

‘A Tale of Five Festivals’:

Exploring the Cultural Intermediary Function of Australian Jazz Festivals

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Abstract

This paper considers the cultural intermediary function of Australian jazz festivals. It presents a detailed analysis of programming patterns across five Australian Jazz music festivals – namely, the Manly Jazz Festival, Wangaratta Festival of Jazz and Blues, Melbourne International Jazz Festival, Brisbane International Jazz Festival, and Bellingen Jazz Festival – in the ten year period, 2004-2014. Using this data, this paper draws attention to the ‘search and select’ function of cultural intermediaries speaking to the broader significance of festivals as sites of popular music study. This paper considers a number of programming trends, including a comparison between local and international musicians; the frequency with which musicians performed at each festival and across festivals; issues of gender in programming; and identify musicians who could be placed into a number of genre categories, with a particular focus on those musicians who identify in some way with the category of World Music. This study presents an insight into current trends in jazz scenes in Australia and the roles that festivals play as cultural intermediaries in contributing to this aspect of Australian cultural life.

1. Introduction

Music festivals have been broadly defined as ‘a series of performances, of a generally celebratory nature, given by large numbers of individuals and groups over a limited period of time’ (Kernfield 1988: 360). Music festivals have become a significant subject of analysis in the study of popular music, particularly since the 1990s (Gibson 2007: 65). The attraction of studying festivals most probably arises from the increased number of festivals from this period, but also due to the ways in which festivals transform spaces, contribute to local economies, and have become focal points in the musical and cultural fabric of communities across the globe (Curtis 2010: 102; Gibson and Connell 2012: 4). Music festivals have also proven to be interesting case studies of ‘neo-tribalism,’ employing Maffesoli’s (1995) theoretical framework to describe and study festivals as informal networks that provide spaces for solidarity and belonging, proximity, hedonism and a politics of survival (Riley et al. 2010: 348; see also Bennett 1999). Festivals also provide new forms (albeit rather fleeting) of sociality through shared consumption patterns, commodities and branding (Cummings 2005: 2).

Reflecting global trends, music festivals in Australia have become increasingly important sites of cultural expression, characterised by the complex interrelation of sounds, space, economies, power structures, producers, consumers and cultural intermediaries. The significance of music festivals in Australia is evidenced by Smith’s (2005: 67) argument that music festivals have become ‘the most important public activity’ in Australian folk music from the 1990s onwards. More specifically in regards to jazz festivals, Australia is

historically significant as it is possibly one of the first places to hold jazz festivals in the world (Johnson 2003: 276). Jazz festivals are particularly significant to studies of music festivals in Australia, not only because of the significance of jazz generally in the shaping of national identity (Johnson 2010: 54), but also because jazz festivals represent the second largest number of music festivals in the country (17.4% of all music festivals in 2006-2007) behind country music (Gibson 2007: 70).

Jazz festivals became widespread throughout Australia from the 1960s, and a boom in jazz festivals in the 1990s corresponds to broader trends in Australian festivals (Gibson 2007: 65; Johnson 2003: 276). A number of reasons have been given to explain the rise in these festivals. Gibson (2007: 71) argues that one of the reasons for the rise in the popularity of jazz festivals in Australia is the creation of a network of 'inland heritage tourism,' and the ways in which festivals particularly contribute to the local economies of rural towns in Australia. Curtis (2010: 106) has made a similar argument in her study of Wangaratta Festival of Jazz and Blues (hereafter Wangaratta), where the residents of Wangaratta were more pleased about the cultural and economic benefits to the town through 'musical tourism' as opposed to the actual merits of the music per se.

In this paper I will be considering the role of jazz festivals in Australia as cultural intermediaries and providers of patronage for musicians. I use the term 'cultural intermediaries' in similar fashion to Bourdieu's original use, referring to the 'occupations involving presentation and representation', and those 'institutions providing symbolic

goods and services' (Bourdieu 1984: 359). In this passage he particularly highlights sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion and decoration as examples of the work and occupations of cultural intermediaries. Some of these roles are directly relevant to the function played by festival organisational staff, particularly those of marketing, advertising, and promotion, and the importance of these roles in bridging the distance (or perhaps reproducing that distance) between the processes of production and consumption (Negus 2002: 4, 11).

Providing symbolic goods and services however, are not the only role of these cultural intermediaries at music festivals. I agree with Negus when he describes the role of cultural intermediaries as consisting of intervening between production and consumption, playing an active role in the construction of cultural goods, as well as controlling access to cultural production (Negus 2002: 11-12). However, where Negus is a little more hesitant with the term 'gatekeeper' (Negus 2002: 12), I believe this term is also relevant to the role festivals play as co-producers, tastemakers and selectors (Foster et al. 2011: 248). Here I would like to incorporate and foreground the 'search and selection' function of the 'gatekeeper' as outlined in the work of Foster et al. (2011). Incorporating the 'search and selection' function of the gatekeeper into the discourse of cultural intermediaries provides a more accurate description of the roles festivals play as providers of symbolic goods and services. The work of festival organisers thus involves the gate-keeping functions of co-producers, tastemakers and selectors, in addition to the cultural intermediary roles of advertising, marketing and promotion. For simplicity, the

term cultural intermediary (insofar as festivals are concerned) will be understood to incorporate all of these roles. In this paper, I will draw particular attention to the 'search and select' function as a key role of the cultural intermediary bringing together producers and consumers of jazz music in Australia.

It is because festivals play such an important role as cultural intermediaries that it is significant to study their programming patterns. This study of jazz festivals in Australia provides an insight into the role of cultural intermediaries at festivals, especially with regards to the selection process. Understood in this way, jazz festivals as cultural intermediaries play a significant part in constructing the environments which allows jazz in Australia to come into being; they are significant sites of jazz discourse and construct highly visible spaces whereby sounds connect with audiences primarily (though not exclusively) through live performance (Johnson 2008: 126).

While the case study presented in this paper is Australian, the subject has significance for the wider field of jazz studies (particularly diasporic jazz), music festivals and contemporary Australian popular music. This paper adopts a slightly different approach to previous studies of jazz festivals in Australia, especially in terms of the scope of the analysis, and the research questions driving the study. Here I consider the artist programming of five Australian jazz festivals, drawn from 41 festivals from the period of 2004-2014. My purpose in doing so is to provide an insight into the complex role of

festivals as cultural intermediaries in current Australian jazz scenes and detect some trends by way of data analysis.

2. Research Questions

2.1 Origins

The collation and analysis of data in this study is guided by some core research questions. Firstly, I wish to explore the role of festivals as cultural intermediaries in selecting local and international acts. Throughout this paper, the term ‘origin’ does not refer to the place of birth or citizenship of the artist/s; rather I use it to identify whether the bands/ensembles/groups that were booked had to be flown in from overseas, or conversely, whether these artists were based in Australia.

My interest in the place of origin of a particular artist stems from previous work on World Music festivals in Australia. A significant theme that arose in this research for festivals such as WOMADelaide was the preference given to overseas bands/ensembles/groups over local artists (Keogh 2014: 118-19). I have argued that this is partly explained by the need to represent ‘the global’ (see Isar 2012) at a ‘World’ Music festival (Keogh 2014: 242-245). The preference towards international groups is also partly explained due to the complex logistics involved in booking artists from remote parts of the world, and the relative distance of Australia in comparison to the festivals of Europe and North America (Alter and Keogh 2013: 8). Here I wish to highlight this role of the festival as cultural intermediary in searching and selecting artists to perform at a given festival. This

highlights the role that festivals play in providing patronage to Australian and overseas based acts, as well as contributing to the complex intertwining of jazz and Australian identity, discourses of genre, and the dialectic of global and local.

2.2 Frequency

The second research question concerns the frequency with which artists are programmed at festivals. My purpose here is to explore the role festivals play in providing repeated patronage for certain artists. The ‘search and selection’ function of the cultural intermediary, by repeatedly programming the same or similar artists, helps to further ingrain the meanings of symbolic material. Negus comments on this role (here speaking of the gatekeeper) where “‘symbolic goods and services’ may be conducted through the adherence to standardized occupational formulas and generic conventions, and operating within rather than across the boundaries of organizations” (Negus, 2002: 13). Whether it is due to pragmatic or sub-conscious reasons, cultural intermediaries tend to reinforce what Negus refers to as “‘established routines” (Negus, 2002: 12). This could be understood as contributing to established notions of genre and identity. Regarding artist patronage, these ‘established routines’ could also contribute to a sense of stability (knowing that you are likely to get a gig at a particular festival), and stability for the festival organisers (knowing that this artist is reliable, is ‘good’, and will please the patrons).

2.3 Gender

The third research question explores the ‘search and selection’ function of cultural intermediaries as it pertains to issues of gender. Historically, jazz in Australia was symbolically encoded as a symbol of female liberation, however, this encoding has since morphed into what Johnson describes as the ‘subsequent masculinisation of jazz performance’ Johnson (2000: 64). Certainly, the perception of male dominance in Australian jazz continues in the present (see for example Evans 2008: 25 and Jess Dunn, interview with AustralianJazz.net, 23 February, 2013). In this study I have highlighted the distribution of the sexes in terms of the leaders of bands/ensembles/groups, as well as the sex of the people featured on the program in order to provide an insight into the selection patterns of festival programmers regarding gender.

2.4 Borders of Jazz and World Music

The fourth research question focuses more acutely on the ‘search and selection’ function of the cultural intermediary, as it pertains to the crossover between artists associated with World Music and jazz. This reflects my previous research into World Music in Australia, but also responds to the literature which suggests there has been increasing artist crossover between the genre boundaries of jazz and World Music in Australia, particularly in the latter part of the 20th century to the present. For example, in a study of Australian folk festivals, Smith (2005: 71) has observed jazz performers have been increasingly programmed at festivals such as Woodford. Johnson (2008: 126) has also argued that the “world music phenomenon” has contributed to the increasing eclecticism in Australian jazz and the proliferation of styles. In this study therefore, I have sought to identify where

possible those bands/ensembles/groups that have used World Music (or who have been labelled as such in the program) to describe their act in order to highlight crossover acts between the jazz and World Music scenes in Australia. In doing so, I wish to add further to the research I have conducted in collaboration with Andrew Alter (Alter and Keogh 2013), as well as my own doctoral thesis on World Music in Australia which contained a detailed discussion of Australian World Music festivals (Keogh 2014: 110-118).

3. Data and Methods

There are a large number of jazz festivals in Australia that could have been selected for this analysis. For this study, I have chosen the Manly Jazz Festival, Wangaratta Festival of Jazz and Blues, Melbourne International Jazz Festival, Brisbane International Jazz Festival, and Bellingen Jazz Festival¹. One of the reasons I was attracted to these festivals was due to their high visibility. For example, Wangaratta has a reputation as the ‘capital of jazz in Australia’ (Curtis 2010: 105). This reputation has been built solely on the success of the festival itself, in spite of the apparent lack of a local jazz scene (Curtis 2010: 110). Wangaratta has become a significant mid-way point for musicians between the three major cities of Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney since its inauguration, encouraging collaborations between musicians who reside in different parts of the country (Curtis 2010: 104). Similarly, Melbourne International Jazz Festival has become one of the biggest jazz festivals in Australia. It regularly attracts major international bands/ensembles/groups (previous festivals have featured John Scofield, Kurt Elling,

¹ For the purpose of brevity, I shall hereafter refer to these festivals by reference to the city, town or suburb in which they take place.

Charlie Haden, Chic Corea, and Herbie Hancock) and highlights the strong local jazz scenes of Melbourne, holding events in both the major concert halls but also dedicated local jazz venues such as Bennett's Lane Jazz Club, Dizzy's Jazz Club and Uptown Jazz Café.²

Manly, a beachside suburb and major tourist destination in Sydney, is also a major annual jazz event, with a long history (37 years) and drawing around 100,000 visitors³ over the course of the festival (Johnson 2003: 276). Brisbane was selected for this study, as it is the largest Jazz festival in Queensland. It existed previously as the Valley Jazz Festival from 2004 until 2013 when it was re-launched under its current name. Since 2013, this festival has been attracting international artists such as Joshua Redman (USA), Julian Arguelles (UK) and Ernie Watts (USA). Finally, Bellingen was selected as it is one of the larger rural Jazz festivals in Australia.⁴

One of the benefits of selecting these five festivals is that they provide a spread across urban, rural and beach settings of jazz in Australia. Johnson (forthcoming) has charted the transition of jazz in Australia from decadent, marginal, and international musical form, to an institutionalised, local and central musical genre in Australia. Part of this shift in the discursive understanding of jazz and its connection to Australian identity has been

² www.melbournejazz.com/festival-info/venues, date accessed 9th November 2014.

³ This number is likely to have increased over the past ten-years as the festival has moved from a three-day event to its current eleven-day format.

⁴ www.bellingenjazzfestival.com.au/about-the-festival, date accessed 9th November 2014.

the way jazz has been represented alongside powerful symbols of Australian national identity, such as the beach and the bush (ibid). For this study, I have drawn on festivals spread across these three sites – urban (Melbourne and Brisbane), rural (Bellingen and Wangarratta) and beach settings (Manly) of jazz in Australia. There are three festivals from major cities in Australia – Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane – and two festivals from rural towns - Wangarratta and Bellingen. These festivals also represent a spread across the three States of NSW, Victoria and Queensland. As a result, there is a mainland, East Coast focus in this research, as the States and Territories of South Australia, Northern Territory, Tasmania and Western Australia are not featured.

A final guiding principle in the selection process has been that these festivals were running in the years 2004-2014. While each of the festivals have varying levels of longevity (between Manly at 38 years to Brisbane at 2 years under its current name), each of the festivals selected ran during this period with slightly varying levels of frequency. For example, when Brisbane was called the Valley Jazz festival, it ran biennially between the years 2005-2011.

Most of the data used in this analysis was able to be located through the various websites of the festivals chosen for analysis. For Melbourne and Manly, I also relied on the archival work of the Victorian Jazz Archive and Manly library respectively. I also retrieved some of the programs of past festivals through the archives at the NSW State Library, and was sent hard copies of past festival programs of the Bellingen direct from

the festival organisers. As a result, this research draws on a total of 41 festival programs between the years 2004-2014, featuring 1740 bands/ensembles/groups and 2080 performances.

In conducting this research, it must be acknowledged that there are some inherent limitations to this sort of data analysis. As Johnson (1987: i) has noted, the physical documentation of jazz in Australia cannot match the fluidity of its actual practice. This was evident when I received the raw data for Bellingen, which contained a corrected program for the year 2013 so that the one that actually went to print was subsequently outdated. The choice of festivals is thus not meant to be a conclusive and exhaustive study of jazz festivals in Australia; rather these case studies provide a point of discussion regarding the role of festivals as cultural intermediaries. This study therefore should be taken as indicative and descriptive, drawing attention to the role of festivals as cultural intermediaries in contemporary Australian jazz.

4. Analysis and Results

4.1 Origins of Artists Programmed

There are a number of trends that can be identified from the data concerning the origin of the artists that have been programmed at the five festivals in the period 2004-2014. By far the majority of bands/ensembles/groups that were booked across the five festivals over the ten-year period were based in Australia. Of the 2080 performances analysed in this database, 1597 bands/ensembles/groups could be identified as originating in Australia.

There were a further 154 bands/ensembles/groups whose country of origin could not be identified. Table 1. demonstrates the number of groups that performed at these five festivals that did not originate from Australia.

Table 1. Number of Ensembles/Bands/Groups not originating from Australia

Country	Number of Ensembles/Bands/Groups
USA	155
Italy	12
UK	9
Germany	7
Canada	6
France	6
Japan	5
New Zealand	5
Cuba	4
Spain	3
Ethiopia	2
Belgium	2
Indonesia	2
Brazil	1
Denmark	1
India	1
Korea	1
Portugal	1
Scotland	1
Switzerland	1

There were also a number of collaborations where the artists featured originated from two different countries. Firstly, there were a number of bands/ensembles/groups where artists originating from Australia collaborated with artists from other countries of origin. There were twenty-five collaborations between bands/ensembles/groups whose artists

originated from both Australia and the USA; six collaborations between Australia and the UK; four collaborations between Australia and France; three collaborations between Australia and Argentina; and one collaboration between Australia and the following countries – Belgium, Israel, Japan, Norway, New Zealand, Canada, Denmark, Ethiopia, Ireland, Korea, and the Netherlands.

Secondly, there were a number of bands/ensembles/groups where the artists featured were collaborations between two different countries other than Australia. For example, there were a number of bands/ensembles/groups where artists originating from the USA collaborated with international artists outside Australia. There were two ensembles featuring collaborations from artists who originate from the USA and Germany; and Belgium, Canada, Greece, India, Israel, Ireland each featured one ensemble which collaborated with artists from the USA. Additionally, there was one act from Norway and France; one from Sweden and the UK; one from Germany and the Netherlands, and one from Germany and Austria.

There were also bands/ensembles/groups where the collaboration occurred between artists originating from three different countries. There were three ensembles originating from Belgium, Germany, and Luxembourg; two from Australia, Germany and Singapore; one from Germany, USA and Australia; and act from the UK, Denmark and Sweden. Finally, there were a handful of bands/ensembles/groups that featured members originating from four different countries. There were two ensembles from Australia,

Germany, USA and Argentina, and one from the UK, Denmark, Sweden and Australia respectively.

This data also demonstrates which festivals booked the most international groups in comparison to groups that originated from Australia. Of the 489 groups programmed at the Manly, 464 originated from Australia, equating to 94.88% of the total groups programmed. The countries of New Zealand, France, Indonesia, and a collaboration between the UK and Australia each featured one act. Italy, the USA and the UK featured two groups while Japan featured three. There was also a single collaboration between Australia and Cuba, and one between Australia and the USA. There were also thirteen bands/ensembles/groups where the origin of the artist could not be identified.

Bellingen and Brisbane also demonstrated a small number of international artists programmed. Of the 298 bands/ensembles/groups used for analysis at the Bellingen, 281 groups were from Australia, equating to 94.29% of total groups programmed. There were two collaborations from Australia and France, one ensemble from France and one from America exclusively. Of the 205 bands/ensembles/groups performing at Brisbane, 173 originated from Australia, equating to 84.39% of total groups programmed. There were four groups originating from the USA, one collaboration from Australia and the USA, and Canada, Finland, France, Germany, and the UK each had one group programmed. There were 22 bands/ensembles/groups from Brisbane that could not be identified.

Of the 576 bands/ensembles/groups used for analysis at the Wangaratta, 425 groups originated exclusively from Australia, equating to 73.78% of the total groups programmed. The USA was the next largest country of origin, with 47 bands/ensembles/groups followed by the UK with 5. A small number of ensembles originated from countries such as Sweden, Spain, Scotland, Norway, Portugal, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Austria, France, Finland, Denmark, Cuba, Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg, Japan, Argentina, Singapore and Amsterdam. Of the 576 bands/ensembles/groups at Wangaratta, there were 53 whose origins could not be accounted for.

Melbourne was particularly interesting, as it had the largest percentage of international groups programmed over the ten-year period in comparison to the other festivals. Of the 517 bands/ensembles/groups, 263 were exclusively of Australian origins, equating to 50.87%. The next closest country of origin was the USA with 93 groups. 2004 was the biggest year for international artists, with 106 groups hailing from overseas.

4.2 Frequency of Artists Programmed

There were a number of groups that were frequently programmed at these festivals over the ten-year period analysed. One of the difficulties in highlighting the frequency with which a person performed at a given festival is that these musicians often perform in multiple ensembles. Sometimes the name of the musician is highlighted in a band/ensemble/group, sometimes the band/ensemble/group has its own name distinct from the members who constitute it. In this research, I have chosen to demonstrate the frequency

of a particular act as it features on the program, rather than demonstrate the frequency with which a particular musician performed throughout this period. So for example, rather than calculate the number of times Allan Browne performed over the period, I have identified fifteen different groups in which Allan Browne featured as a leader/featured soloist and the number of times each act performed across the five festivals.

Obviously, there is some crossover between the number of times a musician performs and the number of times an act appears, however for the purpose of increased accuracy I have chosen to highlight the latter in this paper. It should be acknowledged that there would be a much larger pool of musicians and data to analyse if all the band members were included in the analysis. However, due to the difficulties associated with obtaining and analysing this data, and the fluidity of jazz music practice, I have instead decided to limit this research by highlighting the bandleaders and featured soloists on the program as this information is more easily available. It is possible that this approach more accurately bridges the gap between the data and what actually occurs in practice, for the make up of the band is likely to be more fluid than the featured soloist/bandleader featured on the program.

There were a number of artists who featured in multiple ensembles/bands/groups as band leaders or whose names featured on the program. The following musicians featured in four or more different ensembles/bands/groups:

- Allan Browne featured in fifteen different groups;
- Sandy Evans and Paul Grabowsky featured in thirteen different groups;
- Carol Ralph featured in ten different groups;
- Mike Nock featured in nine different groups;
- Dale Barlow, James Morrison, Joe Chindamo, Paul Williamson featured in eight different groups;
- George Washingmachine, Jamie Oehlers, John Morrison featured in seven different groups;
- Jeff Duff, Roger Burke features in six different groups;
- there were six different groups from Monash University;
- Aaron Choulai, Bob Sedergreen, Charles Lloyd, Ingrid James, Stephen Magnusson, Andrea Keller, and James Muller featured in five different groups;
- Barney McAll, Charlie Haden, Dan Barnett, Geoff Bull, Geoff Power, Jason Moran, Julien Wilson, Mark Isaacs, Michelle Nicole, Sam Keevers, Phil Slater, Rob Burke, Ray Beadle, Scott Tinkler and Tony Gould featured in four groups.

There were also a number of bands that featured regularly at the same festival over different years. From the data, it is possible to observe the number of groups who performed five times or more over the ten-year period. Akabella were booked in five successive years at Bellingen Jazz Festival from 2010-2014; the Allan Browne Quintet performed eight times with a fairly even spread across the festivals; the Bernie McGann Quartet were programmed six times across Manly, Melbourne and Wangaratta; the Blue

Riff Big Band performed five times exclusively at Manly; Dr V's Swing Thing were programmed seven times at Manly; Jim Conway's Big Wheel performed twice at Bellingen and four times at Wangaratta; the Catholics performed five times spread over Wangaratta, Manly and Bellingen; the Vampires were programmed five times across Manly, Wangaratta and Melbourne; the View From Madeleine's Couch played four times at Brisbane and once at Manly; Vince Jones performed five times spread across these festivals excluding Manly; Misinterpretato performed five times with a fairly even spread across the festival; and Way Out West were programmed five times across Brisbane, Melbourne and Wangaratta.

4.3 Gender and Australian jazz festivals

From the above data on the frequency of groups programmed, one starts to see the gender distribution of groups favouring male artists begins to emerge. In this section, I consider more closely the gender distribution of the groups programmed across these five festivals. In the database I collated, I assigned where possible the gender of the bandleader(s) that had been programmed at the festival and where relevant, the featured soloist. If an individual member of a group/act was particularly featured on the programme then I have correspondingly noted the gender of that person. An example of this is the act Fiona Boyes and the Fortune Tellers. Where there has been any ambivalence concerning the gender of the bandleader in a given act, rather than identifying them as male or female, I have chosen instead to leave it blank. Where two

people of different genders are identified, I have labelled that with ‘M/F.’ An example of this is Allan Browne’s performance with Margie Lou Dyer at the 2014 Wangaratta.

In constructing these categories, it is not my intention to impose a binary, especially one that privileges the ‘male’ side of set binary (see Moi 1988: 104); rather this method of identification is simply used to provide an insight into the gender distribution between male and female with regards to band leaders and the names of people featured on the program. My purpose is to try to provide some insight into the distribution of the sexes as they are represented in the groups that have been programmed across these five festivals of the ten-year period. In the same way that the analysis of the frequency of artists could be well served to consider all the members of the band/ensembles/groups, so too would the study of gender distribution. However, as per the analysis of frequency of artists, I have chosen to limit this research to highlight the bandleaders and featured soloists for reasons of accuracy and the difficulty in sourcing the necessary information.

Table 2. therefore demonstrates the distribution of gender across the festivals insofar as the gender of the band leader, and/or an individual featured on the program, could be identified.

Table 2. Gender distribution across the five festivals over 2004-2014.

Row Labels	Bellingen	Brisbane	Manly	Melbourne	Wangaratta	(Blank)	Total
Unknown/F				1		3	4
Unknown/M				1	1		2
F	36	40	48	56	65		245

M	155	90	152	314	387		1098
M/F	44	19	11	31	26		131
(Blank)	62	56	275	112	92	3	600
Total	297	205	489	514	572	3	2080

From this table, there are a few observations than can be made. Of the 2080 ensembles/bands/groups analysed, 1098 were identifiably male, with only 245 groups being identifiably female. Thus 52.78% of the total groups had a band leader/name on the program that was identifiably male, where by comparison 11.77% of total groups had a female band leader/name on the program. There were 131 identifiably mixed groups equating to 6.29% of total groups. There were six collaborations where one gender could be identified, but the other side of the collaboration could not. In these cases the number of Unknown/Female groups were 4 as opposed to the Unknown/male, which was two. There were also 600 groups where the gender of the bandleader/name on the program could not be identified from the data, which equates to 28.84% of total groups.

It is also possible to observe the number of bands that featured both male and female band leaders/names on the program. Compared to the total number of groups at each festival, Bellingen had the highest proportion of mixed groups at 14.81%, followed by Brisbane at 9.26%, Melbourne at 6.03%, Wangaratta at 4.54%, and finally Manly at 2.24%.

Table 2. also gives an indication of the comparative gender distribution across the five festivals. If we compare just the categories of identifiably Male/Female band leader/name on the program, Brisbane had the closest gender distribution over this time period with 44.44% of groups having a female band leader/female name on the program. Manly 31.57% had the second highest gender distribution, followed by Bellingen, 23.22%, Melbourne with 17.83% and finally Wangaratta with 16.78%.

There are some limitations in this research with regards to an analysis of gender in Australian jazz scenes. Firstly, it is difficult from this data to ascertain the nuances involved in gender studies from a festival program. For example, there are some bands that I am aware of which feature members who identify as transsexual (for example The Sirens Big Band). Unfortunately, this research has not been able to account for the degrees and nuances of gender/sexuality in current Australian jazz scenes. Thus the sample that I have drawn on has instead focused on the gender distribution across the groups that appear to identify as male or female.

4.4 Jazz and World Music Crossovers

I stated at the beginning of this research that I was interested in the crossover between artists who perform at jazz and World Music festivals. My approach to the data collection in this regard was to only identify the jazz/World Music connection where a group had been described as World Music on the program. Table 2. demonstrates the number of

ensembles/bands/groups that featured World Music as a genre description in each year, according to each festival.

Table 2. Number of ensembles/bands/groups that featured ‘World Music’ in their description.

Festival	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total	
Bellingen	1	1						1	3	2	3	3	14
Brisbane							2		4		2		8
Manly	1	1		1		1			1				5
Melbourne	5							1			2		8
Wangaratta	1				1						1		3
Total	8	2			2		3	2	8	2	8	3	38

A few observations can be made from this table. The largest number of World Music groups programmed at a festival occurred at Melbourne in 2004 and Brisbane in 2011. The biggest years for World Music groups occurred in 2004, 2011, and 2013 respectively. The years 2006 and 2008 featured no World Music groups. The most notable aspect of this table is the small number of groups that actually used World Music to describe themselves, or cases where the festival had labelled them as World Music. There were a total of 38 groups that were identified in the data with the label World Music, which equates to only 1.82% of the total number of groups analysed. It is my suspicion that the number of crossover groups would increase if the data analysed extended to past programs of World Music festivals around Australia, as musicians tend to be more fluid than genre categories imply and tend to modify their description depending on the performance context (Keogh 2014: 218-233).

5. Discussion

There are a number of key insights that can be drawn from this data concerning jazz festivals as cultural intermediaries. One trend that can be detected is a preference towards programming artists of Australian origin. The vast majority of artists programmed at these festivals originate from Australia. Manly was the least likely to program international artists, followed closely by Bellingen, whereas Melbourne demonstrated a fairly even distribution between international and Australian artists.

Across these five festivals, bands/ensembles/groups originating from the USA were the second highest country in comparison to Australia. Where acts originating from the USA numbered 155, the nearest competing country of origin, Italy, featured only 12 acts. It is certainly plausible if not probable that the overwhelming tendency towards programming artists originating from the USA is influenced by the narrative of America as the original and authentic source of jazz to which diasporic jazz is compared, a narrative perpetuated by tertiary institutions since the 1970s (Johnson 2008: 114, 124).

There was a preference towards programming male led/featured acts/groups. The closest gender distribution across the festivals still favours the male sex by 56%. The data supports Johnson's (2000: 64; 2010: 53) discussion of the historical and cultural shifts in attitude towards jazz in Australia, from the perception of it as dangerous, effeminate divergent noise, to cerebral, masculine, and central to national identity. It is worth considering whether the gender of the artistic/musical directors of these festivals

contributes at all to the gender representation at these festivals. For example, the artistic directors of Melbourne have been male over the past ten-years with the exception of Sophie Brous during the years 2009-2011⁵. Additionally, the current artistic/musical directors at Wangaratta⁶, Bellingen⁷ are male. Manly and Brisbane are different in that they are currently directed by females (Caroline Speight⁸ and Lynnette Irwin respectively⁹). It is noteworthy that the data analysed here demonstrates that Manly and Brisbane had the highest representation of groups with female bandleaders/featured soloists. This correlation highlights the role and importance of the artistic/musical director as a cultural intermediaries contributing to issues of gender in Australian jazz.

This data demonstrates some of the ways in which festivals function as gatekeepers of taste and their role in framing discourses of genre. Here the ‘search and selection’ function of festivals are instrumental in framing the discourses of jazz in Australia, what is called jazz and what is permissible to include in a festival program. This is demonstrated most clearly with respect to the colour coding system used on a number of Manly programs indicating in broad-brush strokes the kind of genre of a particular act. For example in 2011 there were six broad genre categories that an ensemble/band/group would be classified under – Big Band and Students Groups; Mainstream and Swing; Vocal and Instrumental; Funk, Latin, Blues, Boogie, Zydeco; Contemporary and Modern;

⁵ <http://melbournejazz.com.au/about-us/history> accessed 13th November 2014.

⁶ <http://wangerattajazz.com> accessed 13th November 2014.

⁷ <http://bellingenjazzfestival.com.au> accessed 13th November 2014.

⁸ <http://jazz.org.au> accessed 13th November 2014.

⁹ <http://brisbanejazzfestival.com.au> accessed 13th November 2013.

and Traditional and Classic jazz. These diverse and changing genre categories reflects the proliferation of genres away from the taxonomy of traditional and modern that was prevalent into the 1980s (Johnson 2008: 126), though the trace of this distinction can still be detected.

While contemporary jazz categories in Australia could be characterised by a certain stylistic eclecticism (ibid.), it appears that festivals are either reluctant to program World Music artists at jazz festivals, or alternatively there is a reluctance to use World Music as a genre description for artists. Very few artists featured on the programs considered in this research were associated with the label of World Music. Notably, some artists have responded to this seeming reluctance by positioning themselves differently depending on the context in which they receive patronage. The flamenco guitarist Damian Wright is one example of an artist who, while associated with World Music as a flamenco guitarist, has also attracted the attention of jazz festival programmers with his fusion group the Translators.

Another example of an artist who repositions himself according to context is the Egyptian/Australian *oud* player Joseph Tawadros. In an interview I conducted with him, Tawadros explains that he intentionally aligns himself with Western classical music in Australia (Tawadros, i/v with author, 14 July 2010), but he is also just as comfortable operating in the discursive category of jazz. In this interview he defined World Music as ‘jazz with ethnic instruments’ (ibid). While this definition is open to criticism, it does

resonate to some degree with the approach Tawadros has taken to composition and improvisation, and the musicians he has performed and recorded with. Tawadros has performed and recorded with a number of prominent jazz musicians such as guitarist Mike Stern, double-bassist Charlie McBride, guitarist John Abercrombie, drummer Jack deJohnette and bassist John Petatucci. In 2010, his album featuring John Abercrombie, John Petatucci and Jack deJohnette was nominated for an Australian Record Industry Award (ARIA) in the category of Best Jazz Album. In that same year, he was nominated in the category of Best World Music album for his recording *The Hour of Separation*. Tawadros thus provides an example of a musician who works across the genre categories of World and jazz music, and positions himself differently depending on the context in which he plays (Keogh 2014: 227).

6. Conclusion

The research presented in this study uses Australian examples of music festivals (specifically jazz festivals) to focus on a number of activities and trends of these cultural intermediaries. One of the noticeable trends in the data is the tendency towards following predictable patterns, where festivals follow ‘established routines’ and ‘standardized formulas’ (Negus 2002: 12-13) in their role as seekers and selectors. This is most notably seen in the predictable programming and visibility of male musicians as bandleaders and featured artists. It is also demonstrated in the repeated programming of certain artists.

This paper has highlighted the tension between the predictability of the programming and selections that work across organisational boundaries. Festivals as cultural intermediaries position artists according to genre categories that reflect specific histories of jazz in Australia, but these categories are also characterised by a certain dynamism and fluidity. From the changing genre descriptions that appear at the Manly and Melbourne festivals, jazz as a genre appears as an incredibly complex and dynamic constellation of subgenres and music styles. Where there has been a historical trend towards eclecticism in Australian jazz (Johnson 2008: 126), the data suggests that of the constellation of subgenres, World Music seldom features as a description of programmed acts. However, musicians have also responded and capitalised on the amorphous nature of genre categories and have been able to position themselves differently depending on the context of patronage. These genre categories are also further problematised by the changing nature of the musicians and the musical projects they are involved in.

Johnson (2008: 125) has noted that with the influence of feminism since the 1980s, there has been an increase in the number of female jazz instrumentalists. In the data analysed in this paper, it appears that cultural intermediaries tend to conform to predictable patterns, however, there are also instances that suggest subtle disruptions to these patterns. Manly and Brisbane festivals demonstrate a correspondence between higher rates of female artist programming where the selection is being made by a female program director, organiser or curator. It will be interesting to see if the increased number of female instrumentalists suggested by Johnson is reflected in future programming trends, and if

this correspondence between the gender of the cultural intermediary and the artist continues to be characteristic of jazz festivals in Australia.

To conclude, music festivals are important sites for studying contemporary popular music. Where scholars have developed a number of approaches to the study of music festivals, this paper has focused on the role of festivals as cultural intermediaries that play an important function in connecting producers to consumers. Festivals act in a number of significant ways: as producers of symbolic goods (marketing, advertising, promotion) and as seekers, selectors, tastemakers and co-producers. This paper has drawn particular attention to the importance of the 'search and select' function of these cultural intermediaries, and the implications this has regarding the programming of local and international artists, the frequencies of artists programmed, the representation of gender at festivals, and the construction of genre. This study of Australian jazz festivals has demonstrated the crucial in-between role festivals play as mediators and co-producers; this role is characterised by the tensions of anxiety and celebration, homogeneity and heterogeneity, freedom and conformity, as jazz comes into being in the connection of sounds to audiences (Johnson 2008: 126).

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