



Open Research Online

Citation

Wilks, Linda (2013). Exploring social and cultural diversity within 'Black British Jazz' audiences. *Leisure Studies*, 32(4) pp. 349–366.

URL

<https://oro.open.ac.uk/39624/>

License

None Specified

Policy

This document has been downloaded from Open Research Online, The Open University's repository of research publications. This version is being made available in accordance with Open Research Online policies available from [Open Research Online \(ORO\) Policies](#)

Versions

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding

**Exploring social and cultural diversity within ‘Black British Jazz’
audiences**

Journal: Leisure Studies

32 (4) 349-366

Author: Dr. Linda Wilks

Citation: Wilks, L. (2013) *Exploring social and cultural diversity within ‘Black British Jazz’ audiences*. Leisure Studies 32(4) 349-366.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible through funding from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council’s Beyond Text programme for the Black British Jazz research project.

The author would like to thank the Principal Investigator of the Black British Jazz project, Dr. Jason Toyne from The Open University, for his help and support with this audience research.

The Black British Jazz project website is available at:
<http://www8.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/blackbritishjazz/>

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the findings of a recent study which explores the social and cultural characteristics of audiences for performances by black British jazz musicians. It draws on Bourdieu's theoretical concept of cultural capital, which links social class and educational qualification level to cultural consumption, as well as on Hall's exploration of 'new ethnicities', demonstrating how the two theories are inter-related. The study uses a mixed method approach of observation, questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews, analysed using critical discourse analysis. The demographic data demonstrates the tendency, in line with cultural capital theory, for audiences for black British jazz musicians to be highly educated and from higher socio-economic classes. Particularly notable is that black audience members tended to be from the middle classes, suggesting that attention to the increasingly important social and demographic phenomenon of the black middle class is warranted. Qualitative data demonstrates the positioning of participants regarding the ways in which cultural capital inter-relates with the dimension of ethnicity. The importance of cultural heritage to the black participants in particular suggests that Hall's 'new ethnicities' is a particularly useful theory to aid understanding of the complexities of the inter-relationship between race and musical taste.

Keywords: race; jazz; social class; age; ethnicity

Introduction

This article is about jazz audiences, in particular, audiences for the musical niche of black British jazz. The labelling of this niche cultural setting was adopted due to the explicit references to African-Caribbean diasporic heritage which have been incorporated into recent musical performances in Britain by black British jazz musicians.

Various music historians have also paid attention to the position of black musicians in the history of jazz in Britain, however. Parsonage (2005) focuses on the role of ethnicity and cultural identity in the development of jazz in Britain, identifying the arrival of black American music hall performers in the nineteenth century as a starting point. Moore (2007)

also links the arrival of jazz in Britain to issues of race, highlighting the polarization in the early 1920s between the 'hot' jazz played by black musicians and the 'cooler' style of the white jazz musicians. Similarly, McKay (2005) notes the racial framework of jazz in the early part of the twentieth century. Both Moore and McKay go on to identify the key role of the Jazz Warriors, the big band of black jazz musicians, based in London, featuring Courtney Pine, Gail Thompson and Gary Crosby, in the resurgence of jazz in Britain in the 1980s. McKay (2005) suggests that this was a statement of 'black cultural confidence and presence', whilst Moore (2007) emphasises the role of the band in the expression and negotiation of racial identity through musical performance. More recently, members of the Jazz Warriors have become key figures on the British jazz scene and draw explicitly on African and Caribbean influences in their music. Courtney Pine is an artist of international stature, Gary Crosby signs and nurtures the talents of black British jazz musicians to his Dune label, and Dennis Rollins has recently been performing his innovative multi-media show 'Griots to Garage'. Amongst the younger generation of black British jazz musicians, saxophonist Soweto Kinch tours worldwide and won a MOBO award in 2007 (Moore, 2007). Thus it seems that ethnic identity and cultural heritage are foregrounded in 'black British jazz', making it a particularly suitable setting for the exploration of ethnicity in audiences.

Alongside consideration of the development of jazz in Britain, with its diasporic narratives, sociologists have investigated race in Britain more generally. Gilroy (1993), for example, highlights the role of music in linking London to black Atlantic political culture. Although focusing particularly on reggae and hip-hop, Gilroy's (1987: 210) identification of a mobile, cosmopolitan and hybrid black Atlantic is worth noting in the present context. So too is his conclusion that the Black Atlantic performers are orientated to a 'certain type of audience' (Gilroy, 1987: 210), that they use a restricted language and that even if dialogic and open,

nevertheless performances tend to involved an expectation that black performers will have a black audience.

As well as considering the specific history of race and jazz in Britain, and the related dynamics of the black Atlantic, it is worth reflecting on the way race is being formulated in the political field in the present conjuncture. Debate on the concept of ‘multiculturalism’ is high on the political radar in Britain and elsewhere in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century. This makes the way in which the black jazz musicians of this study relate their ‘places of origin’ to their British ‘homes’ particularly pertinent in an era when the British Prime Minister appears to be suggesting that British people from different cultural backgrounds should be discouraged from expressing their heritage (Prime Minister's Office, 2011) .

Theoretical context

Moving on to focus on the theoretical context of the study, several themes have been identified as key underpinnings. This study’s aim is to look at audiences for ‘black’ British jazz, thus stressing the key role of race within the genre being examined. Hall (1992: 252) explains that the term ‘black’ and talk of ‘the Black experience’ references the common experience of people, from across ethnic and cultural difference, of racism and marginalisation in Britain. Hall suggests that this is about black people being positioned as the unspoken and invisible ‘other’ of a predominantly white cultural discourse. He highlights concern over, not just a tendency to disregard or marginalise the black experience, but also to simplify and stereotype its character. Hall is keen that this marginality should be contested by the counter-position of a ‘positive’ black imagery. However, he also warns against assuming that all black people are essentially ‘the same’ (Hall, 1992:254) and stresses that the dimensions of difference, including class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity also need to be referred to in connection with the black subject. Finally, Hall (1992:258) explains that the

‘new politics of representation’ is about the awareness of the black experience as a diaspora experience. Hall refers particularly to young black British film-makers being nourished by their ‘deep inheritance of complex systems of representation and aesthetic traditions from Asian and African culture’ and the ways in which these cultural roots are operating on new and distinct ‘British’ ground (Hall, 1992:258). It is hoped that investigation of ‘new ethnicities’ within the context of another cultural setting, in this case the musical niche of black British jazz, will enable further understanding of this complexity.

Debate on whether cultural consumption is associated with ethnicity has provided various views, with Fenton and Bradley (2002) discerning a link, while Barth (1969) asserts that cultural commonality is not the hallmark of ethnic identity. Frith (1996), like Barth, questions the assumption which he suggests has been prevalent in academic music study, that sounds must somehow ‘reflect’ or ‘represent’ the people in an audience, and highlights the love of European listeners and players of music of the African diaspora. However, Frith continues by suggesting that music is a way for social groups with similar values, which may be related to ethnicity, or to social class, to live ideas. He explains that this is related to the emotional effect of the music which sets up a collusion between the performer and the audience and is particularly important in the ‘complex history of black identities’, whilst jazz has also played a role in class collectivity (Frith, 1996: 118). Also linking race and class to cultural consumption, Banks (2009) documents that some middle-class American blacks see themselves as supporting the race through patronage of black artists and black cultural institutions, concluding that they see this as a positive way in which to cultivate a black identity. A focus on the inter-relationship of ethnicity with cultural capital within jazz audiences is thus also prompted by recent attention to the increasingly important social and demographic phenomenon of the black middle class and the ways in which this stratum manages class, status and race (Lacy, 2007). Lacy questions the assumptions of American

studies which tend to suggest that a black racial identity overshadows any other identity, including that of social class, and highlights the variety of identities which middle-class blacks tend to have in their tool kit. Lacy also maintains that there has been little study of the construction of racial identities among the black middle class: it is therefore hoped that this study will contribute towards filling that gap.

Focusing on world music, Haynes (2010) suggests that a consideration of race is important in music categorisation, re-contextualising, rather than erasing, race or nation. Bennett (2005) also notes the importance of music amongst diasporic populations when they relocate to new countries. Similarly, Hall (2009) highlights the importance of the people of the black diaspora finding the deep structure of their cultural life in music, whilst stressing that this is historical and cultural, rather than related to a biologically constituted racial category. He also reminds of the importance of structuring the cultural space in terms of high and low culture, thus, like Banks (2009), suggesting links to theory around cultural capital.

Therefore, as well as an exploration of the complex issues around race and jazz audiences, theories which consider links between social class and cultural consumption, Bourdieu's (2002 [1986]) cultural capital being particularly appropriate, also need to be taken into account for this study. According to Bourdieu (1984), the consumption of the arts roughly corresponds to social class and educational levels, with legitimate, or highbrow, arts being consumed by those who are richest in cultural and educational capital. Educational capital, according to Bourdieu, is the product of transmission by the family and transmission by the school. Similarly, Skeggs (2004) and Whiteley (1994) highlight the use of culture as a form of legitimisation for the professional middle-class consumer. Lacy (2007) also sees consideration of the role of cultural capital as important when researching the cultural literacy of middle class blacks, but suggests that as the majority of blacks in her study are first-

generation middle-class they would not have acquired cultural capital through the same family processes as Bourdieu outlines.

As an art form whose positioning today tends to be 'highbrow' (Peterson & Kern, 1996) and thus associated with higher social strata according to Bourdieu (1984 [1979]), examination of the role of social factors relating to the consumption of jazz is important. The suggestion by Savage (2006) that Bourdieu's cultural capital dimensions should be extended to include age, gender and ethnicity in relation to music consumption also suggests that these two demographics are additional important jazz audience features for examination. Confirming this, Katz-Gerro (1999) found that race, gender, education and age are more important than occupational class in determining cultural tastes; while Bille (2008) found that age was particularly key.

A complication of linking jazz to social class using a cultural capital framework which should be noted, is that, although jazz tends to be seen as highbrow in Britain in the 21st century, this has not always been the case: Frith (1990) explains that jazz was first understood as commercial music, then as folk music, then as high art, in quick succession during the 20th century. Oakes (2003), however, asserts that jazz should today be aligned with classical music in the music hierarchy: that is, in the higher strata, due to its likelihood of attracting high-earning, highly-educated audiences. More generally, as Oakes (2010) points out, the academic study of jazz audiences has been neglected and warrants further attention in order to identify strategies which might help to increase understanding of audiences for this art form. The study is led by the theoretical concept of cultural capital in its most recent evolution, as well as focusing on one of these new developments in particular, that of ethnicity. To inform this strand, it also draws on theory around new ethnicities, this study therefore aims to examine jazz audience diversity along several social and cultural

dimensions: socio-economic class, race, gender and age, asking the research question: ‘how diverse are audiences for black British jazz?’

Methods

The study used a mixed method approach so that a structural assessment of audiences could be combined with a deeper exploration of dimensions of diversity through discussion with individual audience members (Plowright, 2011). Twelve gigs over a period of five months, in seven venues in England and Wales (see Appendix 1), each featuring black British jazz artists were used to provide a variety of research settings. The geographical locations of the venues ranged from rural settings to city-based venues and included gigs which were part of jazz festivals. Several of the gig venues were explicitly positioned as rooted within their local community as a resource which aimed to promote cultural diversity and to provide facilities and activities for community members of all ages and ethnicities (RichMix, 2011). The Drum in Birmingham was particularly notable within the context of this study of black British jazz audiences for its designation as ‘The National Centre for Black British Arts and Culture’ and for its associated aim of ‘developing and promoting contemporary art and culture of British African, Asian and Caribbean communities’ (The Drum, 2011).

The audiences were surveyed by questionnaire, with a total of 226 completed questionnaires being obtained via a mixture of face-to-face and online recruitment, so that a framework of descriptive data, or ‘numbers’, could be collected on the socio-demographic dimensions identified as of interest through the literature. As a first step and to provide an additional validity check to the questionnaire statistics, observations of audience demographics provided an indication of the audience demographics by gender, age and race. The questionnaires were also used to identify potential interviewees for the final stage of data collection. Twelve interviewees were purposively selected from the questionnaire respondents to provide a spread of age, gender and occupation, whilst including at least one participant from each

event. Half of the selected interviewees were 'black British' and the other half were 'white British', to enable the study's aim of accomplishing a particularly close exploration of the role of race in relation to cultural capital. The interview data were analysed using a critical discourse analysis approach which discovers pattern and order in the talk of the interviewees in the form of orders of discourse, styles, orientation to difference and value assumptions (Fairclough, 2003). Styles highlight the interviewees' involuntary pre-positioning in relation to how they participate in the consumption of jazz, bringing in the embodied dispositions which feature in cultural capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001), as well as their social agency, that is the ways in which people assume social roles by their actions.

The researcher acknowledges that qualitative interviewing across difference (the interviewer's social class, age, race and gender did not always correspond exactly with that of the interviewee) can be 'messy' (Gunaratnam, 2003: 79). Inspiration was taken from Yates (2004) who advises that the social process of the interview should be managed through the creation of a mood of co-operation and of welcoming the interviewee into a participatory process. The interview guide was also designed to facilitate the building of rapport through the inclusion of initial 'easy', conversational-style questions, leading on to the more challenging and 'difficult' questions as the interview progressed and trust was built between the interviewer and the interviewee. Particular care was taken when questions relating directly to race were introduced. The interviewer used active listening and positive reinforcement to demonstrate that the interviewee was making a valuable contribution to the research, as Yates (2004) suggests. Active listening involved making reference to past comments made by the interviewee and occasionally deviating from the order of the interview schedule when it was deemed appropriate, in order to follow the lead of the interviewee.

Analysis of demographic data

In line with the theoretical underpinning of this study, demographic data relating to socio-economic status, age, gender and ethnicity were collected. Based on observations, the proportion of black attendees across all the gigs is estimated at 9% of the total attendees, a reasonably reliable count being possible due to the relatively small audiences at most of the venues. These observed proportions did vary substantially, however, from the estimated 67% and 60% of black or Asian attendees at the two events at the Drum in Birmingham to the 1% black or Asian attendees at the Brecon Jazz Festival in Wales.

Analysis of the questionnaire data helped to confirm the visual impressions gained via observation and illustrates the demographic patterns across the audiences at these jazz events. This also paved the way for the in-depth interviews which followed. Taking a lead from the theoretical perspectives outlined above, data on socio-economic class and educational level (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]), age and gender (Savage, 2006) and ethnicity (Hall, 1992; Savage, 2006) were collected and analysed.

Statistical analysis of the socio-economic categories of the questionnaire respondents demonstrated that the attendees across all the events were overwhelmingly from the two highest socio-economic classifications in terms of occupation (see figure 1), confirming Bourdieu's conclusions relating to cultural capital. Inspired by recent attention to the 'black middle class' (Banks, 2009; Lacy, 2007) a separate analysis of the 41 black British respondents to the questionnaire found that 82% of these respondents could be termed to be 'middle class' according to their occupation (see figure 2).

Socio-economic classification of questionnaire respondents by gig

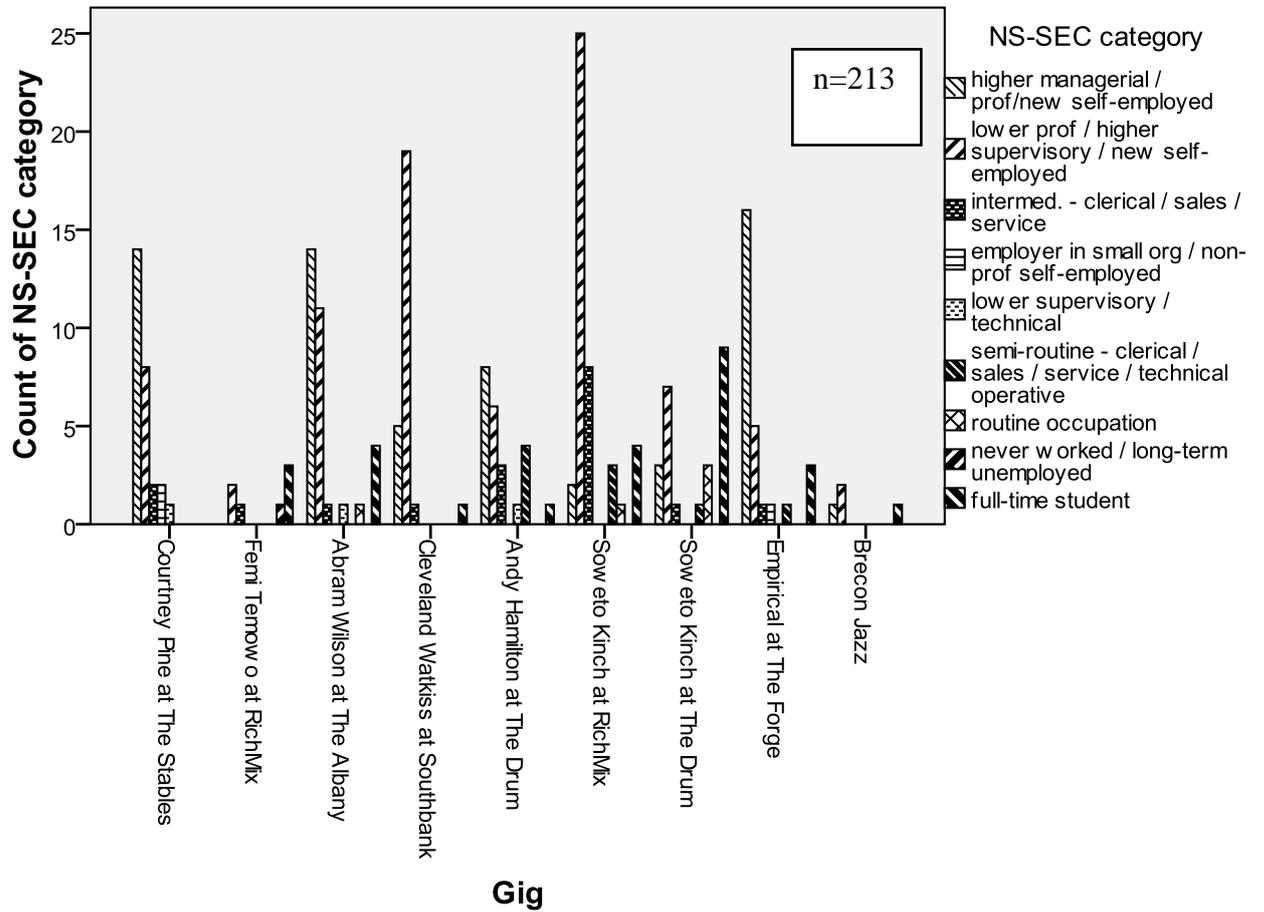


Figure 1

Socio-economic categories of Black British respondents only

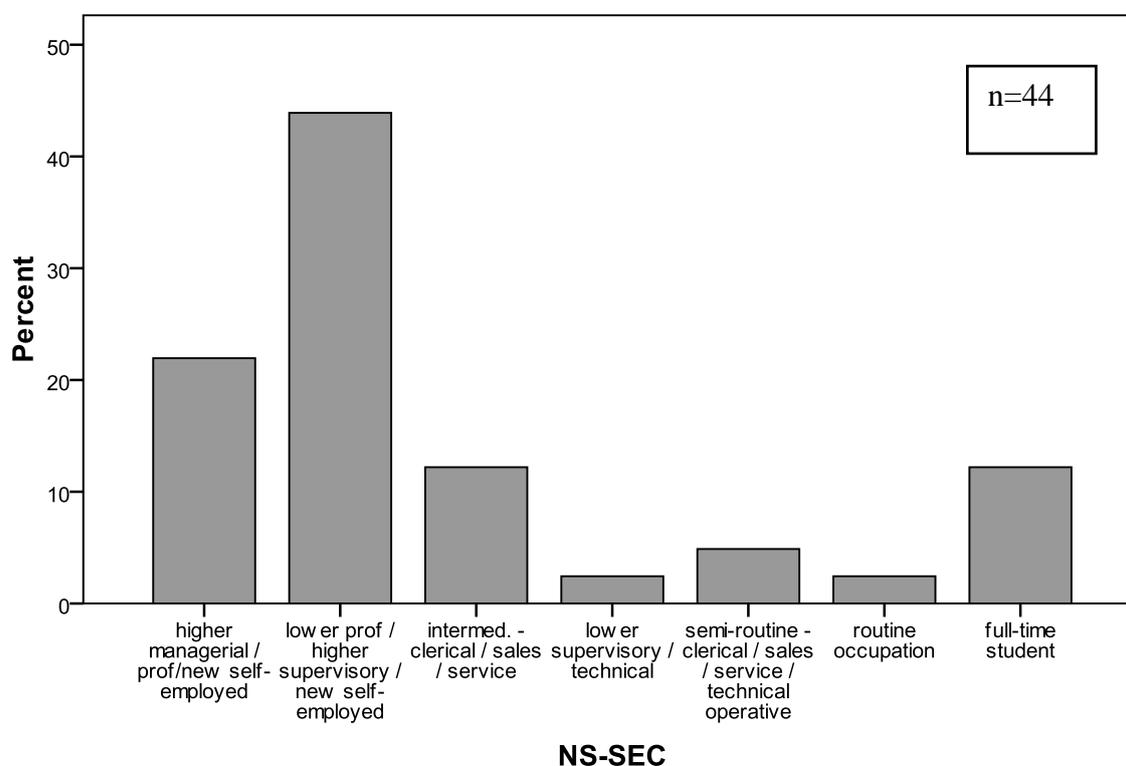


Figure 2

Another striking feature of the questionnaire data, again in line with Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, was the high proportions of respondents with higher levels of academic qualifications. 76% of the respondents were found to have a university degree, with another 12% defining themselves as students, thus indicating their potential to also gain this level of qualification at some point in the future.

Contrary to popular perception of jazz audiences in Britain, 42% of the respondents in the questionnaire survey were under the age of 35, a figure which was broadly in line with observations made at the events. This compares with only 22% found by the Jazz Development Trust in their 2001 Arts Council survey of jazz audiences (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre & Jazz Development Trust, 2001). Age proportions varied by artist and by venue, however (see figure 3), and it may be that the more contemporary nature of the jazz genre

performed by the younger black British artists in particular, as well as the low or free admission rate at venues such as RichMix and The Drum, also helped to encourage attendance by a younger age group.

Age of questionnaire respondents by gig

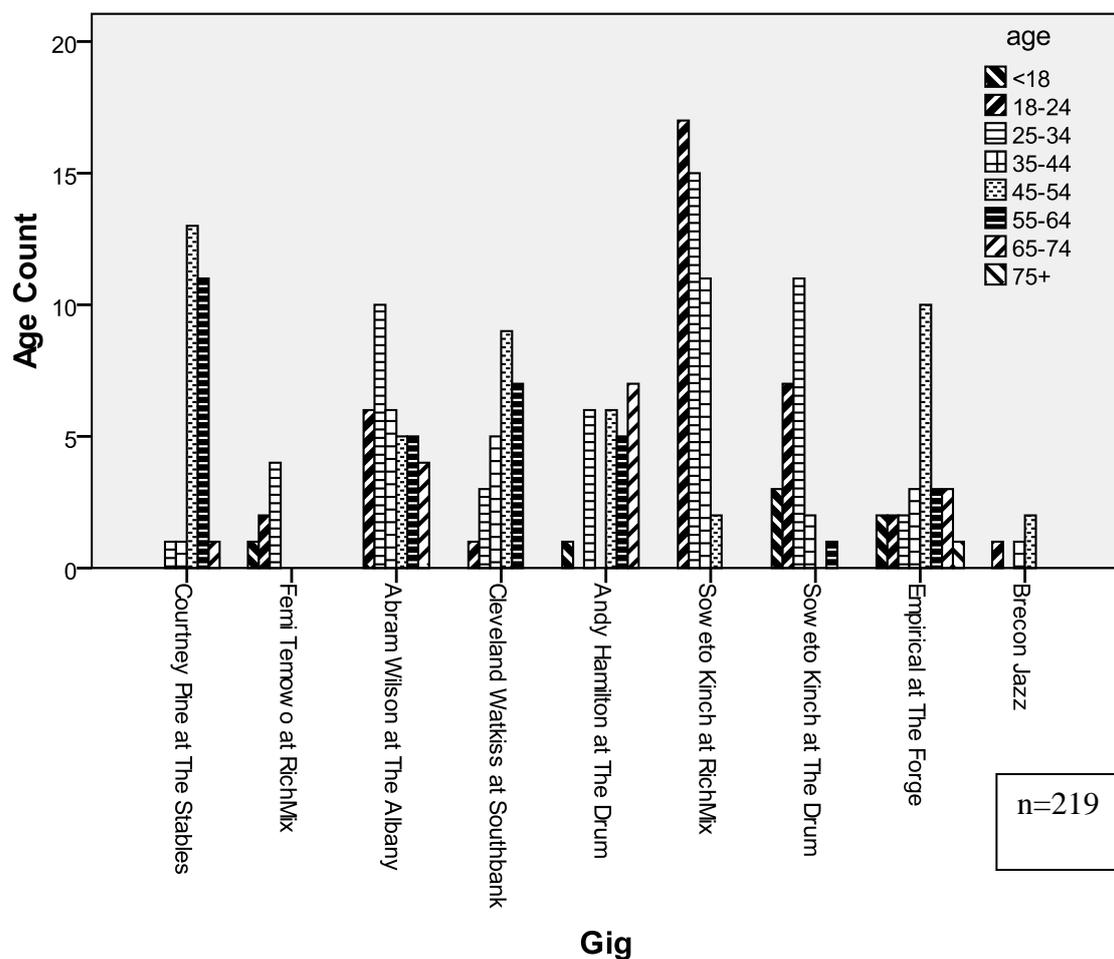


Figure 3

The gender mix of the audiences in this study closely mirrors that of the Jazz Development Trust survey, with 45% female and 54% male respondents to our survey, again confirmed by observation. Informal conversation with couples attending the gigs suggested that it was

perhaps more often, although not always, the male of the couple who had the strong interest in jazz, adding a further complication to measuring this demographic dimension. The proportions of black and Asian attendees varied across venues and by artist, but in general attendees were overwhelmingly white. The Drum in Birmingham is particularly successful at attracting a large black and Asian audience, probably due to its explicit positioning as a centre for Black British arts, whilst at The Stables in Milton Keynes and at Brecon Jazz audiences were predominantly white, perhaps partly, but not wholly, explainable by the racial demographics at these geographic locations.

Analysis of interview narrative

Analysis of the interviews narrative helps to shed further light on the dimensions of diversity within black British jazz audiences. Using Fairclough's (2003) approach to critical discourse analysis, three orders of discourse emerged after a content analysis discovered several strong themes within the corpus. Within and across these orders of discourse, the identification of competing discourses highlights dimensions of audience members' attitudes. The 'audience mix' order of discourse highlights where participants talk of the racial mix of the audiences at jazz gigs they have attended. The 'cultural heritage' order of discourse, which may be linked to Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which can be defined as a 'embodied history' transmitted via the family (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]: 56), uses talk relating to how participants see their cultural backgrounds relating to their taste for black British jazz. Finally, the 'knowledge and skills' order of discourse, conveys the underlying value assumptions concerning the knowledge and skills, often linked to education, that are necessary to be able to understand and appreciate jazz.

'Audience mix' order of discourse

First, the 'audience mix' order of discourse, featuring participants' talk on impressions of the racial composition of the audience, helps to confirm the questionnaire findings. This order of

discourse can be broken down further into three competing discourses: the ‘mainly white audience’ discourse; the ‘diverse audience’ discourse; and the ‘mainly black audience’ discourse. The recognition of difference is a key feature of this order of discourse. The racial mix of jazz audiences was recalled by all of the interviewees, indicating that this was something of which they had taken note at the time. The black British interviewees were particularly keen to recount memories of gigs they had attended where they had been very much in a minority, and in some instances they and their companion had been the only black people in the audience. This observation of difference from a black interviewee sums up this position

P4: There were hardly any black people in the audience, and I wonder if black people don't attend concerts and that sort of thing as much as their white counterparts would do.

The discourse of one of the white interviewees also includes talk relating to ‘mainly white’ audiences:

P7: We went down to Cheltenham a couple of years ago. Great weekend but I just found the whole vibe about Cheltenham thing is, it's very white, sort of, lot of, it's a very white festival I think.

When asked whether the artist perhaps made a difference to the audience composition, one of the black interviewee's comments also belongs in the ‘mainly white’ audience discourse:

R: Could 'black British jazz' actually be a way of bringing black people in to that music?

P2: I think it does, I think it does – but I've yet to see that proliferation of black attendees, I have yet to see that happen.

Illustrating the ‘diverse audience’ discourse, the two youngest interviewees, both university students, P1 in London and P3 in Birmingham, were of the view that jazz could bring people of different racial backgrounds together:

P1: *I basically don't see any kind of racial stereotype or tension in anywhere to do with jazz. There are lots of both white and black people.*

...

P3: *I guess the event, you know, in itself [Soweto Kinch at The Drum] could be taken as evidence of that, you know, to a certain extent, I guess he's helped to facilitate bringing together people of different cultures and backgrounds. The Flyover Show was very much a similar turn-out, you have people from a wide range of demographics, so you had older people, younger people, people from the Asian community, black community, white community, all coming to, like, an open-air event. So, music-related events have that power to do that. They do.*

There were only two examples in the interview corpus of 'black audience' discourse, one of which related to an audience for a 'black British soul' event, and this one from a black female interview, for Courtney Pine at Hackney Empire:

P4: *It was a predominantly black audience, I'd say 90% black I think.*

Explanations for the audience mix were attempted by two of the interviewees:

P3: *Birmingham is quite a cosmopolitan city and this area is quite a mixed community as well, so it kind of stands to reason that there would be, like, a better rep or a better mix – not a foregone conclusion but a greater likelihood of that happening.*

...

P4: *I'm not sure whether it's the venue. In some cases, it's most definitely the venue, or it's most definitely the artist.*

It seems therefore that there is an acknowledgement amongst the interviewees that audiences for black British jazz are generally overwhelmingly white, but that where there is greater diversity, it could be due to either the artist or the venue providing the appropriate conditions.

Thus it can be concluded that audiences are not particularly diverse along an ethnic dimension.

‘Cultural heritage’ order of discourse

Moving on to the ‘cultural heritage’ order of discourse, this involves talk relating to ethnicity and cultural values. Discourse in this theme suggests further depth in the way in which racial diversity in audiences is understood by them. In particular, what is highlighted is how the interviewees relate their taste for black British jazz to their backgrounds. Within the cultural heritage order of discourse, three discourses may be identified: the ‘history matters’ discourse; the complementary ‘generation transfer’ discourse; and a competing discourse, ‘the here and now’. This competing discourse gives examples of where the interviewee refutes a heritage angle to jazz, claiming that its performance and consumption stand in isolation to outside cultural influences. Interviewees take the chance to style themselves in relation to their ethnicity, in particular, within this order of discourse.

In the history matters discourse, several of the interviewees stressed the duality of their cultural heritage in their talk, suggesting links to Hall’s ‘new ethnicities’, as well as including reference to the roots of jazz. P4 and P6, for example styled themselves as primarily Caribbean, whilst still acknowledging their Britishness:

P4: I’m black and I was born here; but I would like to have some way of stating the point that my heritage is Jamaican, because I’m very proud of that.

...

P6: I’m marked by other things, but the main body of my character is English. Yeah, I think ultimately I am English – but I am all those other things: I’m Vincentian, from St. Vincent, I’m European, I’m African, I’m all those things. But that becomes too complex.

P4’s emphasis on a need to state that her heritage is Jamaican is particularly interesting in the context of this study, suggesting that cultural consumption could be a means to this aim. This

duality of ethnicity, demonstrating links to Hall's new ethnicities, was also evident in the discourse of P7, a white man, as well as hinted at by P9, also white British, who had spent a lot of time working and travelling across the world. P7 also commented on his partner's (who also attended the jazz gig) duality.

P7: Ok, yeah, I look white, English, but it's a difference between your ethnicity and then your heritage. My parents were both born in this country, but if you look beyond that, my Dad's side – Jewish German, Polish – and then my Mum's side – Irish, German. So you don't feel like you're white British even though, yeah, I look and sound British, I always feel it's a bit, I'm not quite...[...] Yeah, certainly with my partner, they would define themselves, she and her family define themselves as Jamaican first, British second.

This stresses that white British people, as well as black British people, may see themselves as having dual or multiple identities, and suggests that Hall's new ethnicities should be considered in relation to a wider set of ethnicities than black British.

P3 also stresses the importance of making links to historical figures as a means of understanding his own heritage:

P3: I think it's important for people to have an appreciation of their cultural heritage, and that is really correlated through learning about history, through learning about contributions of figures in a wide range of areas, be they institutional, be they artistic, be they cultural, and so I think music is part and parcel of that.

P7 highlights the importance to him of using music, in this case English folk music, as a way of connecting to his roots:

P7: I've been listening to English folk music, I've been talking to my partner's, her family are Jamaican, we've been talking about that and I think that maybe it's trying to find some sort of connection with your Britishness or your Englishness, as saying, 'this is the music

that's been produced in England over the centuries', and there's part of me that wants to be more connected to that.

Several participants also spoke of the cultural heritage of the performers themselves, a perspective which could be placed within the history matters discourse. P4, for example, speculated on the way in which their heritage may be influencing black British jazz artists:

P4: Because way back then [black artists] were pushing the boundaries and they were going in to perform at venues that they weren't really allowed to perform in, and that's how they moved to, you know, did a lot of concerts in Paris and Europe, they were more open to black people performing, you know. So there was that kind of challenge that they had. And if they didn't take up the challenge, jazz probably wouldn't be what it is, today. So I think maybe that's what stimulates the Nathaniel Faceys [from Empirical] of this world or the Soweto Kinchs of this world, because they do that.

This shows an appreciation of the importance of cultural influences on performance and is interesting in the way in which P4 traces the lineage back through history. When challenged whether white musicians might also be influenced by black musicians, P4 asserts that the link between contemporary and historical black musicians is likely to be stronger:

R I suppose actually you could say that white jazz musicians were also influenced by those [black] artists, weren't they?

P4: Yeah, but they probably don't feel the affinity as strongly. You know, you, if you had, I don't know, if you had Bob Marley and a British, black British reggae artist versus a – and this doesn't make any sense – a white British artist, they're going to feel there's going to be a stronger sense of affinity to Bob Marley than there would from a white person, because there's that cultural understanding and that, just that, which I think gives a stronger connection.

Similarly, P6 also expresses the view that it is not only black musicians which draw on their heritage, but the same principles also apply to performers from other cultural backgrounds.

P6: I think they [jazz performers] draw on the black heritage, but you can't ask, really, you probably couldn't ask a bunch of guys from Harlem to sort of set up – well, they probably would do it – and sound like U2. U2, whilst it probably draws on that influence, these are four guys from Ireland and they've also brought that with them.

Thus, talk on 'history matters' and 'generation transfer' highlight the oscillating dualities and multiplicities of ethnicity within 'black British' and 'white British' categories. Talk selected within this order of discourse illustrates the duality of the participants' sense of their ethnicities, in line with Hall's (1992) discussions. Although this was particularly common within the black participants' talk, it was also evident in the discourse of two of the white participants. Talk within this order of discourse also stressed the role of the cultural heritage in the performances of the black British jazz musicians, hinting that this history may also have a bearing on participants' attendance at gigs and suggesting that this needs to be considered alongside cultural capital as a driving force.

In the generational transfer discourse, P3 and P4 both talked about the importance of gaining an understanding of cultural heritage, styling themselves as belonging to a generational line:

P3: I don't do it in order to be in touch with my roots, it's like, kind of by default, as a result of being or having an appreciation of my roots or my cultural heritage, it's like, one would naturally be drawn to certain things or would naturally listen to certain artists or try and garner an appreciation for certain cultural things but everybody has their own idea as to what, you know.

P4 also highlights the importance of the role of cultural heritage in musical taste development, finishing by suggesting that this may be a controversial view:

P4: I sense with jazz, and a lot with blues, it's a product of an environment, which, particular people generally come from that environment, and it often isn't white people who come from that environment. And that's why I think it affects what you play, how you play.

R: Oh, right, so black musicians perhaps have got more of a feel for jazz, do you reckon? Or is it not quite as strong as that?

P4: It isn't necessarily as simple as waking up one day and you've got a feel for it. I think it almost is a kind of, like, you're carrying something, you've carried it for generations, it's in you in some form – it doesn't necessarily have to come out in music, it can come out in lots of other things, but because you've carried that, it's likely to come out in how you deal with music. I think, I do think if you're talking about blues or even if you're talking about hip-hop, I do think that white people are genuinely able to do some of those things, I don't doubt that, but I think in general they don't come from the environment, they don't come from the environment to create and they don't come from a history to be able to do it, to have an understanding of where it – that sounds horrible, doesn't it?

P3 and P4, both black, are therefore stressing their own cultural heritage, as well as that of other black people, suggesting that they are unconsciously drawn to certain types of cultural consumption: in this case jazz performed by black musicians. This suggests links to Bourdieu's cultural capital theory by suggesting that family and heritage are key to musical taste.

In the 'here and now' discourse within the 'cultural heritage' order of discourse, the participants are still talking about generational transfer but with a slightly different angle: talking about the dangers of losing the knowledge. The implication is that the predominant value is that keeping hold of the heritage is important, and that the speakers are styling themselves as people who still retain a sense of this importance. P4 distinguishes between her own values and those of her sisters, all of whom were born in the Caribbean, and the values

of her brothers, who were born in Britain. Nineteen year-old P3 is also aware of a lessening in appreciation of Jamaican cultural values over the generations.

P4: I've always been quite concerned that through the generations it gets diluted... We place an increased level of importance on maintaining that contact with family, and heritage and all that, it's just quite important, my values are very similar to my sisters, but then when I look at my three brothers...

...

P3: I think, there's a lot of things that have been lost in translation, really, between people of the older generation and people of the younger generation [...] it's kind of like there's no interest there or certain things are not really regarded as part of their own heritage any more, even though they are, if that makes any sense.

P11, a black British musician, explained however, that he was keen to draw on jazz for inspiration and that he did appreciate its roots, but stressed that it was more about musical structures rather than about specific links to his cultural heritage. This quote also illustrates the 'accomplished performer' knowledge and skills order of discourse:

P11: If you're going back to the turn of the 20th century, [jazz] was American black music and over time it's been accepted by a lot of different cultures so now we just see it as a genre of music played by whoever's into it. But, you know, I appreciate where its roots come from and so on.

R: Was that any reason for you to particularly go into it, you were drawing on the roots at all?

*P11: No, it was more to do with wanting to be more proficient on my instrument and I could hear harmonies that didn't, I couldn't relate to so I wanted to understand how they worked. Yeah, basically to expand my musical ear and to find the players who could do that and find the places that could teach me and that was at the *** College of Music, so it was*

like fuel to my fire, I really want to learn this, so where can I learn it and who are the artists who I can listen to.

The cultural heritage order of discourse thus illustrates the duality of the participants' sense of their ethnicities, as well as the importance they attach to retaining connection with their cultural heritage, thus linking in to the concept of habitus within cultural capital. This is mostly present amongst the talk of the black participants but is also evident within the talk of two of the white participants.

'Knowledge and skills' order of discourse

Finally, the 'knowledge and skills' order of discourse includes text around the relationship of an ability to perform or consume jazz and whether or not musical skills or jazz knowledge are important. This is important due to its links to Bourdieu's cultural capital emphasis on the importance of education levels as a driver of cultural taste. Within this order of discourse are the 'accomplished performer' discourse, the 'educated audience' discourse and the competing discourse: 'audience as ignorant'. P3, for example emphasises Soweto Kinch's musical skills, whilst P12 spoke of jazz pianist Robert Mitchell, and P8 admired Andy Hamilton:

P3: Soweto's main instrument is saxophone of course, but he's pretty nifty on the keys as well.

...

P12: He's of such a high standard [...] he's a very, very good player.

...

P8: I look at him [Andy Hamilton] as a good musician.

P1 also talks about the jazz-related skills of his cousin, whilst also hinting at the need for audiences to be educated:

P1: I can remember hearing what he was playing and just thinking that it sounded completely out of this world, and it made me feel that I knew nothing about the music because

there was so much new kind of theory coming into what he was playing, it just sounded great. I think it's a really difficult thing to actually start approaching because, within what people usually refer to as jazz, there are all sorts of kind of levels of different music theory and, the kind of stuff that I listen to now involved kind of really complex ideas and there's a lot of information flying around at once so, when I first started listening to jazz and I heard stuff like that, it just, it kind of sounded like it was wrong, but—

Thus it seems that the participants are in agreement about jazz needing high levels of musical skill both to perform and to appreciate it, thus implying that in cultural capital terms, jazz is a 'highbrow' genre. The assumption that a skill in classical music, also recognised as highbrow in cultural terms, is important in music education comes into P2's talk about her family, also echoed by P11:

P2: We've all had solid classical training, orchestras, jazz bands, they fortunately went to schools where music was a fundamental part of the school curriculum.

...

P11: Well I've come from a classical background. [...] I had formal tuition.

An assumption that jazz audiences need to be educated can also be picked up in P7's discourse on 'audience as ignorant', as well as unconsciously styling himself as an 'educated audience' member:

P7: It was a very improvised gig, and it's taken me this long, there were people walking out of the gig cause it was a Pizza Express, I think they thought, ah that's a nice little duo, and I thought, well maybe twenty years ago I probably would have done the same but you're listening to different things and newer things and probably less straight jazz. There've been so many straight jazz records, there've been so many gigs, that I don't want to go out and really hear that so much now.

P2 meanwhile combines an acknowledgement of the high level of musical knowledge of some audience members, whilst positioning herself as ‘ignorant’, although then going on to hint that she actually has a high level of knowledge:

P2: My husband has a membership for Ronnie’s, he tends to take a guest quite often, and he’s going with his friend on Wednesday, who’s a musician. And they will sit there and they will talk about diminished fourths and minor sevenths, etcetera, in a technical way that I don’t particularly want to, I’m just, I want to encompass the whole thing, and that’s it, I don’t want to go, Oh my God, he went up half a semi-tone, oooh! –whatever, whatever, I just am not into that[....] I think I talk to my daughter a lot, and she actually said to me the other day, ‘you know, Mummy, you know quite a lot more than he does’. But he’s a technical musician, right? And I am more into the people and the sound. Between the two of us, we’re all right.

The casual mention of ‘Ronnie’s’, referring to Ronnie Scott’s, the legendary jazz venue in London’s Soho, also signals to the interviewer that the participant possesses a high level of cultural knowledgeable about jazz.

P5, whose qualification level indicated that her formal education concluded at the age of 18, was the only example amongst the interviewees of styling herself as ‘ignorant’ in terms of musical skills, although still stressing that she was willing to learn, and thus join the ‘educated audience’ tranche. This also suggests that she is acknowledging that being a member of a jazz audience demands a high degree of musical skill:

P5: I don’t really understand music, I mean I can’t read music and I’ve never played an instrument. But I think that’s what I also enjoy, that it’s absolutely a layman going to these things, so anything I enjoy and notice means a lot more to me because it’s not something someone’s told me about. I’m actually noticing things on my own.

The knowledge and skills order of discourse seems, therefore, to be confirming, in line with Bourdieu's theories, that education is important when listening to jazz, a situation which seems to be borne out by the high levels of qualification of the jazz audiences surveyed.

Conclusions

This study's conclusions in relation to the demographic dimensions of social class, age, gender and educational qualifications within black British jazz audiences are clear, as outlined above. To summarise, questionnaire responses suggested that the audiences at all the gigs were predominantly from the two highest socio-economic classes and over three-quarters of those responding had higher education degrees. Assuming that jazz may nowadays be categorised as 'high-brow', this confirms Bourdieu's cultural capital theory which links high-brow cultural consumption with higher level social classes and high educational levels. Thus, these audiences were not particularly diverse along these two demographic dimensions. Also reinforcing this link between educational level and attendance at jazz gigs was the 'knowledge and skills' order of discourse where talk around a need and tendency for the audience to be educated, rather than ignorant, about music, and jazz in particular, demonstrates the confirmation of Bourdieu's theories.

Along dimensions of age, an additional feature of cultural capital suggested by recent theorists, the picture was much more diverse and the intersecting effects of venue and artist were discernible. On a basic level, it seemed that younger performers attracted younger audiences, as did the more 'relaxed' and 'open' venues, such as RichMix. Low or free ticket prices also seem to have played a part in attracting a younger, less affluent audience, as confirmed by audience comments, although the free Andy Hamilton gig demonstrated that this was not always the case.

Investigation of the gender dimension suggests a simple relatively equal split between male and female in the audiences. However, where male and female couples were in attendance, it

seems that it was often (although not always) the male who was the ‘jazz fan’, while the female was accompanying her partner more for social reasons than for cultural taste reasons. The racial dimension of the audience demographics is also complex. There are hints, when the findings of this study are compared with other studies of jazz audiences (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre & Jazz Development Trust, 2001), that black British jazz musicians may attract a slightly higher proportion of black or Asian audience members than white British jazz musicians. However, many other factors, such as the specific artist themselves, the ambience and location of the venue and the cost of the tickets appear to play a part. The high attendance of black and Asian attendees at The Drum, a venue which specifically labels itself as oriented to black British arts, suggests that a positive welcoming positioning by the venue may be influential. Proportions of black audience members are however, still relatively low in comparison with white audience members, even for gigs in areas of London, such as Deptford, with high proportions of black residents.

Of particular interest is the high proportion of black attendees from the higher socio-economic classes, suggesting that cultural capital may outweigh ethnicity as a driver for attendance by black people at black British jazz gigs. This links together consideration of cultural capital with investigations of race, thus confirming the importance of the inter-relationships of the two theoretical concepts, as suggested at the start of this article.

Implications

This study has demonstrated the complex nature of the audience demographics for the niche genre of ‘black British jazz’. A shared sense of history appears to be one factor which may be encouraging attendance by black British audience members: indeed, the espousal of this cultural history is one of the key features which motivated this study. It should therefore be acknowledged that the emphasis of this facet of their musical heritage by ‘black British jazz’ artists could be a way of promoting connections to ethnically diverse audiences.

A further key feature of this study is the inter-relationship of social class and race, with the black British middle class emerging as a key consideration when studying jazz audiences. Further studies of the cultural tastes of the black British middle class, as well as further investigation of the role of their cultural heritage and habitus in relation to cultural taste is recommended.

References

- Banks, P. A. (2009). Black cultural advancement: racial identity and participation in the arts among the black middle class. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 33(2), 272-289.
- Barth, F. (Ed.). (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of culture difference*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Bennett, A. (2005). Editorial: Popular Music and Leisure. *Leisure Studies*, 24(4), 333-342.
- Bille, T. (2008). Cohort effects, age effects, and period effects in the participation in the arts and culture in Denmark 1964-2004. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 14(1), 113 - 137.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984 [1979]). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, Mas: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990 [1980]) *The logic of practice*. Stanford, Cal: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2002 [1986]). The forms of capital. In N. W. Biggart (Ed.), *Readings in economic sociology* (pp. 280-291). Malen, Mass: Blackwell.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (2001). NewLiberalSpeak: notes on the new planetary vulgate. *Radical Philosophy*, 105, 2-5.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Fenton, S., & Bradley, H. (2002). Ethnicity, economy and class: towards the middle ground. In S. Fenton & H. Bradley (Eds.), *Ethnicity and economy: 'race and class' revisited* (pp. 9-30). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Foster-Fischman, P., Nowell, B., Deacon, Z., Nievar, M. A., & McCann, P. (2005). Using methods that matter: the impact of reflection, dialogue and voice. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 36(3-4), 275-291.
- Frith, S. (1990). What is good music?. *Canadian Music Review*, 10, 92-102.
- Frith, S. (1996). Music and identity. In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 108-127). London: Sage.
- Gilroy, P. (1987). *There ain't no black in the Union Jack: the cultural politics of race and nation*. London: Routledge.
- Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. London: Verso.
- Gunaratnam, Y. (2003). *Researching race and ethnicity: methods, knowledge and power*. London: Sage.
- Hall, S. (1992). New ethnicities. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.), *Race, culture and difference* (pp. 252-259). London: Sage.
- Hall, S. (2009). What is this 'Black' in black popular culture. In J. Storey (Ed.), *Cultural theory and popular culture: a reader* (3rd ed., pp. 374-382). Harlow: Pearson.

- Haynes, J. (2010). In the blood: the racializing tones of music categorization. [2011-02]. *Cultural Sociology*, 4(1), 81-100.
- Katz-Gerro, T. (1999). Cultural consumption and social stratification: leisure activities, musical tastes, and social location. *Sociological Perspectives*, 42(4), 627-646.
- Lacy, K. R. (2007). *Blue-chip black: race class and status in the new black middle class*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Moore, H. (2007). *Inside British jazz: crossing borders of race, nation and class*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, & Jazz Development Trust. (2001). *How to develop audiences for jazz*. London: Arts Council England.
- Oakes, S. (2003). Demographic and sponsorship considerations for jazz and classical music festivals. *The Service Industries Journal*, 23(3), 165-178.
- Oakes, S. (2010). Profiling the jazz festival audience. [2011-02]. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 1(2), 110-119.
- Parsonage, C. (2005). *The evolution of jazz in Britain, 1880-1935*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Peterson, R. A., & Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), 900-907.
- Plowright, D. (2011). *Using mixed methods: frameworks for an integrated methodology*. London: Sage.
- Prime Minister's Office. (2011). PM's speech at Munich Security Conference Retrieved 9th February 2011, from <http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/speeches-and-transcripts/2011/02/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference-60293>
- RichMix. (2011). About us Retrieved 13th December 2011, from <http://www.richmix.org.uk/about/about-us/>
- Savage, M. (2006). The musical field. [doi:10.1080/09548960600712975]. [2007-05]. *Cultural Trends*, 15(2 - 3), 159-174.
- Skeggs, B. (2004). *Class, self, culture*. London: Routledge.
- The Drum. (2011). About us Retrieved 13th December 2011, from <http://www.the-drum.org.uk/about-us/>
- Whiteley, N. (1994). High art and the high street: the 'commerce-and-culture' debate. In R. Keat, N. Whiteley & N. Abercrombie (Eds.), *The authority of the consumer* (pp. 119-137). London: Routledge.
- Yates, S. (2004). *Doing social science research*. London: Sage.

Appendix 1: Gigs

Gigs	Venues	Venue Web Address
Abram Wilson	The Albany, Deptford, London	http://www.thealbany.org.uk/
Courtney Pine; Empirical; Dennis Rollins; Dennis Rollins and Badbone	Brecon Jazz, Brecon, Wales	http://www.hayfestival.com/breconjazz/
Andy Hamilton; Soweto Kinch	The Drum, Aston, Birmingham	http://www.the-drum.org.uk/
Empirical	The Forge, Camden, London	http://www.forgevenue.org/
Femi Temowo; Soweto Kinch	Rich Mix, Bethnal Green, London	http://www.richmix.org.uk/
Cleveland Watkiss	Southbank Centre, London	http://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/
Courtney Pine	The Stables, Milton Keynes	http://www.stables.org/