



Space is the Place: European jazz festivals as cultural heritage sites

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Space is the Place: European jazz festivals as cultural heritage sites

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Abstract: The JPI-Heritage Plus supported Cultural Heritage and Improvised Music in European Festivals (CHIME) project was established to examine the workings of jazz festivals and their relationship to cultural heritage as discursive practice. Jazz festivals occupy a significant – if undervalued – place in the ecologies of Europe’s cultural heritage, with their dynamic and synergetic relationship to spaces and cultural sites. Drawing on a number of case studies and interviews with members of the Europe Jazz Network, this article presents a typology of European jazz festivals and cultural heritage sites that can be used to inform the different ways in which jazz offers meaning to specific groups and locations. By viewing jazz festivals through the lens of cultural heritage, we can begin to challenge reified presentations of heritage that promote uncomplicated interpretations of nations, people and their associated cultural narratives. Festivals offer meaning to specific groups through acts of remembrance or commemoration, they have the potential to engage with a multitude of voices, and their locations enable people to negotiate a sense of belonging or to (re)consider their place in the world.

Keywords: jazz; festival; Europe; cultural heritage

Introduction

Heritage is a contested subject that is bound up with concepts of memory, belonging, and cultural value, as well as politics of power, history and ownership. As Laurajane Smith (2006) stresses, heritage is not only about celebrating and appreciating the value of material things that have been passed on from one generation to the next but it is also a communicative act that encourages people to make meaning for the present day. Despite the contention, often found in discourses surrounding cultural heritage today, that anything can be heritage given the right context, clear tensions remain between official versions of heritage that promote national culture as a fixed entity and the more vernacular and unofficial expressions of people, places, histories and marginalised communities. Indeed, Stuart Hall's widely cited discussion of the problems of "The Heritage" (1999) continues to have resonance today, when the promotion of a reified national heritage remains popular among politicians, policy makers and institutions charged with the protection and promotion of official sites and monuments. For Hall, "The Heritage" becomes "the material embodiment of the spirit of a nation", it is a collective representation of tradition or of valuable places and objects that, "[t]o be validated, must take their place alongside what has been authorised as 'valuable' on already established grounds in relation to the unfolding of a 'national story' whose terms we already know" (3-4). These reified presentations of heritage can structure ideas not only about the past but can also play down, ignore or exclude issues of race, gender, class, and disability that would inevitably provide a challenge to official and uncomplicated interpretations of nations and associated cultural narratives. Despite a number of changes to understandings and approaches to heritage research in recent years, and the acknowledgment of bottom-up approaches to heritage (Zanten 2004), ideas of nationhood can often remain naturalised and colonial histories treated as remote and unproblematic.

Whilst there has been an absence of popular music studies in traditional debates about heritage, the past ten years in particular have witnessed an increase in scholarship examining the relationship between music and heritage. Indeed, in more recent studies, popular music has provided an interesting platform to examine the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage, the development of individual and collective identities, and the interplay between top-down and bottom-up formations of culture (Bennett 2009; Cohen 2012; Brandellero & Jansen 2014). However, whilst popular music studies have recently engaged meaningfully with discourses around heritage, jazz scholarship has rarely moved beyond discussions of the music's constructed tradition (Williams 1988; DeVaux 1990), studies of local histories, scenes and venues (Heller 2017) and the examination of the music's relationship to New Orleans (Sakakeeny 2013; Boyd Raeburn 2009). Despite the interest in charting the history of jazz in specific locations as well as the music's aesthetic transformation over time, this research has not been placed within the broader field of heritage studies and the discourses that surround the relationship between music, people and place. When jazz is examined in relation to European cultural heritage, therefore, it feeds into a set debates about cultural value and influence that have remained under-investigated, from discussions about the

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3 relationship between jazz and folkloric traditions (how much is European jazz
4 practice understood as an expression of different European nations) to the migratory
5 influence, including issues of appropriation and enculturation (for example, how the
6 African American tradition has interacted with European culture). The presence of
7 jazz feeds into discussions of music as a racialised and gendered discourse, as well as
8 the shifting cultural status of art forms. Indeed, jazz in Europe today challenges
9 traditional distinctions between high culture and vernacular practices, as the music
10 exists in both concert hall settings and a range of underground venues, bars, clubs and
11 everyday contexts. Given its colourful history in Europe, jazz has functioned as a
12 sounding board for social change and fed into different cultural debates and political
13 contexts, from the civil rights movement to the cold war. Furthermore, the music has
14 been, and continues to be, used as a tool for cultural diplomacy and propaganda as
15 demonstrated through the mission of the US Ambassador Programme of the 1950s
16 and 60s to the more recent formation of UNESCO's International Jazz Day in 2011
17 (Von Eschen 2006; Davenport 2013). When jazz is performed in different European
18 locations, the music feeds into a series of complex questions about cultural heritage.
19 The music can be a crucial element in disrupting established ways of thinking about
20 heritage; when jazz enters particular spaces, it can provide a means of engaging with
21 established discourses, reconfiguring histories, encouraging a renewed perspective on
22 a particular location or community, and re-engaging with the past.
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29 ***Jazz Festivals***

30 Building on these ideas, the JPI-Heritage Plus supported *Cultural Heritage and*
31 *Improvised Music in European Festivals* (CHIME) project was established to
32 examine the workings of jazz festivals and their relationship to cultural heritage as
33 discursive practice. Jazz festivals occupy a significant – yet undervalued – place in
34 the ecologies of Europe's cultural heritage, with their dynamic and synergetic
35 relationship to spaces and cultural sites. CHIME sought to highlight different ways in
36 which jazz festivals interacted with – and challenged – concepts of cultural heritage
37 and explored places that had become symbolic of particular social and cultural events,
38 where values and meanings have been ascribed and where identities continue to be
39 constructed, re-constructed, suppressed or negotiated. CHIME examined places that
40 encouraged people to reflect on their relationship to the environment and where jazz
41 played a specific role in promoting the values and identities of specific groups.
42 Working primarily with members of Europe Jazz Network (EJN), the project team
43 looked more broadly to places of significance, where acts of remembrance or
44 commemoration offered meaning to specific groups, to locations where people
45 negotiate a sense of belonging or could (re)consider their place in the world.¹ As a
46 way of capturing this significance, the range of case studies explored within the
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53 ¹ EJN is the primary Europe-wide association of producers, presenters and supporting
54 organisations who specialise jazz and improvised music. As of April 2018, their
55 membership includes 133 organisations spanning 35 countries. See
56 www.europejazz.net
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3 CHIME project revealed a typology of European jazz festivals and cultural heritage
4 sites that can be used to inform the different ways in which jazz offers meaning to
5 specific groups and locations. For this article, therefore, I would like to explore some
6 of the themes and issues linked to this process and to present a provisional typology
7 of jazz festivals and their relationship to tangible and intangible cultural heritage.
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10 **Materials and methods: Towards a Typology - festivals, communities, and the** 11 **problems of sameness**

12 Alessandro Falassi's widely cited article "Festival: definition and morphology"
13 outlines the genealogy of the term festival and also discusses a general typology of
14 festivals – be they sacred, secular, rural, or urban. Falassi describes how festivals can
15 articulate class structures, power relationships, and different social roles, and
16 describes how they can embody a range of rituals, from rites of passage to rites of
17 renewal. Whilst the development of the CHIME jazz festivals typology clearly takes
18 some of these generic descriptions and concepts into account, I am more interested in
19 examining ways in which festivals feed into discourses around heritage; how jazz
20 festivals speak to different communities, construct narratives about themselves, and
21 engage meaningfully with contrasting – and sometimes competing – forms of cultural
22 heritage. Falassi defines the festival thus:
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27 [A] periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of
28 forms and a series of co-ordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and
29 to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic,
30 linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview. (1987, 2)
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34 Whilst this definition provides us with a framework for understanding the general
35 meaning and uses of the word festival, when looking at this statement in relation to
36 jazz festivals, several problems arise, most notably the question of what constitutes a
37 community and also knowing what particular worldview is being expressed through
38 festival events. There is an idealised sense within definitions such as these that each
39 festival is unique or that it presents a coherent mission, when, in fact, festivals often
40 reflect the desires and tastes of different people; they can often contain conflicting
41 messages and curatorial decisions, and can appear to mirror other festivals and
42 formats from around the world. One of the early tensions we found within the CHIME
43 project was the feeling that there was a lack of uniqueness among many jazz festivals
44 today. In several cases, there was a similarity - or a bland cosmopolitan character - to
45 many international jazz festivals, where the same acts were presented night after night
46 performing at different festivals around Europe. Indeed, in Europe, the economics of
47 staging events is often dependent on festivals agreeing to share costs and to support
48 the work of touring artists from overseas.
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52 Another tension within the project was the discrepancy between idealised
53 constructions of jazz and experiences on the ground. For example, in making the case
54 for the project we argued that, when jazz enters particular places, it can offer a re-
55 sounding of the past; the music can provide a challenge to unitary or reified notions of
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3 heritage and can encourage us to engage with cultural heritage in new ways. In
4 preparing for the project, we drew on a quotation from Chris Goddard's book *Jazz*
5 *Away From Home*, where he describes one experience of listening to music in the
6 amphitheatre during the Nice Jazz Festival as "having a rough edge to it that cuts
7 through the warm, humid Mediterranean night like a chain saw through cheese"
8 (1979, 228). And yet, at an early stage in the project, one of the team asked, "does
9 jazz really have the same provocative chainsaw qualities as, say, punk or other musics
10 that actually involve using chainsaws on stage?" Equally, when project team
11 members began to undertake fieldwork as part of the project, our idealised
12 constructions of jazz audiences and practices sometimes met with different festival
13 experiences on the ground. There was often an unease when encountering the
14 comfort and luxury of festival events and the wealth and class status of many
15 audiences; the hip, radical and progressive imaginary being undermined by greying
16 hairstyles, an abundance of comfy chairs designed for the over 50s, extortionately
17 high ticket prices, VIP areas for corporate sponsors, and nostalgia-driven acts
18 dominating programmes. From this, the question of what constitutes the jazz
19 community – or the jazz festival community - emerged, and answers to this are by no
20 means straightforward. As Ken Prouty outlines in his book *Knowing Jazz* (2013), the
21 jazz community is an often-touted term that assumes uniformity and coherence when
22 in fact the concept is fragmented; there are multiple jazz communities and it would be
23 difficult to identify a uniform worldview among different interest groups given the
24 dispersed nature of audiences, diverse age groups, and the range of music that falls
25 beneath the banner of jazz. From this, we have the situation where many festival
26 programmes appear to offer similar content whilst audiences for events are not
27 necessary readily identifiable as a coherent group. In his study of festivals and the
28 public cultural sphere, Motti Regev draws on the Red Sea Jazz Festival in Israel as
29 one example of a festival whose audience is drawn from members of what he
30 describes as "omnivorous taste cultures"; namely middle class audiences who define
31 their sense of taste by consuming goods and works of art from a wide range of
32 cultural contexts. Whilst Regev's description of Red Sea might seem like a relatively
33 typical European festival environment, the role of jazz within an Israeli national
34 context *is* significant. Regev argues that the promotion of aesthetic cosmopolitanism
35 through the work of an international festival has the potential to contribute to
36 meanings of national culture and, therefore, by their very nature, jazz festivals can
37 challenge limited presentations of nation through an orchestrated series of outward
38 facing events (2011, 109). What we need to consider here is how the same acts can
39 offer a sense of difference, a re-sounding of jazz when they appear in different spaces.
40 By examining festivals through the lens of cultural heritage discourse, we can begin
41 to understand differences between festivals that might, on the surface, appear
42 indistinguishable. This approach takes into account local knowledge, cultural politics,
43 and the specific values of different communities and stakeholder groups. Here, we can
44 consider how the same line-up and concert programme generate different meanings
45 depending on the cultural and political context and mission of the festival – indeed,
46 even within a single festival, different uses and understanding of events clearly occur,
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3 whether you are an artist, audience member, outdoors, indoors, or one of the
4 privileged few invited to the VIP lounge. As in the case of Red Sea, even when the
5 festival attracts a middle class following from “omnivorous taste cultures”, it is
6 important to explore how much jazz can still encourage us to re-engage with history
7 or to offer alternatives to established national narratives and mythologies.
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9 When drawing up a typology of jazz festivals and cultural heritage sites,
10 therefore, it was important to grapple with the issue of sameness, and to attempt to
11 understand how festivals that appear indistinguishable in terms of programme content
12 can indeed be distinguished from each other through the discourse of cultural
13 heritage. As Project Leader for the CHIME project, I worked alongside a team of
14 researchers working in The Netherlands, Sweden and UK to examine different ways
15 in which festivals used and re-used cultural heritage. The project involved historical
16 and archival research, ethnographic fieldwork, audience engagement activities and
17 qualitative interviews with festival organisers and liaison with the broader
18 membership of EJNI. This mixed methodology informed the analysis of festival
19 events and the different ways in which they engage with heritage issues.
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24 **Results: Typology**

25 Following this mixed methods approach to the study of European festivals, I
26 developed a typology of jazz festivals that attempts to illustrate how cultural heritage
27 themes play out in different European settings. When examining festival missions and
28 discussing ideas with festival organisers, it was clear that ideas of cultural heritage
29 were not always articulated or understood by festivals themselves. Therefore, the
30 following categories should not be seen as absolute or exhaustive but as a starting
31 point for discussion and understanding the ways in which European jazz festivals can
32 engage with cultural heritage themes. These categories seek to balance the tangible
33 and intangible within festival settings, and illustrate differences between heritage sites
34 - the spaces where music happens - and a broader discourse around cultural heritage
35 and the relationships people have to music and place, past and present. Indeed, given
36 the transient nature of festivals and the variety of spaces used and themes that emerge,
37 several European jazz festivals fall within more than one of the following categories.
38 With this in mind, the typology is designed more as a tool for thinking about jazz
39 festivals and their relationship to cultural heritage. Whilst several categories lend
40 themselves to debate about heritage issues, others map the different places where jazz
41 happens across Europe.
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48 ***Ancient places/Archaeological sites***

49 Several European jazz festivals have used ancient sites as part of their cultural offer.
50 Indeed, within the early years of its development, the Nice Jazz Festival –
51 acknowledged as the first international jazz festival established in 1948 - drew
52 extensively on the amphitheatre within the city to showcase some of its headline jazz
53 events. Equally, festivals such as *Jazz à Vienne* continue to use their amphitheatre
54 today. Festivals that take place in ancient sites can highlight tensions between
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3 different forms of cultural heritage and have inevitably developed a greater sensibility
4 around the relationship between conservation and use.
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6 ***Historic towns and buildings***

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8 A large number of European jazz festivals take place in the picturesque settings of
9 historic towns and buildings. Here, we might think of the spa town of Cheltenham in
10 the UK with its regency mansions or the hamlet of Coutances in France as historic
11 places where jazz can provide both a contrast and complement to the history and
12 architecture of the town. In the UK in particular, there has been strong relationship
13 between jazz and the stately home, as evidenced through the establishment of the first
14 jazz festival in Britain in 1956 at the Beaulieu estate, home of Lord Montagu. As
15 George McKay states:
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19 ...Beaulieu, like Woburn in the 1960s and the better-known Knebworth
20 Festivals of the 1970s, began a connection of aristocratic privilege and popular
21 music, of private means and mass entertainment, that characterised a certain
22 social stratum of those swinging times. "A combination of blue blood and the
23 blues" was the Beaulieu motto in 1957, while a banner over the festival stage
24 read, "Harmless amusement for all classes." (2005, 73)
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28 Whilst the relationship between jazz and stately homes might appear synergetic, the
29 non-conformist qualities of the music still have the potential to disrupt the seemingly
30 cosy relationships between wealth, privilege and subcultural interests. The 1960
31 Beaulieu Festival, for example, ended in a riot as rival jazz fans clashed over musical
32 taste, accentuating differences in age as well as class interests and agendas. McKay
33 comments on the way in which the carnivalesque spirit of festivals can imbue
34 transgressive behaviour in people and suggests that incidents such as these
35 demonstrate how the widespread idea of jazz as a universal language fails to
36 acknowledge the music's power to ignite conflict in different parts of the world
37 (2005, 77).
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41 ***UNESCO World Heritage Sites and Cities of Music***

42 Given UNESCO's commitment to celebrating jazz as a universal language through its
43 International Jazz Day initiative, it is perhaps unsurprising that several jazz festivals
44 take place within the context of UNESCO world heritage sites and musical cities.
45 The World Heritage site certainly provides a grandeur and spectacle for jazz that
46 serves to enhance the musical experience for festival-goers. One only needs to think
47 about the Ta' Liesse festival in Malta and its stunning location situated just beneath
48 the bastions surrounding the World Heritage City of Valetta or the numerous jazz
49 festivals that occupy almost every Italian town and heritage site. Equally, the presence
50 of jazz can also contribute something to the profile of UNESCO sites; the presence of
51 jazz in Glasgow, for example, enriches the cultural offer of the city and provides a
52 contrast to stereotypical understandings of what a UNESCO City of Music should
53 sound like in Scotland. UNESCO World Heritage sites that include conservation areas
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3 and places of natural beauty are also included in the European jazz festival offer. For
4 example, successful festivals such as Molde International Jazz Festival in Norway
5 have made use of the festival's relationship to the Western Fjords in their creative
6 programming over the years. For example, regular festival events such as "Break of
7 Day in Molde," are programmed outdoors, at sunrise, in order for audiences to
8 experience jazz working in synergy with nature. Whilst clearly providing audiences
9 with a novel means of engaging with music, these events can also feed into broader,
10 more problematic, constructions of national sound. In recent years, for example, the
11 concept of the Nordic Tone has become a major tool for promoting Norwegian jazz,
12 as journalists and record labels have explicitly linked folkloric sounds to both
13 mystical landscapes and national stereotypes (Nicholson 2005; Lake and Griffiths
14 2007). Here, festival events, and the broader music industry, can feed into myth-
15 making processes and support both imaginary and essentialist constructions of
16 nationhood (Whyton 2012).
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21 *Landscapes, social responsibility and the natural environment*

22 Molde is not the only festival that attempts to engage audiences with landscapes and
23 the natural environment, building music into the experience of the natural
24 environment. At the Südtirol Jazzfestival in the South Tyrol, for example, musicians
25 ascend the heights of the mountains, with instruments on their backs, to entertain the
26 public against a breath-taking Alpine backdrop. In recent years, by several festivals
27 have sought to engage with environmental issues and promote awareness and a
28 "greener" behaviour among audiences. A number of European jazz festivals now
29 have green policies and demonstrate a commitment to sustainable living and
30 protecting the natural environment. Famous and long-established festivals such as
31 Montreux, which occupies a beautiful lakeside location in Switzerland, have
32 developed clear policies around sustainable development and social responsibility.
33 For example, measures include the commitment to returning the site to its original
34 state on a daily basis; employing a team that works 24 hours a day to sort through
35 trash and ensure the cleanliness of the festival areas, utilising an eco-compatible waste
36 plant, and providing information for the public to promote eco-friendly measures.
37 Montreux has also created a space within the lakeside area of the festival site to
38 promote social responsibility, enabling organisations to offer advice on drink
39 awareness, avoiding anti-social behaviour and educating audiences about
40 environmental issues. In a broader context, Europe Jazz Network has developed the
41 "Take The Green Train" initiative that seeks to foster collective action in tackling
42 climate change and environmental degradation. "Take The Green Train" activities
43 have included the production of a green manifesto for the network that encourages its
44 members to address their own environmental impacts and to raise the status of
45 sustainability and environmental issues within the jazz community, and the
46 productions of a green tourism scoping study.²
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56 ² For further information see <http://www.europejazz.net/activity/take-green-train>.
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Post-Industrial spaces

Several European festivals employ post-industrial spaces as part of their offer. There is now a large network of post-industrial venues around Europe that provide alternative spaces for creative artists and festivals ranging from the Old Fruit Market in Glasgow to the Vooruit Co-operative building in Ghent, from the Tou Scene brewery in Stavanger to the former slaughterhouse in Bremen, which provides a central venue for the Jazzahed festival and industry expo that takes place annually. The slaughterhouse provides a perfect example of how the convergence of space and place can encourage people to think about the contested cultural heritage of Europe. Built in 1892, the Slaughterhouse was prevented from demolition in the late 1970s. Since its transformation in the 1990s, it has become the largest cultural centre in Bremen, an impressive post-industrial venue with bars, a cafe, and an amazing performance space that is ideal for jazz and improvised music due to its acoustic, seating plan (which does not conform to conventional theatre style), and its post-industrial design. In addition to its industrial heritage, the building is also associated with Europe's troubled history. In 1943, the slaughterhouse grounds were used by the Nazis in their deportation of Roma communities from Bremen to Auschwitz, where most were murdered. A plaque was erected outside the Schlachthof in 1995 to commemorate those who suffered these atrocities. As a cultural centre, the Schlachthof engages with Bremen's cultural heritage head on and, in this context, jazz provides the perfect vehicle both to engage with the heritage of the building literally and symbolically, to re-use the site and to energise the space. In many ways, the music works as a form of cultural palimpsest where traces of history remain but the sounds created in the venue confront the building; encouraging audiences to think about the problematic past, to reflect on the resilience of humanity and the processes of healing and renewal, and to experience the power of music in bringing people together.

Jazz Heritage Festivals

Moving away from heritage sites and the physical spaces where music happens, it is also interesting to explore the way in which many European jazz festivals are engaging with jazz as a heritage music today. On the one hand, this trend could be seen to be reinforcing the canonical tradition of jazz by promoting a historicised version of the music over conceptions of jazz as a contemporary improvised practice. However, several festivals have developed particular tribute events that go beyond simple imitation and reverence of legendary artists to create a narrative-based programme that brings certain periods of jazz history to life. As part of CHIME project interviews, several festival directors discussed ideas of drawing on the history of the music as an immersive experience. The EFG London Jazz Festival, for example, has staged events that explore the historical moments and attempt to bring legendary figures to life. Recent events include Charlie Parker on Dial, an exploration of Café Society, and a celebration of the famous Benny Goodman Carnegie Hall Concert. In addition to one-off events that celebrate the musical heritage of jazz, some festivals have focused specifically on distinctive styles of jazz

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3 or performance practices. These festivals include the Festival Django Reinhardt in
4 France and the Classic Jazz Festival Sweden, which presents traditional-style jazz and
5 uses the harbour-front in Gothenburg (along with a vintage paddle-steamer venue) to
6 evoke the imagined sounds of New Orleans.
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8 9 ***Heritage and Cultural Tourism***

10 Several festivals, like Palatia Jazz in Germany, are deliberately geared towards
11 cultural tourism. Festivals often work in partnership with heritage sites, and local
12 makers to provide visitors with an exceptional cultural experience. The jazz festival
13 within this context forms part of a set of lifestyle activities. When I spoke with the
14 Palatia Jazz festival Director, Suzette Yvonne Moissl, she talked about the way in
15 which jazz provided a dramatic context for the different historic spaces; Moissl
16 argued that there is a synergetic relationship between her festival spaces and jazz that
17 enables people to engage with place in interesting ways; for Moissl, music and
18 location provide access to mystical experiences and an engagement with the region's
19 mythic past. Several festivals have been incorporated into distinctive cultural brands
20 and tourist offers of particular places. The Islay Festival in Scotland, for example, has
21 a direct relationship with the Lagavulin Distillery, and encourages visitors to enjoy
22 jazz whilst sampling its famous malt whisky. Other festivals have sought to expand
23 their tourist offer by developing their brand into other territories. The North Sea Jazz
24 Festival, for example, offered jazz cruises as part of its programme in 2007 and, more
25 recently, established a satellite festival was in the Dutch Caribbean Island of Curaçao,
26 which is explored in more detail by Aggett and Van de Leur in this issue.
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32 33 ***Voices from the margins***

34 When examining jazz festivals and their relationship to heritage discourse, it is
35 important to consider voices that have been previously excluded from official
36 histories or dominant narratives. With this in mind, festivals that promote difference
37 to the norms that have been established within a particular cultural context or events
38 that seek to feature voices from the margins are interesting in terms of their attempts
39 to disrupt existing values and assert new identities. Jazz has traditionally been a music
40 linked to political struggle and the quest for civil rights, and yet, dominant histories
41 have tended to focus on great African American men as a marker of authenticity at the
42 expense of women and other marginalised groups. Several festivals now seek to be
43 more inclusive with their approach to both artists and audiences and Europe Jazz
44 Network's Jazz Balance initiative, for example, was established to "analyse the jazz
45 scene from a norm-critical perspective". By sharing experiences and knowledge in
46 this field, EJA developed a web-based tutorial program addressed to concert
47 organizers, promoters and producers in order to provide advice on putting norm-
48 criticism into practice, and implementing new organizational structures, from concert
49 bookings, to communication and marketing.³ In the case of CHIME and its partners,
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56 ³ See <http://www.europejazz.net/activity/europe-jazz-balance>. The PRS Foundation's
57 Keychange initiative provides a compelling example of how festivals are signing up to be more
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3 the first *Women in Jazz* Festival took place in Gothenburg in 2015. The festival
4 mirrored successful events such as the Melbourne Women in Jazz Festival and was
5 created as a response to the absence of female artists appearing in more high profile
6 festivals in Sweden. The festival director, Marie Tarrach Bävholm, sought to offer an
7 alternative take on the jazz scene in Sweden by creating the festival event. Whilst
8 festivals that celebrate difference and provide a platform for voices from the margins,
9 it should be noted that initiatives such as these continue to struggle when it comes to
10 sponsorship and support, both in terms of raising funds and developing a brand that
11 adequately represents marginalised groups. Even though it had a successful inaugural
12 event, the Women in Jazz festival in Gothenburg only lasted for one edition.
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16 ***Sub-cultural Heritage***

17 Despite jazz's widespread appeal and use within top-down configurations of culture,
18 examples remain of jazz festivals that reflect different subcultural groups; the music
19 has been a factor in mobilising communities, providing a soundtrack to political
20 activism (McKay 2005). The history of jazz in Europe illustrates the importance of
21 festival as a site for social activism and political protest and, within central and
22 Eastern Europe in particular, the music came to articulate political struggle of the
23 complexity of the Cold War. Today, we might also consider ways in which jazz
24 festivals feed into other forms of subcultural heritage, from jazz 'happenings'
25 associated with grass roots collectives and DIY scenes (Gebhardt and Whyton, 2015)
26 to events such as the Red Light Festival in Amsterdam that promotes synergies
27 between jazz and the sex industry. This latter example illustrates how jazz can
28 continue to confronted social taboos by challenging cultural norms and the boundaries
29 of taste.
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34 Within some European contexts, the concept of festival itself is understood as
35 problematic, a term that somehow reflects a broader cultural conformity and the
36 erosion of local community interests. MediaWave, for example, in Győr, Hungary, is
37 a multi art form event that has no city funding and now presents itself as a "gathering"
38 in an old fort on the edge of a river. About half of the programme is pre-organised and
39 the rest is spontaneous self-expression providing a framework that facilitates ad hoc
40 art to be created instantaneously. Whilst the music at MediaWave is not exclusively
41 jazz-based, the politically motivated and spontaneous nature of the event reflects the
42 aesthetic of improvisation, a desire to represent local interests, to retain ownership of
43 local heritage, and to resist top-down formations of culture.⁴
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48 ***Re-engaging with a National story, subverting dominant histories***

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52 inclusive in their approach to programming and event management. Keychange is an
53 international campaign which invests in emerging female talent whilst encouraging festivals
54 to sign up to a 50:50 gender balance pledge (in relation to programming and commissions) by
55 2022. See <https://keychange.eu>.

56 ⁴ For further information on Mediawave see [http://www.europejazz.net/european-jazz-
57 conference-2015-ejn-ga-report](http://www.europejazz.net/european-jazz-conference-2015-ejn-ga-report).
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3 Regev's work, above, highlights the way in which festivals have an ability to engage
4 with dominant histories bound up with nation. In the case of the Red Sea Festival, the
5 cosmopolitan content of the festival programme provides an alternative model of
6 culture from which to write a national story. A more overt and playful engagement
7 with national history can be found within the conception of the *Down with Jazz*
8 festival in Dublin, which subverts the sentiment of the Catholic church and the 1934
9 anti-jazz movement in defining itself. The festival aims to take "a tongue-in-cheek
10 look back to 1930s Ireland when jazz and 'foreign' music was seen by the Church as
11 a filthy force of corruption, which culminated in a repressive 'anti-jazz' campaign to
12 ban jazz music from the dance halls and airwaves of Ireland."⁵ The Catholic priest, Fr.
13 Conefrey famously led a group of parishioners down the main street in Mohill's,
14 County Leitrim, on New Year's Day in 1934, whose banners included inscriptions
15 such as "Out with Paganism" and "Down with Jazz." *Down with Jazz* offers a parodic
16 subversion of these historical events, and the festival provides a perfect platform for
17 audiences to re-engage with history at the same time as celebrating the cosmopolitan
18 character of Ireland today. The festival space itself, located within the tourist area of
19 Temple Bar in Dublin, also invites a playful engagement with history, as audiences
20 are invited to take selfies in front of a mock-up 1930s cottage whilst the deceased Fr
21 Conefrey (aka, the festival communication team) posts tweets in disgust of the festival
22 audience's supposedly suggestive and demoralising behaviour.
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29 ***Heritage as a form of reconciliation***

30 We might also think of the jazz festival as a site for reconciliation where different
31 identities can come together. An example of this can be found within Jazz Fest
32 Sarajevo, founded just over a year after the end of siege of Sarajevo in 1997. Event
33 founder and Festival Director Edin Zubčević was a Professor of Philosophy and
34 Sociology prior to the Bosnian war but the conflict compelled him to change his
35 career path. In an interview, Zubčević stressed the need to do something following
36 that war that had some kind of social impact. He felt that there was not only an
37 obvious need for reconciliation within the city – he stressed that that was necessary at
38 the time and still very necessary - but also that the creation of cultural content was
39 needed within the city that would provide people with some kind of aesthetic
40 encounter that was different from peoples' experience of everyday life. Zubčević
41 states:
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46 I had the idealistic idea to celebrate freedom by creating an international jazz
47 festival, as jazz for me is the music of the free man. My idea was to build a
48 festival to celebrate differences because every single festival - if it's a good
49 festival - should do this and, post-war, we are still living in a troubled
50 multicultural society. Our main stage is in an ex-Jewish temple in a middle of
51 a town surrounded by other mosques and churches, so for me it's the perfect
52 setting. The music I wanted to present was different itself, and the musicians
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56 ⁵ <http://www.improvisedmusic.ie/festivals/down-with-jazz>
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3 were not only different from everyone else but diverse amongst themselves
4 too. (Goh 2016)
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6 Here, Zubčević comments on the way in which locations, buildings and sites reflect
7 cultural, political, and religious differences, and how the festival provides a means of
8 bringing people together and engaging with difference.
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10 11 ***Heritage as a vision of the future***

12 When viewing cultural heritage discursively, it is perhaps as important to think about
13 the future as it is the past. As Smith (2006) argues, heritage enables us to celebrate
14 and understand not only who we are but also what we want to be. Within a jazz
15 festival context, visions of the future can also be embodied in programming decisions
16 as well as the spaces that festivals occupy. This could include uses of cutting edge
17 technology and the ways in which festivals are mediated in digital space, as well as
18 festivals that utilise the modern architecture of buildings in order make a statement
19 about music and place. Moreover, visions of the future could also involve a challenge
20 to the concept of festival itself and its relationship to place. The annual 12 Points
21 festival, for example, aims to celebrate the next generation of artists by showcasing
22 twelve bands from twelve different European countries. Interestingly, the event
23 location alternates between Dublin and other European locations in order to promote
24 networking and a sense of connectedness in Europe. Previous editions have included
25 festivals in Umea, Porto, Stavanger and San Sebastian, the latter event staged in
26 partnership with the Jazzaldia Festival. As a festival concept, 12 Points challenges the
27 idea of festivals being singular entities rooted to particular places and spaces and,
28 instead, has used the festival as a means of promoting European mobility,
29 collaboration and cultural exchange.
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36 **Discussion**

37 More broadly, when considering heritage discourse as inviting an imagined future, the
38 festival becomes an ideal place to engage in utopian thinking. Utopia has been widely
39 discussed as both an appealing and dangerous concept wrought with problems and
40 idealised assumptions (De Geus 1999). However, within studies of festival cultures,
41 there seems a natural synergy between festivals and utopian concepts, given the
42 transformative potential of places, spaces and social practices within evanescent
43 events or carnivalising atmospheres. Indeed, within McKay's recent edited collection
44 *The Pop Festival* (2015) concepts of utopia form a central theme within the book, and
45 within his introduction, he outlines ways in which contributors explore concepts of
46 utopia in contrasting ways; for example, as something celebrated, critiqued, glimpsed,
47 denied, dreamt or nightmared. And yet, despite these contrasts, McKay stresses that
48 "[Festival], at its most utopian, is a pragmatic and fantastic space in which to dream
49 and to try another world into being" (5). Rather than utopian thinking being founded
50 on idealised principles, the concept can provide a critical framework from which to
51 challenge established conventions, political practices and naturalised assumptions
52 about the world. Within a jazz context, utopia can be useful when it provides a means
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3 of challenging presuppositions, encouraging a continual sense of reflexivity about the
4 music's ontology and its cultural relevance, and keeping the present in dialogue with
5 the past.

6 This typology is not designed to be exhaustive but it does aim to open up a
7 space where new voices can emerge. Through the work of the CHIME project, we
8 have come to understand how jazz festivals can speak to different heritage issues and
9 give voice to different groups, ranging from the disenfranchised to the privileged
10 middle classes. By viewing jazz festivals through the lens of cultural heritage, we can
11 begin to challenge reified presentations of heritage that promote uncomplicated
12 interpretations of nations, people and their associated cultural narratives. Festivals
13 offer meaning to specific groups through acts of remembrance or commemoration,
14 they have the potential to engage with a multitude of voices, and their locations
15 enable people to negotiate a sense of belonging or to (re)consider their place in the
16 world. By engaging with issues of race, gender, disability and class conflict, the jazz
17 festival space can become the ideal place for resounding: resounding the past,
18 resounding the present, and the critical issues that shape the politics of everyday life.
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