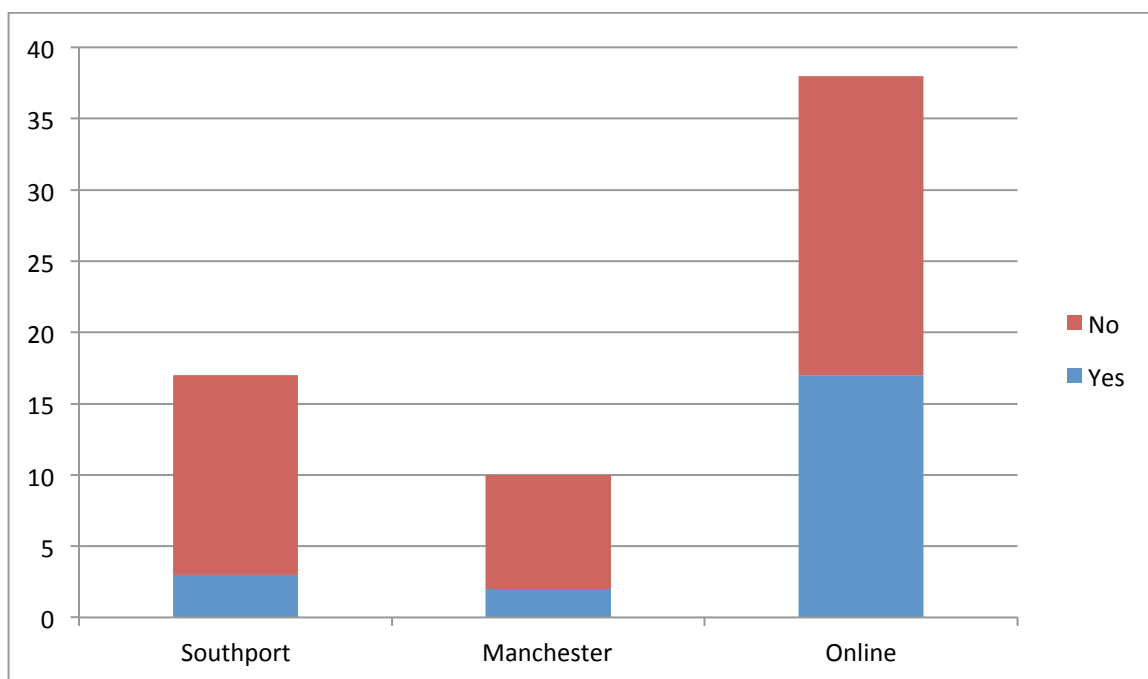


Figure 5: Respondents' use of online forums as part of their jazz activities (by number of replies)

Ranked responses in the online survey

Several questions required ranking in order of frequency (of a particular activity), the rankings ranging from 1 (most frequent) to a number (least frequent) dependent on how many answer options were available. Respondents did not have to select a ranking for any options they thought were not applicable, meaning that there were varying numbers of responses to different answer options within each question. Despite the limitations of data derived from rank-order questions and the difficulties of analysing such data (Munn and Drever, 2004, p.52) the clustering of responses around rankings for individual answer options gives a good indication of these respondents' behaviour for some activities in particular. To make the results clearer I have provided bar charts below for two or three answer options in most cases, to compare responses for similar types of media or activities.

In order to ascertain what jazz-related activities respondents engaged in, they were asked to indicate the relative frequency of seven activities (plus 'other'). The results (see figure 6) show that listening to recorded jazz is the most frequent jazz activity for 43 per cent (18 out of 42 replies) and the second most frequent for 29 per cent (12), which suggests that we could (as Prouty, 2012 argues) consider people with an interest in jazz as belonging to a 'community of practice' based around listening to jazz. Watching jazz on television (including DVD or other video formats) was not as frequently done (and was not the most frequent activity for any respondents). Going to live jazz events was a relatively frequent activity (see figure 7), particularly informal gigs or jam nights, ranked third by 32 per cent (12 out of 38 replies), whereas festivals were ranked fifth by 34 per cent (13 out of 38 replies) and concerts in large venues clustered around the middle for most respondents. 7 (out of 38) respondents (18 per cent) selected playing jazz as a professional or semi-professional musician as their most frequent activity and 8 (out of 34) respondents (24 per cent) selected

amateur jazz performance as their most frequent activity (figure 8), though there were significant numbers who ranked these activities in seventh or eighth place. Assuming that non-musicians did not select any ranking for these options, this data implies that most of these respondents are jazz musicians to some extent.

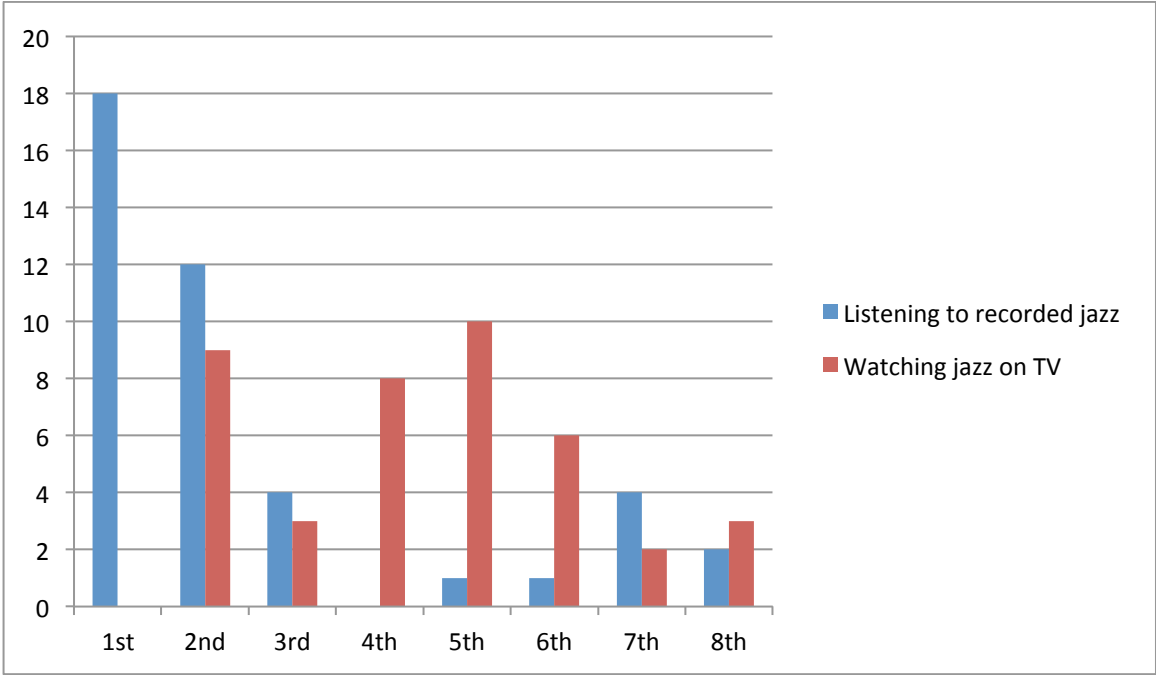


Figure 6: Online respondents’ ranked responses to ‘listening to recorded jazz’ and ‘watching jazz on TV’ (by number of replies per ranking)

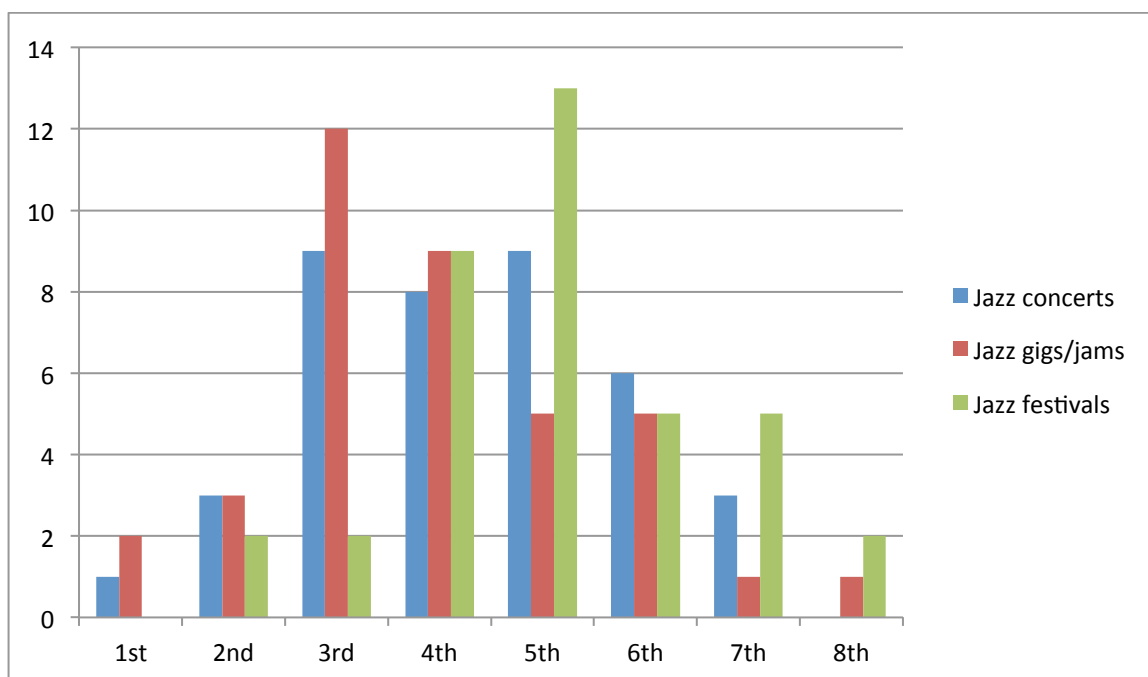


Figure 7: Online respondents' ranked responses to 'going to jazz concerts', 'going to informal jazz gigs/jam nights' and 'going to jazz festivals' (by number of replies per ranking)

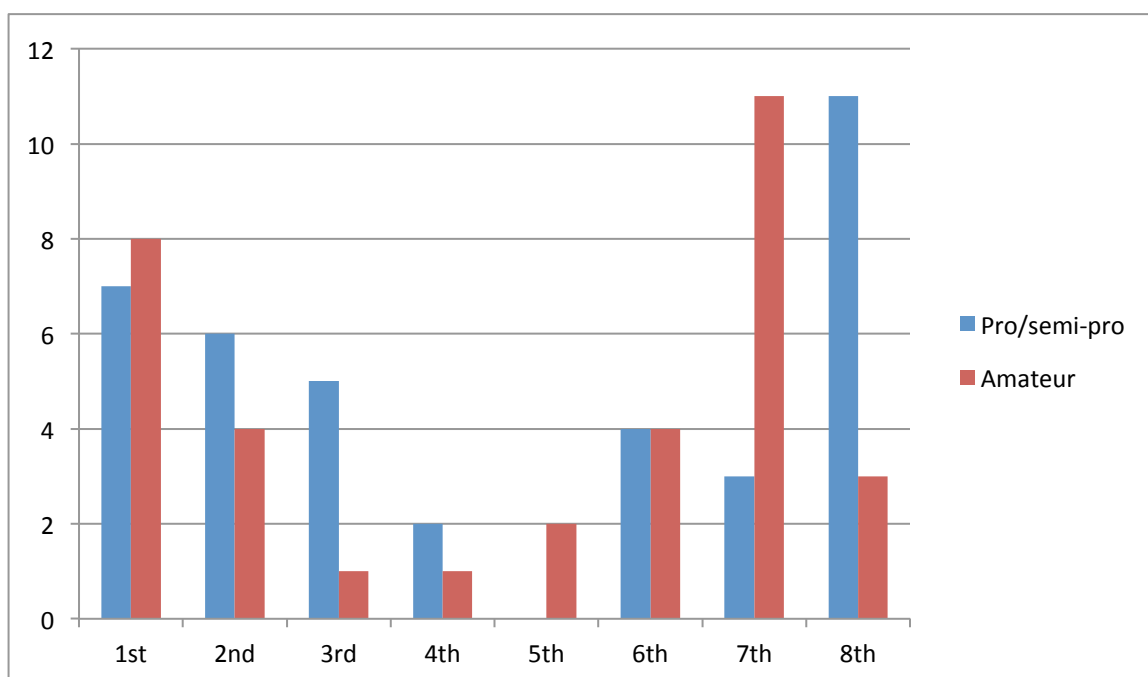


Figure 8: Online respondents' ranked responses to 'playing jazz as a professional/semi-professional musician' and 'playing jazz as an amateur musician' (by number of replies per ranking)

Online participants were asked how they obtain jazz recordings (as the festival participants were), but ranked according to frequency. Half of the respondents ranked traditional shops in first and second place – 25 per cent (10 out of 40 replies) in each – and 29 per cent (11 out of 38 replies) selected online shops (to buy physical recordings) as the most frequent method, with recordings bought at concerts less frequent but more evenly spread among rankings (see figure 9). This suggests, as does the festival data, that jazz enthusiasts like to buy physical recordings, even though they may have to go to specialist retailers and online stores. Downloading albums was the most frequent method for 21 per cent (8 out of 38 replies) and downloading individual tracks was cited as an activity by a total of 40 respondents, though for many it was not a frequent one (see figure 10). When asked whether their use of the internet had influenced the way they consumed jazz, 68 per cent (26 out of 38 replies) said it had, and when invited to describe how, answers included the internet being a '[s]ource of charts' and enabling 'contact with people who attend our shows', supporting the results from the first question that indicated the presence of some jazz musicians within the sample. The availability of jazz to download or to watch or listen to on YouTube was cited, with one comment about the lack of availability in shops. Finding information about music was cited, and some comments suggested that respondents had discovered music online that they were previously unaware of. One respondent said '[l]ess frequent concerts/festivals, more downloads', but another wrote 'I have attended concerts after seeing and hearing some tunes played on Internet [*sic*]'. Only one comment referred explicitly to a social networking site's influence, '[t]hrough Facebook, and receiving "invitations" for various gigs in my area'.

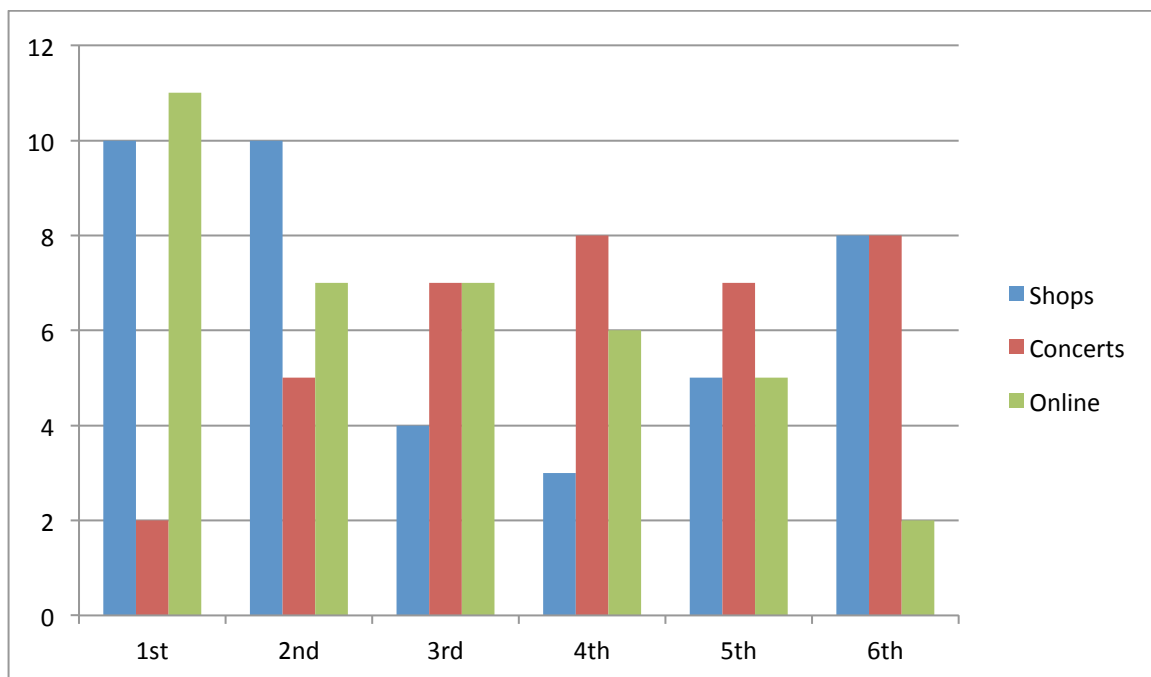


Figure 9: Online respondents' ranked responses to 'I buy recordings from shops, 'I buy recordings at concerts/festivals' and 'I buy physical recordings from online shops' (by number of replies per ranking)

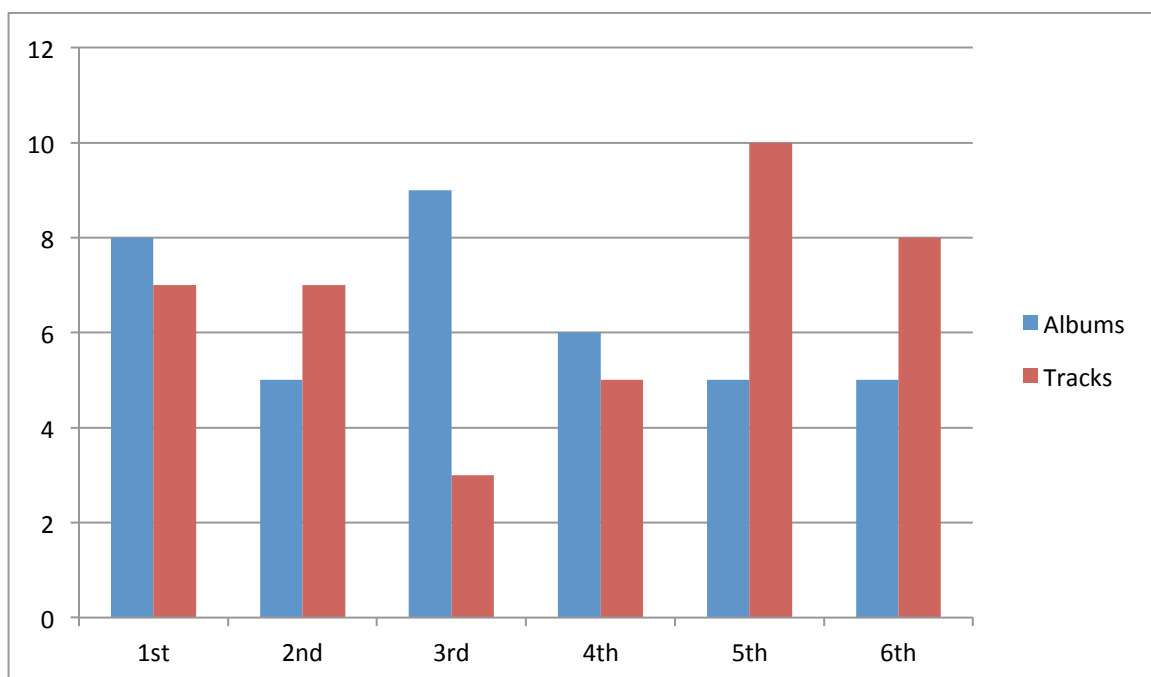


Figure 10: Online respondents' ranked responses to 'I download albums from the internet' and 'I download individual tracks from the internet' (by number of replies per ranking)

When asked about their use of the internet, 42 per cent of respondents (14 out of 33 replies) selected looking at specialist jazz sites as their most frequent activity (see figure 11). Finding out about jazz gigs was a relatively frequent use of the internet whereas finding out about festivals and discovering new artists slightly less so. This differs in emphasis slightly from the festival audience samples, in which finding out about jazz events was done online by more people than other uses of the internet for jazz, though the answers were not ranked in terms of frequency so a direct comparison should not be inferred.

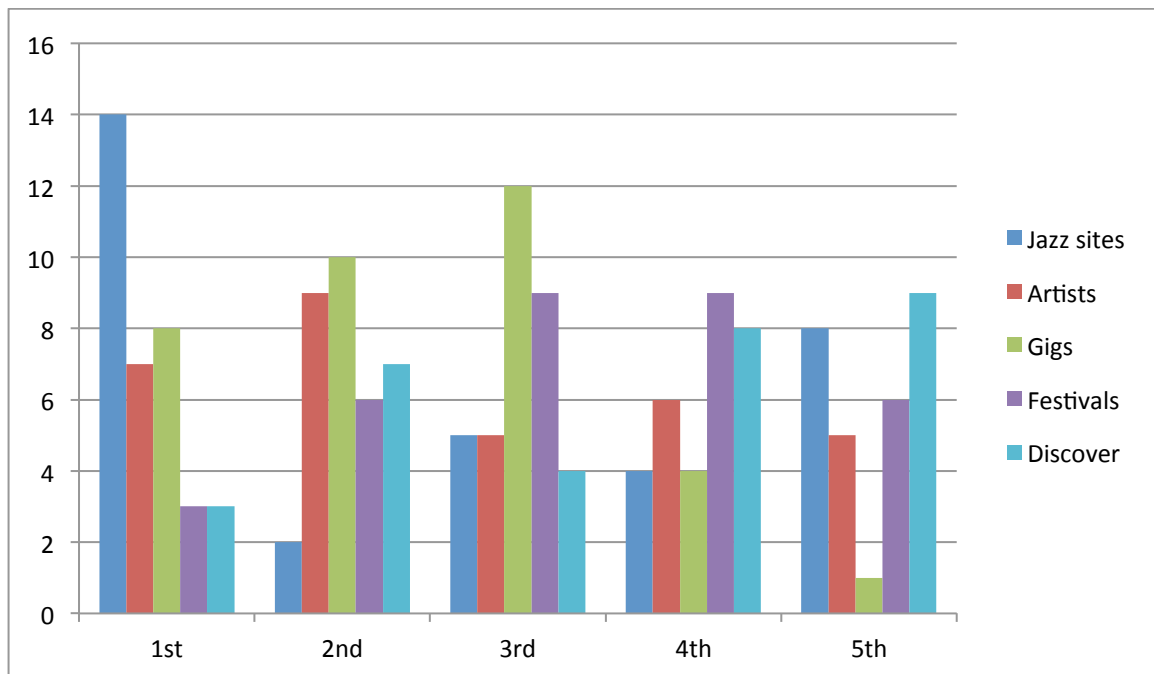


Figure 11: Online respondents' ranked responses to the question about using the internet 'to look at specialist jazz sites', 'to follow my favourite jazz artists', 'to find out about jazz gigs', 'to find out about jazz festivals' and 'to discover new jazz artists' (by number of replies per ranking)

Participants were asked to rank the frequency with which they listened to or watched jazz via digital media, including digital radio. Digital radio was selected as the most frequent listening activity by 24 per cent (8 out of 33 replies) (see figure 12). YouTube was ranked first by 55 per cent (17 out of 31 replies) and second by 19 per cent (6), in contrast to audio streaming

and listening to downloaded music on a mobile device (see figure 13).²⁸ Using artists' MySpace or Facebook pages for watching or listening to jazz was not the most frequent use of the internet by any of the respondents, though it was done to some degree by 33 respondents, the maximum number that replied to this question (see figure 14).

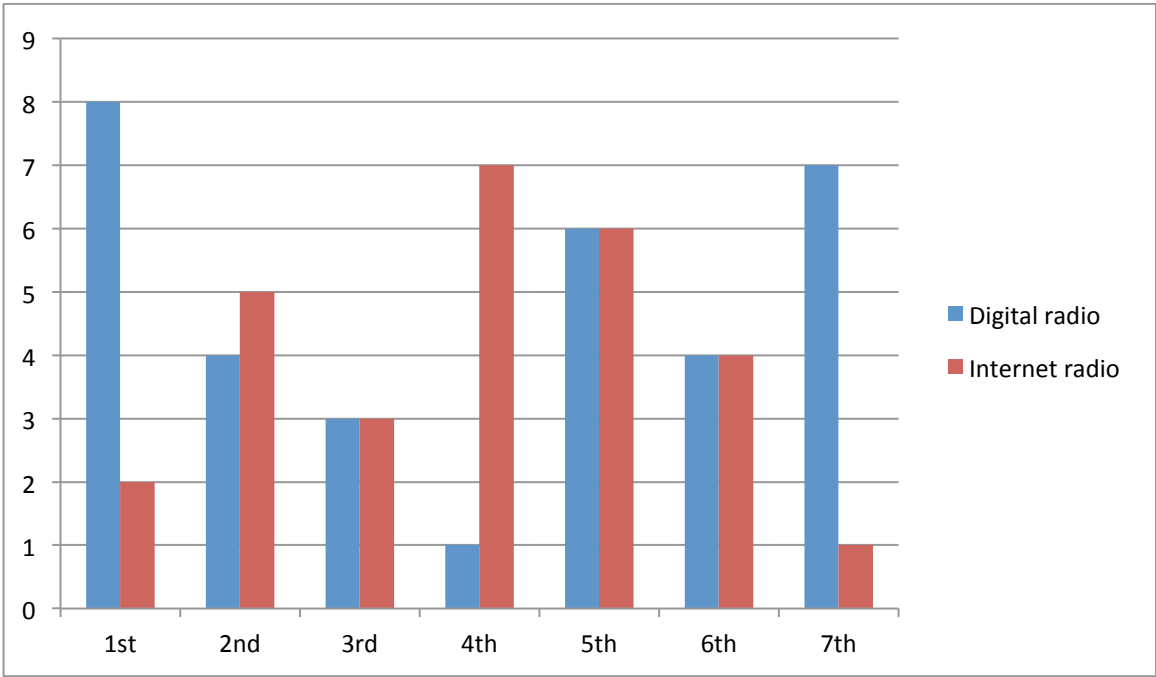


Figure 12: Online respondents' ranked responses to listening to jazz on 'digital radio (e.g. on a DAB radio)' and 'internet-only radio' (by number of replies per ranking)

²⁸ Even during the short period since this survey, 'smart' phones and relatively inexpensive mobile internet access have become ubiquitous in the UK and YouTube and various streaming services more easily available for mobile devices, making the separation between these categories less relevant.

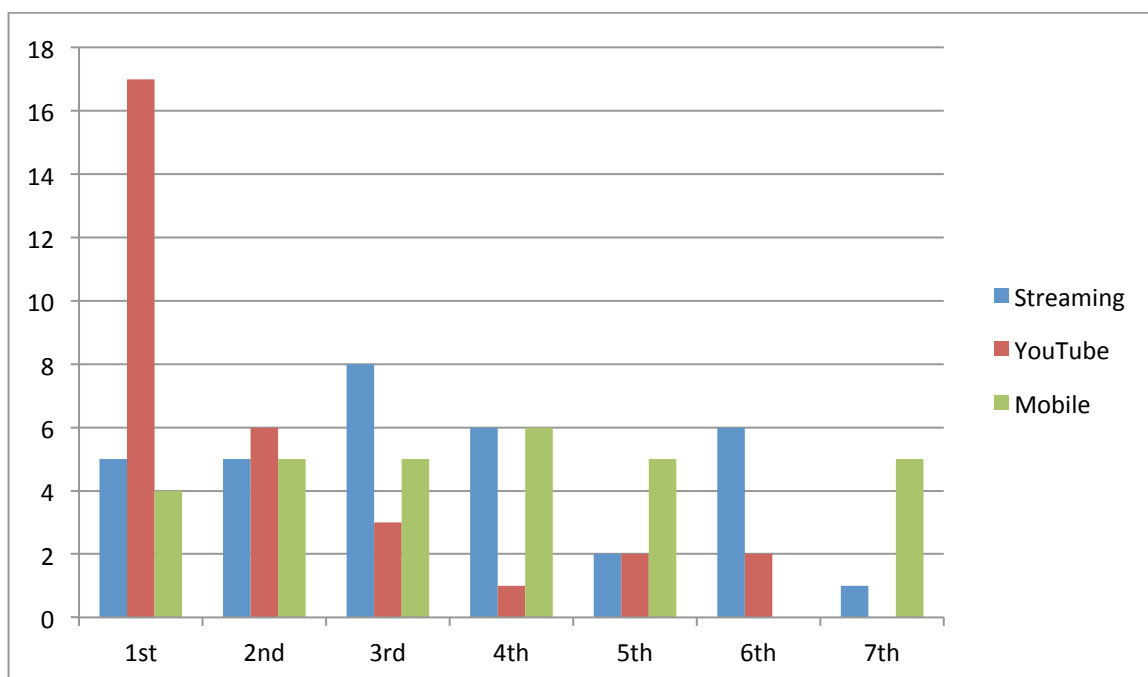


Figure 13: Online respondents' ranked responses to listening to/watching jazz on 'audio streaming services', 'YouTube' and 'downloaded music an a mobile device' (by number of replies per ranking)

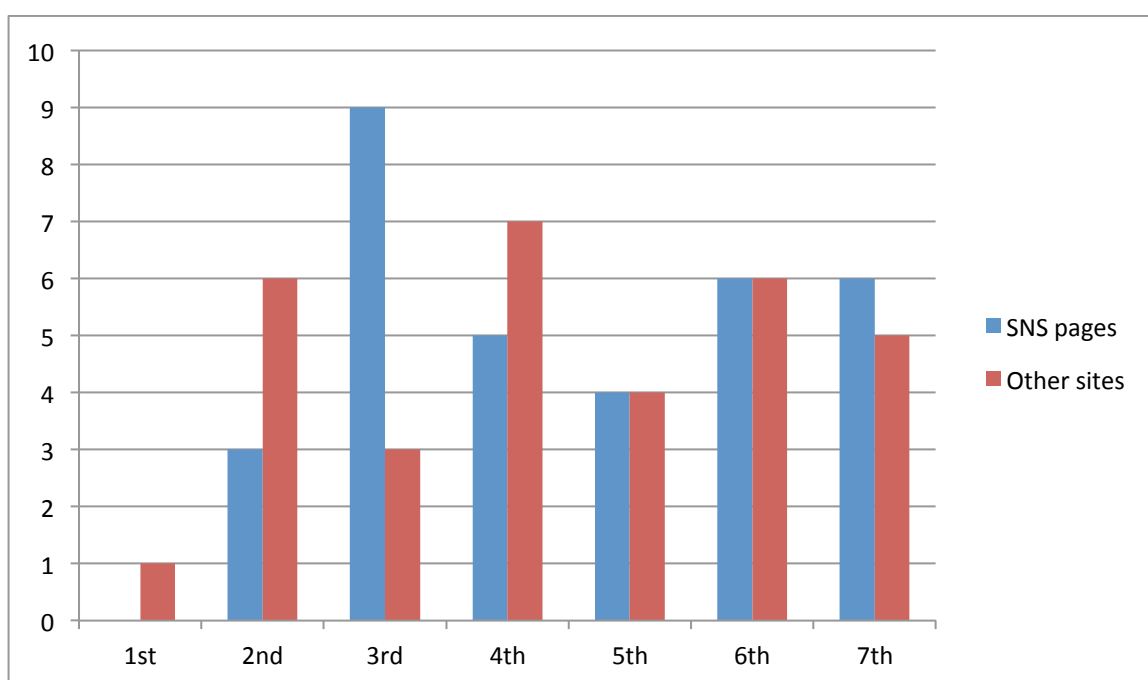


Figure 14: Online respondents' ranked responses to listening to/watching jazz on 'MySpace or Facebook music pages of artists' and 'other music or jazz-related web sites' (by number of replies per ranking)

Knowing their fellow fans

When asked whether they saw people at jazz events they had communicated with online, most (online) respondents said they did – 71 per cent (27 out of 38 replies), as opposed to 28 per cent (11) who clicked ‘never’. Of these, 5 respondents (13 per cent of the total replies) selected ‘frequently (e.g. at monthly gigs)’, 10 (26 per cent) selected ‘sometimes (e.g. at some regular gigs but not every time), and 12 (32 per cent) selected ‘occasionally (e.g. at annual festivals). Respondents were asked where they thought the people they communicated with online lived; 41 per cent (15 out of 37 replies) selected ‘mostly in my own region/city’ and 19 per cent (7) selected ‘mostly in my own country’ (see figure 15). This implies that these respondents are communicating online with people they either know already or perhaps have got to know through their shared interest in jazz, at a local and translocal (rather than global) level, that they recognise when they see them at jazz events.

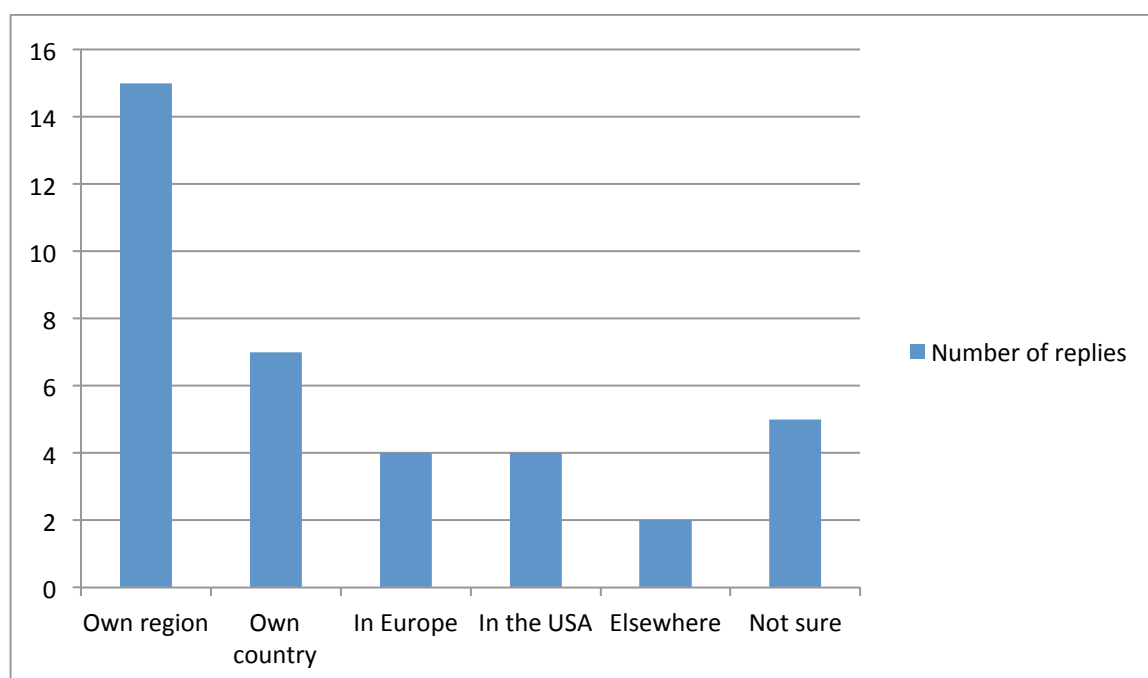


Figure 15: Online respondents' knowledge of where 'the jazz enthusiasts you communicate online with live' (by number of replies)

Summary of survey findings: similarities and differences

Overall, there appear to be some general similarities between the festival audience samples and the online survey respondents and some differences. Across all samples a high proportion claimed to purchase jazz recordings as CDs, particularly from physical and online stores (though more of the online respondents downloaded jazz), supporting the idea that jazz audiences still buy CDs. Most jazz CDs are albums, and there is a long-established reification of albums in jazz, connected with canonisation, recording quality and a ‘collector mentality’ among jazz fans (Whyton, 2008); it is interesting that downloaders among the online respondents more frequently downloaded albums than individual tracks. The internet appeared to be used by many respondents as a way of obtaining information about jazz, but relatively few (particularly among the festival samples) used it as a means of discovering new jazz artists. In this respect, as mentioned in chapter 4, some theories about online discovery of music (such as the influence of digital ratings and charts created by fan activity) are possibly not as valid for jazz as for many other styles of (popular) music, as Jennings (2007) suggests when he questions the usefulness of chart categorisations for ‘niche’ (particularly classical) music: ‘Perhaps such limitations apply to all niches. [...] So if charts are of only limited use, how *do* people find out what others like and discover classical music? The answer seems to be that they use multiple methods, searching, browsing, and monitoring multiple sources of information’ (Jennings, 2007, p.76, emphasis in original). The fact that a majority of respondents across all my surveys claimed not to engage with online forums but did use specialist jazz and other sites for obtaining information appears to support this theory for jazz as well.

There is one result that may problematise this idea, however: the significant use of YouTube, particularly by online respondents. The site can be used for finding specific recordings or

performances – suggesting at least a modicum of jazz knowledge on the part of the user (Prouty, 2012, p.145) – but may also be used as a type of forum, as comments can be posted, and in the discovery of music, by reading comments and following links to similar videos. Though (online) respondents were not asked how they used YouTube, when invited to list any online forums and social networking sites they used for jazz YouTube was not mentioned at all, suggesting that they thought of it as predominantly a video streaming site rather than anything else.²⁹ When it came to the use (for jazz activities) of social networking sites that are designed as such, the majority of online respondents claimed to use them (at least occasionally, and some frequently) whereas most festival respondents did not, though the rapidly increasing use of Facebook in particular by the general public in the period between these surveys may account for at least some of this difference.

Conclusion: sampling jazz audiences

There are several ways in which the results of my surveys, despite the small sample sizes, support some of the findings of previous research into jazz audiences, and there are ways in which members of jazz audiences are using digital media as part of their jazz related activities, about which no previous research has been published (other than Wall and Dubber, 2009). Because the festival audience questionnaires were completed by attendees at jazz events it is unlikely that those respondents would have difficulty in defining jazz, as was the case in the NEA data cited by DeVaux (1999), even though many of the festival participants claimed to enjoy other styles of music. The online respondents were not such a ‘captive’ sample and did not all consider themselves primarily ‘jazz enthusiasts’, according to one of the (optional) comments left at the end of the survey: ‘I don’t think I am as much of a Jazz enthusiastic [*sic*] as this survey presumes. My main connection with jazz is that I have some

²⁹ For many older videos (and audio recordings) it is also becoming a repository: ‘Videos such as these provide a valuable and eminently accessible historical document, searchable by even casual fans’ (Prouty, 2012, p.145).

friends through my activities as a musician, who are jazzers and I talk to them about jazz sometimes, and they mention some artists to me' (1). Another respondent wrote 'my interest in jazz is more to do with a style of playing that I use on occasions [*sic*] but not all the time (Interesting philosophical conundrum developing there I know!)' (2). These comments imply a more peripheral engagement with the 'jazz scene' than that of a 'jazz enthusiast', and the first one suggests that this musician was at a relatively early stage of building a knowledge of jazz via his or her 'jazzers' friends.

Other comments submitted voluntarily by online respondents reveal activities more expected of committed 'jazz enthusiasts', such as this one on self-education by jazz musicians:

I would like to get all the Internet addresses [*sic*] where I can find free Jazz scores and chords . I have already some given by friends but I suppose there are many others . I think that to play Jazz it is today necessary not only to listen to records but also to [...] get some scores to work on the style before being able to improvise (3).

There were also comments about the way jazz is marginalised in mainstream media and about the music industry: 'Now that I'm retired I find myself falling behind with new developments in jazz as many of the radio broadcasts are on so late in the evening' (4); and 'I personally feel that the gatekeepers of the music industry have been able to keep control in online markets through iTunes and Amazon. So it's not so much of a free for all. I'm also interested in jazz sites like ArtistShare where fans can pay for the making of the album' (5).³⁰ This last respondent implies that the 'long tail' theory is not working where large corporate sites dominate the market and is perhaps prepared to consider helping musicians fund recording projects.

The comments quoted above, along with the variety of jazz-related activities pursued by online respondents and interviewees, indicate that people with an interest in jazz engage with

³⁰ See www.artistshare.net for information about this 'crowd funding' site. One of the best known and most successful jazz musicians to have funded recordings via the site is arranger and composer Maria Schneider.

the music in different ways. They can be thought of as contributing to jazz scenes or ‘art worlds’, though at least two of the online respondents, whose comments (1 and 2) above suggest a slight distancing from the feeling of belonging, appear to be at the margins of the jazz world despite voluntarily completing my survey. Martin (2005, p.10) points out that ‘participation in the jazz community appears as one among many options in a fragmented, post-modern culture’, and for these respondents jazz participation appeared not to be their primary musical interest. The author of comment (4) could be another person for whom jazz is one musical interest among many (or has simply not explored ways of keeping up with contemporary jazz other than via the radio); those who wrote comments (3) and (5) appear to be active participants in the wider ‘jazz community’ in ways that go beyond Prouty’s (2012) ‘community of practice’ of listening to jazz. At the same time, many of the survey respondents at the festivals and online claim to be interested in other styles of music and could be considered to belong to the ‘communities of practice’ of those styles as well, at least in terms of listening: when online respondents were asked how much they listened to other styles compared with jazz, 42 per cent (15 out of 36 replies) responded ‘about the same as jazz’ and 19 per cent (7) ‘more than jazz’, with 31 per cent (11) selecting ‘less than jazz’.³¹

The three samples, taken together, indicate a fairly ‘omnivorous’ audience. The wide stylistic range covered by the Southport festival does not make it genre-specific, though mjf could be considered to be part of the contemporary jazz scene. Genre aside, what does emerge from the online survey data is that there seems to be a local and translocal aspect to jazz scenes that is reflected in the online activities of e-mailing and social networking, because a high proportion of the sample claimed to see people at jazz events that they had communicated with online. This intersection of offline and online activities in jazz at a *local* level appears to be the way

³¹ 8 per cent (3) selected ‘not applicable’ and at least one person did not respond to this question.

in which many of these jazz enthusiasts chose to organise their jazz interests, which is in contrast to Prouty's (2012, p.150) suggestion that the 'fundamental decentralization of jazz discourse' made possible by digital communications technology is globalising jazz.

Chapter 7

Views from within: interviews with online respondents

‘Er... most surprisingly, er, the photograph that got the most hits was the Hot Club of Knotty Ash!’ (interviewee PT, 2012).

Those online respondents willing to be interviewed and who responded to my contacting them were interviewed between April and June 2012. The interviews were semi-structured and based on the following questions:

1. In what ways (if any) do you identify yourself as a member of the jazz scene, locally or nationally?
2. Could you describe any ways in which you think the local or national jazz scene shows a distinct identity outside its own geographical area?
3. Could you describe the impact (if any) the internet has had on your activities as a jazz enthusiast?
4. What are your opinions on the ways in which online media (such as blogs, web sites, social networking and e-mail) are used by jazz musicians and fans?
5. And what about the jazz promoters and record labels?
6. What aspects of online jazz would you like to see more of, changed or improved?

Due to their semi-structured nature, the questions did not precisely follow this pattern except in the interview conducted by e-mail, but the questions were all addressed one way or another in each interview. Following transcription of the face-to-face interviews, some themes appropriate to the research questions and detectable in the responses emerged and were categorised so that they could be used for the comparison of comments (Drever, 2003, pp.66-69 and Dawson, 2009, pp.122-123).

The final themes were 'jazz scene', 'community', 'identity', 'online jazz promotion', 'information/communication' and 'social networking'. 'Jazz scene' seems self-explanatory but there were differing feelings of involvement in the local jazz scene. 'Community' was not explicitly discussed very much as the word was not used in the pre-planned interview questions, but a re-phrased question in one interview led to answers involving 'a sense of community'. 'Identity' was part of the first two interview questions, though one interviewee did not see its relevance in terms of jazz scenes. 'Online jazz promotion' means both self-promotion by musicians and promotion by promoters and record labels. 'Information/communication' refers to the use of the internet for the purpose of finding or disseminating information (rather than professional promotion) and communication between members of a jazz scene or organisation. 'Social networking' is, again, self-explanatory and in these cases referred to MySpace, Facebook and Twitter (but not YouTube). The subjects within these themes tended to be discussed in a supportive or a critical way, so the text extracts were further categorised into broadly positive and negative responses (depending on the context of the answer) to each theme. Following Drever (2003, pp.69-70), because some responses were not completely positive or negative I created another category for 'mixed' statements. While presenting qualitative data as statistics can be misleading (Drever, 2003, p.70), as an overview a summary of the numbers of statements in each category is shown in the table below (figure 1); tables containing all the text extracts can be found in appendix D. This exercise was conducted in order to determine an overview of opinions among the interviewees rather than as a basis for content analysis – what follows later in this chapter is a critical comparative discussion of participants' answers in the context of each theme.

	Positive statements	Mixed statements	Negative statements
Jazz scene	6	3	4
Community	2	1	4
Identity	7	2	5
Online jazz promotion	4	3	14
Information/ communication	28	4	11
Social networking	3	3	3

Figure 1: Numbers of positive, mixed and negative statements within themes (across all 3 interviews)

The interviewees

The three interviewees, who are referred to as PT, GH and PM and all male,¹ were self-selecting and had completed my online survey before the interviews took place. Each described their involvement in jazz in different ways. PT runs his own amateur blog site as a member of a group of enthusiasts, Beaufort Jazz, which puts on regular monthly events, and described his role in terms of his responsibility for the blog site and online publicity. Even though PT described himself ‘as a marketing man’ and his Beaufort Jazz activities may have been considered to be helping promote jazz in the local area, he was reticent about discussing the way digital technology was used by professional promoters and record labels: ‘promoters, I don’t know, I can’t really... talk too much about them [...] If I just... deal with musicians, and myself as a fan, say’. PT preferred to speak from his own experiences as a jazz enthusiast and someone using his marketing experience in local amateur jazz promotion, rather than be seen as a professional jazz promoter or part of the music industry. He was ambivalent about the impact of digital technology on jazz, suggesting that without the blog and related sites

¹ Though I did not ask their ages I would estimate that they were all over 40 years old and PM voluntarily gave his age as 67.

Beaufort Jazz may not have been able to continue running, but that often ‘there’s something in a musician’s mind which makes them a great musician, but very poor at promoting themselves. [...] a musician needs to be able to capture... themselves online, and [...] stimulate a potential audience’.

The second interviewee, GH, described himself as an enthusiast of jazz, but his jazz activities extended further in his professional capacity as a teacher: ‘jazz plays a big part in the various educational things I’m involved in – I teach at a number of schools, and I run the Jazz Workshop’. Though he did not explicitly discuss the idea of jazz community, it was implied in his description of the Jazz Workshop as ‘a community type big band. It’s been at various locations; it’s been part of the Adult Learning Service, but in more recent times I’ve been running it on a voluntary basis because the... the funding’s dried up’. That GH had continued running the band in different venues and after he had stopped being paid for it suggests that it had perhaps created a ‘sense of community’; this was further supported by the example of someone who had found out about the band (possibly via the band’s web site) and ‘e-mailed the other week, asked me about the Jazz Workshop and I basically said, well, come along, and he’s done a couple of sessions with us now. He’s really enjoying it’. GH’s answers were drawn from his experience as an educator as well as a fan, and his use of the digital media was essentially for finding information, communication and purchasing CDs, rather than social networking, for which he felt he did not have time.

The other participant, PM, was interviewed via e-mail and was cautious about being considered part of the ‘jazz scene’: ‘Although I grew up listening to Django Reinhardt records, I don’t particularly identify myself in this way. There’s music I like, and music I care less about’. Despite owning instruments, he did not seem to consider himself to be a

performer, at least in a public situation. PM used online media for information gathering: ‘the Internet is where I look for anything I want to know about music, performers & so on’, but had clear views about the way musicians promote themselves online, as well as ‘the average record label’, which he thought would be ‘unlikely to put much effort into promoting special interest music’. As the interview was conducted by e-mail PM’s replies were somewhat considered, concise and answered my questions directly, which is a useful aspect of e-mail interviews (Kozinets, 2010, p.112), but e-mail does not lend itself to the potentially interesting diversions that can occur in face-to-face semi-structured interviews. I will now discuss the interviewees’ responses in relation to each of the themes in turn; some of the comments are applicable to more than one theme.

Discussion of responses by theme

‘Jazz scenes’

Both PT and GH used the term ‘jazz scene’ – PT directly, if fairly modestly, placing himself within it:

Well, I think I *would* say I’m part of the jazz scene. Ah... I’m part of the jazz scene – obviously, Beaufort Jazz, in a sort of a... anonymous role, helping to publicise the event. So, I’m not considered a principal organiser but [...] I run the blog, I speak to musicians and try and put events on the blog for people to access and to give musicians a bit of publicity (PT).

GH acknowledged the existence of a (regional) jazz scene made up of, as he described it, ‘jazz musicians, jazz teachers and some people involved in jazz [...] in various locations in the North West, and [...] there is a jazz scene, I suppose, in that respect’. By describing himself as both an enthusiast and a teacher GH also effectively placed himself within the scene, locally at least. However, he did not feel he could compare this scene with other regional scenes, ‘because I’ve not had much involvement with, [...] say, the Midlands, [...] London or whatever’, implying that he does not normally work outside his local area or go to

see jazz events outside the local scene. PT felt that as a listener he was involved ‘probably to a lesser extent’ (whereas on ‘an admin level, you could say I’m actively involved’), and tended not to travel outside his local area (of West Lancashire) to see jazz unless he stumbled across it on, for example, a business trip to London. Indeed, he was of the opinion that jazz audiences would not travel far to see jazz events, implying that jazz scenes – from an audience perspective – are essentially local. However, he admitted that this view was based on his experience, assuming that others would be like him, not being keen to travel outside their local area (i.e. the local scene) to see live jazz: ‘I don’t think people travel a lot for jazz events. [...] to give you an example, if you said to me [...] there’s a jazz event on [...] at Llay, near Wrexham... ah... I’d think twice before going to that because it’s just, you know, it’s just, er, it’s a bit of a trip, to be honest [over an hour from West Lancashire]’ (PT).

It is notable that neither PT nor GH referred to style-based jazz scenes, suggesting a more geographical conception, PT’s scene being more localised than the regional scene of GH. PM did not use the term ‘jazz scene’ and did not seem to want to pigeonhole himself as just a jazz fan, having a wider taste in music: ‘You’re more likely experience magic in music if you experience it live, which is what impels me to attend at Briars [a monthly jazz guitar night], but I’m equally keen to see blues and rock music played live’ (PM). Even when attending events it was as a music fan and nothing more, refraining from taking part as a musician (presumably in jam sessions) because ‘I don’t play enough (guitar) to gain the proficiency to participate’ (PM). In a later reply he re-asserted his interest in live music and entertainment in general:

If we’re travelling anywhere, I search beforehand to see [if] we can exploit the trip by taking in live music, but I don’t confine that to jazz (although I still owe myself a visit to Le Qucumbar! [a London jazz venue specialising in Django Reinhardt-style music]). The Brewery Arts Centre at Kendal is a favourite venue, although the range of events they promote is wide-ranging – last visit there, we saw a comedian (PM).

This statement reveals an interesting contrast with the views of PT: PM showed enthusiasm for attending live music events as an audience member without confining himself to one particular scene, whereas PT – despite being active in promoting the local jazz scene – was reluctant to travel very far to see a jazz performance. GH, meanwhile, described himself as an enthusiast, ‘although I must admit, I’ve... it’s been it’s a little while since I’ve been to any... any gigs recently, [...] because of, er, work, [...] but whenever I get the chance, yeah, I like to go and see some decent jazz, you know’ (GH). For different reasons, then, all three interviewees’ involvement with local jazz scenes, as audience members at least, appears to be to some extent selective.

‘Community’

There were few comments that directly mentioned ‘community’ as the term was not used in the original questions. However, when the question about jazz scene identity was answered in an unexpected way by PT, causing me to re-phrase it to include ‘community’ (in an online context) in his interview, PT mentioned one traditional jazz web site ‘where there is a sense of community’ due to the way people contributed to the site (and he repeated: ‘there *is* a sense of community there’). However, PT felt that this was an exception; another site was described as ‘more of a hub, rather than a community’. Regarding his own blog site, he said ‘I wouldn’t say that’s a sense of community [...] in so much as there’s very little interaction’, and in jazz web sites overall, ‘I don’t see much community, to be honest’ (PT). The only other explicit mention of ‘community’ was by GH in the context of the Jazz Workshop, his ‘community type big band’, but a general ‘sense of community’ was implied rather than positively (or negatively) emphasised in this case, although as mentioned above GH’s community spirit was evident in the way he had continued running the band on a voluntary basis after funding had ended. As for online community, GH mentioned a web site that had been created by one of

the band members but he described it in terms of its usefulness as a means of *communication* rather than in community terms; the use of online media for hosting or disseminating information about jazz rather than forming communities was something that was a significant talking point in all three interviews and will be discussed below.

‘Identity’

‘Identity’ as a concept was part of the first two interview questions, but it was not explicitly referred to by interviewees as much as might be expected, though in the context of the first question (‘in what ways [...] do you identify yourself as a member of the jazz scene [...]?’) PT and GH did essentially describe their self-identification within the jazz scene. PT mentioned his ‘anonymous role’ as an amateur promoter with Beaufort Jazz (running the blog site) whereas GH more positively identified himself as a jazz enthusiast and educator. PM, however, preferred not to identify himself in relation to his Reinhardt-listening background, referring to his broader stylistic interests. In this way, more explicitly than the other interviewees, PM seemed to prefer being regarded as a music fan with more ‘omnivorous’ tastes than just Reinhardt-style jazz, and perhaps distanced himself from the style-based divisions he described as ‘special interest groups’.

When it came to the question of whether a jazz scene has a distinct identity, only GH thought the (regional) scene had an ‘identity’, in terms of the people involved in jazz, though he did not explain *what* made this identity distinct: ‘as I see it, it does seem to have it... its own sort of identity, in the sense that there are, erm... sort of... jazz practitioners, if I can use that... that rather pompous expression!’ As he admitted he could not compare the regional scene with other jazz scenes I did not press him on how this identity might have manifested itself. PM’s response was: ‘As for distinct identity, it’s almost an underground activity as so few are

aware of it, so I reckon a clear identity is pretty much absent, especially as jazz alone divides into special interest groups'. However, as these groups may themselves have individual identities, this could be seen as contradictory – presumably he was referring to jazz as a whole. PT initially responded to this question by saying 'that's a good question!' but then said 'the first thing that goes through my mind as a marketing man is, [...] "is it a relevant question?"' before talking about whether marketing jazz outside the local area is worthwhile: 'if somebody's employing me to market a jazz event outside the immediate locality, I'd think hard as to how much benefit that would be for them' (PT). This was more to do with how far he thought audiences were willing to travel to a jazz event than issues of identity, and while PT may have thought it was not a relevant question it is possible that he may have misinterpreted the question. He might, however, have meant that the location of a jazz event is a more significant factor in attracting an audience than whether it is part of a distinctive local scene.

'Online jazz promotion'

There was a good deal of discussion about the way in which jazz musicians are promoted online, particularly by themselves, as can be seen by the number of (mostly negative) comments (see appendix D). GH was positive, referring specifically to the web site one of his Jazz Workshop members created ('one of the guitar players set up [...] a web site[...] he's done that on behalf of the band, which is really good') and two festival sites ('Southport Jazz Festival, and, er, Wigan Jazz Festival [...] [the internet is] very useful in that respect, you know?'). PM cited an example of one person (not a jazz musician) who uses online promotion well, and another for whom he believes it has been 'overdone', but in general PM was somewhat critical of the ways in which jazz musicians utilise online promotion methods. PM referred in particular to an 'example of total failure to exploit such a freely available medium

[...] Compare [this musician's] public profile to, say, Martin Taylor and it's just tragic'. He suggested that 'an aggregation site equivalent to, say, TimeOut [...] would be useful. That said, any such medium requires the input of the content providers, in our case, musicians, promoters and venues, which means there will always be a degree of failure' (PM). Furthermore:

Those who think they are promoting themselves using MySpace need also to realise that [it] is dead - it just hasn't stopped twitching yet. It's a poor substitute for an autonomous presence, yet it's still the only place you can find information about many musicians and venues. It costs little to buy an Internet domain name so why doesn't everyone working in music (or any other artistic endeavour for that matter) have their own web site? It doesn't diminish the value of ground-level networking but, more and more, the first port of call when seeking information is the World Wide Web, so there's nothing wrong with making yourself easy to find (PM).²

This reveals a degree of frustration on PM's part, and he did apologise for having 'something of a protracted whinge' about many musicians' lack of web presence. He suggested that musicians' web sites could be made more 'informative and attractive' with embedded YouTube clips and that there is too much 'static content. How many tour date lists have you seen which haven't been updated since last year? There's no excuse for this' (PM).

PT was positive about the potential of the internet for jazz promotion:

So, in recent years, I would say it's very good, because you've got the facility to, er, publicise things [...] when the web first started it was quite expensive to get a web site up and running, you needed HTML – nowadays, anybody with [good] word processing knowledge [can] start a web site and put things up; there's MySpace, etcetera, etcetera (PT).

PT did not seem to share PM's view that MySpace was 'dead', but did emphasise the ease with which musicians could utilise online media. However, as with PM, he was critical of the lack of care in maintaining information:

The problem with easy access is that it creates a new set of problems, and that is that people start web sites and never update them. You know, so, you look at something, and you think, oh, hang on, there's something there, and of course it's a year old [...]

² Since this interview in April 2012, MySpace seems to have made something of a recovery in its popularity.

a year out of date. So, er... I would say the web's been very helpful, and it... it's almost like a curve, where you've... you've reached almost, I would say, the top of the curve of usefulness, and now, it's almost like there's too much on the web, and... it's not updated. And the killer, on the web, is if things aren't updated, people no longer visit the site. It's absolutely crucial to keep it alive and relevant (PT).

When I asked him whether he thought a web site that has been 'kept alive' has had an impact on the local jazz scene PT answered 'Yes. I do, because [...] when we first started the blog, we started that because, erm, it was very difficult to get information round the potential members. [...] I would say that Beaufort Jazz would probably have come to an end, perhaps, three years ago [...] without the web involvement' (PT). However, he also pointed to the problem of a large number of people visiting the site only occasionally: 'Now, in marketing terms that's called filling a bucket with a hole in the bottom, because it's... it's a revolving door; people visit, and then they might not visit again' (PT) – this is presumably in spite of his own efforts to keep the site up to date.

The self-promotion skills of musicians online provided the main target of PT's frustration. In particular, PT was somewhat critical of the quality of online video footage of musicians, which made them difficult to promote in his own role with Beaufort Jazz: 'one of the problems that we've had is, erm... probably, poor quality of... material online in terms of videos. Erm... we've had a couple of instances where... people look at, er, a clip, and say "Oh, I won't bother going to see them because it doesn't look too good!"' (PT). He cited one example of a group that, in his view, let itself down in this way: 'they clearly were a very good band, but, for various reasons, the clips of them weren't very good. And so, when we wrote the article on the blog, a couple of us chatted about it [...] and said that we won't put the clip on' (PT). In his promotional role PT could see that some of the musicians he dealt with needed guidance:

I am not a very good musician, but I have a clear idea of what needs to be done to promote, and I would say, erm... a musician needs to be able to capture... themselves

online, and [...] stimulate a potential audience, and if that includes video, it needs to be professional video, I would say [...] everything's online, but the way in which [...] it could be [improved is that] it needs to be used, er, a bit more professionally and creatively' (PT).

Indeed, when I suggested that a do-it-yourself approach 'democratises' promotion for musicians, PT replied 'No, it differentiates it even more!', later saying that 'the fact we've got a level playing field, supposedly, with all these various forms of media on the internet is [...] probably dragging people down to the lowest common denominator, rather than helping people'. This is a similar view to that of PM (who thinks that musicians should make more use of video clips in their online promotion) but with the proviso that video material is of good quality, otherwise it could actually work against the artist.

'Information/communication'

The theme of online information and communication contains the highest number of comments, mostly positive (see appendix D). PT suggested that the informative nature of online media had kept Beaufort Jazz viable for longer than it may otherwise have been, and that 'it seems to be that the musicians get good click-throughs' (PT). Indeed, he thought that one band, the Hot Club of Knotty Ash, may not have been found online without the blog site as the band 'don't have their own web site' (PT). However, as a promoter PT was aware of the limitations of disseminating jazz scene information beyond a local level:

There's [...] a good web presence, er, for jazz events [and] a good link up of e-mails, like [for example] Vic Greenberg [a local jazz promoter who] seems to... to keep people informed [...] the problem nowadays is, to get your message across in a very, very busy world, you have to either work at a sort of a very low level of doing your best, which is what we do with, say, Beaufort Jazz, or, then you have to throw a lot more money at it to get a lot more presence, er, in the wider geographical area. And of course that [...] just wouldn't be worthwhile, there wouldn't be any return (PT).

From a fan's viewpoint, PT suggested that finding relevant information online (about live jazz at least) required some effort: 'I think, once you know where to look, it makes life a lot easier. Erm... however, it's... it's knowing where to look [...] So, say... you suddenly became

interested in jazz, you would have to do quite a bit of digging to [...] unearth what's on offer' (PT). PT's description of Vic Greenberg's web site as 'more of a hub' and his own blog site being perceived 'mainly as something to receive information [from], and not something to interact [with]' indicates that he regarded these sites as functioning primarily to host and disseminate information about local jazz. Running his own site has given PT the opportunity to gather information about its use by visitors:

looking at the stats behind the blog you can see instant data [such] as what terms have been used in Google to find the blog, and you can see where people have clicked through, so you know what people have been looking for. [...] most surprisingly, er, the photograph that got the most hits was the Hot Club of Knotty Ash! [...] And that was also one of the highest searched! (PT).

PT thought that the curiosity around the Hot Club of Knotty Ash may have been provoked by its discovery by people searching for 'hot club' – the way in which data can be gathered about the use of digital media is a useful consequence of digitality, and is used by organisations such as London Jazz to measure the readership of its blog articles (Scotney, 2013).

GH repeatedly stressed the *usefulness* of the site created for his Jazz Workshop at a local level: 'in a practical sense it's obviously very good for... for communication purposes [...] so that we can communicate via that, [...] which is very useful, you know [...] it's useful if you think [...] "hang on, when was that concert? Oh yeah, we... we're doing a gig on the fifteenth of next month" or whatever it might be' (GH). He also spoke about the usefulness of the internet in general for information gathering, learning and communication:

It's also good, too [...] if you're researching something yourself [...] you can check out things, quite often obscure things. I mean... lately I've been, erm... checking out a load of Russian jazz, people like the... the Ganelin Trio, and erm, the Moscow Art Trio, who are [...] one of my [...] favourite, er, trios at the present moment. Erm... and the amount of information I've been able to glean from the... the internet's been fantastic and it's led to me purchasing various things, again via the internet, from Amazon, and I've now got about... about eight Moscow Arts Trio CDs. So it's good in that respect; it's also very good, too, I think, for, you know, you might be looking for, say, extended techniques on a, say, saxophone, or something, and, er, it just so

happens that someone's put something on the... on the internet and you can sort of, erm, you know, watch it and advance your... armoury of sounds, you know? (GH).

The discovery of music online is the subject of Jennings's (2007) work, and as GH is already knowledgeable about jazz he may have done what Jennings suggests classical music audiences do, 'searching, browsing, and monitoring multiple sources of information. With any genre outside the vernacular forms of popular culture, you also have to commit considerable time to concentrated listening' (Jennings, 2007, p.76). When discussing the use of online media by jazz musicians and fans in general, GH reiterated that 'again, it's a very useful means of communication, passing information and so on' and that 'it's pretty adequate for my own purposes, people from my own generation. For example, school pupils are light years ahead – it's a cultural thing; they're born into it' (GH).

PM found the internet particularly useful for information gathering:

I rarely buy a newspaper any more (read them on line), so the Internet is where I look for anything I want to know about music, performers & so on. I've also found a wealth of information about Manouche-style players - before about 1999, I thought I might be the only person who knew about Django! (PM).

Regarding individual musicians and venues, PM stated that 'I periodically check out tour dates for musicians that I want to see, and also check the web sites of venues within convenient reach to see who is scheduled. There are some where I've signed up to newsletters. Blogs are hard to keep up with so I use "If This Then That"'. PM highlighted some ways in which he thought online media could be better utilised for jazz – particularly by musicians and promoters – such as (already mentioned above) the aggregation of information and the updating of musicians' web sites ('given that such information can be published on a web site within an hour of being confirmed') which was also criticised by PT. What is clear here is the importance of digital media for information and communication purposes for all these respondents.

‘Social networking’

The theme of ‘social networking’ contains – perhaps surprisingly – only a few comments, equally balanced (numerically) between positive, mixed and negative (see appendix D). PT did not say very much about it other than mentioning the presence of MySpace (‘there’s MySpace, etcetera, etcetera’) and Facebook in a generally positive way: the Facebook site of one of the Beaufort Jazz organisers was cited as part of the organisation’s web involvement (‘there’s, obviously, er, Rachel’s Facebook site’) but there were no other direct references to social networking by PT. GH admitted to not using social media: ‘I’ve never actually Twittered. I’ve never [...] actually used Facebook either’ (GH). This was ‘mainly because I... I really haven’t the time’, though he was willing to consider it ‘to balance things out’. As discussed above, PM believed MySpace to have had its day despite many musicians and venues continuing to use it (suggesting that they should have their own web sites instead), and that some musicians use social media inappropriately (‘if you want to see how it can be overdone’) or not at all. However, it is difficult to tell whether all his comments refer to social networking or online media in general. Despite giving the impression that he was a Facebook user himself, by suggesting that musicians set up web sites using their own domain name PM was advocating the use of these rather than social networking sites (particularly MySpace), but only if they are kept up to date. MySpace and other social media sites have been designed to be easily updated, and this feature – along with the fact that they are usually free to use – is probably the reason musicians often use them rather than buying domain names and creating their own web site, though many musicians in popular music have both a social networking site and web site (Blake, 2007, p.110).

Conclusion: local jazz scenes, online media and jazz musicians

The apparent ‘omnivorousness’ of many of the online survey respondents (as discussed in the previous chapter) may be one reason why two of the interviewees felt that their respective jazz scenes lacked a distinct identity (PM), or that any regional identity was due to the jazz ‘practitioners’ (performers and educators) rather than the audience (GH). There is a sense of locality to the jazz scene of PT in particular, who seems rarely to venture outside it (and GH does not get the opportunity to do so), though PM implies that he would go to events outside his local area ‘[i]f we’re travelling anywhere’ or at ‘venues within convenient reach’. PM’s reference to ‘special interest groups’ within jazz may suggest the existence of Martin and Parsonage’s (2008) multiple jazz scenes, but as, in PM’s words, ‘almost an underground activity’. Both PT and PM hint at separate genre-based scenes (JazzDev, 2000) around ‘trad’ and gypsy jazz, but not very strongly.

On the basis of these interviewees’ responses, there may not be a single ‘online community’ of jazz enthusiasts – or, at least, these respondents did not identify themselves as belonging to one, and PT could only identify one style-based web site he had found with ‘a sense of community’. Online media is being used to publicise events in local scenes such as that promoted by the Beaufort Jazz blog site, which is mainly focused on one venue and the gypsy jazz genre, but according to Baym’s (2010, p.75) definition (space; shared practice, resources, support and identities; and interpersonal relationships) such sites are not online communities. As they reflect jazz scenes in a local and/or stylistic sense they could be considered ‘virtual scenes’, but the lack of regular involvement by a body of members discussed by PT (many people visiting his site only once) suggests that these types of informative sites do not constitute virtual scenes either, as ‘virtual scene participants around the world come together in a single scene-making conversation via the Internet’ (Peterson and Bennett, 2004, p.10).

They may, however, help to promote the activities of local jazz scenes as PT's site does for Beaufort Jazz events – PT suggested that this part of the local scene would not have continued without his blog site, but by the same token the site may not have existed (at least in its promotional form) without the Beaufort Jazz events.

When it comes to practical applications of the technology there was a strong sense of frustration from PT and PM that many jazz musicians do not make good use of online media to promote themselves and are thereby missing an opportunity – something that was also mentioned by some of the survey respondents. However, the internet and online media in general were regarded as providing valuable sources of information and means of communication by all three interviewees, whether via web sites, YouTube, e-mail or social media. GH, in particular, claimed to use various forms of online media in this way as both a jazz fan ('lately I've been, erm... checking out a load of Russian jazz') and a musician and educator: 'the advent of the internet has meant that you can actually sort, er, send, erm, MIDI files to people and, er, whole arrangements, you know, Sibelius, er, files and [...] say, "Could you just give this the once over?" You know, [...] to colleagues and so on' (GH).³ In this respect these digital media were useful for disseminating and finding information, contacting other jazz enthusiasts and publicising events in order to support and try to maintain local jazz scenes, but not to replace them.

³ MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) is a language used by computer software and digital electronic instruments or sound sources to communicate with one another, and Sibelius is music notation software that can interpret MIDI files.

Conclusion

I conclude this thesis by returning to my original research questions, and drawing out the originalities and nuances of my findings. The central research question is: In what ways are digital media affecting the dissemination of jazz in Britain? In addressing this question it has become apparent that the three strands of enquiry – the changing position of jazz within British culture and its audience, digital media and how it affects jazz dissemination, and real and virtual jazz communities and scenes in Britain – have been subject to varying degrees of recent research (with the exception of virtual scenes in jazz). However, these have not been brought together and considered within overarching theoretical frameworks, particularly within jazz studies, which is where the originality of this thesis lies, supported by the data collected in real and online contexts from participants in jazz scenes. My research has also uncovered original findings in the data concerning, for example, audience demographics regarding the way in which the internet is being used and the potential for future audience development. The importance of this research is therefore both disciplinary and practical. While sharing many of the same scholarly approaches, jazz studies and popular music studies have, until recently, remained rather separate, jazz having been considered to reside at the margins of popular music (Frith, 2007). It is hoped that my work will help to bring jazz research greater recognition within popular music studies, and the fact that I have presented several research papers connected with this thesis at popular music conferences indicates that jazz research is increasingly accepted by popular music scholars. Furthermore, issues of technology and the recording industry are being investigated by popular music academics more than jazz scholars (as well as research into online fan communities and virtual scenes), and my research may help to open up this new area for jazz studies.¹ The practical

¹ Thereby, perhaps, preparing the way for a 'jazz studies for the iPod generation'?

significance is in what may be learned by jazz musicians, promoters, venues and advocacy organisations about the use of online media by audiences – while this was not intended to be action research, any resulting knowledge transfer and impact outside academia would be most welcome.

Various key theoretical approaches and models have been used. Although I have not attempted to use a single theoretical perspective throughout, many of the theorists I draw upon have a basis in postmodernism. This relates to the broadly postmodern period covered in the historical context chapter (which at least one author has referenced with the term ‘postmodern jazz’: Shipton, 2007, pp.713-725), debates about cultural value and the cultural capital of jazz, globalisation and its related concepts ‘glocalisation’ and ‘transculturation’, Baudrillard’s ‘simulacra’ in the age of multiple digital copies of recordings, and the theory of ‘cultural omnivores’ that has – along with Bourdieu – influenced the work of recent arts audience researchers (such as Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). Music industry theorists write about ‘audience fragmentation’ (Wikström, 2009, pp.88-89) and ‘fluid identities’ (Anderton, Dubber and James, 2013, p.149), and the general recognition that, particularly in the ‘digital era’, audiences appear to be increasingly eclectic in their tastes and decreasingly concerned with previous high and low culture divisions. In what follows I will summarise my findings in answer to the four sub-questions arising from the strands of inquiry relating to the main research question. I will then return to the main research question, and end with an articulation of the originality of my findings and my outlook in the light of having undertaken this research.

1. Has the changing position of jazz in British culture since 1980 affected its audience?

Since 1980 various cultural influences on jazz in the UK have affected its position within British culture. These include: postcolonial transculturation, the development of different jazz ‘identities’ in Britain (Moore, 2007) and urban scenes such as acid jazz dance, a short-lived but significant ‘cool’ status given to British contemporary jazz by the media and associated with aspiration and financial success among a sector of the population previously uninterested in jazz, and the (re)commercialisation of jazz by the music industries including the licensing of commercial jazz radio. There was also, it seems, an increasing cultural ‘omnivorousness’ of arts audiences (Peterson, 1997) and a ‘postmodern’ breaking down of high and low culture distinctions leading to a greater interest in jazz (Martin, 2004). This is likely to have been affected by the growth in jazz education (producing more formally educated musicians and audiences) and the availability of recordings (Shipton, 2007), particularly since the turn of the twenty-first century with its abundance of recorded music online for those who choose to access their music in this way. At the same time, the major record labels, which continue to hold marketing and distributive power in the legal digital music market (Arditi, 2013; Hesmondhalgh, 2013), have been promoting a few performers – mostly featured as vocalists such as Jamie Cullum and Norah Jones – to a general rather than a specialist audience. These performers have produced, or taken advantage of, another revival in the relative popularity of jazz (or jazzy pop) among the general public since 2000, but arguably – because of commercialisation – with less jazz authenticity than that of members of the Jazz Warriors or Loose Tubes in the late 1980s.

The findings of existing audience research are contradictory, partly because of the lack of comprehensive and longitudinal studies of jazz audiences. Some audiences, such as Jazz FM listeners (JazzDev, 2000) and attendees of live jazz cited by Hodgkins (2000), contained a significant proportion of young people, whereas other data indicated a generally older

demographic. These include the survey results in Abbott (2000) and Burland and Pitts (2010), and other reports by Hodgkins (2009) and Riley and Laing (2010) that suggest the jazz audience as a whole is getting increasingly older. The ‘middle-brow’ status of jazz (as Bourdieu might still see it) is possibly a contributory factor, and the cultural perception of jazz is problematic in Chan and Goldthorpe’s (2007) findings in which the music is seemingly disliked by cultural omnivores with otherwise broad tastes. The growth in jazz festivals in Britain may reflect the music’s commercialisation in some ways but also indicate that jazz is sufficiently popular to provide audiences for these events. Despite the existence of what I would describe as ‘informed omnivores’ (those willing to try new performers on the strength of recommendation or online sampling) in Burland and Pitts’s (2010) study, JazzDev’s (2000) survey suggested a genre-specific fragmentation of the wider jazz audience as proposed by Martin and Parsonage (2008) and there is a perception among the promoters and enthusiasts I interviewed that this may still exist to some extent. However, the evidence for this is largely anecdotal, and the limitations inherent in conducting audience research singlehandedly on a part-time basis means that it has only been possible to gather relatively small samples of data for this study. Large-scale audience research would be necessary to test the validity of such perceptions, as well as whether the demographics of audiences differ according to the type of venue, admission price and style of music being performed.

My findings indicate that jazz has become one of many types of music available to ‘postmodern’ audiences who may equally enjoy other genres, but that there are those who prefer particular styles of jazz – the ‘special interest groups’ of my interviewee PM. It is likely, therefore, that there is a fragmentation of jazz audiences according to genre, but in a more complex way than the term ‘fragmentation’ implies: a member of one genre-based audience may well belong to other genre-based audiences. In the post-subcultural approach of

scholars such as Bennett (2004c) identity is not tightly bound with musical affiliation as the subculturalists (such as Hebdige) argued in the past. In Britain, where decades of evolution in jazz has produced since 1980 a multitude of styles being performed, taught and recorded, and where jazz has enjoyed (periodically) relatively high levels of popularity with members of the general public, jazz audiences have become broader, more diverse and more ‘omnivorous’, but also selective. Compared with those who mainly listen to recorded music (for which omnivorous consumption has been facilitated by digital media) this would be particularly the case where a greater level of commitment is required, such as attending live music events. The proportion of online respondents claiming to be musicians is a significant research finding and may be a result of the growth in jazz education and availability of learning materials and recordings in physical and electronic form. Little existing audience research has considered this and further research, perhaps as part of the large-scale audience investigation suggested above, may explain whether this is the reason for this finding.

2. Has digital media had the same impact on the dissemination of jazz as it has on mainstream popular music?

The reproducibility of MP3 files, along with the development of high-speed internet connection, greater computing capability and MP3 software (Hesmondhalgh, 2013), has had a fundamental impact on the dissemination of mainstream popular music by the major labels, which took some time to develop their solutions by differentiating their products and finally diversifying into digital downloads eventually outsourced to companies such as iTunes (Furgason, 2008). In the mean time, independent record labels and individual musicians and bands were able to use file sharing to their advantage as a form of promotion (McLeod, 2005). The creation of the digital marketplace in the form (initially) of iTunes may appear to have provided a fair compromise for all parties, but the major labels still have a degree of

distributive control (Arditi, 2013) and restrictions such as DRM (David, 2010) have only been relaxed as a result of market pressure. Moreover, illegal file sharing appears to be seen by those who do it as a ‘gift economy’ separate from the ‘real’ recorded music market (Giesler, 2006), and may still be a more effective way of obtaining rare or deleted recordings (often of interest to jazz fans) than relying on Anderson’s (2004 and 2006) ‘long tail’. Also, the dissemination of niche genres (or at least information about them) including jazz may benefit from the work of ‘expert’ bloggers (Wall and Dubber, 2009; Jennings, 2007) but this unpaid labour can be exploited for marketing (Hesmondhalgh, 2013), and access to information controlled to an extent by search engines such as Google (Vaidhyanathan, 2011).

YouTube, as Prouty (2012) points out, has become significant in both the dissemination of jazz and as an archive of filmed and recorded performances, and was indeed used by a high proportion of my online survey respondents. It may also be used for both purposes at the same time: an example of the dissemination of archive material is the free subscription list Jazz on the Tube (based in the US), where subscribers are sent an e-mail message every day containing a link to a jazz video clip.² YouTube can be considered a type of social networking site (and links to clips are frequently embedded in posts in other social networking sites) as can Last.fm, which Baym (2010) has studied in the context of Swedish ‘indie’ music and which is cited in Wall and Dubber’s (2009) study of ‘specialist’ genres including jazz. These authors, along with Jennings (2007), suggest that ‘experts’ (or ‘savants’) among online fan ‘communities’ have a role to play in disseminating knowledge about music to less knowledgeable people, although this was not apparent in the responses to my survey samples or interviews. Social networking by musicians and bands is probably more useful at a local level than for pop acts wanting national exposure, where radio airplay is still important

² See www.jazzonthetube.com for more information.

(Hesmondhalgh, 2013), so for jazz dissemination the potential is there for those willing to use social networking effectively (effectiveness in this area being an issue among jazz musicians according to my interviewee PM).

Digital ‘affordances’ such as those of the internet and MP3 technology make it possible for recordings to be used in ways that ‘hard’ technological determinism may not have predicted (David, 2010) and that were congruent with wider cultural undercurrents in the 1990s (Sterne, 2012).³ For jazz, it also increased the availability of recordings that is a contributory element in the development of ‘postmodern jazz’ (Shipton, 2007), though among jazz enthusiasts there has continued to be a culture of collecting recordings in physical form (Whyton, 2008). This is supported by many of the replies to my survey questionnaires and in interviewees’ comments (such as GH’s purchase of CDs via Amazon). The ‘major label jazz’ of performers like Jamie Cullum may have been affected to an extent by file sharing in the way that major label mainstream pop has, but ‘independent label jazz’ (including labels such as Edition Records) has had the opportunity to make use of digital technology to interact directly with its audience via social networking (and, for unsigned artists, to help finance recordings using crowd funding sites such as ArtistShare). If combined with free samples available from the web site this ‘high trust/high proximity’ approach (David, 2010, p.157) may be an appropriate business model for independent jazz labels.

3. How is digital technology affecting jazz scenes in the UK?

The term ‘jazz scene’, long established in general usage, can be adapted, from the theoretical approach developed for popular music studies by Straw (1991) and others known as the scenes perspective, to jazz, which is in this sense unquestionably a popular music (Inglis,

³ An example might be the high retail prices of CDs at the time (David, 2010, p.33).

2009). The scenes perspective, like traditional notions of 'community', is based on a conception of music activities occurring within a geographical space, and jazz scenes are thought of in geographical terms by practitioners such as my interviewee GH. Scenes can also be specific to different styles within jazz, though this is one aspect that has not generally been addressed by authors writing about jazz, other than Martin and Parsonage (2008). This ambiguity about the specific parameters of a scene is what has led Bennett and Peterson (2004) to differentiate between local, translocal and virtual scenes, and the case studies in their edited collection tend to be specific to genres, styles and even individual musicians. In this respect, it is reasonable to expect that, as Martin and Parsonage (2008) propose, there are multiple jazz scenes in the UK – these could be based on different jazz styles as the authors suggest, in different locations, or both, and may, in theory, exist online as 'virtual scenes'. The difficulty in defining the 'jazz scene' is illustrated by the comments my interviewees GH and PT, who both used the term 'jazz scene' in a local (but not particularly style-specific) sense and claimed to have little knowledge of scenes in other parts of the country. PM avoided using the term 'jazz scene', but what he referred to as 'special interest groups' within jazz may be interpreted as genre-based groups of enthusiasts, if not quite 'scenes'.

The ways in which digital technology is affecting jazz scenes in Britain is indicated by the responses to my surveys and interviews. A significant proportion of respondents of my festival audience surveys claimed to use the internet to find out information about jazz events, and the internet as a source of information and platform for communication was mentioned in many comments by my interviewees, often with reference to local jazz activities (particularly by PT and GH). However, the extent to which this information dissemination (which if in the form of blog sites, e-mailing lists and web sites is not particularly interactive) actually affects local jazz scenes in terms of attendance at events is so far only indicated in anecdotal

evidence provided by, for example, some London jazz promoters and musicians (Scotney, 2013). Indeed, the number of negative comments from my respondents regarding out of date musicians' web sites, poor quality of online video clips and ineffective use of social networking or general lack of online presence suggest that the poor use of digital technology will not have a positive – and may have a negative – effect on local jazz scenes. An avenue for further research could be a larger scale investigation into the ways in which different jazz audiences (as well as musicians and promoters), taking into consideration local and style-specific scenes, use digital media, along with how that relates to participation in live jazz.

4. Is there an 'online community' of jazz enthusiasts in Britain?

As with 'scene', theoretical approaches to 'community' have been subject to much academic debate. As Prouty (2012) summarises, these include 'sense of community', 'imagined community', 'art world', 'community of interest' and 'community of practice'. In the case of jazz, Prouty's version of a 'community of practice' is based around the shared practice of listening to jazz, which seems on the face of it to be a reasonable catch-all approach to jazz communities. However, it implies that the members of one of these communities listen to the same music, which cannot be assumed, and that in online versions there is a sense of 'practice', where in reality some visitors may actually be 'lurking' rather than engaging with a shared practice. As Martin (2005) suggests, 'community of interest' may be more appropriate, but 'sense of community' also has its place, as one of my interviewees used this phrase with reference to a jazz web site.

The *social* aspect of 'online communities' is important in creating a 'sense of community': as Baym (2010, p.74) points out when considering the general function of YouTube and similar sites, '[t]he mere existence of an interactive online forum is not community'. Therefore, it is

questionable as to whether, as Prouty (2012) implies, entities such as Wikipedia pages and discussion boards are true communities – they may be loosely considered to be ‘communities of interest’ and have elements of practice among those who participate, but tend to lack a ‘sense of community’. Wall and Dubber (2009, p.36) refer to the ‘complex engaged communities of blogs’ and ‘online fan communities [...] prominently characterized by social hierarchies’ (p.37), which suggest more structured forms of community, but the line between interactive online forum and structured online community is not clearly defined by these authors. Furthermore, in my interviews, there were more negative than positive comments from PT about a ‘sense of community’ online and when I asked Sebastian Scotney if he thought his site or produced a sense of community, he replied, cryptically: ‘The only answer I have [is that] three of the top five, and seven of the top ten most-read articles since I started in 2009 have concerned the deaths of jazz musicians’ (Scotney, 2013).⁴

Social networking groups are more on the structured online community side of the line than the interactive forum side, as they are often made up of people that have been invited to join by existing members, who know them offline. Though it has not been evident from my research that there are is a single ‘online community’ of jazz enthusiasts in Britain, as with the multiplicity of jazz scenes suggested by Martin and Parsonage (2008) there may also be an equivalent multiplicity of ‘virtual scenes’ existing via social media. However, though some of these may be structured enough to be online communities in their own right, my conception of a social media formation such as the ‘Gypsy jazz uk’ Facebook group is of an online extension of a genre-based scene in a translocal context of live performance. The technology affords the sharing of photographs, audio recordings, video clips and information on an interactive platform, which is part of what constitutes a ‘virtual scene’. Peterson and Bennett

⁴ I can only assume Scotney is drily suggesting that his readership only displays any ‘sense of community’ when a musician dies!

(2004) suggest, though, that virtual scenes are *not* based around live performance,⁵ and the case studies of web-based virtual scenes in their collection (Lee and Peterson, 2004; Bennett, 2004b; Vroomen, 2004) are only connected with current live performance in a minimal way, if at all.

As an alternative to the problematic nature of this ‘virtual scene’ model (compared with what I have observed in my research) I argue that a new category of ‘semi-virtual scenes’ – online groups formed around, and in a mutually supportive connection with, local or translocal scenes – would be more appropriate for entities such as ‘Gypsy jazz uk’ and Sebastian Scotney’s site. This concept of ‘semi-virtual scenes’ in jazz is a result of my original research findings and, based on these findings, a possible future development would be to conduct in-depth research into the role played by semi-virtual scenes created on and for social media in relation to fragmented scenes. The use of social networking sites – particularly, at the time of writing, Facebook – to create semi-virtual scenes in jazz (and in other fields of cultural activity) is a phenomenon that appears to have become prevalent within approximately the last two years, and certainly after I began my research. An ethnographic – and/or netnographic – study could therefore be conducted into some of these networks and their associated ‘real’ scenes to gain a better understanding of how and why members make use of these sites to sustain both the semi-virtual and the local/translocal jazz scenes, and to what extent the real scenes depend on the semi-virtual ones. It would also be interesting to compare jazz with other genres to find out whether there are similar relationships between local or translocal scenes in those genres and – assuming they exist – their equivalent semi-virtual scenes.

⁵ For an explanation of ‘the sceneness of a virtual scene’ (i.e. its comparison with a local scene) see Lee and Peterson (2004, pp.191-196).

In what ways are digital media affecting the dissemination of jazz in Britain?

Originality, outlook and the bigger picture

Now I return to the central research question of the thesis. Jazz in Britain since 1980 has enjoyed two periods of relative popularity, the second of which – from around 2000 – has coincided with the advent of file sharing, which has adversely affected the major label recording industry. As jazz is not mainstream popular music, even those performers at the commercial end of jazz such as Jamie Cullum (who was signed to a major label, Universal) have managed to maintain successful careers through this industry ‘crisis’. Illegal file sharing has, to an extent, been replaced by legal downloading and streaming along with other digital services such as crowd funding and social media, which provide opportunities for ‘niche’ and ‘indie label jazz’ musicians (such as Dave Stapleton) to produce and disseminate their music by building more direct relationships with their audiences. However, reaching new audiences more widely is not necessarily easier for jazz, as the mainstream popular music industries and media corporations still control much of the circulation of recorded music online and elsewhere and, as Jennings (2007) suggests, the online discovery of jazz does not necessarily work in the same ways it can for other genres of popular music. However, for those interested in jazz and with some knowledge of it, digital media provides opportunities for further discovery, particularly via sites such as YouTube, which was popular among many of my online survey respondents and mentioned by my interviewees, many of whom used digital media for communication and finding information about jazz.

Jazz in Britain has evolved in various ways during what may be considered as the ‘postmodern era’, on the one hand reflecting other cultural changes during this period and mass development of digital technology; on the other appearing to retain some of the features with which the music has long been associated, such as perceptions of an ageing (and

shrinking) audience and the ‘collector mentality’ of fans. As a result of the research I have conducted for this thesis, the ways in which the dissemination of jazz in Britain has been affected by digital media can be summarised in three main points. First, as with other forms of popular music, major recording and media corporations have retained a degree of control over recorded music circulation in the age of digital distribution, which has been beneficial for commercial jazz performers. For others, there is the opportunity to offer free samples online but also sell recordings, something that independent labels such as Edition Records are succeeding in, particularly if there is a high level of online customer engagement – the ‘high trust/high proximity’ model proposed by David (2010). For individual artists, digital media can facilitate self-promotion, though it appears that some musicians are not adept at this. Second, jazz enthusiasts tend to use digital media for communicating with others interested in jazz and finding information (sometimes in an educational context), listening to and watching streamed jazz, and buying CDs online (or downloading) now that physical record shops are dwindling. This may be thought of as using digital media as a McLuhanesque extension (but not complete replacement) of what was previously available – not in a technologically deterministic way but simply making use of the affordances of digital media to pursue an interest. Third, some jazz fans – possibly an increasing number, given the growing popularity of social media – use social networking sites to participate in semi-virtual genre/location-based jazz scenes that support, and are supported by, local or translocal jazz scenes. Physical participation in the form of attendance at jazz events tends, however, to be more selective than merely using social media: even for the ‘omnivorous’ members of the iPod generation, listening to a wide variety of recorded music does not automatically lead to increased audiences for jazz events in the UK. Neither, though, has digital media caused the demise of live jazz.

Overall, the originality of this research rests predominantly in the investigation of areas (particularly digital media and internet use by audiences) that have not hitherto been considered in the field of jazz studies (or disciplines related to this research such as media studies or popular music studies).⁶ The main original contribution to knowledge that my research has produced is that the dissemination of jazz in the UK using digital media takes a variety of forms, including online distribution of recorded jazz, but that British jazz scenes are essentially based around location and/or genre (or very specific style). These may be supported by, and support, online groups of people who may know one another in those local (or translocal) scenes. These online groups, which may be formed via social networking sites, I have called ‘semi-virtual scenes’, this concept being my own extension of existing theoretical models proposed by media and popular music scholars such as Baym and Bennett and, in a jazz context, Prouty. As my research has not provided a strong indication of the existence of a single online community of jazz enthusiasts in Britain, the apparent ‘postmodern’ fragmentation of jazz into multiple scenes in recent years – therefore, no single real-life ‘jazz community’ – means that discernible online groups of fans are more likely to exist as virtual extensions of various genre- or location-based scenes. This does not preclude them from having a ‘sense of community’, but they are not ‘virtual scenes’ that are mostly or entirely virtual with no connection to conventional music scenes, which is why they can be thought of as semi-virtual. Digital social media facilitates the formation of, and participation in, semi-virtual scenes such as ‘Gypsy jazz uk’, but other forms of digital media such as blog sites may serve a similar purpose, if less interactively. Therefore, the Beaufort Jazz and London Jazz News blogs are semi-virtual scenes in that they are connected with local scenes, but they are not as interactive as a Facebook site because formal contributions are edited.

⁶ A list of possible criteria for originality in doctoral research can be found in, for example, Wisker (2008, pp.355-356).

Other original findings of this research concern the demographics of jazz audiences and internet use, and the participation of a significant number of audience members in other jazz activities such as performance. In order to more widely gauge the proportions of musicians within audiences across the UK, along with other comprehensive demographic jazz audience data including internet and other digital media use by different age, gender and socio-economic groupings, a large-scale study would be required using the resources of an organisation or funded research project. In terms of my wider outlook at this point, what has become apparent from this study is that there is scope for more effective use of digital media in Britain – not only by jazz audiences but also by musicians, record companies, venues and promoters, particularly at the ‘grassroots’ level where issues with the provision of live jazz were identified in the ACE (1995) report and subsequently (particularly by Jazz Services). It might be expected that younger audience members – ‘digital natives’ – would be more likely to use digital media in their jazz activities, and due to factors such as jazz education and the availability of all styles of music to the ‘iPod generation’, young people are certainly participating in semi-virtual jazz scenes, particularly in urban areas. However, they are not necessarily taking part in significant numbers in events such as the Jazz on a Winter’s Weekend festival, a cause of concern for the festival’s director, who admits that he has come to rely on many of the same people returning year after year as a result of traditional marketing methods rather than digital media. For this sector of live jazz there is a very real danger of the ageing audiences decreasing and eventually disappearing, and indeed, this director has recently expressed his doubts to me about the long term future of his festival unless a younger audience starts attending. If my research can help such jazz promoters reconsider their use of digital media and engage more young people, it may in a small way help to secure the future of regional jazz festivals in providing jazz for the iPod generation.

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Appendix A: festival and online survey documentation

Research Project Information

The use and effect of electronic media on jazz festival attendees

This study is part of a larger PhD research project into jazz in the digital age by Tom Sykes, a doctoral student at the University of Salford.

Background

I developed a passion for jazz at an early age and studied it as an undergraduate at Leeds College of Music. I have been involved in music education ever since, and I also work as a musician based in North West England. In recent years I have become interested in the academic research of jazz, particularly jazz in Britain, which was the subject of my MA dissertation.

This project

Digital technology is changing the way we communicate with one another, find information and be entertained. Jazz is a twentieth-century art form, so are we using twenty-first century ways of enjoying the music?

The purpose of this project is to find out the extent to which you, as jazz enthusiasts, use electronic media such as e-mail and the internet as part of your methods of experiencing jazz. In order to try and ensure as wide a cross-section of the 'jazz community' as possible, you will be asked for certain pieces of information about your age, gender and the region where you live. This information is for statistical purposes only and will be kept strictly confidential. No names will be used in the final report – the only place your name is needed is for the consent form below, which is required to comply with my university's research ethics policy.

Your participation in this project is **entirely voluntary**, but by doing so you will contribute to an original piece of PhD research. If you would like more information on the project, the researcher or to track the progress of this research, my contact details are as follows:

E-mail: T.G.Sykes@pgr.salford.ac.uk

By post: Tom Sykes
C/o Prof. George McKay
The University of Salford
Adelphi House
Salford, Greater Manchester
M3 6EN, United Kingdom

A web page is also available on the Salford University web site at:
www.smmp.salford.ac.uk/research/projects/jazzfestival.php

Research Participant Consent Form

Salford University Ethics Approval Ref No: REP10/008

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study

Yes	No
-----	----

- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions (face to face)

Yes	No
-----	----

- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the research at any time **without giving any reason**

Yes	No
-----	----

- I agree to take part in the above study

Yes	No
Yes	No

- I am over 18 (if 'no', please ask an adult who is with you to sign this form)

Name of participant

Signature*

*If you are signing on behalf of someone under 18, you are giving consent to their taking part in this study

Date

Questionnaire: July 2010

If you feel that a question is not relevant to you, you don't have to answer it!

Please give the following information about yourself:

Age:

Gender:

The **county** where you normally live, or the **country** if outside the UK:

Have you been to this festival before? **Yes / No**

How did you find out about this festival? (please tick)

Newspaper/magazine ☐

Postal mailing list ☐

E-mailing list ☐

Festival web site ☐

Other (please state) _____

How do you obtain jazz recordings? (tick all that apply)

I buy CDs from shops ☐

I buy CDs at concerts ☐

I buy CDs from online shops ☐

I download it from the internet ☐

If this has changed in recent years from the way you used to do it, briefly say why:

If you are interested in any other style of music, please state which one, and whether you obtain recordings in the same way as jazz or not:

Style of music:

How do you obtain recordings?

Please turn over

If you use the internet, do you use it for the following? (tick all that apply)

To look at specialist jazz sites ☐

To follow your favourite jazz artists ☐

To find out about jazz events ☐

To discover new jazz artists ☐

If certain jazz styles or artists seem easier to find/follow on the internet than others, could you give some examples?

If you use the internet in a similar way for other style(s) of music, state which style(s):

If you use other methods to find this information, please list them:

Do you use e-mail to communicate with fellow jazz enthusiasts? **Yes / No**

Do you use social networking sites (such as Facebook) for communicating with fellow jazz enthusiasts? **Yes / No**

Do you take part in online forums such as discussion boards and blogs to share information about jazz, or to communicate with fellow jazz enthusiasts or jazz 'experts'? **Yes / No**

Do you listen to jazz by any of the following means? (tick all that apply)

Digital radio ☐

Internet-only radio ☐

Streaming services (e.g. Spotify) ☐

YouTube ☐

MySpace Music ☐

Thank you for completing this questionnaire!

Covering e-mail for potential online survey participants

Dear jazz enthusiast,

You are invited to take part in a survey being conducted by Tom Sykes as part of PhD research (at the University of Salford, United Kingdom) into the distribution of jazz in the digital age.

If you agree to take part, your contribution to this study will be to complete a short online questionnaire, which should take no longer than 15 minutes. As an incentive and to thank you for taking part, once you have completed the questionnaire you will be entitled to receive a free CD.

This survey will contribute towards a larger European research project on jazz and national identity, Rhythm Changes, details of which can be found at www.rhythmchanges.net

If you would like more information about the projects please contact Tom at T.G.Sykes@edu.salford.ac.uk

If you are happy to take part in this survey (to be completed by 31st October if possible), please click the link below:

<http://kwiksurveys.com?u=onlinejazz>

If this link does not work, try the following link instead:

http://www.kwiksurveys.com?s=OJMLHL_abb6500

Information for participants: online survey

Online Jazz Activity Survey

This survey is part of PhD research into jazz in the digital age by Tom Sykes, a doctoral student at the University of Salford. This research will contribute towards a larger European project investigating jazz and national identity, Rhythm Changes, details of which can be found at www.rhythmchanges.net

Researcher background

I developed a passion for jazz at an early age and studied it as an undergraduate at Leeds College of Music. I have been involved in music education ever since, and I also work as a musician based in North West England. In recent years I have become interested in the academic research of jazz, particularly jazz in Britain, which was the subject of my MA dissertation.

This project

Digital technology is changing the way we communicate with one another, find information and be entertained. Jazz is a twentieth-century art form, so are we using twenty-first century ways of enjoying the music?

The purpose of this project is to find out the extent to which you, as jazz enthusiasts, use electronic media such as e-mail and the internet as part of your methods of experiencing jazz. In order to try and ensure as wide a cross-section of the 'jazz community' as possible, you will be asked for certain pieces of information about your age, gender and the region where you live. This information is for statistical purposes only and will be kept strictly confidential. No names will be used in the final report.

Your participation in this project is **entirely voluntary**, but by doing so you will contribute to an original piece of PhD research. If you would like more information on the project, the researcher or to track the progress of this research, my e-mail address is as follows:

T.G.Sykes@edu.salford.ac.uk

As a jazz enthusiast, you are invited to take part in this online survey as part of research into the ways in which the internet is affecting jazz activity, communication and distribution. The survey should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. If you choose to take part, you will be considered to have given your consent.

Free CD!

Once you have completed the survey, you will be entitled to receive a free copy of a CD, *Biorritmo* by the group BarrioViejo (sample tracks can be heard at www.myspace.com/barrioviejomusic). If you would like to receive this, please complete your mailing address (again, this is **optional** and your address will be used solely for the purpose of sending the CD).

Online survey questions

1. Are you willing to take part in this survey? By selecting 'yes', you are giving consent to taking part in this survey. Selecting 'no' will close this page.

Yes

No

2. What are your jazz activities? Please rank the following activities in order (1 = most frequent, 8 = least frequent) for all that apply

Listening to recorded jazz (including jazz on the radio)

Watching jazz on TV (including DVD or other video formats)

Going to jazz concerts (in large venues such as concert halls)

Going to informal jazz gigs/jam nights (in small venues such as pubs)

Going to jazz festivals

Playing jazz as a professional/semi-professional musician

Playing jazz as an amateur musician

Other

3. How do you obtain jazz recordings? Please rank the following in order (1 = most frequent, 6 = least frequent) for all that apply

I buy recordings from shops

I buy recordings at concerts/festivals

I buy physical recordings (CD or vinyl) from online shops

I download albums from the internet

I download individual tracks from the internet

Other (e.g. second hand CDs, gifts etc.)

4. Do you use the internet for the following? Please rank the following in order (1 = most frequent, 5 = least frequent) for all that apply

To look at specialist jazz sites

To follow your favourite jazz artists

To find out about jazz gigs

To find out about jazz festivals

To discover new jazz artists

5. If you subscribe to any e-mailing lists, artist blogs or follow artists on Facebook or Twitter, please give a brief description:
6. Do you listen to/watch jazz by any of the following means? Please rank the following in order (1 = most frequent, 67= least frequent) for all that apply

Digital radio (e.g. on a DAB radio)

Internet-only radio

Audio streaming services (e.g. Spotify or BBC iPlayer)

YouTube

Downloaded music on a mobile device (e.g. iPod or mobile phone)

MySpace or Facebook music pages of artists

Other music or jazz-specific sites

If you use other music or jazz-specific web sites, could you list the main ones you use?

7. How often (approximately) do you use e-mail to communicate with fellow jazz enthusiasts about jazz?

Daily

Weekly

Occasionally (e.g. to discuss a jazz event)

Never

8. How often (approximately) do you use social networking sites (such as MySpace or Facebook) for communicating with fellow jazz enthusiasts about jazz?

Daily

Weekly

Occasionally (e.g. to discuss a jazz event)

Never

Please state which social networking site(s) you use (if applicable):

9. How often (approximately) do you take part in online forums such as discussion boards and blogs to share information/communicate with fellow jazz enthusiasts about jazz?

Daily

Weekly

Occasionally (e.g. to discuss a jazz event)

Never

If you can remember the names of any blogs or forums you use (if applicable), could you list them?

10. To your knowledge, how often do you see the people you have communicated online with at jazz concerts or festivals?

Frequently (e.g. at regular monthly gigs)

Sometimes (e.g. at some regular gigs but not every time)

Occasionally (e.g. at annual festivals)

Never

11. Where do the jazz enthusiasts you communicate online with live (as far as you know)?

Mostly in your own region/city

Mostly in your own country

Mostly within Europe

Mostly in the USA

Around the world

I'm not sure

12. Has your use of the internet influenced the way you consume jazz (e.g. attendance at concerts/festivals or buying recordings)?

Yes

No

If you have answered 'yes', can you describe how?

13. If you are interested in any other styles of music, please state which:

14. How much do you listen to these styles compared with jazz?

More than jazz

About the same as jazz

Less than jazz

Not applicable

15. Do you use the same methods of following these styles as you do for jazz?

Yes

No

Not applicable

16. What is your age?

19 or under

20-29

30-39

40-49

50-59

60-69

70+

17. What is your gender?

Female

Male

18. What is the region and/or city where you live?

19. If you live outside the UK, which country do you live in?

20. Please feel free to add any other comments if you wish (optional):

Thank you for taking part in this survey. Would you be willing to be interviewed (in person, by telephone or via Skype)? If so, please provide your e-mail address (purely for the purpose of contacting you):

Appendix B: online survey results

Question 2

What are your jazz activities? Please rank the following activities in order (1 = most frequent, 8 = least frequent) for all that apply

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Responses	Total
Listening to recorded jazz (including jazz on the radio)	43%	29%	10%	0%	2%	2%	10%	5%	42	14%
Watching jazz on TV (including DVD or other video formats)	0%	22%	7%	20%	24%	15%	5%	7%	41	14%
Going to jazz concerts (in large venues such as concert halls)	3%	8%	23%	21%	23%	15%	8%	0%	39	13%
Going to informal jazz gigs/jam nights (in small venues such as pubs)	5%	8%	32%	24%	13%	13%	3%	3%	38	13%
Going to jazz festivals	0%	5%	5%	24%	34%	13%	13%	5%	38	13%
Playing jazz as a professional/semi-professional musician	18%	16%	13%	5%	0%	11%	8%	29%	38	13%
Playing jazz as an amateur musician	24%	12%	3%	3%	6%	12%	32%	9%	34	12%
Other	8%	8%	4%	4%	0%	21%	21%	33%	24	8%

Question 3

How do you obtain jazz recordings? Please rank the following in order (1 = most frequent, 6 = least frequent) for all that apply

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Responses	Total
I buy recordings from shops	25%	25%	10%	8%	13%	20%	40	18%
I buy recordings at concerts/festivals	5%	14%	19%	22%	19%	22%	37	16%
I buy physical recordings (CD or vinyl) from online shops	29%	18%	18%	16%	13%	5%	38	17%
I download albums from the internet	21%	13%	24%	16%	13%	13%	38	17%
I download individual tracks from the internet	18%	18%	8%	13%	25%	20%	40	18%
Other (e.g. second hand CDs, gifts etc.)	9%	20%	20%	26%	14%	11%	35	15%

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Using the internet for jazz

Question 4

Do you use the internet for the following? Please rank the following in order (1 = most frequent, 5 = least frequent) for all that apply

	1	2	3	4	5	Responses	Total
To look at specialist jazz sites	42%	6%	15%	12%	24%	33	20%
To follow my favourite jazz artists	22%	28%	16%	19%	16%	32	20%
To find out about jazz gigs	23%	29%	34%	11%	3%	35	21%
To find out about jazz festivals	9%	18%	27%	27%	18%	33	20%
To discover new jazz artists	10%	23%	13%	26%	29%	31	19%

Question 5

All my former students on FB All major venues through newsletters [View](#)

8449930I follow a few local small venues/pubs that do jazz nights or shows, I also follow some contemporary artists on facebook [View](#)

8414069I follow Soweto Kinch and Russell Gunn on twitter, however, they don't say much! [View](#)

8406777I am subscribed to one or two mailing lists of national jazz magazines. [View](#)

8392166Glasgow Concert Halls jazz e-mail list, LondonJazz and Jazz Breakfast blogs, various artists' twitters [View](#)

8361917A couple of artists I have befriended send me regular e-mails about their upcoming gigs and CDs. [View](#)

8355241RNCM, NW Jazzworks [View](#)

8354507Beaufort Jazz [View](#)

8348944Friends with artists on facebook. Email list for Artistshare and New York Voices [View](#)

8348444Local jazz nights / bands - Marley Chingus, the Caledonia, Matt and Phreds Jazz Club in Liverpool, Beaufort Jazz etc. [View](#)

8347836jazzblog.dk, jazznyt.dk, dothemath, jazzwrap, jazztruth, digitaltrombone and more [View](#)

8346382southport melodic jazz and manchester jazz festival lists [View](#)

8345382matt and phreds, band on the wall and various jazz festivals, plus concert halls, manchester uni, lowry etc [View](#)

8343214I follow a couple jazz artists' pages on Facebook. Wayne Shorter, Herbie Hancock, Esperanza Spalding, Jack DeJohnette, to name a few. [View](#)

8342337I use twitter to follow my favorite artists and to find out about new artists and groups. I subscribe to jazz specific blogs to receive album reviews and info about new releases. I also subscribe record databases to look for specific releases that I can't find in stores.

Question 6

Digital radio (e.g. on a DAB radio)	24%	12%	9%	3%	18%	12%	21%	33	15%
Internet-only radio	7%	18%	11%	25%	21%	14%	4%	28	13%
Audio streaming services (e.g. Spotify or BBC iPlayer)	15%	15%	24%	18%	6%	18%	3%	33	15%
YouTube	55%	19%	10%	3%	6%	6%	0%	31	14%
Downloaded music on a mobile device (e.g. iPod or mobile phone)	13%	17%	17%	20%	17%	0%	17%	30	14%
MySpace or Facebook music pages of artists	0%	9%	27%	15%	12%	18%	18%	33	15%
Other music or jazz-specific web sites	3%	19%	9%	22%	13%	19%	16%	32	15%

ID	View	Email	First	Last	If you use other music or jazz-specific web sites, could you
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	Survey		Name	Name	list the main ones you use?
8342337	View				A blog supreme, jazzcorner, all about jazz, jazz corner, jazz in books
8343214	View				http://tompowersjazzhouse.com/
8346092	View				Letters@Jazz on the net
8346382	View				guitar tuition sites
8348944	View				Lastfm, spotify
8392166	View				Artists' websites; Bandcamp
8420383	View				Jazz-on-line Jazz Lives Grilles Manouches
8444791	View				jazzradio
8495655	View				http://www.tompowersjazzhouse.com/ http://www.allaboutjazz.com/

Question 7

How often (approximately) do you use e-mail to communicate with fellow jazz enthusiasts about jazz?

Daily	6	15.79%
Weekly	9	23.68%
Occasionally (e.g. to discuss a jazz event)	16	42.11%
Never	7	18.42%

Question 8

How often (approximately) do you use social networking sites (such as Facebook or Twitter) for communicating with fellow jazz enthusiasts about jazz?

Daily	6	15.79%
Weekly	4	10.53%
Occasionally (e.g. to discuss a jazz event)	12	31.58%
Never	16	42.11%

ID	View Survey	Email	First Name	Last Name	Please state which social networking site(s) you use (if applicable):
8344025	View				Facebook
8345382	View				facebook
8346092	View				Facebook
8347836	View				facebook
8348944	View				facebook
8354507	View				Facebook
8361917	View				Facebook
8392166	View				Facebook and Twitter
8414069	View				Twitter
8449930	View				facebook

Question 9

How often (approximately) do you take part in online forums such as discussion boards and blogs to share information/communicate with fellow jazz enthusiasts about jazz?

Daily	4	10.53%
Weekly	3	7.89%
Occasionally (e.g. to discuss a jazz event)	10	26.32%
Never	21	55.26%

ID	View Survey	Email	First Name	Last Name	If you can remember the names of any blogs or forums you use (if applicable), could you list them?
8341952	View				I'd rather not name them as they are private blogs
8347836	View				jazzblog.sk, jazznyt.dk, allaboutjazz, downbeat.com
8361917	View				jazz-research
8495655	View				http://www.tompowersjazzhouse.com/ http://www.allaboutjazz.com/ http://www.live365.com/index.live
8660634	View				Yahoo Jazz-research serv-list

Question 10

To your knowledge, how often do you see people you have communicated online with at jazz concerts or festivals?

Frequently (e.g. at regular monthly gigs)	5	13.16%
Sometimes (e.g. at some regular gigs but not every time)	10	26.32%
Occasionally (e.g. at annual festivals)	12	31.58%
Never	11	28.95%

Question 11

Where do the jazz enthusiasts you communicate online with live (as far as you know)?

Mostly in my own region/city	15	40.54%
Mostly in my own country	7	18.92%
Mostly within Europe	4	10.81%
Mostly in the USA	4	10.81%
Elsewhere in the world	2	5.41%
I'm not sure	5	13.51%

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The results of internet activity

Question 12

Has your use of the internet influenced the way you consume jazz (e.g. attendance at concerts/festivals or buying recordings)?

Yes 26 68.42%
No 12 31.58%

ID	View Survey	Email	First Name	Last Name	If you have answered 'yes', can you describe how?
8420383	View				Source of charts.
8425412	View				I wrote scores from what I have heard on You Tube . I have attended concerts after seeing and hearing some tunes played on Internet.
8444791	View				finding song information
8449930	View				I tend to listen to a lot more varied styles of jazz, often from places all over the world
8495655	View				Because I have access to more and different jazz music, I have searched for and bought records that I normally wouldn't know about. Going to concerts has made me love jazz even more.
8557888	View				Lack of availability in shops now, need to use internet
8619779	View				Less frequent concerts/festivals, more downloads.
8660634	View				I download rather than buy
8792481	View				Through Facebook, and receiving 'invitations' for various gigs in my area.
8917169	View				Enabled contact with people who attend our shows

Question 13

If you are interested in any other styles of music, please state which:

ID	Email	First Name	Last Name	Text Answers (15)	View
8917169				All styles of music actually, especially big band /swing from the 1920s onwards. Also orchestral music.	View
8902794				Rap, R&B	View
8792481				most music, all styles as long as its good music	View
8690465				Classical, Romantic etc. Ethnic	View
8660634				All music with the exception of commercial pop and metal, and any uninvited music	View
8587918				Classical, 1970s prog rock, 1960s pop, experimental, world music	View
8557888				Any good music. Includes classical, rest of world.	View
8534426				Blues, Rock, Musical Theatre	View
8495655				Latin jazz, salsa, African jazz, Afro-Cuban jazz, funk, rap	View
8450819				All types of classical and a wide variety of modern bands and artists.	View
8449930				I listen to a lot of classical music and the occasional pop/rock band	View
8444791				classical	View
8425412				Yes ; Folk music played on Accordeon .	View
8414069				hip-hop, funk, pop music, classical, Romantic music, prog metal	View
8406777				Mainly classical music, but also other genres such as funk, soul, R&B (though not the modern kind), etc.	View

Question 14

How much do you listen to these styles compared with jazz?

More than jazz	7	19.44%
About the same as jazz	15	41.67%
Less than jazz	11	30.56%
Not applicable	3	8.33%

Question 15

Do you use the same methods of following these styles as you do for jazz?

Yes	26	74.29%
No	6	17.14%
Not applicable	3	8.57%

Question 16

What is your age?

19 or under	3	8.11%
20-29	9	24.32%
30-39	7	18.92%
40-49	4	10.81%
50-59	5	13.51%
60-69	5	13.51%
70 or above	4	10.81%

Question 17

What is your gender?

Female	8	21.62%
Male	29	78.38%

Question 18

What is the region and/or city where you live?

ID	Email	First Name	Last Name	Text Answers (15)	View
8917169				North Yorkshire - Scarborough	View
8902794				Washington, DC	View
8792481				Norway, Stavanger	View
8690465				Wirral	View

8619779	London	View
8587918	Mersyside	View
8557888	Yorkshire	View
8534426	North West England	View
8495655	The Hague	View
8450819	Inverclyde, Scotland	View
8449930	Glasgow	View
8444791	Southern France	View
8427958	Midlands Solihull	View
8425412	South west of France	View
8420383	Sarasota Florida/Gers France	View

Question 19

If you live outside the UK, which country do you live in?

ID	Email	First Name	Last Name	Text	Answers (12)	View
8902794				USA		View
8792481				Norway		View
8660634				Netherlands		View
8495655				Netherlands		View
8444791				Fance		View
8425412				France		View
8420383				USA/France		View
8406777				Belgium		View
8361917				USA		View
8360472				Netherlands		View
8347836				Denmark		View
8342337				USA		View

Question 20

Please feel free to add any other comments if you wish (optional):

ID	Email	First	Last	Text	Answers (8)	View
8917169				I won't do 21 or 22 as my interest in jazz is more to do with a style of playing that I use on occasions but not all the time. (Interesting philosophical conundrum developing there I know!)		View
8690465				Now that I'm retired I find myself falling behind with new developments in jazz as many of the radio broadcasts are on so late in the evening.		View
8495655				Good luck with your research!		View
8450819				I don't think I am as much of a Jazz enthusiastic as this survey presumes. My main connection with jazz is that I have some friends through my activities as a musician, who are jazzers and I talk to them about jazz sometimes, and they mention some artists to me.		View
8425412				I would like to get all the Internet addresses where I can find free Jazz scores and chords . I have already some given by friends but I suppose there are many others . I think that to play Jazz it is today necessary not only to listen to records but also to get some scores to work on the style before being able to improvise (theme,chords, real solos if possible) .		View
8414069				I personally feel that the gatekeepers of the music industry have been able to keep control in online markets through iTunes and Amazon. So it's not as much of a free for all. I'm also interested in jazz sites like ArtistShare where fans can pay for the making of the album.		View
8361917				I'd like to get some data when you have compiled it all.		View
8347836				Asking about jazz is like dancing to Thelonius Monk		View

Appendix C: interviews with festival directors

Telephone interview with GM (Jazz on a Winter's Weekend), February 2010

TS: Thanks for agreeing to be interviewed. The first question is: How would you describe the styles of jazz that are performed at your events (the festival, for example)?

GM: It's a balance between 'comfort zone' and challenge, and to leave an overall impression – not frighten the children but not be boring and predictable. We try to avoid prejudices about style (apart from trad!).

TS: How do you select your artists?

GM: I have one rule: I never book anyone I've not heard live (we always go and listen as a committee). We also avoid 'scratch' bands and those that tend to be too 'faddy' (for instance 'new' music).

TS: How long have you been running this event?

GM: This was the sixth festival that's just finished.

TS: Are there any ways in which you have changed the way you promote your events since you started, and if so, in what ways?

GM: There's been lots of travelling to other events, for example IAJE. We're limited by the time of year and the size of venue – we've found that multi venue doesn't work. There's a maximum of 250 seats per concert, and that limits ticket pricing and so on. We have a personal relationship with our customers – there's no box office. We have a high level of repeat business so we feel there's little need to change our way of promoting. We have made some changes, such as advertising in Jazzwise, JazzUK and Jazz West Midlands as well as locally, and PR using traditional media – this year in the Guardian and on the BBC (which are not paid for).

TS: Could you tell me which of the following you use in promoting your events? Your organisation or club web site?

GM: Yes, but it's an amateur site.

TS: The event web site?

GM: It's the same site, and we archive stuff.

TS: Online ticket sales?

GM: No. Credit card sales are possible (about thirty per cent). When we used Southport Arts Centre more individual gig tickets were sold via their box office, but 'weekender' tickets have crept up and up.

TS: E-mailing list?

GM: We have a club and festival database and data analysis is possible.

TS: Links or publicity via other web sites (such as Jazz Services)?

GM: Lots! As I said, Jazzwise and sites like that

TS: Links to artist web pages?

GM: Yes, those who've been to the club.

TS: Use of social networking sites (such as MySpace or Facebook)?

GM: I'm aware of their potential but they're not exploited. I subscribe to Jazz on the Tube.

TS: What do you think is your typical audience profile?

GM: Too old! They're generally sixty plus. Our policy is to develop a younger audience, for example by having afternoon gigs, and having lower ticket prices for students.

TS: What other sections of the potential audience would you like to target?

GM: A younger audience, including young musicians – for example, recent graduates.

TS: That's it – thanks for your time.

Telephone interview with SM (Manchester Jazz Festival), September 2010

TS: Thanks for agreeing to be interviewed. The first question is: How would you describe the styles of jazz that are performed at your festival?

SM: Contemporary, primarily original work, left of mainstream, by primarily British and North West artists.

TS: How do you select your artists?

SM: The *bulk* of the programme is UK and regionally focused, selected via submission forms that can be done online. We have a strong pool for choices to be made, then make up missing styles and so on via other contacts – this is different from other festivals and what we used to do in previous years. We also have an international dimension via the cultural embassies in Manchester, for example Spanish, Italian and German, including two-way traffic. There's also the RNCM link – a shared risk – for artists that are not usually in Manchester or so successful, and this includes the marketing.

TS: How long have you been running this event?

SM: We're now entering our sixteenth year – the first one was 1996.

TS: Are there any ways in which you have changed the way you promote your events since you started, and if so, in what ways?

SM: We're more efficient, concise in aiming to deliver, targeting funds, and our identity is shaped to match our artistic aims. We've got a smaller but more focused team. Our marketing's improved, due to communication and technology advances; we've ended up with a dedicated jazz audience of about five thousand, plus about ten thousand casual attenders.

TS: Could you tell me which of the following you use in promoting your events? Your organisation or club web site?

SM: This is becoming more important.

TS: The event web site?

SM: It's the same thing.

TS: Online ticket sales?

SM: This is farmed out to Ticketline and the venues' systems.

TS: E-mailing list?

SM: Two and a half to three thousand and growing, and we send bulletins throughout the year, as well as e-shots (a snippet of the festival plus a link).

TS: Links or publicity via other web sites (such as Jazz Services)?

SM: Yes, by looking at where people come to it [our site] from, such as events and industry based sites – quite a lot.

TS: Links to artist web pages?

SM: Yes, with a direct link from the mjf site.

TS: Use of social networking sites (such as MySpace or Facebook)?

SM: We started last year, especially Facebook and Twitter – they're good at targeting certain types of audience.

TS: What do you think is your typical audience profile?

SM: Very broad – a spread of age ranges, 25 to 45 mostly, depending on the activity or bands, music enthusiasts mostly. The RNCM audience may be more middle aged or older compared to Matt and Phred's or the Pavilion sites. They're from the Greater Manchester area mostly.

TS: What other sections of the potential audience would you like to target?

SM: Non-specialist music attenders – who don't think they like jazz but go to live events – to 'convert' them. Perhaps this changes from city to city? And also the wealth of the audience.

TS: That's it – thanks for your time.

Appendix D: interview response data

	Positive statements	Mixed statements	Negative statements
Jazz scene	6	3	4
Community	2	1	3
Identity	1	1	3
Online jazz promotion	4	2	15
Information/ communication	28	4	11
Social networking	3	1	4

Numbers of positive, mixed and negative statements within themes (across all 3 interviews)

Jazz scene positive	Jazz scene mixed	Jazz scene negative
I think I <i>would</i> say I'm part of the jazz scene (PT)	As just a, er, listener, er... I... I feel I'm... I'm involved, probably to a lesser extent (PT)	I don't think people travel a lot for jazz events (PT)
I'm part of the jazz scene – obviously, Beaufort Jazz, in a sort of a... anonymous role (PT)	nothing planned, other than local, I would say (PT)	I'd think twice before going to that because it's just, you know, it's just, er, it's a bit of a trip, to be honest (PT)
I would see myself, really as... well, first of all, er, an enthusiast (GH)	You're more likely experience magic in music if you experience it live, which is what impels me to attend at Briars, but I'm equally keen to see blues and rock music played live (PM)	if you ask me if I can compare it to anywhere else, I don't think I can (GH)
and also as a... as a teacher (GH)		I don't play enough (guitar) to gain the proficiency to participate (PM)

whenever I get the chance, yeah, I like to go and see some decent jazz (GH)		
there is a jazz scene, I suppose, in that respect (GH)		

Interviewees' comments under the theme of 'jazz scene'

Community positive	Community mixed	Community negative
I've seen where there is a sense of community (PT)	Jazz Workshop being a kind of a community type big band (GH)	other than that, I would say... no (PT)
there <i>is</i> a sense of community there (PT)		it's more of a hub, rather than a community (PT)
		I wouldn't say that's a sense of community (PT)
		I don't see much community, to be honest (PT)

Interviewees' comments under the theme of 'community'

Identity positive	Identity mixed	Identity negative
I think I <i>would</i> say I'm part of the jazz scene (PT)	I'm not considered a principal organiser (PT)	is it a relevant question? (PT)
I'm part of the jazz scene – obviously, Beaufort Jazz, in a sort of a... anonymous role (PT)	jazz music alone divides into special interest groups (PM)	I can't really compare, erm, you know, the North West (which obviously is the area I'm most familiar with myself) with other areas (GH)
I run the blog, I speak to musicians (PT)		if you ask me if I can compare it to anywhere else, I don't think I can (GH)
I would see myself, really as... well, first of all, er, an enthusiast (GH)		Although I grew up listening to Django Reinhardt records, I don't particularly identify myself in this way (PM)
and also as a... as a teacher (GH)		As for distinct identity, it's almost an underground activity as so few are aware of it, so I reckon a clear identity is pretty much absent (PM)
I run the Jazz Workshop (GH)		
as I see it, it does seem to have it... its own sort of identity, in the sense that there are, erm... sort of... jazz practitioners (GH)		

Interviewees' comments under the theme of 'identity'

Online jazz promotion positive	Online jazz promotion mixed	Online jazz promotion negative
one of the guitar players set up a, erm... you know, er, a web site (GH)	If you want to see how it can be overdone (PM)	poor quality of... material online in terms of videos (PT)
he's done that on behalf of the band, which is really good (GH)	Compare his public profile to, say, Martin Taylor and it's just tragic (PM)	if I was a promoter, I certainly wouldn't want to rely on, you know, what I see online (PT)
Southport Jazz Festival, and, er, Wigan Jazz Festival, and er... you know, er, via the internet. Er... it's very useful in that respect, you know? (GH)	It's a poor substitute for an autonomous presence, yet it's still the only place you can find information about many musicians and venues (PM)	a great musician, but very poor at promoting themselves (PT)
although not a jazz practitioner, is a master at self-management and discrete self-promotion using online media (PM)		a musician needs to be able to capture... themselves online (PT)
		it needs to be used, er, a bit more professionally and creatively (PT)
		they just need to think about how they present themselves (PT)
		dragging people down to the lowest common denominator (PT)
		total failure to exploit such a freely available medium (PM)

		The average record label is more interested in ROI than culture, so they're unlikely to put much effort into promoting special interest music (PM)
		any such medium requires the input of the content providers, in our case, musicians, promoters and venues, which means there will always be a degree of failure (PM)
		Those who think they are promoting themselves using MySpace need also to realise that is dead (PM)
		why doesn't everyone working in music (or any other artistic endeavour for that matter) have their own web site? (PM)
		there's nothing wrong with making yourself easy to find (PM)
		it's not hard to make any site content-rich, and therefore more informative and attractive (PM)

Interviewees' comments under the theme of 'online jazz promotion'

Info/communication positive	Info/communication mixed	Info/communication negative
put events on the blog for people to access (PT)	it's pretty adequate for my own purposes (GH)	to get your message across in a very, very busy world (PT)
musicians get good click-throughs (PT)	an aggregation site equivalent to, say, TimeOut (the lifestyle, culture and events publication circulated in London) would be very useful (PM)	work at a sort of a very low level of doing your best (PT)
there's a good web presence, er, for jazz events (PT)	it's still the only place you can find information about many musicians and venues (PM)	you have to throw a lot more money at it to get a lot more presence (PT)
Vic Greenberg seems to... to keep people informed (PT)	information can be published on a web site within an hour of being confirmed (PM)	however, it's... it's knowing where to look (PT)
it's more of a hub, rather than a community (PT)		you would have to do quite a bit of digging to... to un... unearth what's on offer (PT)
people see that mainly as something to receive information [from], and not something to interact [with] (PT)		people start web sites and never update them (PT)
once you know where to look, it makes life a lot easier (PT)		it's almost like there's too much on the web, and... it's not updated (PT)
once you've done that, you will... you are in the loop (PT)		if things aren't updated, people no longer visit the site (PT)

nowadays, anybody with... with [good] word processing knowledge [can] start a web site and put things up (PT)		people visit, and then they might not visit again (PT)
we started that because, erm, it was very difficult to get information round the potential members (PT)		Blogs are hard to keep up with (PM)
without all that to provide a bit of information I don't think Beaufort Jazz could've... could've survived (PT)		How many tour date lists have you seen which haven't been updated since last year? (PM)
you know what people have been looking for (PT)		
I doubt they would've found Hot Club [of Knotty Ash] because Hot Club don't have their own web site, or learned anything about the Hot Club, without the blog (PT)		
in a practical sense it's obviously very good for... for communication purposes (GH)		
a web site so that we can communicate via that (GH)		
It's obviously very good in that respect. It's also good, too, if... if you, erm, you know, obviously if you're researching something yourself (GH)		

lately I've been, erm... checking out a load of Russian jazz (GH)		
the amount of information I've been able to glean from the... the internet's been fantastic (GH)		
it's also very good, too, I think, for, you know, you might be looking for, say, extended techniques on a, say, saxophone (GH)		
I do get a fairly regular flow of e- mails (GH)		
again, it's a very useful means of communication, passing information and so on (GH)		
Obviously, you... you get a lot of information there (GH)		
I found Beaufort Jazz on the Hot Club site in, ... 2003, I think (PM)		
the Internet is where I look for anything I want to know about music, performers & so on (PM)		

I've also found a wealth of information about Manouche-style players (PM)		
If we're travelling anywhere, I search beforehand to see we can exploit the trip by taking in live music (PM)		
I periodically check out tour dates for musicians that I want to see, and also check the web sites of venues within convenient reach to see who is scheduled (PM)		
There are some where I've signed up to newsletters (PM)		

Interviewees' comments under the theme of 'information/communication'

Social networking positive	Social networking mixed	Social networking negative
there's MySpace, etcetera, etcetera (PT)	Perhaps I should go, to... to balance things out here (GH)	I've never actually Twittered (GH)
there's, obviously, er, Rachel's Facebook site (PT)	If you want to see how it can be overdone (PM)	I've never actually used Facebook (GH)
this is the guy who Stephen Fry made his now-famous tweet about (PM)	it's still the only place you can find information about many musicians and venues (PM)	Those who think they are promoting themselves using MySpace need also to realise that is dead (PM)

Interviewees' comments under the theme of 'social networking'

Appendix E: transcripts of interviews

Interview with PT (June 2012)

PT: The red light's come on so that's promising!

TS: [laughs] Right, OK. So, the first question is, erm, in what ways, if any, do you identify yourself as a member of the jazz scene, whether that's at a local level or... or further afield?

PT: OK. Well, I think I *would* say I'm part of the jazz scene. Ah... I'm part of the jazz scene – obviously, Beaufort Jazz, in a sort of a... anonymous role, helping to publicise the event. So, I'm not considered a principal organiser but want to be, but, erm... obviously, that I run the blog, I speak to musicians and try and put events on the blog for people to access and to give musicians a bit of publicity. Erm... the blog, erm... it's hard to say how many hits it's had because we lost the counter at one stage, but since the counter's been reset we've... we're now on our way to a thirteen thousandth hit, and, erm... it seems to be that the musicians get good click-throughs. So, on a sort of, erm, an admin level, you could say I'm actively involved. As just a, er, listener, er... I... I feel I'm... I'm involved, probably to a lesser extent – obviously I attend Beaufort Jazz evenings on a... on the first Monday of every month, er... you know, I try and do the Parr Street and there's a couple of pubs, er, in Liverpool, which I try and get to. A... and also, er, I'm on Vic Greenberg's mailing list – I haven't managed to get to one of his events yet, but it's... it's on the agenda. So... that's probably... you know, covers my participation locally, I would say.

TS: Yeah, OK. Do you go to anything outside the local area, or...?

PT: To be truthful, er... not as such... no, er... nothing planned. Erm... however, you know, occasionally I go down to London on... various events, and jobs, and, er, then you just try and take in something very casual. Now, to give you an idea, er... you know at, er, the Dorchester, over the weekend, there's a little bar at the back – they'll have, like a jazz trio or something going on, and... you know, we'll... we'll do that, erm... just do that for a couple of hours. Er, that's very much unplanned and casual... nothing... nothing planned, other than local, I would say.

TS: Right, OK. Erm... could you describe any ways in which you think the... either the local or national jazz scene might show some sort of distinct identity outside its own geographical area? You know, for somebody outside the area...

PT: Right... er... that's a good question! And... the first thing that goes through my mind as a marketing man is, er, 'is it... is it... is it a relevant question?' Erm, so putting my marketing hat on for a minute, I'm just thinking how far people travel to jazz events. Er... ah... so if... if somebody's employing me to market a jazz event outside the immediate locality, I'd think hard as to how much benefit that would be for them, because I don't... my own opinion, just based on experience [...]. I don't think people travel a lot for jazz events. Ah, I think if they're reasonably local, and they're well publicised, then they will attract an audience. But to give an example, if you said to me, erm... you know, there's a... there's a jazz event on, and I think there's... there's... there's one on at, er, Llay, near Wrexham... ah... I'd think twice before going to that because it's just, you know, it's just, er, it's a bit of a trip, to be honest. Erm... so, it's... if you assume that people will travel, which I'm not so sure about, erm... I... I... I don't think there's much more that people can do. There's... there's a good web presence, er, for jazz events, er... there seems to be, er, a good link up of e-mails, like Vic

Greenberg seems to... to keep people informed. Erm... I don't think a lot... a lot more could be done, er, without spending a lot of money, because the problem nowadays is, to get your message across in a very, very busy world, you have to either work at a sort of a very low level of doing your best, which is what we do with, say, Beaufort Jazz, or, then you have to throw a lot more money at it to get a lot more presence, er, in the wider geographical area. And of course that wouldn't be... just wouldn't be worthwhile, there wouldn't be any return. So, er... the answer to that is, probably, I don't think any more could be done than is being done.

TS: Yeah, right, OK. Erm... I mean... so, in terms of, say, a local kind of... jazz scene, if you like, do you think there's... there's any kind of sense of... of local community of... of an on, you know... on... even online, you know, of an online presence of a local jazz scene?

PT: Er... the only one that I've come up with is, er, that I've seen where there is a sense of community, is, erm... the site that's run by... is it Fred's Traditional Jazz site?

TS: Right...

PT: Erm... where he invites people to post messages – send in messages by e-mail, which he posts on the site – and... there's a lot of reminiscing about 'so-and-so played with so-and-so in 1943' and things like this, and... and you... you get a feel that there's... that there *is* a sense of community there. Er... other than that, I would say... no. I'm aware that, obviously, Vic Greenberg's got, er, you know, something going, he's got the web site going, but you don't sense, er... it's... it's more of a hub, rather than a community.

TS: Ah, that's interesting!

PT: Erm... as regards Beaufort Jazz, [I've more experience with] the blog, I wouldn't say that's a sense of community, erm... in so much as there's very little interaction. There is the facility for people to post comments, and... I can't remember the exact number before I came, but there's probably only been about... in the history of... it was just two and a half years, twenty-five comments. So people see that mainly as something to receive information [from], and not something to interact [with]. So, apart from Fred's Traditional Jazz page – but I just can't remember the address of it – er, I don't see much community, to be honest.

TS: OK. Erm... now, in terms of your jazz activity, could you describe the impact that the internet has had, erm, in recent years, say?

PT: Yeah. I think, once you know where to look, it makes life a lot easier. Erm... however, it's... it's knowing where to look and getting involved with the web of things. So, say... you suddenly became interested in jazz, you would have to do quite a bit of digging to... to un... unearth what's on offer, but once you've done that, you will... you are in the loop... So, in recent years, I would say it's very good, because you've got the facility to, er, to publicise things, erm... and... when the web first started it was quite expensive to get a web site up and running, you needed HTML – nowadays, anybody with... with [good] word processing knowledge [can] start a web site and put things up; there's MySpace, etcetera, etcetera. The problem with easy access is that it creates a new set of problems, and that is that people start web sites and never update them. You know, so, you look at something, and you think, oh, hang on, there's something there, and of course it's a year old, you know, you... you're a year out of date. So, er... I would say the web's been very helpful, and it... it's almost like a curve, where you've... you've reached almost, I would say, the top of the curve of usefulness, and

now, it's almost like there's too much on the web, and... it's not updated. And the killer, on the web, is if things aren't updated, people no longer visit the site. It's absolutely crucial to keep it alive and relevant.

TS: Yeah... I mean, assuming that, er, a web site is kept alive, particularly if it's a sort of local thing, do you think that has had an... an impact on the local jazz scene?

PT: Yes. I do, because, you know, again, just from my own, sort of, knowledge of, er, Beaufort Jazz, when we first started the blog, we started that because, erm, it was very difficult to get information round the potential members. Now, one of the problems with Beaufort Jazz is that, er... there is a huge pool of people who've visited us; probably... at a guess, if you had to form a database, probably about six hundred names. On average, we get, probably, between fifty and sixty on a [??regular hits??], and quite often it's different faces again. Now, in marketing terms that's called filling a bucket with a hole in the bottom, because it's... it's a revolving door; people visit, and then they might not visit again. So, without the web, and that's what the problem[s] address... [we] probably wouldn't have done it. I would say Beaufort Jazz would probably have come to an end, perhaps, three years ago without... without the web involvement, because there's, obviously, er, Rachel's Facebook site, er... there's obviously the blog, and there's the [e-mail to? individual?] musicians, [we] put links in; and the artists' own sites. And without all that to provide a bit of information I don't think Beaufort Jazz could've... could've survived, really. So I think that the web has been very useful.

TS: Yeah, that's good. Erm... what are your opinions – I mean, you've already said a little bit about this – in the... on the ways in which online media, such as – it could be blogs, or web sites, or social networking etcetera – are used by jazz musicians, and fans... as opposed to promoters?

PT: Erm... promoters, I don't know, I can't really... talk too much about them because, obviously... erm, it's... that's a difficult one. If I just... deal with musicians, and myself as a fan, say, er... I would say, er, yeah, I use it a lot, erm... because, erm... looking at the... again, looking at the stats behind the blog you can see instant data [such] as what terms have been used in Google to find the blog, and you can see where people have clicked through, so you know what people have been looking for. Er... we've had some very good acts on. Er... most surprisingly, er, the photograph that got the most hits was the Hot Club of Knotty Ash!

TS: Right! [laughs]

PT: And that was also one of the highest searched! So somebody's been looking for 'hot club', er, and, er... you know, it... it... I doubt they would've found Hot Club [of Knotty Ash] because Hot Club don't have their own web site, or learned anything about the Hot Club, without the blog. So, erm... you know, that's... you know, I think that's... that's proved very useful, as a fan. I'm not sure about promoters. Erm... one of the prob... if I was promoting, er, an event... one of the problems that we've had is, erm... probably, poor quality of... material online in terms of videos. Erm... we've had a couple of instances where... people look at, er, a clip, and say 'Oh, I won't bother going to see them because it doesn't look too good!' And, in ninety percent of the cases it... it's down to the quality of the... now, in the case of Diminuita, er... they... they clearly were a very good band, but, for various reasons, the clips of them weren't very good. And so, when we wrote the article on the blog, a couple of us chatted about it – Rachel and Paul and myself – and said that we won't put the clip on, because somebody might click on and say 'Oh well, we won't bother!'

Er... and that actually happened to, er, Stu Brown, er... who was on at the Wharf, er... somebody clicked on his links and said 'Oh' – somebody we know [...] – said 'I won't go, it doesn't sound so good!' But live, they're absolutely fantastic. So, with that caveat, erm... if I was a promoter, I certainly wouldn't want to rely on, you know, what I see online. That might be a start for me to evaluate them further, so, say I like the look of, you know, the Sharp 4, but I need to see them live to see... so, it might be sort of a first tool of research, but I wouldn't make a decision on it. I don't know if that helps or not, but...

TS: Yes it does, yeah, yeah. Erm... I... I don't... I mean, you said you... you sort of didn't really sort of... you couldn't say so much about jazz promoters, but... but have you seen anything of, say, record labels and the... the way that they use, erm, web sites...?

PT: No.

TS: OK, that's fine.

PT: No, er... to be... to be quite honest.

TS: So, I mean, er... as... as a final question, what aspects of, er, the way that jazz is, sort of, portrayed online, or... or the use of online media, for, erm, promoting jazz would you like to see either more of, or changed, or improved?

PT: I think... I think that online, everything's possible, and everything's there, now – it's just the way it's used, and, erm... one of the things, you know, it's a... it's a sort of a... an in-house joke at Beaufort Jazz. One of the things I say frequently about musicians is, there's something in a musician's mind which makes them a great musician, but very poor at promoting themselves. And it's... you know, er, whereas I am not a very good musician, but I have a clear idea of what needs to be done to promote, and I would say, erm... a musician needs to be able to capture... themselves online, and... and stim... stimulate a potential audience, and if that includes video, it needs to be professional video, I would say. An amateur with a phone shaking and poor sound, and, er... is not going to do too good. I mean, to give you an example of just how extreme this could be, erm... there was a... a great, er... BBC video of Faithless at Glastonbury a couple of years ago – I think it was the last Glastonbury – and it was professionally edited and shot, and it's absolutely stunning, the way it's put together. And then, there's the same song... on there, with a guy in the crowd with... [pretends to hold up a mobile phone] You can't hear the song, you can't see, it just gives you two ends of the spectrum. So what I would say is everything's online, but the way in which, er... it... it could be [proofed? improved?] [is] it needs to be used, er, a bit more professionally and creatively, er, if... if a musician wants to, you know, propel themselves forward, er... and get bookings and gigs.

TS: Right, that... that's interesting because, of course, a lot of people think that this sort of... the... the fact that you *can* do it yourself, erm... sort of is a... a way of evening things out, and makes it... democratises the, erm... and levels the playing field, etcetera. But you're saying that...

PT: No, it differentiates it even more!

TS: Well, yeah! [laughs] That's an interesting, er, way of looking at it, yeah.

PT: Yeah! Erm... because it's... er, I mean, to give you another example, of an... just how important a professional approach is, now, I used to work for a FTSE 100 company, which was very... into slick PR, because it had to be because it had a share price to protect to make sure nothing went wrong with it, so, people sat in front of a camera had to be able to do so comfortably, and make sure they got the point across without dropping any, you know, anything through the floorboards, as it were. And we had an in-house video to produce, which was quite influential, and we had our own directors doing this, er... we had our own publicity department, which was very good, and our directors actually appeared in front of the camera. And... you know, if they sat here and talked to us, they'd appear, you know, quite educated, professional people [...], but in front of the camera it was a disaster, a shambles! And, erm... I think we got somebody like... John Stapleton to... to do it, and John Stapleton, you'd think, well, he's a professional presenter, but he can't [be much more]... [but] somehow, he came across far better; the whole thing was far more polished, and delivered the impact they were looking for. Now, er, what I would say to musicians is, there's a lot of very good musicians who are [swimming?] just... below the radar of... public knowledge and interest, and my view is that they just need to think about how they present themselves, you know, to... to make that... that jump, and, as you say, the fact we've got a level playing field, supposedly, with all these various forms of media on the internet is... is... is probably dragging people down to the lowest common denominator, rather than helping people, democratising and level[ling] [it] with the professionals, you know, for want of a better phrase.

TS: Right, OK. Right, well, thanks! Er... that's... that's fine!

Interview with GH (May 2012)

TS: Right, so, erm, the first question is, erm, in what ways, if... if any, would you identify yourself as a member of the jazz scene, whether that would be locally or nationally?

GH: [laughs] I would see myself, really as... well, first of all, er, an enthusiast, because, er, you know, I love the music, er, and also as a... as a teacher, really, because jazz plays a big part in the various educational things I'm involved in – I teach at a number of schools, and I run the Jazz Workshop – and have done for the last twenty years, erm, Jazz Workshop being a kind of a community type big band. It's been at various locations; it's been part of the Adult Learning Service, but in more recent times I've been running it on a voluntary basis because the... the funding's dried up, although, I have to say, erm, in about six weeks' time, I'm winding it up myself, mainly because I've got that much work on I've decided that after twenty years it's time to move on, perhaps let someone else take over the reins. But, erm, I'm not averse to doing, you know, sort of one-off projects with people who've been attending for... for a long time, you know...

TS: Right, OK.

GH: So that's rather a long-winded answer to your question! [laughs] I do apologise!

TS: [laughs] It's alright, yeah, yeah! Erm... I mean, are there other ways in... in which you could consider yourself to be, er... for instance, as a... as an enthusiast, you know, going... going to concerts and that kind of thing?

GH: Oh yeah, yeah, although I must admit, I've... it's a little while since I've been to any... any gigs recently, because I... mainly because of, er, work, actually, and other things, but... but whenever I get the chance, yeah, I like to go and see some decent jazz, you know.

TS: Yeah, OK. Erm... are there any ways that you think you could describe in which you think the local or the national jazz scene shows a distinct sort of identity outside its own geographical area?

GH: You mean, for example, does the North West have its own sort of identity, yeah?

TS: Yes, yeah...

GH: Well, erm... in all honesty, I can't really compare, erm, you know, the North West (which obviously is the area I'm most familiar with myself) with other areas, mainly because I've not had much involvement with, you know, say... say, the Midlands, [...] London or whatever. But, as I see it, it does seem to have it... its own sort of identity, in the sense that there are, erm... sort of... jazz practitioners, if I can use that... that rather pompous expression! [laughs] Jazz musicians, jazz teachers and some people involved in jazz, erm... who... who are, you know, involved in various... various locations in the North West, and, er, there is a... there is a jazz scene, I suppose, in that respect. But, er, if you ask me if I can compare it to anywhere else, I don't think I can – mainly because I just haven't had the opportunity to do that really, you know.

TS: OK. Erm... now, in terms of, erm... the, erm, impact of the internet, do you... could you describe any ways in which the internet might have had an impact on your particular activities in/regarding jazz?

GH: Right, from a... in a practical sense it's obviously very good for... for communication purposes – I mean, the Jazz Workshop, for example, er, the... one of the guitar players set up a, erm... you know, er, a web site so that we can communicate via that, which is... which is very useful, you know, and he basically... he's done that on behalf of the band, which is really good – it's one less thing for me to worry about. But it's... it's useful if you think 'Oh God', you know, 'hang on, when was that concert? Oh yeah, we... we're doing a gig on the fifteenth of next month' or whatever it might be.

TS: Right! OK...

GH: It's obviously very good in that respect. It's also good, too, if... if you, erm, you know, obviously if you're researching something yourself, erm... you can... you can check out things, quite often obscure things. I mean... lately I've been, erm... checking out a load of Russian jazz, people like the... the Ganelin Trio, and erm, the Moscow Art Trio, who are my... one of my all... favourite, er, trios at the present moment. Erm... and the amount of information I've been able to glean from the... the internet's been fantastic and it's led to me purchasing various things, again via the internet, from Amazon, and I've now got about... about eight Moscow Arts Trio CDs. So it's good in that respect; it's also very good, too, I think, for, you know, you might be looking for, say, extended techniques on a, say, saxophone, or something, and, er, it just so happens that someone's put something on the... on the internet and you can sort of, erm, you know, watch it and advance your... armoury of sounds, you know?

TS: Right. In terms of this web site for your particular, erm... Jazz Workshop, erm, activities, do you... I mean, I don't suppose you'd know whether that's sort of had any interest from people outside the Jazz Workshop, would you?

GH: I... I think it has, actually, Tom, because, you know, people possibly may have been told about it via other people, and they've, er, contacted us. I...I mean, I do get a fairly regular flow of e-mails. I mean, we had a, erm, a... a bloke who's... well, originally from Germany, actually... very, very polite, impeccable English... erm, er... e-mailed the other week, asked me about the Jazz Workshop and I basically said, well, come along, and he's done a couple of sessions with us now. He's really enjoying it now!

TS: Right, OK...

GH: So, I think he was put in touch, er, by... by a third party, I wasn't quite sure exactly who, but, you know, it is useful in that respect, yeah. It does seem to work!

TS: Yeah, yeah! Erm... so, have you, er, any opinions about the ways in which online media – such as things like web sites, blogs, er, social networking, e-mail – are used by jazz musicians and fans in... in general?

GH: Do... sorry, do I have any opinions on it, yeah?

TS: Yeah.

GH: Erm... I suppose the only opinion I might have is that... that, you know, it's... it's, erm... [pauses slightly] it's... you know, it's, again, it's a very useful means of communication, passing information and so on, you know... disseminating, you know, erm,

all... all manner of things, you know? Erm... that's a sort of a vague answer isn't it? [laughs]
The tick box says...!

TS: Yeah, well, I suppose it... it may depend on... on the extent to which you actually engage with these things yourself. I mean, perhaps if you...

GH: I mean, I don't Twitter, for example. Erm... although, you know, I... obviously I... I like to use the internet an awful lot but I've never actually Twittered. I've never... I've never actually used Facebook either, although I have actually looked up you a couple of times, Tom! It's always good to... [laughs] see what you're up to these days! Perhaps I should go, to... to balance things out here, but, erm... it's mainly because I... I really haven't the time. Lately, I have to say, I've been incredibly busy, but, er, at... at some point, you know, I... I will. It... it's also... another thing perhaps I should mention – it might be going back a bit – it, erm... obviously, the... the advent of the internet has meant that you can actually sort of, er, send, erm, MIDI files to people and, er, whole arrangements, you know, Sibelius, er, files and... and things, say, 'Could you just give this the once over?' You know, er, you know, er, to colleagues and so on, you know? Erm...

TS: Right, OK. Yeah, erm... I mean, what about, for example, jazz promoters and record labels?

GH: Oh yeah... Obviously, you... you get a lot of information there, for things that we... Southport Jazz Festival, and, er, Wigan Jazz Festival, and er... you know, er, via the internet. Er... it's very useful in that respect, you know?

TS: Yes, yeah, OK. Mm-hmm. Erm... I mean... I know that you've said that you... you don't... sort of have a lot of time to, sort of, pursue these sort of online activities and, I mean, it can be very time consuming, but if you... perhaps if you did have more time, what aspects of online jazz would you like to see more of, changed, or improved?

GH: I don't really know... it's pretty adequate for my own purposes, people from my own generation. For example, school pupils are light years ahead – it's a cultural thing; they're born into it.

TS: Well, unfortunately my video camera's battery has just run out! It's OK, we're pretty much finished, and I've got enough material there. Thanks very much for your time!

GH: Not at all, Tom – glad to help!

E-mail interview with PM

Hi P

Sorry for the delay in getting back to you - I've had a busy few weeks and I've also been waiting for other volunteers to respond to my request.

Here are a couple of questions to be getting on with, whenever you get the time:

1. In what ways (if any) do you identify yourself as a member of the jazz scene, locally or nationally?
2. Could you describe any ways in which you think the local or national jazz scene shoes a distinct identity outside its own geographical area?

Thanks

Tom

Hi Tom,

1. Although I grew up listening to Django Reinhardt records, I don't particularly identify myself in this way. There's music I like, and music I care less about. You're more likely experience magic in music if you experience it live, which is what impels me to attend at Briars, but I'm equally keen to see blues and rock music played live (although not at £60/seat). I don't play enough (guitar) to gain the proficiency to participate, even though I have a small "flotilla" of instruments.

2. As for distinct identity, it's almost an underground activity as so few are aware of it, so I reckon a clear identity is pretty much absent, especially as even jazz music alone divides into special interest groups.

I suspect that mapping the age data of people attending at Briars Hall would be quite informative, although it might be a bit awkward requesting the information (I'm 67 by the way ;-).

Hope this helps,

P

Thanks for your prompt response P. Here's a couple more questions regarding the internet - they're similar to the ones on the original questionnaire but perhaps you could go into a little more detail.

3. Could you describe the impact (if any) the internet has had on your jazz activities?
4. What are your opinions on the ways in which online media (such as blogs, web sites, social networking and e-mail) are used by (a) jazz musicians and fans, and (b) jazz promoters and record labels?

Thanks again

Tom

Tom,

3. I found Beaufort Jazz on the Hot Club site in, ... 2003, I think, so that alone would qualify as significant, I guess.

I rarely buy a newspaper any more (read them on line), so the Internet is where I look for anything I want to know about music, performers & so on. I've also found a wealth of information about Manouche-style players - before about 1999, I thought I might be the only person who knew about Django!

If we're travelling anywhere, I search beforehand to see we can exploit the trip by taking in live music, but I don't confine that to jazz (although I still owe myself a visit to Le Qucumbar!).

The Brewery Arts Centre at Kendal is a favourite venue, although the range of events they promote are wide-ranging - last visit there, we saw a comedian.

4. If you're on Facebook, Tom (just checked and I see that you are, and I've sent you a friend request), friend yourself to Jon Gomm (<http://www.jongomm.com/>) who, although not a jazz practitioner, is a master at self-management and discrete self-promotion using online media (this is the guy who Stephen Fry made his now-famous tweet about). If you want to see how it can be overdone, friend yourself to Sam Lees (nice guy so don't tell him I said that ;-).

I periodically check out tour dates for musicians that I want to see, and also check the web sites of venues within convenient reach to see who is scheduled. There are some where I've signed up to newsletters. Blogs are hard to keep up with so I use "If This Then That" (<http://www.ifttt.com/>) to send myself an email when content is added to those I want to keep up with.

The best example of total failure to exploit such a freely available medium is, and you can probably guess this, Gary Potter. Compare his public profile to, say, Martin Taylor and it's just tragic.

The average record label is more interested in ROI than culture, so they're unlikely to put much effort into promoting special interest music. Boy bands have wider appeal.

I hope this helps, Tom.

Best regards,

P

That's great P - very useful to get your thoughts. Leading on from your last answer, I'd just like to throw out one final question:

What aspects of online jazz would you like to see more of, changed or improved?

Regards

Tom

Hi Tom,

I can probably answer best by expanding a little further on my answer to Q4: if you note the way I search for live music by such diverse search approaches, an aggregation site equivalent to, say, TimeOut (the lifestyle, culture and events publication circulated in London) would be very useful. That said, any such medium requires the input of the content providers, in our case, musicians, promoters and venues, which means there will always be a degree of failure.

Those who think they are promoting themselves using MySpace need also to realise that is dead - it just hasn't stopped twitching yet. It's a poor substitute for an autonomous presence, yet it's still the only place you can find information about many musicians and venues. It costs little to buy an Internet domain name so why doesn't everyone working in music (or any other artistic endeavour for that matter) have their own web site? It doesn't diminish the value of ground-level networking but, more and more, the first port of call when seeking information is the World Wide Web, so there's nothing wrong with making yourself easy to find.

The other thing is, added to the above, music clips. Youtube makes this easy and, as Youtube content can easily be embedded in other sites, it's not hard to make any site content-rich, and therefore more informative and attractive.

Last, for now, is static content. How many tour date lists have you seen which haven't been updated since last year? There's no excuse for this, given that such information can be published on a web site within an hour of being confirmed.

Sorry, Tom, this seems to have turned into something of a protracted whinge. ;-)

All the best,

P

Appendix F: Sebastian Scotney e-mail communication

Hi Seb,

I hope you are well. I'm in the final stages of writing up my PhD thesis, and I wondered whether you would mind briefly answering a few questions about the London Jazz site by email for a section to go in my conclusion?

If so, these are the questions:

1. Do you feel that the site is well used by visitors and contributors?
2. Do you think the site has, or produces, a sense of community?
3. What is your view about the purpose of the site?
4. Is the site intended to be primarily London-centric or more of a national (or international) site?
5. Do you have any views on the ways in which jazz musicians, promoters or venues use the internet?
6. What do you think future developments will be for jazz on the internet?

If you are able to answer any or all of these questions that would be great, but please don't spend much time on it!

Best wishes,

Tom

THREE ANSWERS:

1) The weekly Wednesday 8am newsletter (to which you subscribe) has been the real success.

- It goes to 3000 people and gets massively read, worldwide.
- It sets the tone in several ways:
- It demonstrates QED the depth and vibrancy of the scene in London every day of the year
- It aggregates the site's content and orders it for the benefit of the reader, people tell me they find that useful
- It aggregates and always acknowledges the source of interesting content from elsewhere -
- It has the capacity to serve as a promotional tool
- It is up-to-date regular and habit-forming

- People tell me it is a model of good practice
- Several promoters and musicians have regularly told me it makes a difference to increasing audiences

2) As regards the site itself here are three quotes

a) " User-friendly and incredibly well-informed, it is an invaluable resource for jazz in London and further afield.

Particularly interesting are the previews of upcoming gigs and releases written by the artists themselves. (Reading one of those is a hundred times more likely to convince me to attend a gig than 57 facebook event invitations...)

Sebastian and his team of contributors are passionate about the jazz scene and that shows in all of their work." (*Kim Macari, JAzz Yorkshire, Jan 2013*)

b) "The reason why LondonJazz has achieved such influential status is because Seb strives to put forward the voice, the enthusiasm, the energy of the musician. Previews from band leaders and composers cut straight through to that excitement, without the traditional dilution of press releases, trend-setters, pundits...

The trust which Seb gives his writers, the free rein to express themselves are brave and impressive. He is rooted in real connections to musicians and gig attendance at the heart of the scene. The contribution which LondonJazz News makes to scene is singularly and vitally important.

London Jazz is an important voice for UK jazz on the internet. As time passes, the site becomes an essential channel to broadcast the voices of Britain's jazz musicians to the world. Digital influence analysis tools confirm this statement, and show that Seb's work on the site has positioned London at the centre of the international jazz conversation online."(Jack Davies, JazzUK feature, Oct 13)

c) 'LondonJazzNews provides what must be the most in-depth local Jazz coverage on the planet.

The Jazz Line (USA) May 2013.

3. Is there an online jazz community?

The only answer I have to that question - and you can come to your own conclusions is a hard metric:

- three of the top five, and seven of the top ten most-read articles since I started in Jan 2009 have concerned the deaths of jazz musicians.

Seb