Bunting and Blues:

A critical history of Glasgow International Jazz Festival, 1987-2015

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Abstract

Glasgow International Jazz Festival first took place in 1987 and has run every year since, making it the city's longest-running cultural event. One of the company's stated aims at its inception was to 'establish [Glasgow] as a major European jazz centre' (Williams, 1986b).

Through a single, historical case study, the thesis attempts first to ascertain the extent to which this aim has been achieved, and second to determine the enabling and limiting factors acting upon the Festival in its attempts to effect change in its host city. The thesis finds that urban music festivals can, under the right circumstances, contribute to positive and lasting changes to the environment in which they exist. In the case of Glasgow Jazz Festival, this is evident in terms of both the physical infrastructure and educational opportunities which would be unlikely to exist today had the Festival not been their champion. A festival's ability to effect such change, however, can be severely curtailed by fluctuating levels of commitment from local and national authorities.

Contents

List of Figures 5
Acknowledgements 6
Author's Declaration 7
Abbreviations used in this thesis 8
Chapter One: Introduction 9
About the Festival 11
The Festival's relationships with Glasgow 15
Orientation and scope of this study 21
Structure of this thesis 23
Chapter Two: Literature Review 27
Definitions: Glasgow 27
Definitions: Jazz 28
Definitions: Festival 30
Festival studies 31
Research questions 41
Chapter Three: Research Methods 45
Considerations of research ethics and objectivity 45
Archive study 46
Interviews 54
Participant observation at Glasgow Jazz Festival 55
Participant observation at other jazz festivals 58
Application of research methods to the research questions 59
Chapter Four: The Way Up (1986-1993) 63
Creating a new future for Glasgow 64
Jazz in Glasgow 72
Establishing Glasgow Jazz Festival: who, when and why 78
Jazz festivals in the UK 83
Glasgow Jazz Festival is born 86
Developments relating to live jazz in Scotland 92
GIJF as part of Glasgow's tourist proposition 100
Programming 107
Post-1990 112
GIJF's Merchant City land grab 119
Conclusion 134
Chapter Five: Money Jungle (1994-2001) 137
Live music in Glasgow: changes to festivals, venues and legislation 137
Financial challenges 144
Reducing GIJF's expenditure 148
Increasing GIJF's income 154

Programming 164
A new fight for The Old Fruitmarket 173
Conclusion 183
Chapter Six: Change of the Century (2002-2006) 185
Developments in Scotland 185
Venues 188
The RBS era: taking George Square 191
The post-RBS era 199
Visions for GIJF 202
Conclusion 209
Chapter Seven: The Third Decade (2007-2015) 213
Developments in Glasgow and Edinburgh 213
Further blues 216
(International) Jazz Festival 221
(International) Jazz (etc.) Festival 225
Whens and wheres 228
Conclusion 231
Chapter Eight: Conclusion 234
Revisiting the research questions 234
Places and spaces 238
Implications for future research 241
Appendix A: The Composer-in-Residence initiative 243
Appendix B: A diary of live jazz in Glasgow, 2013 246
2013-09-07, Ubiquitous Chip, Ashton Lane (West End) 246
2013-10-12, Avant Garde, King Street (Merchant City) 247
2013-10-19, Halt Bar, Woodlands Road (West End) 248
2013-10-20, Three Judges, Byres Road (West End) 249
2013-10-21, St Enoch Centre, Argyle Street (City Centre) 249
2013-11-03, The 78, Kelvinhaugh Street (West End) 251
2013-11-10, Òran Mór, Byres Road (West End) 252
2013-12-17, Slouch, Bath Street (City Centre) 252
Bibliography 254
Interviews 294

List of Figures

Fig 1: Council tax collection rates in Glasgow and surrounding local authority areas, 2011-2016 (Anon. 2016b) 27
Fig 2: 'Glasgow's Miles Better' mural, Sauchiehall Lane, Glasgow (photo credit: Alison Eales) 68
Fig 3: Scotland-based repeat performers by gender and primary instrument, 1987-2011 111
Fig 4: Venues used by GIJF in 1991 132
Fig 5: Venues used by GIJF in 1995 133
Fig 6: Expenditure on Glasgow International Jazz Festival, 1997-1998 (Rodger, 2000) 150
Fig 7: Income from Glasgow International Jazz Festival, 1997-1998 (ibid) 151
Fig 8: Financial position of GIJF Ltd., 1997-1998 (ibid) 151
Fig 9: Box office receipts compared with number of events, 1999-2005 198
Fig 10: Locations of O2 ABC and the City Halls / Old Fruitmarket complex 233

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature: 

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Abbreviations used in this thesis

GCC	Glasgow City Council
GDA	Glasgow Development Agency
GDC	Glasgow District Council
GGTB	Greater Glasgow Tourist Board
GIJF	Glasgow International Jazz Festival Ltd. (i.e. the company; the event itself is referred to as 'the Festival' throughout)
MU	Musicians' Union
NYJOS	National Youth Jazz Orchestra of Scotland
RBS	Royal Bank of Scotland
SAC	Scottish Arts Council
SDA	Scottish Development Agency
SJF	Scottish Jazz Federation
SJN	Scottish Jazz Network
SRC	Strathclyde Regional Council
SYJO	Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra
TSYJO	Tommy Smith Youth Jazz Orchestra

Chapter One: Introduction

Glasgow is Scotland's most populous city. Built on the banks of the River Clyde, it was a powerhouse of Victorian trade and manufacturing. Its shipbuilding industry, in particular, gave it a powerful reputation as the 'second city of the [British] Empire'. By the 1970s, however, unemployment and its associated social challenges were on the rise, and the city gained a reputation as being dirty and unsafe. Eddie Friel became the first Chair of Greater Glasgow Tourist Board in 1983. At that time, as he told me, the word 'Glasgow' did not appear in any literature produced by the Scottish Tourist Board. He elaborated on the impact this had on the people of the city:

> Glaswegians were people who built great liners that sailed the world's oceans, and they believed that to be Clyde-built was a mark of excellence, and they were very, very proud of that history and that heritage. To suddenly lose all of that industry … eventually that sense of civic pride and self-confidence was gone, and there wasn't any kind of light at the end of the tunnel - other than the oncoming train! And the difficulty was, how do you reinvent this place, and give it back to its citizens first, as a place that they can be proud of again, rather than apologise for, and give it back to Scotland as a great Scottish city, and then to Europe as a great European city, and eventually once more to build it into a great, global trading city. That was the challenge we faced, like any other post-industrial city in Europe, or like any rust belt city in the United States. (Friel, 2015)

Stuart Gulliver, who was then Chairman of the Scottish Development Agency, believed that this challenge was compounded by a certain resistance to change:

> The city was in denial, politically … like, 'this deindustrialisation that's taking place in the City, which is taking place in the UK, is just a temporary phenomenon. Manufacturing will come back; this is just a shake.' And I think … when you've been a leading manufacturing city, and indeed nation, for about two hundred years, it's very difficult to feel the tectonic plates move, especially when you're on them. (Gulliver, 2012)

Glasgow needed a new identity - one that would bring new economic opportunities - and it was determined that culture had a key role to play, particularly in terms of improving the city's image. City and national (i.e. Scottish) authorities cooperated in order to make better use of local cultural resources, develop the local cultural infrastructures, and rebrand Glasgow as a vibrant location for the arts. Positioning the city in this way would, it was hoped, attract increased tourism - bringing with it immediate economic benefits - but also increased investment in the city by global industries, bringing longer-term economic security to the area.

It was against this backdrop that, in the summer of 1986, a meeting took place at Glasgow City Chambers regarding the possible establishment of a jazz festival in Glasgow the following year. Present at the meeting were representatives of local and Scottish authorities, the tourist board and trade unions - perhaps with varying degrees of enthusiasm for jazz, but with a shared vision of contributing to a

developing and exciting calendar of cultural events in the city. The first Glasgow International Jazz Festival took place the following summer, and the event has run every year since, usually over the last weekend of June. As Glasgow's longest-running cultural festival it has, of course, experienced both highs and lows as measured against various indicators of success: levels of sponsorship from the private sector; attendance figures (and their resulting impact on box-office takings); and critical reception in the local and UK press. For most of its history, the Festival has taken place over a ten-day period (two weekends, and the week in between). There have been years in which a shorter event was programmed, usually due to financial constraints; in recent years, a five-day run has been the norm.

About the Festival

Like many urban jazz festivals, Glasgow's is a concert-format festival, with tickets sold for individual concerts within the programme rather than for the event as a whole. It will come as no surprise to anyone familiar with Scottish weather that the Festival is also venue-based - that is, it takes place within a circuit of music venues, rather than in an open-air space. The Festival has made use of other urban spaces during its history: these, too, have tended to be indoor rather than outdoor spaces, with some notable exceptions such as George Square, Kelvingrove Park and the streets of the Merchant City area.

The Festival has, since its inception, programmed according to a broad definition of the word 'jazz', with everything from blues and New Orleans styles through to contemporary artists from all over the world appearing in its line-up. The shape

of the overall Festival programme has altered throughout its history, not only in response to the changing scale and duration of the event, but also to accommodate the various musics that make up the Festival. In its early years, the programme could be described as a core-and-fringe model. The core programme combined well known international artists (typically from the USA) such as Miles Davis, Dizzy Gillespie, Michael Brecker, Chick Corea, Sarah Vaughan and Tony Bennett with 'local heroes' such as Tommy Smith, Carol Kidd and Martin Taylor. The fringe programme, with the financial support of local breweries, consisted of 'pub circuits' where small ensembles of local musicians would play mainstream jazz. Additional features of the programme included the 'Riverboat Shuffle', which took place on a Clyde paddle steamer and catered to lovers of traditional jazz, and a composer-in-residence scheme which was praised highly for its ambition (though its artistic results were perhaps mixed). A detailed history of the composer-in-residence scheme is not of direct relevance to this study, but a summary is included as an appendix.

At the time of writing, the Festival programme is still based on a core-and-fringe model, but greater emphasis is placed on the core programme. With no brewery support, the Fringe programme now consists largely of events that take place weekly or monthly year-round; free-to-enter live sessions, covering traditional jazz as well as mainstream, modern, funk and Latin-influenced styles of music. The Festival assumes no responsibility for organising these sessions, nor does it take any financial risk; it lists the events on its website, but no longer produces any hard copy materials promoting them.

The Festival's organisational model has altered in correspondence to the changing

shape of its programme. In its very early years, the Festival was essentially outsourced: its core was programmed by Platform, a professional, Edinburgh-based organisation who had specialised in jazz and had enjoyed financial support from the Scottish Arts Council. Its fringe, meanwhile, was programmed by local jazz enthusiasts. As the Festival became more securely established and built up its own staff base, programming and artistic direction became 'in-house' responsibilities. The Festival assumed more responsibility for larger concerts, a risky strategy which did not always work out for the best. In 2016, programming is still an in-house function of the company, but there are limits as to the level of financial risk it can bear. Good personal relationships with other promoters, such as Regular Music, DF Concerts and Kennedy Street, ensure that the Festival has some visibility when major jazz concerts taking place concurrently - but the Festival's involvement is generally limited to including such concerts in its promotional materials (and these materials are increasingly online only).

In terms of the Festival's business model, it has three main sources of income: box office takings, private sector sponsorship (both cash and in-kind), and funding from public bodies. Box office takings are usually balanced roughly against artists' fees, the Festival's largest single item of expenditure each year. The remaining expenditure relating to the Festival (hall hire, production costs, artists' accommodation, catering etc.) and its parent company (office hire, staffing, insurance etc.) must come from elsewhere. In its early years, the Festival attracted a considerable amount of cash sponsorship; whilst not an income stream which was ever taken for granted, it was relatively reliable. In the past decade, securing cash sponsorship has become extremely challenging for the Festival. As a result, it relies increasingly on public funding. This comes chiefly from two

sources: Glasgow City Council and Creative Scotland (the successor to the Scottish Arts Council). Both organisations offer financial as well as other forms of support such as affordable office space, personal development and networking opportunities.

At the time of writing, the UK jazz festival calendar is significantly more full than it was when Glasgow Jazz Festival was established, with around seventy events taking place each year. Those which are comparable to Glasgow - i.e. urban concert-format festivals - include Edinburgh (established in 1978), Birmingham (1987), London (1992, having grown out of the Jazz Week at Camden Festival), Manchester (1996), Derry (2002), Gateshead (2005), Lancaster (2011), Liverpool (2013) and Bristol (2013). Other significant events, though different in terms of location and format, are Cheltenham Jazz Festival (established in 1996 by Jim Smith, Glasgow Jazz Festival's Director from 1990 to 1992) and A Love Supreme (instigated in 2013 and programmed by London-based promoter Serious). In Scotland, there are jazz festivals in Aberdeen, Dundee, Fife, Islay and Lockerbie, all of which are programmed by Jazz Scotland; there is also an annual jazz festival in Kirkcudbright that has been running since 1997 (though this is more limited to trad jazz and swing), and a relatively new (2006) festival in Callendar.

Some of the events currently in the UK's calendar of jazz festivals are simple, weekend-long gatherings in local hostelries, such as those in Cleethorpes and Ryedale. Others, such as Amersham, are focused firmly on serving their local community (Amersham's jazz festival takes place in a community centre and makes heavy use of local musicians). In some places, jazz is programmed as a specific stream of a bigger music festival, such as those which take place in Mill Hill,

Guiting and Twinwood. In other places, it is explicitly paired with beer, such as the Dove Beer and Jazz Festival, Burton Real Ale and Jazz Festival, and the intriguing Naturist Foundation Jazz and Real Ale Festival. Other 'special interest' jazz festivals around the UK include: Bude, Keswick and Ryedale (trad jazz); Bracklesham and Mundesley (Louis Armstrong); Upton-upon-Severn (jive and swing); the International Gypsy Guitar Festival (Dursley); and the London Latin Jazz Festival.

Some places in the UK are able to sustain more than one jazz festival. London has its annual Jazz Festival in November, as well as the fledgling Latin Jazz Festival in September (since 2013), and some smaller events. In addition to the International Jazz and Blues Festival programmed by Big Bear Music, Birmingham hosts the Mostly Jazz Funk & Soul and a 'Legends' weekend. Hull's jazz festival has two 'editions' - one in the summer and one in the winter - while Southport hosts a summer jazz festival in May, as well as the popular 'Jazz on a Winter's Weekend' in February.

The Festival's relationships with Glasgow

One of the earliest stated aims of Glasgow International Jazz Festival was to help establish Glasgow as a major centre for jazz in Europe. This thesis considers the Festival's relationships with its host city in order to ascertain whether it has achieved this aim, and then to establish the reasons for its success or failure in this regard.

The relationships on which this thesis is focused are as follows:

1. *The relationship between Glasgow International Jazz Festival and its public-sector supporters*. Chiefly, this concerns Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council (until 1996), Glasgow City Council (from 1996), the Scottish Arts Council (until 2009) and Creative Scotland (from 2009). Other bodies include the Scottish Development Agency, the Glasgow Development Agency and the Musicians' Union.

2. *The relationship between Glasgow International Jazz Festival and its physical environment*. For the most part, this concerns music venues (whether purpose-built, reclaimed or improvised), though it also includes the spaces used by the Festival's parent company (i.e. office space).

3. *The relationship between Glasgow International Jazz Festival and year-round live jazz programming in Glasgow*. This includes the previously mentioned weekly and monthly jazz sessions, along with concerts promoted by Regular Music, DF Concerts etc., and the activities of the Scottish National Jazz Orchestra.

The Festival relates to the city in other ways, of course: it has a particular relationship with its audiences (and with the wider population of Glasgow), and with local print and broadcast media. This thesis will touch upon those areas: however, the three relationships outlined above have been chosen as key themes on the grounds that there are substantial areas of overlap between them. Glasgow City Council, for example, owns and operates several key music venues in the city, whilst Creative Scotland offers funding opportunities for the young musicians who

are increasingly active producers of live jazz year-round in Glasgow.

The relationship between Glasgow International Jazz Festival and Glasgow City Council is a complicated one. It is important to note at the outset that the city authorities have always supported the Festival financially - indeed, they are its biggest single benefactor. The level of investment, however, has fluctuated throughout the Festival's history. In its first few years, the Festival saw rapid growth, with investment from the public authorities increasing accordingly. In recent years, however, funding from Glasgow City Council has been at standstill levels. This reflects the Council's changing priorities for the city: whilst cultural events are still recognised as a valuable element of city life, it would seem that they are no longer embedded in strategies for the city's long-term development, as they were in the mid- to late-1980s.

Evidence of this changing relationship extends beyond funding levels. The Festival's Board of Directors has enjoyed close relationships with local authorities, with senior representatives of Glasgow District Council, Strathclyde Regional Council and the Scottish Development Agency acting as members of the Board. As a result, the Festival has previously enjoyed something of a privileged position, able to exert a certain degree of influence in the city. As time has gone on, the Festival's personal ties to local and Scottish authorities have weakened, and its influence and visibility in the city have diminished; it is not an exaggeration to say that the Festival's continued existence, at least in its present form, is insecure.

The Festival's relationship to the city itself - that is, the spaces in which the Festival takes place, and in which its parent company is based - can be viewed as

a reflection of its relationship to the local authorities. The Festival emerged in a post-industrial city whose available spaces for live music were largely confined to theatres (e.g. the Theatre Royal and Citizens' Theatre) and ballrooms (e.g. the Mayfair). The 1986 opening of the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, however, along with plans for a major concert hall development in the city centre, signalled that this was set to change. The relaxation of city licensing laws, making it easier for pub landlords to host live music, was recognised explicitly as an opportunity by those working to establish a jazz festival in Glasgow.

At the height of its success, the Festival had sufficient influence in the city to contribute towards the establishment of a new venue in Glasgow, developing a former indoor market space into a much needed 'flexible' venue suitable for jazz and folk musics. This project enjoyed substantial support from local and Scottish authorities, and the resulting venue, The Old Fruitmarket, provided the Festival with a 'hub' in an area of the city earmarked as a cultural quarter. The Festival, therefore, both contributed to and benefited from changes in the city's cultural infrastructure. By the late 1990s, however, the Festival's influence within the city was questionable; when Glasgow City Council decided to sell The Old Fruitmarket for private development, the Festival - though an active party in the campaign for its retention - was neither consulted nor considered.

The relationship between the Festival and year-round live jazz in Glasgow is tied, in turn, to the relationship between the Festival and local music venues. Prior to the establishment of the Festival, Platform - the agency to whom early core programming responsibilities were outsourced - concentrated their efforts primarily in Edinburgh, citing a lack of suitable venues in Glasgow as a reason for

not programming in the city year-round. Since Platform's demise in 1988, there have been a succession of agencies whose remits have included the promotion of live jazz in Scotland: Assembly Music (Platform's successor); the Scottish Jazz Network, which attempted to build a touring circuit for Scottish and international jazz musicians between 1989 and 1992; and, more recently, the Scottish Jazz Federation, whose 'J-Word' initiative was established with a similar purpose.[1]

During the Festival's history, a number of key developments have taken place which have impacted on live jazz scenes in Glasgow. A particularly influential figure in this regard has been Scottish saxophonist Tommy Smith, who rose to prominence in the mid-1980s: Smith has been responsible for the establishment and ongoing musical direction of the Scottish National Jazz Orchestra (SNJO), and (since 2009) an undergraduate degree in jazz at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS). Each of these developments has had its own impact on both the Festival and other live jazz in Glasgow. The pool of musicians who make up the SNJO are additionally active as a large number of smaller ensembles, and are well-networked with other musicians in the city. As well as being supported by Creative Scotland as part of SNJO, members of the orchestra have received funding for their own projects, e.g. Tommy Smith's Karma (Anon., 2012d), Martin Kershaw's Hero as Riddle (Anon., 2013c) and Paul Towndrow's Pro-Am (Anon., 2013d). This funding has supported a range of activities including the commission of new work, album recording, and tour support. Both the SNJO as a whole and the separate projects led by its members are well-represented in the present-day Festival

1 Platform, the Scottish Jazz Network and the Scottish Jazz Federation all receive(d) financial support from the Scottish Arts Council or Creative Scotland.

programme; these tend to be the musicians who enjoy year-round opportunities to play live, including regular concerts at the RCS. Students on the BMus in Jazz, meanwhile, are encouraged to be entrepreneurial, establishing their own opportunities to play live year-round; this has led to the recent emergence of several vibrant new weekly sessions in the city.

As well as Tommy Smith's Youth Jazz Orchestra, two other youth jazz orchestras make regular appearances at the Festival: the Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra (SYJO), established by GIJF in 1987, and the National Youth Jazz Orchestra of Scotland (NYJOS). As is common at UK jazz festivals, community big bands also form an important part of the Festival programme. Relatively small and informal concerts by the Byres Road Big Band and the Zig Zag Big Band have proved to be popular; they have the added bonuses of having low production costs, and bringing new audiences to the Festival in the form of members' friends and families.

In its early days, and with additional support from Matthew Gloag and Sons (the Scottish company responsible for the Famous Grouse whisky brand), GIJF attempted to branch out from its summer Festival slot and programme jazz concerts at other times of the year. A successful concert in the lead-up to Christmas 1991 led to a series of three concerts throughout 1992. In 2015, GIJF's activity is concentrated firmly on the Festival, though it lends promotional and administrative support to various other initiatives throughout the year, such as the Schools' Big Band Competition, the Scottish Jazz Awards, and community activities run by local musicians.

Orientation and scope of this study

This thesis draws primarily on two academic fields: festival studies and, to a lesser extent, cultural policy research, with the latter concentrating on research that examines the interplay between cultural policy research and urban regeneration. It is hoped that the findings of the thesis will be of interest beyond these fields, however. Parts of the research have already proved to be of interest to scholars in jazz studies, as well as beyond the academe.

Conducting this research involved, to a large extent, allowing material gathered from archive study and interviews to suggest which aspects of the Festival's history would be most fruitful to examine in detail. In addition to the areas of focus already outlined, there were a number of other possibilities for study that this thesis will not cover in depth. Of these areas, the one most closely aligned with this thesis is that of audiences: whilst some information on the Festival's audience was available through market research and observation, it was determined that there was insufficient consistent data to pursue in-depth research on the topic. Another possible avenue of research was music scenes. There appear to be a number of distinct (though overlapping) jazz scenes in the city, corresponding somewhat with musical genres: blues, trad jazz, big bands, mainstream jazz and experimental music and free improvisation. This certainly has some bearing on the third of the thesis's themes - the relationship between the Festival and year-round live jazz in Glasgow - but it was concluded that conducting in-depth research into these scenes would detract too heavily from the focus on the Festival.

Issues surrounding gender and race are also worth commenting on but, again, do not provide this thesis with its main area of focus. GIJF's general management, administration, financial management, and marketing have been conducted almost exclusively by women since 1998, whilst its production team has been almost exclusively male. The company Board of Directors, though striving constantly for a better gender balance, has always had a membership comprised mostly of men. Perhaps most interestingly (though not surprisingly), an overwhelming majority of people making a living as jazz musicians in Scotland are male. At the commencement of this study, the Festival Director could name two female professional jazz instrumentalists working in Scotland: saxophonist Laura MacDonald, and trombonist Lorna McDonald. At the time of writing, the latter no longer resides in Scotland.

All the groups of people described above - managers, administrators, production staff, company directors and professional local musician - have also been almost exclusively white. Again, this is not entirely surprising. Glasgow's population includes a relatively small number of people of African or Afro-Caribbean descent compared with other British cities. It is difficult to draw direct comparisons between the figures for England and Wales and those for Scotland, since census data for Scotland is managed separately and the data presented differently, but according to the 2011 Census, those who identified as black constituted 2.8% of the population of England and Wales, with populations in the urban centres ranging from 1.4% (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) through to 10.1% (London) (Anon., 2011e). In Scotland, the national proportion of the population who identified as non-white (not including those identifying as Asian) was 1.3%, and in Glasgow 3.2% (Anon., 2011d). However, Glasgow has a sizeable (7.4%) and well-established

Asian population (ibid). While musicians of African or Afro-Caribbean descent are well-represented amongst musicians from outside Glasgow who appear in the Festival programme (typically by way of African-American headliners), the city's Asian population is underrepresented in all areas of the Festival's activity, including its audience. This is something which has vexed the GIJF Board of Directors from day one, though its attempts to address the issue have been somewhat piecemeal, with suggestions regarding the possibility of joint events with the Asian Artistes' Association (Lally, 1991) and the Glasgow Mela (Anon., 2008b) seemingly coming to nothing. Whilst this thesis will not examine this matter in depth, it is certainly an avenue worthy of further research.

Structure of this thesis

The four core chapters of this thesis are presented chronologically. The reasons for presenting the thesis in this way, rather than thematically, are twofold: first, providing historical detail and context throughout the thesis, rather than concentrating this information into one chapter, minimises the amount of repetition and cross-referencing necessary; second, it is an intention of the thesis to make clear the areas of overlap between the various themes examined, rather than presenting them as being distinct from one another.

Glasgow Jazz Festival's history can be considered as having four major phases: a phase of establishment, during which the Festival was set up and its parent company became increasingly professional; a phase of transition, beginning in the mid-1990s and reaching its climax around the turn of the Millennium; a renaissance phase, during which the Festival was briefly upscaled; and an ongoing phase that

might be described as one of survival. This thesis is structured according to these four phases.

Chapter four begins by examining the events leading up to the establishment of the Festival, starting with the establishment of the Scottish Development Agency in 1975 and concluding with the initial proposals for the Festival eleven years later. It goes on to cover the early years of the Festival, leading up to Glasgow's 'Year of Culture' in 1990; it considers the shape of the Festival's programme in these early years, and begins to examine the relationship of the Festival to the city's music venues, detailing which musicians were playing which kinds of jazz in which venues. Finally, the chapter considers the years immediately post-1990, with Glasgow still benefitting from increased levels of tourism following its 'Year of Culture'. This period saw the Festival reach an early peak in terms of its visibility and influence in the city, perhaps best demonstrated by the Festival's championing of a new music venue in the Merchant City area of Glasgow, situated in a disused indoor market. This led to an eastward shift in the Festival's subsequent activity, as well as a greater geographical focus that served to heighten its visible presence in the city. The chapter also explores some of the early challenges faced by the Festival: securing coverage in print and broadcast media, and securing commercial sponsorship. These challenges - which are closely related - have proved to be persistent throughout the Festival's history. This chapter will argue that whilst there was a genuine desire to bring more live jazz to Glasgow, this was only one of many motives to establish a jazz festival in the city, each with their own corresponding visions and measures of success. The chapter finds that while the establishment of Glasgow Jazz Festival was possible largely due to an existent commitment to cultural events on the part of local and

national (i.e. Scottish) authorities and funding bodies, there were nonetheless conflicting demands upon the Festival, which was expected to ensure an element of artistic quality control whilst representing the breadth of jazz activity in the city.

Chapter five is concerned with the latter half of the 1990s and early 2000s, a period which saw the Festival facing an uncertain future as Glasgow's summer programme began to evolve. Against the backdrop of a major reorganisation of Scotland's local authorities - and with the prospect of Scottish devolution looking ever more realistic - the Festival's peers, Mayfest and the Glasgow Folk Festival, both ceased operation in 1997. The chapter focuses on two key issues. First, it looks at the Festival's continued drive for commercial sponsorship during this period - a central tenet of the company's financial recovery. Secondly, it examines the Festival's relationship with its flagship venue, The Old Fruitmarket, which came under threat of closure during this period. The chapter argues that the pursuit of cash investment from the private sector reflect an acknowledgement on the part of GIJF that it could perhaps not assume the same level of public-sector investment it had enjoyed it its heyday. At the same time, the threat to The Old Fruitmarket is offered as evidence of the Festival's diminishing influence in terms of its physical environment.

Chapter six focuses on the impact of major investment into the Festival over a four-year period. The 'Royal Bank era' saw the event significantly scaled up (along with the workload required to support it), achieving unprecedented visibility within the city. However, this brought with it both practical challenges and a certain insecurity about the long-term future of the event. The chapter argues

that the competing visions for a post-Royal Bank Festival recalled the various agendas in play when the Festival was first introduced.

Chapter seven focuses on the 'post-RBS' period, a phase in the life of the Festival when the differing opinions as to its future became most evident. 2009 saw the word 'International' dropped from the name of the event, and a list of musical genres displayed prominently on promotional materials: jazz, blues, reggae, funk, soul and world. This chapter will outline the rationales for each of these two approaches, arguing that the genre-based branding allows the Festival's organisers to programme an event that takes into account both their own expertise and the tastes of local audiences. Finally, the chapter considers the future of the Festival as it enters its third decade, examining current perceptions of the Festival as well as its relationship to year-round jazz programming in Glasgow. The chapter argues that whilst the Festival certainly requires greater resources if it is to continue in any meaningful way, the RBS-era has demonstrated that bigger does not necessarily mean better: what the Festival needs, above all, is artistic direction.

Parts of this thesis were published in articles in the *Jazz Research Journal* (2014) and *Popular Music* (2016).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Definitions: Glasgow

It may seem, on the surface, rather unnecessary to offer a definition of 'Glasgow' beyond that which has already appeared in the introduction to this thesis. However, within the context of an ostensibly city-wide festival that is financed in part by public funds, it is worth pausing to consider the city's boundaries in relation to who is paying for what. A sizeable chunk of Glasgow Jazz Festival's income comes in the form of grants from Glasgow City Council, a unit of local government that has notoriously low rates of council tax collection. The table below illustrates council tax collection rates in the Glasgow City Council area during the period of research, along with the corresponding figures for the whole of Scotland, as well as two neighbouring councils, East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire (it is worth noting that collection rates for Glasgow have historically been as low as 85%).

	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Scotland	95.1	95.2	95.2	95.4	95.6
Glasgow City Council	92.6	93.1	93.9	94.6	94.7
East Dunbartonshire	96.6	96.6	96.2	96.6	96.7
East Renfrewshire	97.2	97.6	97.8	98	97.6

Fig 1: Council tax collection rates in Glasgow and surrounding local authority areas, 2011-2016 (Anon. 2016b)

This is significant, since while one of the frustrations in undertaking this research was a lack of consistently-gathered data on audience demographics, that which does exist would seem to indicate that a notable proportion of the Festival's audience are from the Greater Glasgow area, extending beyond the Glasgow City Council boundaries, including affluent areas such as Bearsden (East Dunbartonshire) and Newton Mearns (East Renfrewshire). In other words, patrons are personally financing the Festival through different balances of public (through the tax office) and private (through the box office) funds depending on the area of the city in which they live. In addition, it is worth noting that the above data reflect only the collection rates of monies owed, and do not take into account exemptions. For a city whose population includes a large proportion of students - a proportion estimated as being at least 11% in 2012 (Anon. 2012e) - this creates additional complexity, even if said students make a considerable contribution to the city's economy in other ways (ibid).

Of course, the inclusion of 'Glasgow' in this section is more aesthetic than necessary; of more importance here is an acknowledgement of the importance of *cities* to this research.

Definitions: Jazz

Festivals are, as Webster and McKay note, '…an essential part of the jazz world' (Webster and McKay 2016, p. 1). While this is arguably true of all performance art forms, live performance has particular primacy with regard to jazz. However, the art form at the heart of Glasgow Jazz Festival is, to a certain extent,

unimportant for the purposes of this research. It is possible to imagine that an event focusing on, for example, dance or theatre could have been substituted for jazz (and may have been, had the Mayfest arts festival not already been in existence). It is also important to note that Glasgow Jazz Festival adopted, in its earliest days, a broad definition of jazz, that encompassed all its historical and geographical nuances along with other musics of African-American origin such as blues, funk and soul. In keeping with this spirit of inclusivity - and in order to avoid giving a misleading sense of the Festival's approach to the form - no attempt will be made here to narrow down the definition of 'jazz'.

The broadening of a jazz festival's programming and / or branding is, of course, not a new phenomenon: as McKay explains, the Richmond festivals of the early 1960s had given rise to the Reading rock festival by 1965 (McKay, 2006 pp. 77-79). The Richmond-Reading transformation, however, might be considered a shift from one musical form to another, rather than an expansion beyond jazz. Trumpeter Wynton Marsalis - writing, notably, the year after the first Glasgow Jazz Festival - observed the phenomenon of 'jazz etc.' festivals in Europe with a cynical eye:

> I recently completed a tour of jazz festivals in Europe in which only two out of 10 bands were jazz bands. The promoters of these festivals readily admit most of the music isn't jazz, but refuse to rename these events 'music festivals,' seeking the esthetic elevation that jazz offers. This is esthetic name-dropping, attempting to piggyback on the achievements of others, and duping the public. It's like a great French chef lending his name, not his skills, to a fast-food restaurant because he knows it's a popular place to eat. His

> concern is for quantity, not quality. Those who are duped say 'This greasy hamburger sure is good; I know it's good, because Pierre says it's good, and people named Pierre know what the deal is.' Pierre then becomes known as a man of the people, when he actually is exploiting the people. (Marsalis, 1988)

While it must be acknowledged that Marsalis is noted for conceiving of jazz in relatively narrow terms, his underlying concern about 'esthetic name-dropping' is worth consideration.

Definitions: Festival

Of the three words that make up the title of the event at the heart of this research, it is the third - 'festival' - that is perhaps the most important to define here in order to proceed. Inconveniently, it is also the most slippery. A thorough and considered history of the etymology of the word 'festival' is provided by Falassi (1987), who interrogates the wide semantic range of its antecedents and cognates. Falassi notes that while 'festival' itself derives from Latin 'festum', signifying 'public joy, merriment, revelry', the word 'feria' - with its 'implication of lack' (most obviously, lack of work) - gives us 'fair' (and 'fayre'), and that 'In classical Latin, the two terms tended to become synonyms, as the two types of events tended to merge' (Falassi 1987, pp. 1-2). Iván and Wijnberg (2006) propose a taxonomy of popular music festivals, classifying events according to their character, purpose, range, format, degree of institutionalisation, degree of innovativeness, and scope (p. 58). Getz defines festivals simply as 'public, themed events' (Getz 1991, p. 54), and suggests seven criteria by which a festival might

be defined: they are public; they are themed; they occur with regularity (e.g. annually); they are temporally bounded by start and end dates; they have no permanent structures of their own; they have a programme of activities; and they are geographically bounded (ibid, pp. 45-46). This remains perhaps the best working definition of a festival for the purposes of research, and certainly applies to Glasgow Jazz Festival: it is an annual public festival, that celebrates a particular musical form through a programme of activity related to that musical form, and that has no permanent year-round structure, but rather takes place between set dates each year and is bound - as its name suggests - to the city of Glasgow. This is, of course, a deceptively simple alignment of the concept of a 'festival' and the event itself, as will become clear below.

Festival studies

In terms of locating this research within the field of festival studies, assistance is provided through the existence of a landmark literature by Donald Getz in 2010 and, more recently, two reports (supplemented by corresponding annotated bibliographies) on the impact of jazz festivals and British music festivals by Emma Webster and George McKay (2016). Webster and McKay (2016) offer a typology of impacts a jazz festival can have: economic, socio-political, temporal, creative, audience development, place-making, environmental (p. 170). In terms of more general observations, they note that the impact of jazz festivals - along with that of rock and pop festivals - is more likely to be subject to research than that of classical and opera festivals, and also that a relatively high proportion of the literature came from tourism studies (p. 172).

Getz (2010) locates festival studies as a sub-field of Events Studies, and defines it according to his previous work (2007), in which he proposed a '…framework for understanding and creating knowledge about events' (Getz 2010, p. 1). In parallel, Getz argues, research regarding festival tourism can be considered part of a wider field of events tourism (ibid, p. 5). Getz identifies three major discourses within festival studies, each with its own lines of enquiry and, to some extent, its own range of theoretical bases and disciplinary approaches. The first of these discourses concerns '…the roles, meanings, and impacts of festivals in society and culture'; the second and third discourses are on festival tourism and festival management respectively. The order in which Getz presents these three discourses is significant, since it is broadly chronological: the meanings and impacts of festivals, he argues, have historically been of interest to anthropologists and sociologists, resulting in a rich body of work that dates back to the early 20th century and that continues to provide insights into the societal and cultural effects of festivals. Discourses on festival tourism and festival management, Getz argues, are more recently developed fields of research and '…have, unfortunately, developed without much reference to the classical lines of theory development and research in the social sciences and humanities' (Getz 2010, p. 4).

The early 1980s saw a surge in interest in the anthropological roots of festivals, with key works by Turner (1982) and Manning (1983), as well as works focusing on theories of spectacle, such as that of MacAloon (1984). One of the most oft-cited works in the line of classical theory identified by Getz is Bakhtin's 1984 exploration of feast and carnival in the work of Rabelais. Bakhtin draws a distinction between the mediaeval feast, which might be '…ecclesiastical, feudal, or sponsored by the

state' (and therefore actually enforce existing societal structures) (p. 9), with the carnival, which represented a true 'suspension of all hierarchical precedence' (p. 10). The idea of the 'carnivalesque' is pervasive in festival studies literature, but not without its problems. Anderton (2006) notes that '…the carnivalesque readings of music festivals discussed above tend to focus most strongly on the social aspects of particular kinds of greenfield music festival' (Anderson p. 30), and offers a critique of Bakhtin's reading of his source texts (ibid, pp. 28-30).

It is not difficult to imagine how one buys into the carnivalesque while attending a greenfield event. It is likely that one will attend as part of a group, and while all members of that group may pursue different activities during the event - watching different acts on different stages, eating and drinking separately, etc. - it is likely that all those present will have, to some degree, a shared experience that can be relived after the event. It is difficult to recreate this sense of shared experience in the case of a concert-format festival. Tickets are purchased for individual acts, perhaps not even using the same methods; one might attend different gigs with different friends, resulting in a more diffuse social dimension to the experience. Additionally, there is the possibility of temporal discontinuity: one might attend a concert mid-week, and one at the weekend, the 'festival' experience disrupted by normal daily life. Similarly, if one attends concerts in one's home city or town, there is a lack of the 'holiday' aspect associated with large greenfield events. The net result of these considerations is that something else is required in order to make a 'festival' experience out of, for example, attending several concerts in one's home town, spaced out over the course of a week, and with different people (this is perhaps exacerbated by the possibility of attending just one concert, an experience that is barely possible at a greenfield

event). The nature of this 'something else' is not the concern of this thesis - however, one possibility is that it is a *conscious decision on the part of the concertgoer to participate in a festival* rather than simply attending a concert. This might entail purchasing tickets for a range of activities, attending as part of a group, and setting aside time to reflect on the experience (e.g. eating and drinking with fellow participants during or after the event) - in other words, mitigating some of the factors that disrupt the sense of being at a festival. In terms of defining the word 'festival' for the purposes of this thesis - and, more immediately, for the purposes of this literature review - the key observation is that much of the classical literature on festivals is not immediately or easily applicable to an event like Glasgow Jazz Festival. A concert-format festival poses particular problems for any researcher interested in the festival experience. Getz's assertion that the '…goal [of festival studies] has to be a unified theory of festival experiences' (Getz 2010, p. 20) is understandable, and the goal a noble one, but it is based on a presupposition that there can be a consensus as to what constitutes a 'festival experience'. Does the lone concertgoer, attending a single gig in their home town that happens to be part of a festival, recognise their 'festival experience' as such? More importantly from a research perspective, do we? If so, how do we investigate that experience? If not, what is the cost to festival studies?

Turning to the instrumentalist end of festival studies, this thesis addresses several dimensions of festival tourism and festival management that were identified by Getz as having been under-researched. These areas include the relationship between festivals and urban development and renewal, the economics and financing of festivals (including sponsorship), the ownership of festivals, and the

effects of policy on festivals. These areas are, of course, inter-related (in particular, this research interrogates the interplay between the financing of Glasgow Jazz Festival and its ownership), and the last of these areas is arguably the most fruitful. As Cloonan argues, live music provides a rich environment in which to conduct research precisely because it involves so many areas of public policy (Cloonan, 2011, p. 405).

In terms of the relationship between festivals and urban development and renewal - including city image-making - Hughes (1999) recognises that cities must be ever more innovative in terms of place making and marketing, and that 'temporal patterns' of celebration - the use of the festive to fill and transform urban spaces at particular *times*, rather than according to a particular *theme* - are one way in which cities can approach events. One such example might be the Leeds St. Valentine's Fair, which is the subject of Harcup's (2000) study into how events are used in urban transformation. Jones and Munday (2001) offer a discussion of tourist development models in Wales through the comparison of three case studies, one of which is Brecon Jazz Festival; while they find that the event brings a net positive effect to the local economy, they also caution against relying on quantitative data at the cost of missing important and potentially negative impacts that are more difficult to measure, such as anti-social behaviour. Jago, Chalip, Brown, Mules and Shameem (2003) interrogate the mechanisms by which events are used by those involved with destination branding, identifying enabling and inhibiting factors as well as a general finding that more effective relationships between those marketing events and those marketing destinations would yield benefits for both parties (p. 3). Pugh and Wood (2004), through interviews with members of four London borough councils, found that the boroughs' use of events

in place marketing was 'operational and ad hoc' and that such events were likely to have greater impact if a more strategic approach was adopted (p. 61). Quinn (2005) offers a thoughtful critique of urban arts festivals, arguing that while such events have the potential to effect positive change, the lack of a holistic approach to their management - and of empirical research about how cities actually engage with such events - may inhibit such potential from being reached. Building on the work of Debord and Lefebvre, Gotham (2005) offers a nuanced view of how local festivals can become contested spaces. A study by Li and Vogelsong (2005), that compared methodological approaches to gauging how festivals can change perceptions of the destination, found that the two methods under comparison provided conflicting results. Boo and Busser (2005), also recognising that the impact of festivals on destination image change is under researched, conducted just such a study and found that the festival concerned had had no positive effect, concluding that longitudinal research was a research priority in this area. Andersson and Getz (2008) find that the effective use of festivals as instruments of tourism is dependent upon an understanding that tourism is a mixed economy and that private, public and not-for-profit festivals each have both their own role and their own management approaches (p. 847). Oakes and Warnaby (2011) find that live music played in outdoor spaces has particular potential in terms of 'transforming perceptions of urban environments'.

Related to the above is a body of literature concerned with the relationship between event and place. MacLeod (2006) argues that increasingly standard models of city festival programming and promotion have led to disconnects between event and place, leading to a sense of 'placelessness' and perceived 'lack of authenticity'. Curtis (2010) argues that the success of Wangaratta Festival of

Jazz is, in no small part, due to its role in helping to build a reputation for the town as a 'capital' for jazz (p. 101). Wangaratta is examined also by Keogh (2014), who considers it alongside jazz festivals in Manly Beach, Melbourne, Brisbane and Bellingen, subjecting the programming patterns of the five festivals to detailed analysis and offering valuable insights into programming trends. Van Aalst and van Melik (2011) compare the perspectives of local government, festival organisers and attendees in order to try to ascertain what effect the move of North Sea Jazz from The Hague to Rotterdam in 2006 had on perceived links between the event and its host city. Leenders, Go and Bhansing (2015) analyse 139 music festivals in the Netherlands and categorise them according to three types of configuration, arguing that while larger events can survive (or even benefit from) moving site, small and mid-range music festivals are more dependent on their location. Dvinge (2015) uses Small's concept of musicking to explain one way in which Detroit Jazz Festival is able to transform the urban space in which it takes place. As Che (2008) argues, Detroit has also used the Detroit Electronic Music Festival (DEMF) as an instrument of urban regeneration and image making in its downtown area, as well as large scale sporting events (p. 195).

Examples of literature relating to the economics and financing of festivals include Frey's (1986) investigation of three notable economic characteristics of the Salzburg Festspiele: high demand for tickets, relatively high pay for artists and staff, and public-sector subsidy (p. 27). Meanwhile, Frey (1994) notes that an increasing supply of classical and opera festivals was mitigated by both increasing demand and relatively low production costs. Acheson, Maule, and Filleul (1996) investigate the Banff Television Festival and find '…an environment which generally encouraged managerial competence and creativity', running counter to

received wisdom about not-for-profit events. Recognising the role of festivals in developing regional economies, Felenstein and Fleischer (2003) propose and test a method for determining the effect of festivals on local income, confirming that festivals have the potential to bring about positive economic change and that this may be viewed as justification for public funding. Tomljenovic and Weber (2004) identified a need for greater understanding among festival organisers and tourism officials in Croatia of the potential value of festivals to the tourist economy, including the criteria by which it might be decided to allocate public funding to a festival (p. 51). Barbato and Mio (2007) examine the accounting and management systems used by the Venice Biennale, finding that their primary use has evolved from assisting the organisers to meet legal obligations to enabling more strategic decision-making (p. 187). Also of note is Andersson and Getz's (2007b) work on Swedish street festivals, in which they found that festival stakeholders' bargaining power can impact on that festival's ability to generate income; revenue is most readily increased from the stakeholders with the lowest bargaining power, and vice-versa (p. 143).

One area of festival management identified by Getz as being under-researched is that of festival sponsorship. John Crompton has been a key contributor to event sponsorship research; a common theme in his work is the exploration of the rationale and strategy applied by companies considering sponsorship opportunities. Drawing on the work of Meenaghan (1983), Armstrong (1988) and Copeland (1991), he observes that three to five years is the optimum time period needed for a sponsor to capitalise fully on a relationship with an event (Crompton 1993, p. 99). Crompton (1995, p. 97), meanwhile, argues that the sponsorship of major events can help companies build 'a more intimate and emotionally involved

relationship with their target audiences' than that offered by other promotional activities. Mount and Niro (1995) examine the more altruistic reasons for sponsorship of events in a small town, where the perception of an event as being 'good for the community' might be sufficient reason for sponsorship. Conversely, working from the premise that event sponsorship was increasingly driven by commercial outputs rather than altruism, Coughlan and Mules (2002) applied a marketing framework in order to address the needs of sponsors, as opposed to the needs of event organisers. Alexandris et al. (2008) note that models of sponsorship evaluation had only begun to emerge in the decade prior to their work; Dees et al.'s (2007) attempt to assess the attitudes and behaviour of attendees at a sporting event represents an example of such work.

In one of the few studies of the sponsorship of a music festival beyond pop and rock, Oakes (2003) makes the critical observation that different musical genres have different audiences and that these audiences, in turn, have different attitudes towards sponsorship. Jazz and classical music festivals, whose audiences tend to be older and more middle class than those for pop and rock (Oakes 2003, p. 169), are faced with having to balance the audience growth often demanded from their sponsors (as well as their public-sector funders) with 'accompanying implications regarding fears of the need to dilute the integrity of the core product' (Oakes 2003, p. 176). This has certainly proved to be the case for Glasgow Jazz Festival, the programming of which has never been constrained to one musical 'product' (and which might now be described as 'musics of African-American origin'). Cummings (2008) offers an interesting study on the attitudes of festival-goers to sponsors, but it is limited to indie music and its findings cannot readily be extrapolated to Glasgow Jazz Festival. Rowley and Williams (2008), similarly,

examine the attitudes of attendees towards festival sponsors, finding that while brand awareness appears to be raised, there is 'little evidence of impact on brand use' (Rowley and Williams 2008, p. 789); they also specifically flag up emergent concerns about the 'negative effects of sponsorship, in particular, but not exclusively, in relation to alcohol sponsorship' (Rowley and Williams 2008, p. 784). However, statements such as 'music festivals do not receive any public funding' suggest that their scope does not extend far beyond rock and pop (Rowley and Williams 2008, p. 782).

As Getz (2010) observes, linkages between the classical, anthropological discourse around the meanings of festivals, and the less mature discourses around festival tourism and management, are 'under-developed'. It is argued here that there may be a legitimate rationale for disentangling the former from the latter - at least, in the case of certain types of events. The process of co-opting the festive to instrumentalist aims means that for some present-day cultural events - including Glasgow Jazz Festival - to draw upon classical definitions of festivals is problematic. Put simply, the field of festival studies has become instrumentalist in its focus as a reflection of the increasingly instrumental nature of its subject. As will become clear throughout this thesis, Glasgow Jazz Festival was instigated with a clear, 'instrumental' purpose. While this does not, of course, necessarily preclude an event from carrying social and cultural meanings, it was clear from the earliest stages of this research that its impact (however limited) as an instrument of cultural tourism in Glasgow was both the most interesting dimension of its story and the most readily interrogated given the research materials available. Moreover, the evaluation of festival impacts - of various kinds - is at the heart of much research on festivals, as is clear from the reports produced by

Webster and McKay (2016). In other words, much research concerning festivals can be used, to a greater or lesser extent, as being concerned in some way with their impact.

Research questions

At the meeting at which the possibility of establishing a jazz festival in Glasgow was first discussed, those present agreed that the event would have four aims: to establish Glasgow as 'a major European jazz centre' (Williams, 1986b); to grow the local audience (and particularly the youth audience) for jazz; to attract tourism to Glasgow; and to provide employment opportunities for local professional jazz musicians. (The circumstances under which this meeting took place, and the backgrounds of those who were party to these discussions, will of course be described in greater detail later in this thesis.) These aims form the basis of the research questions that this thesis aims to address.

Before outlining these questions, it is necessary to add some caveats to the above aims. Firstly, and most importantly, it is not the assertion of this thesis that the stated aims of the Festival were of equal concern to all those involved in its inception - as will become clear, the motivations of the individuals involved at this early stage were complex - or even that they were very much more than a paper exercise. Secondly, it is necessary to slightly amend the wording of this first aim, since the term 'European jazz' has certain musical connotations that were certainly not intended - the Festival has always had a clear policy of programming all styles of jazz. Instead, the term 'major centre for jazz in Europe' will be used to emphasise that, in this context, 'Europe' is meant in a

geographical, rather than a generic, sense.

Thirdly, it is argued here that the first of these aims - the establishment of Glasgow as a major centre for jazz in Europe - can be considered the most important. The other three 'aims' might, in fact, be considered objectives, each with their own measures of success: the local, youth, and tourist audiences through market research, and the employment of local professional jazz musicians through internal record-keeping and perhaps additional monitoring.

Notwithstanding the above caveats, the first research question this thesis aims to answer is, simply, *whether GIJF has achieved its primary aim of establishing Glasgow as a major centre for jazz in Europe*. The answer is, of course, one of degree, since there is no definitive answer to the question *what is a major centre for jazz in Europe* - though it is worth noting that Glasgow is not, as a rule, a city that is often included in lists of recommended destinations for jazz lovers.[2]

In the light of the above assertion that the company's other aims could in fact be considered objectives of this aim, one potential approach to answering this question would have been to examine each of those objectives in turn in order to ascertain their success (or otherwise). In one regard, it is unfortunate that consistent and reliable data on attendances and the employment of local musicians do not exist. In another regard, it is perhaps beneficial, since

[2] See, for example, www.londonjazznews.com/2009/04/googling-contenders-for-jazz-capital-of.html; www.spottedbylocals.com/blog/30-of-the-best-local-jazz-clubs-bars-in-europe; www.theguardian.com/travel/2016/feb/02/10-best-jazz-clubs-europe-paris-berlin-madrid-prague

interrogating such data might have led this thesis to be very much more quantitative or even reductive. (As will become clear throughout the thesis there is, in fact, some more qualitative evidence of ways in which these objectives were addressed.)

More importantly however, an approach focusing on these objectives would have risked missing out on a bigger, more nuanced picture. Even if it could be argued with confidence that GIJF had delivered on all three objectives, this would by no means guarantee that the overarching aim had been achieved. Critically, all three objectives are somewhat 'inward-facing': the development of the *local* audience; bringing tourists *in* to the city; employing *local* musicians. Clearly, something more would be needed in order to position Glasgow as a major centre for jazz in Europe. The Festival would need to be able to exert long-term influence on its public-sector backers (including local and national policymakers), and even on the physical fabric of the city, in order to support the development of year-round jazz in Glasgow and, in turn, contribute to building a particular cultural reputation for the city.

There are, of course, subsequent questions this thesis must address. If it can be demonstrated that Glasgow has moved in the direction of becoming one of Europe's major centres for jazz, how much of this is due to the existence of its Jazz Festival? Are there other agents - whether related to the Festival or not - that have influenced this change? Conversely, if the Festival has not been able to move Glasgow in this direction, what are the factors that have inhibited it?

It was established early in the research process that the most appropriate method

for evaluating the Festival's success (or otherwise) with regard to its overarching aim would be a single, historical case study. No significant scholarly research has previously been undertaken on this event, despite the presence of a rich archive of materials (as will be classified and discussed in the following chapter), and the festival's lifespan - thirty years at the time of writing - lent itself to a historical approach. While other festivals provide useful points of reference, the option of undertaking a comparative study was rejected at an early stage, since it became clear relatively quickly that concentrating on the materials contained within the GIJF archives would yield sufficient data to be able to address the research questions. The relationships between these questions, and the data gathered through archival and other research methods, will be the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter Three: Research Methods

Considerations of research ethics and objectivity

This research was supported by a Collaborative Doctoral Award from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, with Glasgow International Jazz Festival Ltd. acting as the collaborating institution as well as being the subject of the study. Inevitably, this led to a number of methodological considerations.

GIJF Ltd. is a small company: at the time of writing, it has no full-time staff. Jill Rodger, who joined the company as its administrator in 1989, is now its company secretary as well as directing and managing the Festival itself - however, she is contracted for full-time work for only part of the year. Other members of staff are employed on short-term contracts from year to year, and whilst many of these staff have worked with the Festival for a number of years - ensuring a certain organisational consistency - this means that working with the company does not entail dealing with the same staff year-round. This situation has both benefits and drawbacks in research terms: on the positive side, there is little risk of becoming involved in the kind of workplace politics that might be evident in a larger organisation; however, working primarily with one person poses challenges in terms of maintaining an objective standpoint. Although continually critiquing both the purposes and format of the Festival, it is difficult to imagine a circumstance in which Glasgow would be better off without it. Moreover, long-term underinvestment in the event - and its parent company - has meant that the Festival's ongoing existence relies largely on significant, year-round commitment from Rodger, with the support of the Board of Directors. Strategic thinking about

the Festival's future development is constrained quite severely by the challenges of simply making the event happen from year to year. It is fair to say that maintaining objectivity becomes more challenging when one is witnessing first-hand the human effects of such underinvestment.

Archive study

The main resource available to me in conducting this research was an archive of materials gathered over the course of the Festival's history (and, in fact, predating the Festival in some cases). At the start of the study, GIJF occupied office space within the Briggait, formerly a covered fish market near the River Clyde that had been converted to artists' studios and offices over a ten-year period. The move to this space had taken place during the 2011 Festival, and the various files - containing over thirty years' worth of accumulated paperwork - had been hurriedly deposited on the shelves in no particular order. The materials in the office were not categorised, and I was faced with having to decide whether to catalogue the files myself. Having never undertaken any archiving work previously, I sought advice on what such work would entail before deciding that this was not an effective use of time as long as the materials in the office could be classified and put into chronological order so that they could be readily referenced.

In the absence of a catalogue or even a finding aid, visual cues became important in navigating archive - as did the knowledge of the Festival Director who, having worked for the Festival for (at that point) 22 years, had overseen the acquisition of most of the material. In trying to identify press materials, for example, the Director was able to describe the appearance of two files that proved difficult to

find.

The majority of the day-to-day running of the Festival is now conducted electronically;[3] the Festival Director tends to have just one 'active' folder of hard-copy material. Whilst all the other paper files were available to me as archive material - perhaps used occasionally for reference - getting them organised was, understandably, not a high priority for the company.

In March 2012, GIJF moved to new office premises in Partick, in the city's West End. This proved to be an ideal opportunity for me to familiarise myself with the files I would be using: discovering how many there were, what kinds of material they contained, and whether there were any chronological gaps within different classes of material. The Festival Director and I worked through the files in the run-up to the office move. In boxing up the files, I was concerned with keeping the same kinds of material together - and in chronological order - as much as possible. The Festival Director was also keen to reduce the number of files going to the new premises, and we discussed which files were least likely to be of use either to her (as working files) or me (as research material). We agreed to discard around fifteen folders of correspondence. I felt that this was justifiable on two grounds. Firstly, correspondence had not been retained consistently throughout the Festival's history, making it difficult to regard as a 'complete' class of material. Secondly, much of the content of these files consisted of short emails that had been printed out, along with faxes; these were often simply too faded to read, or made little sense out of context. Finally, I was mindful about the ethical

3 This, in itself, has implications in terms of the 'completeness' of classifications of material.

implications of using any correspondence without the consent of all parties concerned (this was of course an issue I would also need to consider when using other classes of material).

Having organised the files roughly at this stage meant that, after the move to the new office, I was able to finish the job with relative ease, giving me a much better sense of the different types of material, how much of each there was, and where in the office it was located. Archive materials were classified as follows:

1. **Documentation from meetings,** dating back to initial discussions about the Festival in May 1986. Following the incorporation of GIJF Ltd., there are papers and minutes from the Board of Management and its subcommittees (Management Committee, Sponsorship Committee and Education Committee). This also included paperwork relating to a subsidiary company, GIJF Enterprises Ltd., incorporated in 1990.
2. **Financial records.** This included the company's audited accounts for each year, along with several files of documents pertaining to funding bodies and sponsors. These files contained funding applications and pitches for sponsorship, along with more in-depth reports about the organisation's fundraising strategies. Accounting for around a third of the overall archive, there were also numerous files containing the purchase and sales ledger (often multiple files for one year).
3. **Correspondence and working files.** In addition to aforementioned files of faxes and emails, the Festival Director had a primary working file for each year.
4. **Contracts** (mainly between GIJF and Festival artists and their agents).

5. **Brochures and other publicity materials.** Each year from 1987 until 2011, the Festival programme was published in considerable detail - and usually in full colour - in the form of a printed booklet (since 2012, a less substantial fold-out poster has been published, in order to save money). Many years, additional leaflets and postcards were produced, generally concentrating on selling the headline concerts. Also included in this classification were posters, promotional CDs and t-shirts.
6. **Press coverage.** Of all the classifications of material in the archive, this was one of the most comprehensive. Whilst it is obviously difficult to know what is not included, the press book for most years includes print articles that mention the Festival and/or its parent company even in passing. These press books include international coverage, mentions in trade magazines, and adverts.[4]
7. **Photographs.** This included prints in various formats, contact sheets, negatives and transparent slides. One notably scant material in the archive was audio and video recording; this was limited to sampler albums produced by GIJF in conjunction with Glenmorangie and Verve Record in 1999 and 2000, which were given away with the Sunday Herald magazine as promotional aids. The lack of audio-visual materials is, in itself, indicative of one of the major challenges faced by the Festival throughout its history: namely generating interest from broadcast media companies. Copies of two significant recordings from the Festival (Stan Getz's album 'Yours and Mine', recorded in 1989, and 'Birds of Paradise', a documentary about Carla

4 Frustratingly, page numbers have not been retained for many of the cuttings; while every effort has been made to locate page numbers, some are consequently missing from this thesis.

Bley's work as the Festival's composer-in-residence in 1992) were not held in the office.

Brochures

The first materials I looked at in detail were the Festival brochures for each year, building a spreadsheet of data as I did so. For each year, I recorded the dates of the Festival, lists of the event's public and private sponsors, Board and staff members, venues used, and acts that appeared (both in the core and fringe elements of the programme). Inevitably, this task proved to be less straightforward than anticipated. Some performers - particularly local musicians - made more than one appearance at the Festival in some years, and some of these appearances were listed more than once in the brochures (for example, certain events might be listed on one page as part of a calendar, and spotlighted or previewed on another page). I had to take great care to ensure that performances were not double-counted. Another problem concerned the billing of acts, particularly in the Festival's early years: sometimes it was unclear from the brochure listings whether one act was supporting the other, or whether they were appearing together. To further complicate matters, the format of the brochure and its listings changed from year to year - in some years, data were easier to decipher and record than others.

The other drawback to this approach was that changes made to the programme after the brochure had gone to print were not always obvious. Where such changes concerned headline acts, this became obvious via other documents in the archive: for example, the cancellations of Nina Simone (1993) and Isaac Hayes (2001), and the death of Tito Puente (2000) are mentioned in minutes. I took the view that

the information in this part of the database should accurately and consistently reflect the information contained in the brochures, so I did not alter the data, but rather made cross-referenced notes elsewhere. I was also aware that data relating to the fringe programme was likely to be less reliable, since alterations may not have been recorded elsewhere in the archive.

Building this database allowed me to get an immediate sense of the changing scale of the Festival, simply by looking at the number of gigs programmed each year, the number of venues in use, and the number of private sector sponsors supporting the event. Classifying venues by type allowed me to see shifts in the kind of spaces used during the Festival's history, whilst plotting them on maps gave me an idea of the Festival's changing geographical spread and focus. I was also able to make certain observations about the membership of the Board of Directors, such as how long members served on the Board, the ratio of men to women, etc. I also began manipulating data regarding local musicians who had appeared at the Festival in more than one year: this proved to be a useful resource for further research into Glasgow's jazz scenes, but has not been used in the production of this thesis.

Documentation from meetings

Documentation from meetings included the minutes and papers produced for GIJF Ltd.'s Annual General Meetings, along with meetings of its Board of Directors, Management Committee, Sponsorship Committee and Education Committee. This category of material also included paperwork relating to strategic planning, as well as the subsidiary company, GIJF Enterprises Ltd. All of the company's minutes were read and summarised; notes were also taken on key papers, such as reports from the Festival Director or Sponsorship Manager, or documents that were more

strategic in nature. Certain forms of routine documentation, such as interim budget reports to the Board of Directors, were simply noted for reference if needed.

Financial records

Data from GIJF's end-of-year accounts were inputted into a spreadsheet. Figures for each year were taken from the accounts approved by the company the following year, in order that any amendments would be reflected in the database. Exceptions to this rule were the accounts for 1987 (the company's first year of operation), and 2008, 2010 and 2011 (as these did not contain sufficient detail about the previous year's figures). Aside from the differing level of detail in each year's accounts, inputting consistent data was made more challenging by the alteration of the financial year-end date in 1998 and again in 2013. Whilst in some years there were exceptional items of income or expenditure (e.g. funding to establish the Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra in 1987, and occasional spends for market research, website development etc.), the main aim of this exercise was to compare headline figures for each year. Certain items of income and expenditure central to the business of running the Festival, such as box office income and artists' fees, were recorded with specific consistency to get a clear picture of the Festival's financial performance throughout its history. Additional financial records, such as the aforementioned sales and purchase ledgers and interim budget reports, were not read in their entirety, as this material was copious and extremely detailed. Rather, they were treated as reference documents that could be drilled into if detailed analysis of any transactions had proved necessary.

Four lever-arch files of documents relating to funding and sponsorship were read

in their entirety. Whilst focused on a particular period in the Festival's history (the material mostly covers the years 2002-2006), these files proved an invaluable resource, offering an insight into the 'nuts and bolts' of making funding applications to public bodies, as well as the more complex matter of pitching to major companies for large amounts of cash. The files also contained reports produced by GIJF for its various benefactors, and details of an in-depth review of the company by Creative Scotland.

Press coverage

The Festival's press archive was read in its entirety. Notes were taken on any specific article that might be referenced; however, a summary of each year's press coverage was also produced, covering which concerts were highlighted in preview articles, which concerts were reviewed, how the Festival as a whole was received by the press, and the general tone of the reporting. A database was also compiled detailing how many individual pieces appeared each year, and in which publications; this allowed me to gauge the level of local, Scottish, British and international coverage achieved each year. Whilst most press coverage - particularly about the Festival itself - is concentrated into the May-July period, other news stories do appear at other times of the year. These often relate to the company, rather than the event (for example, stories regarding significant changes in funding or personnel).

Correspondence

Folders containing correspondence - along with the Festival Director's working files for each year - were treated with caution, due to the concerns about consistency and research ethics described above.

Contracts

Several folders containing contracts with artists and their booking agencies were browsed, and certain contracts read on a simple random sampling basis. These documents were often accompanied by technical specifications for the Festival production team. Whilst this material was extremely interesting, by this stage of the research it was becoming clear how the study would be oriented, and I determined that this documentation was not sufficiently relevant to read in its entirety. As with sales and purchase ledgers, it was noted for reference if necessary (though I was again mindful of potential ethical considerations).

Archive material was analysed until after the 2015 Festival, at which point it was determined that sufficient data had been gathered to address the research questions.

Interviews

Potential interviewees were identified in two ways. Those people connected directly to GIJF (i.e. present and former Company Directors and members of staff) were readily identifiable through company paperwork. Other potential interviewees were identified by way of a kind of referral chain, with those interviewed often recommending other key individuals involved with the Festival and the local policies that have impacted upon it. Face-to-face interviews were carried out with Professors Eddie Friel, Stuart Gulliver and Bill Sweeney, along with Pat Lally, all of whom had been involved with setting up the Festival and its parent company; a further interview was conducted with Louise Mitchell in order

to learn more about a specific venue. These interviews, each of which lasted around an hour, were loosely structured: as with the archive research, I was anxious not to project any preconceived ideas about the Festival's origins on to my interviewees. This was especially important since I was, concurrently, working my way through early company paperwork. Interviews were transcribed in their entirety.

A conscious decision was taken to not conduct interviews with any of the Festival's former Directors, partly due to time constraints, and partly since it was understood that not all individuals were willing to participate. At the same time, close interaction with the present Festival Director was inevitable and invaluable (as detailed below).

Participant observation at Glasgow Jazz Festival

Part of the attraction of undertaking a PhD supported by a Collaborative Doctoral Award was the opportunity to work with a partner institution outside the HE sector. Prior to undertaking this study, I had worked on a semi-professional basis as a musician in Glasgow's indie music scene, interacting with promoters, venue managers, sound engineers etc. Whilst reasonably well-networked in one part of Glasgow's live music ecology, the behind-the-scenes world of the Jazz Festival was largely unknown to me. Working for the Festival allowed me to get to know a whole other part of the sector, whilst also proving to be a useful research method in its own right.

Each year, prior to the Festival, the Festival Director and I would discuss what

roles I would perform during the event. In 2012, I assisted the Festival's artist liaison, Adam Robinson; this work involved stocking dressing rooms, greeting artists and their managers, etc. This gave me a particular understanding of the workings of the Festival programme, since it required us to be aware of stage times and coordinate room allocations correspondingly. We also needed to consider other users of the City Halls complex, such as the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, who are based in the building year-round.

In 2012 I also spent a day sitting in with the Festival's Summer School. The five-day course - comprised of large group sessions as well as smaller breakout groups - was led by six professional jazz musicians, with around fifty students of all ages. Observing these classes afforded me with an opportunity to gain a sense of the Festival's important education activities.

At the 2013 Festival, my duties included work off the Festival's main site, manning the box office for two gigs. This allowed for closer liaison with venue managers, sound engineers and musicians. I also contributed to the Festival programme, in a modest way, by liaising with photographer William Ellis to stage a small exhibition of his work. Ten photographs were displayed in the Bazaar Bar, adjacent to The Old Fruitmarket, documenting acts who had played in the venue as part of the Festival over the years. The Saturday of the Festival marked the 20th anniversary of the first gig staged in The Old Fruitmarket by GIJF, and the exhibition was a fitting way of marking this occasion.

During my first year of study, I came across a number of short films about jazz in Scotland and, with a small amount of financial support from the University, I was

able to screen them as a series on campus. These films included the aforementioned documentary on Carla Bley's composition for the 1992 Festival, along with films about Tommy Smith, Annie Ross and the Clyde Valley Stompers. This film series was repeated as part of the 2014 Glasgow Jazz Festival programme. Along with helping to coordinate a series of short lectures, I felt that I had responsibility for my own little corner of the Festival programme.

In addition to these varying roles at the Festival itself, I worked with the Festival Director year-round, observing the peaks and slightly-lower peaks in her workload. We met frequently, and I provided some administrated to the company by taking minutes at Board meetings, which proved to be an excellent way of ensuring that I was keeping up-to-date on the operation of the company and the organisation of the Festival. A one-off task that proved extremely valuable, both in terms of research and general experience, was assisting the Festival Director in producing an application for Culture 2014, the funding pool for cultural activity surrounding the 2014 Commonwealth Games. Whilst the application would eventually prove to be unsuccessful, working with the Director to develop her initial idea for a project inspired by Glasgow's relationships with Jamaica was one of the most enjoyable tasks I undertook. As well as the excitement around the potential of the project, it was extremely enlightening to learn what was involved in this kind of fundraising; for example, the Board of Directors had understood that whilst GIJF was unlikely to be successful in its application, it was strategically important for the company to apply. This exercise also served to highlight the interconnectedness of Glasgow's cultural organisations, as many groups and individuals known to GIJF also applied to the highly competitive fund.

Participant observation at other jazz festivals

Glasgow Jazz Festival, though the key event at the heart of this research, was not the only event I attended: I tried to get to at least one other jazz festival each year. In April 2013, I went to Gateshead Jazz Festival, which proved to be an ideal opportunity to experience a similar programme in a different kind of space (The Sage). This trip also proved to be a valuable networking opportunity, and I attended a meeting of jazz promoters from across the North East of England, which afforded me a number of useful insights into the challenges faced by these promoters (primarily in terms of cuts made to funding from arts councils).

In March 2013, I attended the first Bristol International Jazz Festival and Blues Festival, where I worked as artist liaison in a voluntary capacity. Like Gateshead, this festival took place primarily in one space: Colston Hall, a late Victorian-era concert hall complex with a foyer extension built in 2009. As well as proving to be a useful opportunity to see another jazz festival in operation, this trip also allowed me to meet with Louise Mitchell, Chief Executive of the Bristol Music Trust, which operates Colston Hall; previously, Mitchell had been Director of Glasgow Cultural Enterprises, which operates key venues in Glasgow as well as the Celtic Connections festival, and also Director of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music.

Finally, in May 2014, I attended Cheltenham Jazz Festival, one of the UK's most popular, and considered by Glasgow to be one of its main comparator events. Whilst at the Festival, I participated in a discussion about music festivals in the UK, on a panel that included Professor George McKay and Tony Dudley Evans, Programme Adviser to the Cheltenham Jazz Festival.

Application of research methods to the research questions

In terms of how the above research methods were brought together, a hierarchy quickly emerged. The database resulting from the content of the brochures proved to be useful for identifying trends in e.g. the number of events, artists or venues at each year's event. While this generated some early ideas, it did not provide any more meaningful insight. Similarly, creating a spreadsheet using headline figures from GIJF's audited accounts resulted in a useful reference tool, but not a critical resource. By far the most useful materials in the GIJF archive were documentation from meetings, and the press books for each year. It is findings from these materials - often triangulated with responses from interviewees - from which the bulk of the data was drawn.

It is worth restating the main research question, and its follow-up questions, in order to make clear which research methods were most useful in addressing which question.

Has GIJF achieved its primary aim of establishing Glasgow as a major centre for jazz in Europe?

As discussed in the previous chapter, the answer to this question is one of degree; a simple, reductive answer was never going to be forthcoming. Rather, it would be necessary to try to gain a holistic and nuanced view of the Festival's effects on its host city. Combining research methods and sources proved to be an extremely effective way of gaining such a view, since different sources often provided

different perspectives on a given issue. For example, in considering one of the Festival's original objectives - to provide employment opportunities to local professional jazz musicians - the process of compiling a database of 'fringe' gigs, based on gig listings, was an important first step. This process offered insights into the scale of the fringe programme each year, and rough estimates could be made as to how many performers were involved. However, this alone gave no sense of the reception of these gigs by either audiences or critics - aspects of programming that are arguably key to ensuring ongoing, year-round interest. Insights into this dimension of the programme was gained through other methods: interviewees were able to provide more meaningful accounts of the fringe gigs themselves, while the press archive held the key to understanding how these gigs were received by critics. Participant observation - in particular, the experience of working as artist liaison and rep[5] - proved important in gaining a first-hand understanding of the nature of the employment offered to local musicians across the Festival, from 'core' programme gigs (where a dressing room and rider would be expected), to 'fringe' gigs (where such facilities might be outwith the control of the Festival, and musicians might be expected to act as their own promoters or even sound engineers).

If it can be demonstrated that Glasgow has moved in the direction of becoming one of Europe's major centres for jazz, how much of this is due to the existence of its Jazz Festival? Are there other agents - whether related to the Festival or not - that have influenced this change?

[5] The representative of the Festival at gigs, usually involving artist liaison and front-of-house duties.

Again, this is a multi-faceted question which requires examination from multiple viewpoints, and thus benefits from a multi-method approach. As will become clear, there are at least two long-term developments in Glasgow's 'jazz infrastructure' that can be attributed in large part to the work of GIJF. In this case, interviews proved to be of primary importance; however, in order to mitigate the possibility that interviewees were overstating the role of the Festival in affecting these changes, data from interview transcripts was considered alongside data from other sources. In particular, consulting company paperwork - especially the minutes from meetings of the Board of Directors - often proved to be an important step in verifying interview data; the press archive offered some insight as well, though certain sources were treated with caution due to the close links between their authors and the Festival.

In order to identify other factors and agents that may have contributed to the development of live jazz in Glasgow, it was important to gain a wider perspective, to be able to situate the Festival within the context of year-round jazz in the city. The press archive was of value in this regard, as it covers years in their entirety, not just the Festival period. However, interviews again proved to offer the greatest insight, in particular by allowing for the quick identification of the individuals associated with jazz, but not directly connected to the Festival, who exerted significant influence.

Conversely, if the Festival has not been able to move Glasgow in this direction, what are the factors that have inhibited it from doing so?

This is arguably the most important question in terms of extrapolating the findings of this research. Conveniently, it was also perhaps the most straightforward to address. Again, a range of methods were employed, and a common theme emerged readily from all these bodies of data. Minutes from meetings of the Board of Directors (and its Management Committee) contain frequent references to the tensions inherent in GIJF's relationships with its public-sector funders. These tensions also emerge as a major theme in interview transcripts and the press archive; participant observation allowed for first-hand experience of the resulting frustrations at the event itself.

The methodology employed in this study is qualitative, and may be described as a pared-back version of grounded theory, in that it is based on content analysis and is predominantly inductive.[6]

[6] Guidance on grounded theory was taken from Birks and Mills (2011); guidance on transcription of conversation was taken from DeVault (2002); guidance on content analysis and qualitative research more generally was taken from Berg (1998).

Chapter Four: The Way Up (1986-1993)

This chapter is primarily concerned with the Festival's early years. While most of the focus is on the period 1986-1993, contextual information is included that dates back to the establishment of the Scottish Development Agency in 1975. Developments relating to cultural tourism in the early 1980s are of particular importance in relation to the decision to start a jazz festival in Glasgow.

Having set the scene, the chapter examines the events and discussions that led to this decision being made, and the subsequent work that brought the Festival in to existence. Further context is provided regarding existing jazz festivals elsewhere in the UK, the development of live jazz in Scotland during the Festival's early years, and how the Festival related to the rest of Glasgow's tourist proposition. The chapter then provides close examination of the Festival's early programming and reception. Finally, the chapter explores how the Festival championed a new venue: The Old Fruitmarket.

The chapter has two central arguments. First, in relation to the various different agendas that influenced the decision to establish the Festival, the chapter argues that while enthusiasm for the art form was certainly one of the drivers behind this decision, it was by far the most important in terms of getting the event off the ground. Indeed, had it not been for the convergence of these different agendas, it seems unlikely that the same Festival, in terms of form and scale, would have been instigated. Second, the chapter argues that the Festival's ability to bring a disused wholesale market into use as a venue for live music is an indication of its early influence in the city.

Creating a new future for Glasgow

As described in the introduction Glasgow was, by the 1970s, a city in desperate need of a change of fortune. The creation of the Scottish Development Agency, in 1975, would prove to be an important turning point. Based in Glasgow, the Agency played a coordinative role for those with an interest in Scotland's economic development. Taking its cues from the regeneration of post-industrial cities in the USA, the SDA determined early on that arts and culture were potentially amongst Glasgow's most valuable tools for such development. Among the Agency's project executives was Iwan Williams, a former McKinsey management consultant with a particular interest in developing the cultural economy (Gulliver, 2012).

One of the SDA's most ambitious initiatives was the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project. This would see the Agency take on a coordinative role in local authority attempts to improve the prospects for citizens in the east of the city, 'helping gain acceptance from the regional and district councils that public action to revive Glasgow was beyond the organisational resources of local authorities alone' (Wannop 1990, p. 456). Wannop notes that this model represented a departure from post-war urban renewal projects elsewhere in the UK, and that its successes were mixed: consultants Pieda found that while GEAR had had little impact on the rate of job losses and overall rates of unemployment, it had had a substantial impact on changes to Glasgow's physical environment (ibid, p. 463).

Soon after its inception, the SDA had begun lending its support to architectural and infrastructural projects that would facilitate the development of Scotland's cultural economy. Work to improve Glasgow's built environment in a more general

sense had begun some years previously, with the construction of a ring road, demolition of poor quality housing, and the Clean Air Act (Guthrie, 1988 p. 16). In 1979, the SDA unveiled plans for a new exhibition and conference centre, to be built at the site of the unused Queen's Dock site at Finnieston, on the northern bank of the River Clyde. A two-year evaluation of the economic impact of the development, conducted by KPMG, estimated that the benefits to Glasgow would include increased expenditure of £347m as well as the creation of around 6,582 full-time (or equivalent) jobs (Anon., d.).

By 1983, Glasgow's commitment to developing tourism in general, and cultural tourism in particular, was evident. Eddie Friel was in place as the first Chief Executive of the new Greater Glasgow Tourist Board, and had quickly recognised that

> …the unit of analysis of economic performance in the 21st century knowledge economy was going to be the city region, and that meant that we would have to compete as a city, as a place. And if your brand - or the image of your place - was negative, then you had no chance. …Fundamentally, a destination marketing organisation or a tourist board, or a place marketing agency, whatever you want to call it - fundamentally, their job is to be the custodian of the brand for the city they represent. (Friel, 2015)

Part of the GGTB's strategy for improving Glasgow's image involved making more of the city's existing cultural resources. One such resource was Sir William Burrell's collection of art and artefacts; a new gallery in Pollock Park was designed by Sir

Barry Gasson and Brit Andreson specially to showcase parts of the collection (Welch, 2010). The Burrell Collection was opened by the Queen in 1983, and quickly became 'the most visited attraction in Scotland other than Edinburgh Castle' (Booth and Boyle, 1993, p. 34). Friel told me that, 'in its first year, it had 1.2m visitors, which made it the number one tourist attraction in Scotland - more than the Edinburgh Festival' (Friel, 2015). Arguably more important than these numbers, however, was what the new attraction represented:

> 'The opening of the Burrell Collection gave me the foundation on which to build the proposition of the arts in Glasgow - that this city, in terms of arts, and cultural provision, was the best in the United Kingdom outside of London' (ibid).

In terms of the performing arts, 1983 saw the introduction of Mayfest, which would continue annually until 1997. The event had grown from the Scottish Trades Union Congress-organised May Day parades into a month-long international arts festival supported by Glasgow District Council, Strathclyde Regional Council and the Arts Council (Bennett, 2007, p. 33). On becoming the city's treasurer, Pat Lally - who would go on to become the Chair of Glasgow City Council, as well as Lord Provost - increased the festival's funding to a guaranteed £100,000 per year for three years (Lally, 2012). Whilst not a comparator to Edinburgh's annual international festival, the success of Mayfest demonstrated Glasgow's potential as a host city for music, dance and theatre. More importantly, the establishment of Mayfest reflected an acknowledgement on the part the Greater Glasgow Tourist Board that cultural events would be a crucial part of the city's new brand:

> … in 1983, Glasgow was shut May, June, July, August, when tourists usually come to destinations. 95% of all tourism to Scotland came up the M74, went to Edinburgh and the Highlands, and we didn't have a reason on god's earth to bring them to Glasgow … we recognised very early on, at that stage, that unless we developed an event-led strategy, we would not have a product to offer, because the brand - Glasgow - was so toxic that nobody would buy it. But if you created events that were good enough, people would come to the event despite the fact it was in Glasgow. (Friel, 2015)

The commitment of the GGTB to cultural tourism, and to cultural events in particular, captured the attention of the GDC and SRC. As Stuart Gulliver put it:

> I don't think [Glasgow] considered itself as an arts location … it didn't think or feel that that was one of its strengths. I think Eddie gave it a little bit of rationale within the city, and said 'well, you may well think of this as superficial artistic stuff, but there is a bedrock of real genuine stuff, because this is a part of the tourism package.' People don't just come for that, they come and they come and shop and they stay in hotels and so on. … Eddie was the nearest that came to being the voice of an industry, so they listened to him, not necessarily to the SDA. (Gulliver, 2012)

In June 1983, the city's Lord Provost (the ceremonial head of Glasgow District Council), Michael Kelly, launched a publicity campaign aimed at changing perceptions of Glasgow (Anon., j). The visual representation of the campaign,

with its slogan 'Glasgow's Miles Better', was Roger Hargreaves's iconic Mr Happy character, whose rotund yellow image can still be seen in a few long-neglected or partly-obscured murals around the city.

Fig 2: 'Glasgow's Miles Better' mural, Sauchiehall Lane, Glasgow (photo credit: Alison Eales)

The aim of the campaign was to emphasise recent and ongoing improvements in the city - particularly in terms of those supporting its creative and knowledge economies - as well as the more positive aspects of the environment, such as parks and architecture. The campaign's stated primary goal was 'to make Glaswegians feel better about their city' (Friel, 2015), though it was almost certainly intended as the first phase of a long-term city marketing strategy.[7]

7 A similar tone was adopted by Pat Lally in a 1988 letter to the Glasgow Herald, in which he

1983 also saw work begin on the new Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, with a budget of £36m (the bulk of these funds came from the SDA, Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council, plus eleven private stakeholders). Building on the SECC was complete in August 1985, though it wasn't long before the brightly-painted complex - like most of Glasgow's landmarks - was renamed by the city's residents. Although opened officially by the Queen in November 1985 the 'Big Red Shed', as it had come to be known, had been opened unofficially by UB40 two months previously, and had hosted two large exhibitions in the interim period (Anon., d.).

In the meantime, the SDA had commissioned a major piece of consultative work, which would both justify its existing approach and endorse further focus on service sector development and careful management of the city's image. Gordon Cullen's 1985 report for McKinsey, entitled *The Potential of Glasgow City Centre,* recommended that in order for the titular potential to be fulfilled, the city's public and private sectors would need to work in partnership - a model that had been adopted with some success in post-industrial cities in the USA, including Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Boston (Landry *et al.*, 1996 p. 26). This endorsement of private-public partnerships as a mechanism for economic development was critical in a city where

> … the local authority, at that stage, were not remotely interested in

argued that the initial objective of the Council's 'artistic and cultural endeavours' had been 'to improve the quality of life for our own people', while also emphasising the fortunate by-product of this activity - an estimated £1.6bn of investment (Lally, 1988).

> dealing with the private sector, it was them and us. And that was just simply never going to reclaim Glasgow and give it back to its citizens again … if you were going to depend upon the local authority for everything. (Friel, 2015)

As a result of the McKinsey report, the SDA formed Glasgow Action, an offshoot with a particular interest in the development of city centre property, in 1985. This organisation, too, would take an interest in supporting artistic and cultural events in the city, including the emergent Jazz Festival (Booth and Boyle, 1993, p. 30). Jo Dungey notes the current importance in city regeneration plans for the inclusion of a 'designated cultural quarter' (Dungey 2004 p. 411). In Glasgow's case, this quarter is the Merchant City. Peter Booth and Robin Boyle note that the area was subject to

> … a relaxation of the city planning department's constraints on private residential development within the city centre. As early as 1981, the draft Central Area Local Plan identified the 'Merchant City' as a non-statutory 'Special Project Area'. By 1988, some 1,964 houses had been completed, 612 were in the pipeline and a further 1,120 were planned or under negotiation … by the early 1990s, the Merchant City had become more than simply a gentrified housing area but laid claim to being an alternative cultural district with new galleries, studios, the (old) City Concert Hall, and a new experimental theatre being constructed in the crypt of a local church by the adjacent Strathclyde University (Booth and Boyle 1993 p. 29).

As suggested by its new brand name, the Merchant City - located to the east of George Square, in the city centre - had previously been home to large, indoor wholesale markets, along with smaller retail units and tenement housing. This mix of different spaces, many of which were housed within architecturally significant buildings, was recognised by Glasgow Action as ideal accommodation for owner-residents as well as restaurants, bars and - importantly - arts organisations (Boyle, 1989: 23). The development of private housing in this area marked a shift in policy for Glasgow, as social housing had previously been concentrated in the city centre, with private housing developments situated in the outlying areas (Booth and Boyle, 1993: 29). This account is reminiscent of Sharon Zukin's 1982 study *Loft Living*, in which she examines how various areas of Lower Manhattan were 'rezoned' by the city in order to allow artists to take up residence (and to work) in areas which had previously been populated exclusively by manufacturers and retailers. The mechanisms employed in Glasgow were different, but the result has been the same: 'the reconquest of the downtown for high-class users and high-rent uses' (Zukin 1982 p. 175).

It is not the intention of this thesis to make a value judgement about urban regeneration in general, but the regeneration and rebranding of the Merchant City is not without its critics, notably Neil Gray and Gerry Mooney. Gray, citing Zukin, argues that subsidy for the arts can be a proxy subsidy for the property market, and suggests that Glasgow city officials actively invite creative and artistic organisations to the area in order to turn cultural capital into financial capital (Gray 2009 p. 14). Gray and Mooney argue additionally that urban 'blight' such as that previously seen (and, indeed, still evident) in the Merchant City is part of a

cycle of investment and disinvestment driven by market forces (Gray and Mooney 2011 p. 11). The investment in this area since the mid-1980s has almost certainly resulted in disinvestment elsewhere in the city, raising questions about who benefits and who is disadvantaged by the emphasis on urban 'cultural quarters'.

In 1984, Robert Gray assumed the role of Lord Provost of Glasgow, taking over from Michael Kelly. Like Kelly (and like every subsequent Lord Provost to date), Gray was a member of the Labour-controlled Glasgow District Council. In April 1986, the Council - with support from Glasgow Action - submitted a bid for the title of European Capital of Culture, a European Community initiative that had been in place since 1985; the title had previously been held by Athens (1985) and Florence (1986). The bid emphasised the recent cooperation of various public bodies (including Strathclyde Regional Council and the Scottish Arts Council) on events such as Mayfest as evidence of the city's capacity to stage large scale cultural events. Noting that the city was rich in arts organisations and theatres, the bid included a proposal for a new concert hall, and a programme of events that would fill the 1990 calendar - Glasgow's 'Year of Culture' (Booth and Boyle, 1993, pp. 33-34). In October 1986, it was announced that Glasgow had won the title. Glasgow District Council quickly established a coordinative 'Festivals Unit': this department would have responsibility for the 1990 programme as a whole, whilst also supporting the individual festivals and organisations making up the 1990 calendar (ibid p. 35).

Jazz in Glasgow

Lawrence White, in a magazine article promoting the 1989 Glasgow International

Jazz Festival, offers a potted history of jazz in general, and jazz in Glasgow in particular. He suggests that around 1940

> …Warwick Braithwaite, then resident condutor [sic] of the old Scottish Orchestra in the Paramount Cinema (now the Odeon in Renfield Street), first introduced the 'Rhapsody [in Blue]' with D. Wright Henderson at the piano, thus introducing Jazz to a Glasgow audience. (White, 1989)

White also identifies several venues that had been popular with jazz audiences in Glasgow in the 1950s and 1960s, including The Great Door (Elmbank Street), The Sahiti (Berkeley Street), The Lindanella (Union Street), McEwan (Sauchiehall Street) and Jazz (West Nile Street) (ibid). Scotland's interest in jazz extended beyond consumption, however:

> For reasons that no one has been able to explain, the Scots are exceptionally good at jazz. Over the years, beginning as least as far back as the 1930s, a quite disproportionate number of Britain's finest and most original jazz musicians have come from north of the border - George Chisholm, Sandy Brown, Bobby Wellins, David Newton - the list goes on for ever. (Gelly, 1996)

Writing around the same time as White, the then secretary of Glasgow's 147 Jazz Club reflected upon

> The contribution of Scottish musicians to jazz in its formative years,

> in the London big bands before and during the war, the stars who filled the Empire; the bands in the Playhouse, and the Jazz Revival of the 50s with bands like the Clyde Valley Stompers; the champion ballroom dancers; they were then and now an integral part of the unique Glasgow music culture. (Zigman, 1988)

By way of contrast, journalist Kenny Mathieson describes Glasgow's propensity for locally-produced jazz as not being 'especially imposing' (Mathieson, 1990d), and recalled that

> When I returned to Scotland in 1982 … The Edinburgh Jazz Festival was in its infancy as a pub-based traditional event, the Glasgow Jazz Festival was not even a gleam in the district council's eye, and the principal jazz-promoting organisation, Platform Jazz, was still booking itinerant soloists to play with local rhythm sections. The number of young musicians interested in playing jazz at all, far less in trying to develop themselves as individuals, could just about be counted on one hand. (Mathieson, 1995a p. 15)

By the mid-1980s - with Glasgow Jazz Festival beginning to gleam in the eye of the Council - the growing profile of a young saxophonist by the name of Tommy Smith was helping to boost interest in jazz in Scotland. Smith's story had captured the imagination when, aged 16, he was offered a scholarship to the prestigious Berklee College of Music. His music teacher, Jean Allison, led efforts to raise an additional £5,000 in order for him to accept the place. This process took over a year and gained significant press interest, bestowing Smith with the status of a

minor celebrity before he had even boarded the plane. Just three years later, with the new Glasgow Jazz Festival becoming a reality, Smith was well-respected on the international stage, drawing acclaim for the maturity of his composition and expression. Moreover, his decision to return to Europe in order to establish his own band and recording career were recognised and celebrated by the Scottish media. A documentary produced by BBC Scotland in 1988 ends with footage of Smith and his band playing his original composition 'Ally the Wallygator', in which shots of the performance are intercut with footage of the Scottish landscape, conveying a sense of national pride in - even ownership of - this young talent (Alexander, 1988).[8] Smith's emergence may not have heralded the beginning of a golden age for Scottish jazz, but neither can it be said that he was an anomaly in an otherwise jazzless country. Younger players were also making waves, including pianist Brian Kellock (a frequent collaborator of Smith's) and the Bancroft brothers, Tom and Phil. By the mid-1990s, Scotland was able to boast 'a talent pool spanning generations, with real depth and variety' (Mathieson, 1995a p. 15).

During 1984-85, Platform had promoted 140 live jazz events in Edinburgh and only 16 in Glasgow; Iwan Williams, in a paper drafted for discussion at this initial meeting, suggested that this was in part because the 'Glasgow Licensing Board … would not permit licensees to charge admission to entertainment events on their premises' (Williams, 1986b, p. 1). An additional problem was that Glasgow lacked an equivalent to Edinburgh's Queen's Hall, regarded at the time as Scotland's best venue for live jazz (Mathieson, 1988b; Spence, quoted in Mathieson, 1989b p. 32).

8 Smith would later express his relationship with his homeland more explicitly through his compositions, including a fruitful partnership with the poet Edwin Morgan.

The St Andrew's Halls (an impressive building at Charing Cross) had hosted sell-out jazz concerts (Mathieson, 1987 p. 54) before being destroyed by fire in 1962, a fire that also destroyed a neighbouring jazz club called The Cell (Adams, 1991). The Henry Wood Hall, also at Charing Cross, absorbed some of the functions previously performed by the St Andrew's Halls (including acting as a base for the Royal Scottish National Orchestra), but was not always ideal as a venue for jazz (Hamilton, 1991). The Odeon cinema on Renfield Street had also been a popular music venue before a refurbishment meant it was no longer suitable for this purpose (Young, 1987).

A lack of appropriate venues was only part of the problem, however: Platform's attempts to programme in Glasgow had been met with 'inexplicable apathy' (Mathieson, 1988b). Elliot Meadow wrote that

> … today the city's jazz audience, such as it is, seems more intent upon avoiding the music at all costs in a concert or club setting. From enthusiasm to ennui in one generation. Not bad at all. … Even Ray Charles and Oscar Peterson failed to attract the kind of response previous visits have inspired. … Courtney Pine cancelled a concert in February as the advance ticket sales made it abundantly clear that his impending visit was being met with considerable local indifference (Meadow, 1988).

Given the challenges above, Edinburgh was understandably perceived as being the more receptive to jazz of the two cities (Mathieson, 1991). Given the close proximity of Glasgow and Edinburgh (trains run frequently between the two cities,

and the journey takes under an hour), it is also understandable that developing an audience for jazz in Glasgow was not a priority for Platform. However, broader changes were afoot in Glasgow, bringing an opportunity to create a new role for live jazz in its cultural calendar. Ken Mathieson saw the new festival as an opportunity 'to get people back to jazz, and also involve a new audience, in the way the Edinburgh Jazz Festival has done' (Mathieson, quoted in Mathieson, 1987 p. 54). Moreover, in a special edition of the *Culture City* newsletter dedicated to the Jazz Festival, journalist (and GIJF Board member) Keith Bruce - writing under the name Freddy Freeloader - argued that 'demand for jazz in Scotland [had] been steadily increasing for a decade' (Bruce, 1987a, p. 1). A new venue, Gillespies, opened shortly before the 1987 jazz festival, its management intending to programme 'mainly mainstream and traditional' jazz most nights of the week (Chalmers, 1987).

That Mayfest had grown out of the local trade unions' May Day parades indicates that there was an increasing appetite for world-class performance arts at a grassroots level. The SECC project, meanwhile, had been led by the Scottish Development Agency, demonstrating a certain commitment at the national level to provide the infrastructure needed to meet that demand. In the run-up to the Year of Culture, a change of policy at the Glasgow Licensing Board, which meant that licensees would no longer be prohibited from charging admission for entertainment, offered further evidence that the people of Glasgow might be ready for more live music, and indeed was cited as an opportunity for establishing a new music festival (Williams, 1986b, p. 1)[9].

9 As will become clear later in this chapter, individuals involved with establishing the Festival

Establishing Glasgow Jazz Festival: who, when and why

The first documented meeting about establishing a jazz festival in Glasgow took place on 3rd March, 1986. The initial idea appears to have come from Iwan Williams, who approached Eddie Friel and Stuart Gulliver individually. Gulliver, who had been a keen jazz musician and promoter during his student years, remembers Williams approaching him one Friday evening whilst the SDA were having drinks after work, and inviting him to be on the Board (Gulliver, 2012). Friel remembers being in his post for 'all of ten days' when Williams called him from the SDA and introduced himself with the words 'We need to talk … this city needs a jazz festival' (Friel, 2015). Subsequently, Friel approached Pat Lally - at that time chair of the GGTB, as well as the leader of Glasgow District Council - in an elevator. Lally had a love of big band jazz, rooted in a passion for dancing (Gulliver, 2012), and recalls responding positively to this literal elevator pitch, agreeing immediately that a jazz festival was 'a great idea' (Lally, 2012). Others who were involved at this early stage included David Macdonald (Glasgow Action), Roger Spence (then administrator of Platform), and Robert Gray (Glasgow's then Lord Provost).

Bill Sweeney, as a representative of the Musicians' Union and also a member of the Scottish Arts Council's Music Committee, found himself nominated for membership of the Board of the new Festival. Though not personally acquainted, there were few degrees of separation between Sweeney and Iwan Williams: Williams' then

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were also amongst those who lobbied for this change in legislation, essentially creating their own opportunity.

partner, Mary Picken, had succeeded Alex Clark as the Equity representative on the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC); Clark, also a member of the new Festival's Board, was well-known to Sweeney (Sweeney, 2012).

A love of jazz was certainly not a prerequisite for those involved with these early discussions. What was required was an understanding of the needs of the city, and a commitment to building upon its cultural assets. This was certainly the case for Eddie Friel:

> I still know absolutely nothing about jazz! I will admit openly. … I'm passionate about classical music and opera. … It doesn't matter whether it was jazz, or whether it was something else, or whether it was opera, or whether it was classical music - it doesn't matter. And when the Concert Hall started developing its international orchestra series, that was another element of music that needed to be addressed. It was a question of, how do you take all of the strengths that Glasgow has, and create the structures to allow you to address the audience for these? (Friel, 2015)

At the initial meeting, the name, timing and length of the Festival were determined, along with four main aims: to establish Glasgow as ‘a major European jazz centre’; to grow the local audience (particularly the youth audience) for jazz; to attract tourism to Glasgow; and to provide employment opportunities for local professional jazz musicians. Additionally, the Festival's artistic policy was determined: the word 'jazz' was to be interpreted widely, with an international programme representing all styles of jazz. This was not an aesthetic decision (or

indecision), but a political statement: Friel recalls a desire that the new Festival be 'as inclusive as possible', with no 'audience sector who felt that they were being left out' (Friel, 2015). To the same end, it was agreed that the new Festival's activities should take place all over the city, encompassing pubs as well as concert halls (Williams, 1986b, pp. 1-2). This required a change in the legislation that prohibited pub landlords from charging for entry to live music on their premises, and GIJF became one of the parties who lobbied for a change in that legislation, inviting members of the Glasgow Licensing Board to sit on the GIJF Board before making their case (Friel, 2015).

The ambition for inclusivity was matched by an ambition for high artistic quality, critical reception and visibility. As Friel recalls,

> Iwan said, 'It has to be one of the leading jazz festivals in the world. We can't start pretending to be a jazz festival.' I said, 'In which case … it has to work at the international level.' International jazz festival. So what does that mean? It means you have to have the top jazz stars. (ibid)

Glasgow International Jazz Festival Ltd. was established very quickly after these initial discussions began and, following the example of Mayfest, it was set up both as a company limited by guarantee, and as a Scottish charity. The Board of Directors was formally constituted, along with three subcommittees (Williams, 1986a). The Management Committee would be the key decision-making body for the day-to-day business of running the Festival; the Education Committee would develop a year-round presence for GIJF Ltd. in the form of educational activities;

and the Sponsorship Committee would be concerned with raising funds for the Festival, from both the public and private sectors, and as both cash and in-kind support. After examining the possibility of operating from Platform's office in Edinburgh, GIJF established itself in the basement of the Royal Exchange building (now home to the Gallery of Modern Art), where it shared its office space with Mayfest[10]. This arrangement meant that the Festival's organisers would be based at the heart of Glasgow city centre.

From the very earliest minuted discussions about the Festival, there was support for the idea of the establishment of a local youth jazz orchestra (Gray, 1986). Operating under the auspices of GIJF, this was an initiative with the potential to give the company improved year-round visibility, as well as helping to fulfil its educational remit. The work of GIJF's Education Committee, in its first year, was largely focused on the aim of the Glasgow Youth Jazz Orchestra - as it was provisionally named - being in place in time for the 1987 Festival. It was intended that the Orchestra would work closely with a composer- or artist-in-residence, and would play specially-commissioned works at the Festival and beyond. Having secured significant financial support from Strathclyde Regional Council, GIJF renamed the orchestra the Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra (SYJO) and appointed saxophonist Bobby Wishart as its Director, holding auditions in February 1987.[11]

10 This space was to prove far from ideal as a working environment, with poor lighting and ventilation, and would prove particularly unsuitable as a venue for meetings with potential sponsors (Stanbridge 1988).

11 After early successes under the administration of GIJF - such as becoming the first of its kind to appear at the prestigious Montreux Jazz Festival (Mathieson 1990b) - full control of the Orchestra was handed over to Strathclyde Regional Council in June 1993. The Orchestra

For Eddie Friel, SYJO and the Composer-in-Residence initiative were important features of what he hoped would be an inclusive event catering for all audience ages and all musical tastes (within jazz):

> How do you engage young people? Well, we formed the Youth Jazz Orchestra. Well how do you bring it all together? We'll get a composer-in-residence, one of the jazz greats, who will compose a piece, which will then be the finale of the festival, and it will be played by the Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra. (Friel, 2015)

In these very early days, SYJO was considered by GIJF to be one of two closely related core business activities, along with the Festival itself. The relationship between these two activities was symbiotic. It was hoped that SYJO would help the Festival to build its own long-term, sustainable audience, while the Festival would provide an annual focal point for the Orchestra:

> I suppose councillors would want to know, or be able to be told, 'oh yes, this is benefiting, … schools and so on,' but … it wasn't going to have the same kind of 'zing' unless you actually had the big Festival in the centre, really. (Sweeney, 2012)

Boyle notes that Glasgow Action targeted 'the Merchant City area of the east to

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continues to operate today, alongside the newer National Jazz Orchestra of Scotland (NYJOS) and Tommy Smith Youth Jazz Orchestra (TSYJO). All three youth jazz orchestras appear regularly at the Festival.

the main retail core' specifically for property development (Boyle 1989 p. 23), and that it supported and promoted the Jazz Festival, amongst other events, in order to boost tourism (ibid p. 24). Additionally, it is worth noting that two members of Glasgow Action served as members of the Festival's Board of Directors during the first few years of its life. The Jazz Festival, it would appear, was of particular interest to a small group of individuals involved with planning and regeneration in Glasgow city centre. The Festival's relationship with the Merchant City continues to be emphasised in official documents: a Merchant City Five-Year Action Plan, produced by the Merchant City Initiative (a partnership between Glasgow City Council, Scottish Enterprise and the Heritage Lottery Fund) aims for the area to '… become the natural home for a host of other City Festivals throughout out the year include [sic] the Jazz Fest, Gourmet Glasgow, Radiance, Glasgow Comedy Festival, Glasgow International and Celtic Connections' (Merchant City Initiative 2007 p. 13).

Jazz festivals in the UK

The history of jazz festivals in the UK has been covered extensively elsewhere; McKay's work on the earliest events, such as Beaulieu in 1956 and the Richmond Jazz Festivals of the early 1960s, is of particular note (McKay 2006, pp. 70-77).

Jazz festivals active in the UK in 1986 included well-established events such as Bracknell (which had been running since 1975, and showcased modern British artists), Edinburgh (which began in 1978 and was, at the time, still firmly rooted in trad jazz and blues), and Dundee. In addition, Camden's annual spring festival had featured a 'jazz week' since the 1970s. More recent additions to the UK's

calendar of jazz events had included Brecon (1984) and Soho (1986).

Journalist Anthony Troon introduced readers of the *Scotsman* to the new Festival by placing it in an international context:

> The Glasgow event joins an astonishingly wide web of international jazz festivals that nowadays covers a large part of the globe. People to whom jazz is a tiresome and inexplicable sound might be astonished to learn that it can be taken in concentrated doses in such disparate countries as Japan, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, France. It goes to sea in cruise boats. It comes to Scotland in festivals at Edinburgh, Dundee and - now - Glasgow. (Troon, 1987 p. 8)

Glasgow's jazz festival, along with Brecon and Soho, was to become part of a wave of new events. 1986 saw the establishment of jazz festivals in Marlborough (Anon., n.) and Upton-upon-Severn (Anon., l.); 1987 saw the first Birmingham International Jazz Festival (Halifax, 2015); and, in 1988, jazz festivals were established in Bude (Anon.) and on the Isle of Bute (Anon., g.).[12] By the end of the decade, the role of the British jazz festival - in its modern incarnation - was becoming a topic of conversation in the press. In the *Guardian*, Rick Glanvill considered the reasons that jazz festivals had not previously become well-established in the UK:

12 At the time of writing, all of these festivals are still running.

> Neither as muddy as its rock cousins like Glastonbury or Womad, nor as serene as its classical or opera counterparts like Glyndebourne, the jazz festival has only recently begun to discover its true identity here. … In the States (for obvious reasons of origin), and the European mainland (for even more persuasive reasons of sponsorship), jazz's big events have a powerful presence. In Britain, they are squeezed between the twin pillars of Arts Council grants and private sponsors (Glanvill, 1990).

In the *Glasgow Herald,* meanwhile, Keith Bruce voiced frustration at the overuse of the word 'festival':

> It would seem that whenever two or three performances are gathered together a 'festival' results, whether or not there is anything terribly festive about it. With a field as potentially narrow as jazz music that would seem to be even more of a risk, if it was not that collections of jazz gigs are traditionally (no pun intended) called festivals. (Bruce, 1990c)

Martin Gayford, in the *Spectator*, made more substantial complaints about the burgeoning UK circuit of jazz festivals, criticising both the homogenous nature of the programmes and the role of public authorities in supporting them:

> On and on from June to September [jazz festivals] roll in unbroken sequence, with quite often the same repertory company of musicians appearing at each in turn. Not for the first time I found

> myself wondering: are the festivals really a blessing or a curse? … It seems against the spirit of the music for it to be provided by every local authority in the land like social workers and floral clocks (Gayford, 1991, p. 40).

Glasgow Jazz Festival is born

The first Glasgow International Jazz Festival, under the administration of enthusiast Ken Mathieson - described in *Culture City* as 'a mild-mannered accountant who plays the drums' (Laing, 1987) - and programmed largely by Platform, opened on 26th June 1987. Its first concert was a double-headline show by the Modern Jazz Quartet and Chick Corea / Gary Burton at the Theatre Royal (Ltd., 1987); however, the Festival as a whole was, as Stuart Gulliver put it, 'a bit of a dry run … It had a lot of trad in it' (Gulliver, 2012).

The 1987 Festival was a 'dry run' not only in terms of its conservative programming, but also the learning curve that it represented for its organisers. The event's timing, for example, had been determined in part by that of the Nice festival, the Board reasoning that this would 'provide added incentive for artists from America and other places including it in their itinerary' (Young, 1987). However, as Eddie Friel recalls,

> The mistake with that is that we paid the all of the air fares for all the jazz greats to come over. So then, they were already in Europe to participate in all the other jazz festivals. But hey, you learn by your mistakes, and we cut our costs fairly dramatically the following

> year, when we decided no, we don't need to be first. Let somebody else pay for the transportation! (Friel, 2015)

The ambitions for the new Festival were stated clearly from the outset, with Lord Provost Robert Gray declaring that the aim was 'to make [the] Festival the biggest in the country, and one of the biggest in Europe' (Mathieson, 1987). Frequently-cited comparator events included Montreux and Nice (e.g. Anon., 1987b), with Ken Mathieson predicting that Glasgow's Festival would eventually rival both 'in size and prestige' (Young, 1987). The organisers' concern that they should contribute 'to the social fabric of Glasgow' was also reported in the press (ibid).

Coverage of the Festival was generally provided by a small number of knowledgeable jazz writers across Scotland's central belt, including Keith Bruce (who has served on the GIJF Board of Directors for much of the Festival's history), Rob Adams (often writing under the name Bob Penn), Kenny Mathieson,[13] David Belcher, Brian Morton, Anthony Troon and Elliot Meadow. Press coverage in the Festival's first year was somewhat parochial, with only one article appearing in a UK-wide publication (the *Daily Express*), and many appearing in local papers such as *Ayrshire World,* the *Greenock Telegraph* and the *Paisley Gazette*. What is evident from these articles is that there were hopes that any benefits brought by the new Festival would extend beyond Glasgow. These articles also gave Glasgow's surrounding towns the opportunity to celebrate their own local heroes, such as Kit Carey, Fionna Duncan and Dave Batchelor. Interest from the main central belt publications - e.*g. the Glasgow Herald,* the *Scotsman,* the *Evening Times*, the

13 Not to be confused with Ken Mathieson.

Daily Record and the *Sunday Post* - became more frequent in the run-up to the event, particularly once Dizzy Gillespie was confirmed as a headline act. The establishment of SYJO generated a similar amount of coverage to the Festival itself.

The following two years saw GIJF becoming increasingly professional as an organisation, bringing its core functions - most notably, programming - in-house. In November 1987, the Company appointed its first full-time member of staff (Williams, 1987). Alan Stanbridge's appointment as the company's administrator[14] generated press interest as a story in its own right, not least in his home town of Aberdeen. Coverage in the UK press included articles in the *Independent*, the *Guardian*, the *Telegraph*, the *Times* and the *Times Education Supplement*. Stanbridge was nominated as company secretary shortly after his appointment, and petitioned successfully for greater administrative support and improved office facilities (Stanbridge, 1988a; Stanbridge, 1988b). The following July, the Board of Directors amended the General Administrator's job title and description to 'Festival Director', recognising that even whilst external agencies and individuals were engaged to consult on the programme, the role required a certain degree of artistic vision (Lally, 1988).

Interviewed in the *Scotsman*, Stanbridge explained some of the principles behind his programming. Although a critical element of the programme (not least in terms of maintaining visibility and profile), Stanbridge was keen that the

14 Stuart Gulliver recalls that Stanbridge studied A-Level Music in preparation for his role at GIJF (Gulliver 2012).

'international' element of the Festival was integrated into the programme as a whole, rather than simply 'picking up on famous American groups touring Europe' (Stanbridge, quoted in Love, 1988). Stanbridge offered the Composer-in-Residence initiative, described later in this chapter, as an example of how international artists could be encouraged to engage with the event in a more meaningful way; another idea involved 'featuring a Scottish, or Scottish-based musician in an international context' (Stanbridge, quoted in Mathieson, 1988a, p. 4). Stanbridge also made clear that he was not afraid to programme more challenging forms of jazz, arguing that 'without its contemporary developments, without its sharp end, the music is not going anywhere' (ibid).

Interviews with Stanbridge from around this time also indicate that his programming philosophies stemmed from a long-term vision:

> The city is quite obviously gearing up for 1990, and this festival is already showing considerable expansion over last year, and the challenge now is to look at ways of expanding that again. I don't think you do that by adding more of the same - I would like to see it expand in its various different dimensions, which might mean expanding stylistically, or in terms of jazz in relation to other musical forms, or other art forms entirely. … The 1988 festival must be my immediate priority but I am already talking with people about the next two years, and beyond that, the challenge immediately becomes what do we do in 1991? How do we sustain all this momentum we are building up towards the City of Culture year? (ibid)

Stanbridge's approach was met with approval in the press, where it was noted that the 1988 Festival had succeeded in incorporating the avant-garde - 'an essential step if Glasgow is to win artistic credibility as a staging post on the annual international circuit' (Troon, 1988b) - without compromising 'a core of popular big names to enhance its crowd-pulling achievements of 1987' (ibid). Reflecting on the 1987 event, Keith Bruce described a programme consisting of 'safe' headline acts such as Sarah Vaughan and Dizzy Gillespie, a pub circuit 'that recalled, but never succeeded in emulating, the early years of the Edinburgh event', and a series of concerts at the Citizens' Theatre which failed to add any cohesion (Bruce, 1988, p. 4). By contrast, Bruce noted, the 1988 event was larger (consisting of more concerts) and of a broader artistic scope (ibid). A review by Bob Flynn in the *Guardian* described the Festival as 'prestigious but unpretentious', having made use of 'perfectly-judged venues' (Flynn, 1988). Kenny Mathieson noted that as the profile of Glasgow's new jazz festival, for that Platform had acted as a consultant, increased, so too did expectations about what the promoter was able to achieve in Scotland (Mathieson, 1988c). Glasgow District Council were quick to capitalise on the Festival's positive reception in the press, describing the event as 'a major success' (Anon., 1988c), and declaring that it had already achieved its ambition to become 'a major annual event in the international jazz calendar' (McFadden, quoted in Anon., 1989d, p. 7). Coverage from this time also reflected the preparations for 1990; GIJF was often mentioned alongside other performing arts organisations and events, including the Folk Festival and offerings in classical music, opera and ballet, indicating that it was viewed as part of an emerging, but coherent, summer season of music and dance.

The diversification of the Festival's programme continued in 1989, with 'a

significant shift in emphasis towards European improvising music' (Troon, 1989 p. 13), and Alan Stanbridge promising that this trend would continue in 1990 (Belcher, 1989, p. 8). While still programming 'big names' at the Theatre Royal, Stanbridge made use of the Tramway (an old tram shed on the south side of the River Clyde) for modern and experimental music, including a French strand and a series of concerts by Fred Frith. Interviewed by Kenny Mathieson, Stanbridge explained his rationale:

> I think that is something which will set the festival apart among the non-specialist events, and I happily concede that is very much my influence. … if you look at other arts festivals which have cornered a particular niche like Glyndebourne in opera or Huddersfield in contemporary music, it is because they have created something which is both unique and interesting, and unless people go to that particular festival, they simply won't hear it. (Mathieson, 1989a p. 32)

Shortly after the 1989 Festival, it became evident that the working relationships between the Director and two key members of staff had broken down. Both members of staff resigned, and Alan Stanbridge left the organisation shortly afterwards. In October of that year, the GIJF Board welcomed Jim Smith to the company as its new Festival Director (Lally, 1989). The 28-year-old, who had previously worked for jazz festivals in Cambridge, Norwich and Grimsby, came to the role with an understanding of the importance of securing broadcast media coverage - something that would prove to be persistently challenging for GIJF. Stuart Gulliver perceived Smith as having '… big ideas for the Festival, and it was

good timing, because he was ambitious for names at a time when we probably had the biggest budget' (Gulliver, 2012). Smith's programming philosophy echoed that of Alan Stanbridge, emphasising quality and breadth (Mathieson, 1990a p. 2). Additionally, Smith was reportedly keen to 'blow away the notion that the Glasgow festival is merely a series of evening concerts' (Gibson, 1990 p. 16).

1989 would be a significant year for GIJF for two other reasons. Firstly, on the recommendation of its press officer Marek Kolodziej, the company appointed Jill Rodger as an administrative assistant (Anon., 1989b). This role had been created on the recommendation of Alan Stanbridge and had had one previous incumbent, Lindsay Pollock.[15] Secondly, GIJF's office companions, Mayfest, made plans to move to new accommodation on Albion Street (Anon., 1989g). In August the following year, GIJF - long unhappy with the office space at Royal Exchange Square - went with them (Williams, 1990). The move saw the two organisations making a home in Glasgow's emerging 'cultural quarter', close to the old City Halls and several former wholesale market spaces, a move that offered greater flexibility in terms of the spaces available.

Developments relating to live jazz in Scotland

GIJF's establishment as a professional promoter of live jazz took place as the promotion of jazz in Scotland on a year-round basis was changing shape. A short column in the *Sunday Mail* suggested that while tickets for the first Festival were

15 At the time of writing, Rodger still works for GIJF, and has held several posts within the company throughout her career, including General Manager and Festival Director.

selling well, the profile of the event as a whole was relatively low (Anon., 1987c). Ken Mathieson maintained, however, that the introduction of the Festival was in keeping with wider plans to raise the profile of jazz in Glasgow more generally, an idea he claimed had 'been on the go for some time' (Mathieson, quoted in Young, 1987). There is some evidence to support this: in October 1987, Platform announced an autumn 'Round Midnight' concert series at Glasgow's Henry Wood Hall, including well-known Scottish names alongside visiting musicians such as Don Cherry, and covering 'everything from blues and dixieland to the avant garde' (Bruce, 1987b, p. 14). The results of this endeavour were mixed. Kenny Mathieson noted that some of the contemporary acts (including Cherry) 'did unexpectedly well, while other seemingly attractive, and "safer", artists fell well short of budget targets' (Mathieson, 1988b).

1988 saw Platform cease trading (Williams, 1988b). The organisation had been established as an enthusiast-led project in the 1970s and grown into a professional, Arts Council-supported company, programming some of the most notable modern jazz artists of the 1970s and 1980s including Wynton Marsalis and Keith Jarrett (Mathieson, 1988b; Johnston, 1991 p. 5). However, some disappointing attendances - notably in Glasgow - had led to an accumulated deficit of £30,000 (Johnston, 1991, p. 5). The organisation's main administrator, Roger Spence (who had been heavily involved with establishing GIJF and programming the Festival), continued to programme live jazz - firstly on a freelance basis, and later via Edinburgh-based Assembly.

In January 1990, a new promoter started business in Scotland. The Scottish Jazz Network, chaired by Stuart Gulliver (Gulliver, 2012) and directed by former

Platform employee Ian Middleton, aimed to replicate the success of Assembly in Scotland's other major cities. Kenny Mathieson reported in *Scotland on Sunday* that Middleton's vision for the SJN came not only from a desire to promote live jazz, but also from a perceived anxiety that funding earmarked by the Arts Council to support jazz might be lost following Platform's dissolution, and an ambition to raise the profile of jazz in the Scottish broadcast media (Mathieson, 1990c). Edinburgh-based singer Sophie Bancroft programmed the SJN's activity for its first three months (ibid), during which acts such as the Any Park Octet and the John Rae Collective played a circuit of venues in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee. Venues in Glasgow (where Middleton was based) included the Henry Wood Hall and the Riverside Club; Middleton acknowledged that a lack of suitable spaces remained a problem in Glasgow (Adams, 1990b).

Although generally welcomed, the establishment of the new Network also generated inevitable controversy. Middleton told Kenny Mathieson that the SJN's activity would be focused on 'bebop and beyond', arguing that traditional jazz was a 'pub music' which was able to attract audiences without the need for subsidy (Mathieson, 1990c). Elliott Davies and Bill Bruce from Scottish Jazz News viewed the trad jazz economy rather differently:

> The reality of the situation in Scotland is that trad jazz already receives large subsidies from the musicians who are prepared to play for a pittance (sometimes less than their expenses) in often unsuitable premises. (Davies and Bruce, 1990)

Mike Hart, the director of Edinburgh's Jazz Festival, was in agreement, adding that

Platform's demise was 'due in large part to a narrowly based musical policy', and questioning the wisdom of having all SAC funding for jazz controlled by one organisation (Hart, 1990).

For his part, Ian Middleton emphasised that he intended to work with Assembly and the festivals, as well as acting in a consultative capacity with theatres and arts centres in order to increase their jazz programming (Adams, 1990b). Kenny Mathieson endorsed this approach, suggesting that the Scottish jazz scene would be unable to sustain competition between Assembly and the SJN (Mathieson, 1990c). Interviewed in the *Guardian* in 1990, both Roger Spence and Ian Middleton were optimistic about the future of jazz in Scotland. Though it is unclear from the context whether he was comparing Assembly's audiences to those of Platform, Spence claimed that audiences had 'jumped by 15 per cent every year' (Spence, quoted in Flynn, 1990); Middleton argued that the climate had 'never been better' (Middleton, quoted in Flynn, 1990).

By 1991, however, it appeared that Assembly and the SJN were struggling to co-exist. Trevor Johnston claimed in the *Sunday Times* that communication between the organisations had been 'virtually non-existent', leading to concerts being programmed close together (Johnston, 1991 p. 5). The resulting poor attendances (which, of course, had a knock-on effect on the organisations' finances) were suggested by Johnston as an indication that 'the Scots jazz audience will only stretch so far … the concerts are attractive, but outside of a festival, it is asking a lot of audiences to get to all of them' (ibid). Additionally, with jazz musicians' fees on the rise, Arts Council support was becoming increasingly important to Assembly. The SAC was supporting jazz in individual cities but without Assembly,

argued Kenny Mathieson, Scottish jazz risked being 'a headless body' (Mathieson, 1989b p. 32). Such a lack of coordination was clearly undesirable in a country with an apparently finite appetite for jazz.

Glasgow Jazz Festival's relationship with its older counterpart in Edinburgh would, inevitably, prove to be complex. Edinburgh's jazz festival was focused on traditional jazz and blues, and so not necessarily an obvious competitor for a new festival aiming to bring more modern and progressive styles of music to Glasgow. Ken Mathieson, quoted in the Herald, stressed that efforts had been made '…to keep out of each other's way in terms of content, considering that we are only six weeks and 45 miles apart' (Mathieson, quoted in Young, 1987). Such efforts often included barring clauses in artists' contracts: there was some consternation when a Glasgow club, Kinooziers, booked Humphrey Lyttelton (though not as part of the GIJF programme) within six weeks of his performance at Edinburgh's jazz festival; GIJF stepped in to stop a concert by Chris Barber, at the same venue, for similar reasons (Anon., 1988b).

Nonetheless, the tensions between the event organisers were significant. Mike Hart, who had started Edinburgh's jazz festival in 1978 and organised it each year since, accused Glasgow of staging a 'touring circus', programmed by consultants in Edinburgh (Platform) with little thought given to the coherence of the Festival experience. He contrasted this with his own event:

> I have endeavoured to bring great artists hired for their excellence and not necessarily for their showbiz appeal. By doing this we are able to create an authentic jazz ambience rather than have to rely

> on creating an atmosphere within the constraints of the concert hall. (Hart, quoted in Young, 1988, p. 4)

Iwan Williams was quick to respond to this criticism. In a letter published in the same publication the following day, he wrote:

> Mike Hart voices a frustration which must be quite common amongst people in the Edinburgh arts scene when they compare the attitude of their local authority with the forward-looking and enlightened support provided by Glasgow District Council. But it's a pity that he chose to express it by attacking the Glasgow International Jazz Festival. … The McEwan's Edinburgh Jazz Festival's artistic policy focuses on one kind of jazz - nothing wrong in that. We have decided to present as broad as possible a range of styles. Now you have a choice. (Williams, 1988a)

Hart countered this with his own letter a few days later, in which he took issue with Williams' assertion that his event programmed narrowly:

> Regarding artistic policy, how can [Williams] possibly state that Edinburgh has 'one kind of jazz' when we have artists of the calibre of The Harlem Blues and Jazz Band, Red Rodney, Art Hodes, Peter King, The National Youth Jazz Orchestra, Arturo Zappin, Louisianna Red, Scott Hamilton, plus many more. (Hart, 1988)

Elsewhere, the differences between the two events were welcomed. Anthony

Troon summarised that

> … the Edinburgh programme involves musicians who have been active in an important sense since the 1920s, while the Glasgow Festival doesn't include performers who go back beyond the 1940s. … It is an indication that these two events do not fall into the familiar trap of duplicating one another. As the economics of international festivals tend to encourage duplication, we ought to be thankful for that fact. (Troon, 1988a)

Four years later, with the Capital of Culture title putting Glasgow in the spotlight, the debate was reignited, with Hart commenting that he would 'prefer the artists to circulate round about 20 venues rather than have nothing but major concerts' (Young, 1990). Meanwhile Bill Moodie, the co-director of Dundee Jazz Festival, took issue with the focus on the central belt cities:

> … the festival is run not by the 'city parents' but by a group of enthusiasts who have considerably less difficulty in persuading Dundonians to recognise a good thing when they hear it than in avoiding asinine remarks made by those who seem to be culturally entrenched in Edinburgh or Glasgow. (Moodie, 1990)

There is certainly something to be said for the idea that establishing a jazz festival on a larger scale than Edinburgh's, and with a better reputation internationally, was a motivating factor for those involved. In 1998, Pat Lally was quoted in the *Evening Times* as inviting Edinburgh to make the most of Glasgow's cultural success

by becoming festival 'twins' (Rodrick, 1998); it is best to take this invitation with a considerable pinch of salt.

In July 1990 - immediately after the Festival, and no doubt confident about GIJF's future - Iwan Williams proposed to the Board that GIJF use an anticipated financial surplus to create a subsidiary company, with its own Board of Directors. GIJF Enterprises Ltd. was intended to handle activities broadly related to the promotion of the Festival, such as merchandising, and licensing for broadcast and recordings. Whilst the company would be largely inactive before its dissolution in 1999, Williams' proposal demonstrates that the young Festival was perhaps becoming a victim of its own success, unable to properly manage the demand for merchandise, and lacking the power to negotiate with broadcast media companies. By October 1990, GIJF Enterprises was up and running, and promoting a one-off Christmas show at Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, indicating that its remit had already expanded beyond merchandising and licensing into the promotion of live jazz outside the Festival period. The endeavour also served to address a 'dearth of jazz activity' in Glasgow outwith the Festival period (Meadow, 1988). Between December 1991 and May 1992, GIJF Enterprises ran a series of major jazz concerts - underwritten by Matthew Gloag and Sons, and branded as the 'Famous Grouse Jazz Series' - featuring Carol Kidd, Chick Corea, and Sonny Rollins.[16]

16 Five concerts were originally planned, with McCoy Tyner and Dave Brubeck accounting for the other two; these did not go ahead.

GIJF as part of Glasgow's tourist proposition

Glasgow's renaissance as a tourist destination continued apace and, in April 1988, the Glasgow Garden Festival was opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales. The Garden Festival, which ran until September that year, was based at the former Princes Dock, on the south side of the Clyde. The SECC, on the opposite side of the river, was a key venue for the Garden Festival, with Hall 4 of the complex transformed into a tropical rainforest complete with fountains and live birds. The Garden Festival's lasting infrastructural legacy would be the Bell's Bridge, a footbridge connecting the Garden Festival site and the SECC (Anon., d.).[17] One of the visual highlights of the Garden Festival was a work by local sculptor George Wyllie entitled The Straw Locomotive, which hung from the Finnieston Crane. Wyllie also worked as a bassist in several jazz bands (Jeffrey, 2012). For the Greater Glasgow Tourist Board, securing the Garden Festival was an opportunity to capitalise on recent changes within the city, and to sell Glasgow to the rest of the UK:

> So, whenever we won the National Garden Festival, that changed the perception of Glasgow within a UK audience. Because then we set up a variety of other festivals, during 1988, during the four months of the Garden Festival,[18] in order to get people off the site of the Garden Festival, and come into the city, and then sample the new Glasgow. (Friel, 2015)

17 Princes Dock would later be redeveloped as a media quarter and renamed Pacific Quay.

18 May, June, July and August.

Once it had been confirmed that Glasgow had won the title of European Capital of Culture for 1990 - with tourism to the city expected to reach 4m during the year (Guthrie, 1988 p. 16) - the Board of the new Jazz Festival was faced with determining how the event would relate to the rest of the 1990 programme. If more money was made available to arts organisations, then expectations were raised accordingly:

> People were saying, 'well, everything's got to shine', including the Jazz Festival, so money was made available for the Jazz Festival. And also some incredible performers were there, including Miles [Davis]. … The whole place was buzzing anyway, there was just a lot to do and some of that was jazz in that respect. (Gulliver, 2012)

The 1990 event took place slightly later than in previous years in order to avoid clashes with other festivals in the USA (Anon., 1989e). Its programme immediately served to capture the imagination of the Scottish press, being described as 'a wide-ranging, high quality survey of the world jazz scene' (Anon., 1990f p. 11), with 'catholic coverage' of jazz (Cook, 1990). As the Festival itself got underway, it was praised for 'a feeling of being much more grown-up' than in its previous iterations (Anon., 1990d) as well as a 'newly acquired fun-festival tone' (Bruce, 1990d). News of Miles Davis's appearance had broken in March, two months ahead of the programme launch, and helped to generate an early buzz.

Kenny Mathieson had been disappointed with the 1989 event (Mathieson, 1990d), in part due to 'technical and production problems' (Mathieson, 1990a p. 2), but

praised the 1990 Festival for producing 'a genuinely top-level, international programme for 1990 … packed with musical interest' (ibid), and with 'a shape and fullness … which lifts the 10-day event into a new class' (Mathieson, 1990d). Two criticisms levelled at the programme were that many artists on the bill had played in Scotland within the past year (Mathieson, 1990a p. 2), and that there was 'only meagre support given to European musicians' (Mathieson, 1990d); Mathieson conceded, however, that the first of these problems was perhaps unavoidable, while the second was common to British jazz festivals.

Glasgow's approach to its year as European Capital of Culture differed from its predecessors' in two key ways. First, the programme (which included over 3,400 events) was spread across the calendar year. Second, the programme worked from a broad definition of 'culture' that extended far beyond the visual and performing arts: religion and sport, as well as the city's history as a former imperial centre of power, featured in the programme. Whilst appearing inclusive, the programme was not without its critics: the 'Worker's City' counter-movement emerged quickly, publicly critiquing the programme for what it saw as a flawed representation of the lives and cultures of ordinary Glaswegians.

It is notable that, within a year-long programme that defined 'culture' as inclusively as possible, GIJF was determined to maintain a certain quality control over its programme. As Bill Sweeney recalls:

> Right from the start, it was clear that this was not just enthusiasts wanting to have a jazz festival. … People who were not present were people who ran what Andy Park used to refer to as the

> traditional Saturday afternoon out-of-tune big band … Certainly in the first four or five years, there was a fair bit of disgruntlement amongst some of the local jazzers, who found that it did create a bit of work around it, the main Festival itself, but it was off the main stages … There was a bar of perceived quality, however one defines that, as to what was going to get on … good Scottish and UK people should be involved, but only when it met that quality level. (Sweeney, 2012)

This disgruntlement was not limited to local jazz musicians, but also audiences. In a letter to the *Evening Times*, a self-described 'Glasgow jazz fan' complained about the lack of 'Dixieland, Mainstream and Swing' in the programme, and voiced concern that the acts on the 1991 bill were likely to put people off the music rather than develop audiences (Clark, 1991). Nor was the disgruntlement limited to local musicians: Arnold Kemp, writing in the *Herald*, argued that New Orleans conservationists such as Chris Barber were the victims of snobbery (Kemp, 1990).

In terms of ensuring audience inclusivity, the Festival was hindered by the oft-lamented lack of jazz-friendly spaces in Glasgow. Kirsty Stephenson, a sixteen-year-old from Helensburgh, interviewed Festival Director Jim Smith for the *Evening Times* and asked him specifically about how the Festival would ensure accessibility for patrons who were too young to enter pubs and clubs on their own and who might not be able to afford concert hall prices. Smith highlighted the use of new venues, such as the Tramway, and open air spaces (Stephenson, 1990), as opportunities for a younger audience to participate. Meanwhile, as regeneration continued and licensing laws became less restrictive, the city centre

itself had begun to function as a more inclusive social space:

> As the laws changed to enable licensees to apply for afternoon extensions, and the city began to re-evaluate its buildings, a new type of bar started to open, usually in the basements of empty buildings. A new entertainments license meant that bars could open into the small hours, and this brought young people into the city centre. … There is a large female working population in the centre of Glasgow, and for the first time their needs were taken into account (Guthrie, 1988 pp. 16-17).

The 1990 programme also impacted significantly on the city centre, with construction of the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall at the top of Buchanan Street, close to public transport links and several theatres. Being located in Glasgow's main retain area, the concert hall was built as part of a larger complex that included a shopping centre and multi-storey car park. The SECC, meanwhile, played host to performances by the Bolshoi Opera and Bryan Adams, as well as a live relay of Pavarotti's appearance at Ibrox Stadium which allowed a further 2,000 people to see the concert for around £10. (Pavarotti would return to play the SECC the following year.)

The Jazz Festival made use of the SECC in 1990 too, using it to stage a headline concert by Miles Davis. This proved to be the most talked-about concert of the 1990 Glasgow Jazz Festival (indeed, possibly the most talked-about concert of any event run by GIJF). GIJF had used the SECC only once previously (for Ray Charles in 1988), and on that occasion the venue had proved problematic. In the first

place, it was only considered as the preferred venue, the Kelvin Hall, had been unavailable. It had proved difficult to secure a sponsor for the concert, ticket sales had been slow, and the hall hire was considered by GIJF to be unreasonably high. The concert had, therefore, proved to be financially high-risk. In contrast, the Miles Davis concert sold out three weeks in advance, and met with significant praise from the public and the press. Davis himself was quoted as having described the show as 'the best organised of any on his current tour' (Troon, 1990).

The aforementioned Tramway was lauded as an emerging 'centre of excellence' for the 1990 activities (Mathieson, 1990a p. 2). For the Jazz Festival, it provided a space in which musicians could convene and collaborate, 'creating a real festival atmosphere' (Anon., 1990e). With financial support from the Canadian Club whisky brand, GIJF was also able to make use of the Renfrew Ferry. The recently-converted former passenger ferry was proving to be a popular bar and venue, and had been used heavily by Mayfest in 1989. Bob Strange, working on the Festival's production, recommended the Ferry as a venue for blues on weeknights and mainstream jazz at the weekends (Strange, 1989). The Ferry was also used for a press launch in 30th May and, in keeping with the sponsor's brand, a promotional event on Canada Day (1st July) (Anon., 1990c).

A concert by Frank Sinatra proved to be a particularly problematic item on the Festival's wish-list, with his initial fee quoted in the *Glasgow Herald* as £1.2m, and therefore sitting well outside the bounds of acceptable financial risk for GIJF (Anon., 1990b, p. 1). Glasgow District Council decided to run the event themselves (though still ensuring that it took place during the Jazz Festival's dates). The concert, to be held at the Ibrox football stadium just south of the

River Clyde, proved to be a surprisingly difficult sell. Just three weeks before the concert was due to take place, it was reported that the singer had '…cut his fee by an undisclosed but 'very significant' amount', that the number of tickets had been reduced from 30,000 to 11,000, and that it was doubtful whether the concert would break even (Buie, 1990).

Ticket prices ranged from £15 to £60, and while the tickets at either end of the pricing spectrum had sold out, mid-price tickets at £35 and £50 were selling more slowly. The eventual cost of the concert to the taxpayer was criticised in the *Glasgow Herald*:

> Neil Wallace, deputy director of 1990, who looked after the event, and the elected members who made up the arts and culture committee, approved a budget for the concert that meant that each punter with a ticket (and the top priced ones were £65 if memory serves) was getting £83 from the city coffers in the form of subsidy-per-seat (Anon., 1992b, p. 12).

By comparison, the author pointed out, other jazz concerts - by perhaps less widely-known acts - had provided the taxpayer with relatively good value for money. Abdullah Ibrahim's appearance at Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, had cost around £1.12 per seat; in Glasgow, John Surman's concert at the Henry Wood Hall was subsidised to the tune of £4.95 per seat (ibid).

Anthony Troon described the 1990 event as a 'powerful success', praising its organisers for (in particular) their success in raising private sector sponsorship

(Troon, 1990).

Programming

By 1990, the shape of the Festival programme was reasonably well-established, with Keith Bruce characterising 'fur-coated somnambulists at the Theatre Royal' and 'hippies at the Third Eye' (Bruce, 1990c). At the core of the Festival programme was a small number of high-profile concerts by internationally-famous jazz acts. In these early years, this part of the programme relied heavily on surviving 'big names' from the USA, e.g. Benny Carter, Dizzy Gillespie and Sarah Vaughan (1987), Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers and Ray Charles (1988), Cab Calloway and Slim Gaillard, (1989), and Miles Davis and BB King (1990). Also part of the Festival's core programme was a stream of jazz by musicians who were perhaps less widely known amongst the general population, but well-respected by jazz audiences. These acts included Gary Burton and Chick Corea (1987), Gerry Mulligan and MyCoy Tyner / Elvin Jones (1988), Stan Getz, Andy Sheppard, John Surman and John Zorn (1989), and Bill Bruford (1990).

Alongside the core programme were a number of one-off events. The PS Waverley, a Clyde paddle steamer, played host to an annual 'riverboat shuffle' featuring local trad and swing bands such as those led by Kit Carey, Alex Dalgleish, Jeannie Maxwell, George Ogilvie, George Penman, and Dave Wilson. These events proved so popular that, from 1990 onwards, there would typically be two 'shuffles' per year (in 1992, the Festival operated a 'blues cruise' and a 'jazz cruise'). In the early 2000s, the shuffles were reduced to one per year, and finally discontinued altogether in 2010. The Jazz Band Ball, which ran once a year from 1987 to 1995,

drew on the same pool of local talent, as well as featuring big stars of British mainstream jazz such as Kenny Ball and Acker Bilk.

Perhaps most interesting, though, was the fringe part of the Festival programme. In the early years, the concerts making up the Fringe were sponsored by local breweries (McEwan's and Tennent Caledonian), constituting two 'pub trails'. These circuits afforded work to local jazz and blues musicians. The task of populating this part of the programme in its early years fell to a pool of local jazz musicians, who would play mainstream jazz and blues in bars around the city. Some fringe venues, such as the Cross Keys in Milngavie - a notably affluent town in East Dunbartonshire, on the edge of Greater Glasgow - were more familiar to local jazz audiences. It is fair to say that some of the pubs on the brewery-sponsored circuits were less used to hosting live jazz, and the appearance of a band could lead to bemusement on the part of regular drinkers:

> … see, 1990, the great success of 1990 as far as the host population was concerned, the great unwashed of Glasgow, is that they all knew that it was on. And the reason that they all knew it was on was that, and it doesn't mean very much now, but you could have extended licensing, and every pub in Glasgow could apply for it, provided they had something going on in it. So you found jazz musicians were just invited to turn up with a trio, play there for an hour, well-paid, cause the City was behind it, they would have a venue, because it meant that the pub could stay open 'till midnight, and beyond. You'd say, 'how is it we can get in more drinking time in here, Derek?' [gestures towards band] 'Oh,

brilliant. Well done!' (Gulliver, 2012)

Live jazz in pubs was not met with universal approval, as illustrated by an account worth reproducing here in its entirety:

> …what about the poor devils who'll have been allotted to the festival's brewery-backed pub circuit? While it's cost-effective sauce for the sponsors, it's sometimes a bit too saucy for the musicians. The following horror story unfolded last year at a city-centre pub on the fringes of the revamped and allegedly jazz-conscious Merchant City. As the band played their way to the end of their set, which until then had been received in less-than-appreciative silence, the pub's regular DJ began abusing them over his mic in a funny (sic) voice. 'Jazz band, jazz band … is it not time you went away?' he asked (as you can perhaps imagine, 'went' and 'away' weren't the two words he actually used). When the band had finished, the DJ remarked that, to him, their music had sounded like 27 versions of the Crossroads theme, and was 'the biggest load of crap I've ever heard'. A female friend of the band then remonstrated with him, only to receive foul sexist abuse. She thereupon poured a pint of beer over his turntables, silencing them, for which act she will ultimately be rewarded with a berth in Heaven alongside John Coltrane. (Belcher 1991)

The fringe was the element of the Festival programme that fulfilled the company's fourth aim: to provide greater employment opportunities for the city's jazz

musicians. Paid sessions that might be weekly or monthly on a year-round basis became daily fixtures for the duration of the Festival - and, of course, musicians would play in different configurations, leading their own quartet here, sitting in with somebody else's trio there. The result was that, for a small group of established local jazz musicians, the Festival could provide a fruitful ten days' work. As host of the late night Festival Club, for example, vocalist Fionna Duncan and her accompanying musicians were afforded a nightly gig on top of their other appearances (e.g. the Riverboat Shuffle).

What is especially notable in the fringe programme is the relatively high number of female musicians included. As of 2011, out of all the Scotland-based performers who had appeared at Glasgow Jazz Festival on more than one occasion since 1987, most of the female performers had been singers, and most of the singers had been female. This is illustrated in the chart below:

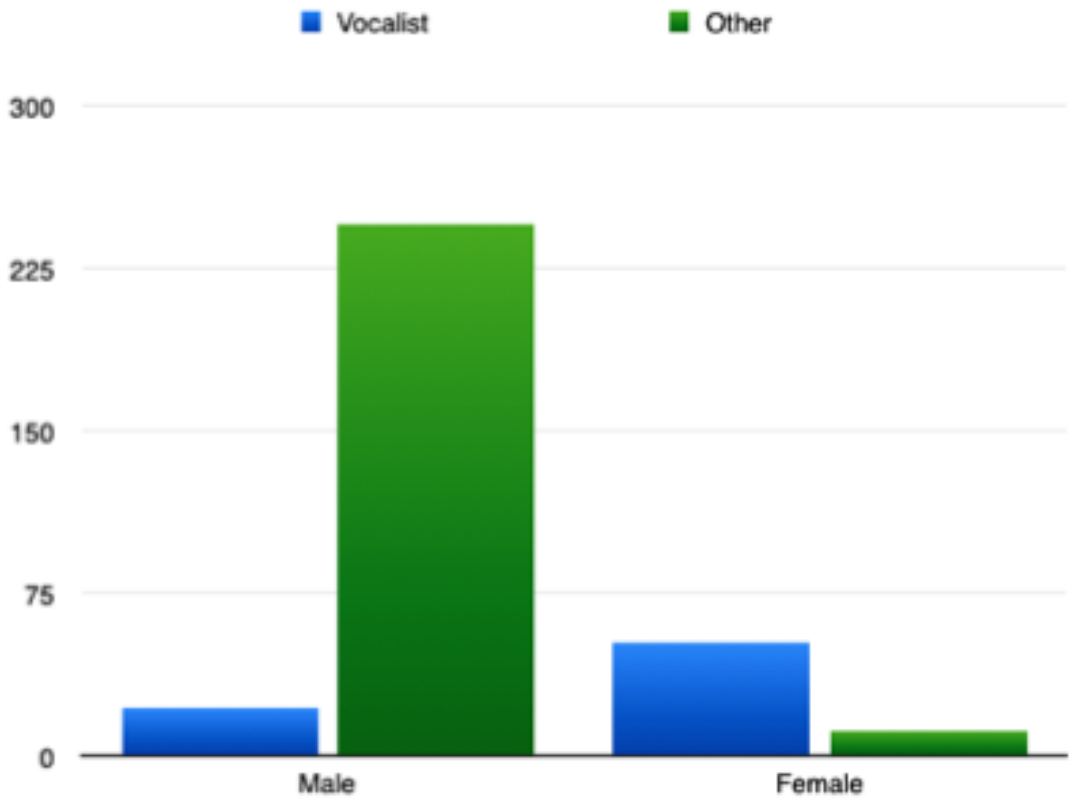

Fig 3: Scotland-based repeat performers by gender and primary instrument, 1987-2011

Despite the prevalence of standards, which typically have lyrics, jazz tends to be instrumental, to such an extent that 'vocal jazz' is sometimes treated as a subcategory of the form. This is evident even in festival programming (e.g. London Jazz Festival currently includes an opening-night gala dedicated to vocal jazz). As Simon Frith points out, 'In a culture in which few people make music but everyone makes conversation, access to songs is primarily through their words' (Frith 1989, p. 93). For jazz, which can be perceived as a difficult or inaccessible musical form, lyrics - and therefore vocals - can prove to be particularly important as a point of access. The relative accessibility of vocal jazz, combined with this heavy bias towards female singers, means that there is one area where opportunities for female musicians to find work are relatively plentiful: in the Festival's early years,

many of the acts enjoying frequent slots in bars around the city were duos comprising a female vocalist and an accompanying musician (usually male, and usually a pianist or guitarist).

Post-1990

The 1990 Jazz Festival was hailed as one of 1990's successes, having 'created a buzz that other 1990 events must envy' (Anon., 1990e), with an estimated 40% increase on 1989's attendances and a corresponding rise of 25% in box-office returns (Anon., 1990g). A deficit of £15,000 carried over from 1989 had been cleared, in part due to the increase in box-office income, but mainly due to an increase of £27,000 in cash sponsorship (ibid). Having broken its box office and sponsorship records, the Festival was singled out for public praise by Neil Wallace, Glasgow District Council's Deputy Director of the 1990 programme (Robertson, 1990). In October 1990, a reception was held at Glasgow City Chambers celebrating the level of business sponsorship directed to the arts during the year. This was estimated at £800,000, though matched funding from the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts (ABSA) - a further source of public funding - took the total to over £1m. Once again, the Festivals Unit found itself the focus of controversy, since it was perceived by some arts organisations as taking credit for raising sponsorship that arts organisations had in fact found themselves (Anon., 1990h).

Offering a preliminary appraisal of the Year of Culture from an economic standpoint, Keith Bruce wrote that some of the year's 'flops' could be attributed in part to there being 'a limited number of venues in the city, so some

performances have to be staged in places patently too big for them' (Bruce, 1990e p. 15). The Festivals Unit, meanwhile, was facing closure; Bruce argued that its retention as a consulting body might benefit Mayfest, GIJF and other events more than the diversion of its allocated resources to those organisations (ibid).

In 1991, with the festivities behind it (and with the global recession finally catching up with the UK), Glasgow was forced to examine what roles cultural activity and tourism might play in the longer term. Robert Robson, Mayfest's first post-1990 Director, told Keith Bruce that the year had placed additional programming demands both on the event's organisers and on its audience, and that better co-ordination with theatres may have meant that resources were not spread quite so thinly (Bruce, 1991b). In the same article, Bruce hinted at an issue that was to become a major concern for the Jazz Festival in the following years, namely that of venues. 1990 had impacted positively on the Festival in literally concrete ways, with the construction of the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall and the use of the Tramway; Bruce wrote that it would be 'no surprise if the Glasgow International Jazz Festival takes up residence at the top of Buchanan Street' (ibid), indicating a desire at GIJF to associate the Festival with a particular venue. Similarly, Charlie Harrigan, then Director of Glasgow Folk Festival was said to be '… hoping to bring everything under one roof at the Tron Theatre' (ibid).

A potentially promising sign for GIJF came with the appointment of Matthew Rooke, a Berklee-educated jazz bassist, to the position of Music Director of the Scottish Arts Council. Rooke explicitly stated that he had 'plans to improve the working environment for jazz musicians' (Bruce, 1991a). However, programming the 1991 Jazz Festival was challenging for Jim Smith and his team. While the 'big

name' core was preserved, the event was scaled back, prompting Kenny Mathieson to comment on 'the absence of any project which would make Glasgow a unique event in the jazz circuit', adding that 'the idea of artistically innovative and challenging projects assembled specifically for Glasgow remains an important unfulfilled potential' (Mathieson, 1991).

As described above, GIJF experienced a period of rapid expansion and increased professionalisation in the run-up to the Year of Culture. Post-1990, the organisation found itself faced with significant opportunities and challenges in terms of its staffing. On the positive side, in 1993, Olive May Millen - who had previously programmed the jazz festival at Dunoon, in Argyll and Bute - was appointed to coordinate the Festival's fringe programme.[19] More problematic, however, was the health of the Festival Director, Jim Smith. After the huge success of the 1990 Festival - and the more modest, but still notable, success of the 1991 Festival - Smith was absent for much of the 1992 Festival due to illness. This would prove to be just one of several challenges faced by GIJF in 1992, with others including 'intense competition and spiralling fees on the European circuit' and 'a string of major names appearing on Scottish stages in the opening part of the year' (Mathieson, 1992). The Scottish Jazz Network, still under the direction of Ian Middleton, was approached to help programme the 1992 Festival (though the future of the Network was itself insecure due to the discontinuation of its Arts Council funding). After much uncertainty, and with a great deal of regret, the GIJF Board terminated Smith's contract in August 1993.[20]

19 This appointment was to prove significant for the organisation, as Millen would later become the Festival's Artistic Director.

20 Smith would go on to direct well-respected jazz festivals in Brecon and Cheltenham, the latter

Despite these challenges, the 1992 and 1993 Festivals were reasonably well-received. Keith Bruce noted that the company's ability to attract private sector sponsorship was quite remarkable, and that its 1992 sponsorship haul of £69,000 demonstrated that 'even if jazz remains a minority interest, businesses are still conscious of its commercial image value' (Bruce, 1992b, p. 14). Kenny Mathieson, meanwhile, praised the 1993 event for its 'sensible compromise between creativity and profit' at a time when 'stylistic exhaustion and a runaway re-issue programme [had] created the illusion that all styles [were] simultaneously available and equally valid' (Mathieson, 1993a).

Following Smith's departure, Iwan Williams agreed to step in as interim Festival Director for the 1994 event, although he made it clear to the Board that he had no desire to hold this position in the longer term. Williams proposed a new approach to the management of the event, suggesting that the role of the Director should be a coordinative rather than creative role, with different strands of the Festival programme subcontracted to promoters with expertise relating to that particular type of music. The resulting organisational structure would be reminiscent of that in place during the Festival's first two years, but with a greater level of expertise overall, reflecting the larger scale of the event (Williams, 1993a). With Iwan Williams reluctant to continue as Festival Director, GIJF began the recruitment process after the 1994 Festival. In September of that year, after interviewing 'extensively' (Gulliver, 2012), the Board offered the post to Derek Gorman (an appointment which will be discussed further below).

of which he established.

The mid-1990s also saw the beginnings of significant changes to Glasgow's festival calendar. In 1993, Glasgay!, a celebration of LGBT culture, launched in the city with a reported £9,000 of Arts Council support. Meanwhile, GIJF received significantly less funding than it had requested, with Glasgow Folk Festival reportedly finding itself in a similar position. The Arts Council responded to criticism in the press, which linked thee cuts to the funding assigned to Glasgay!, arguing that the funds for the latter came from a budget designated specifically for the support of new festivals (MacKenna, 1993). Whilst GIJF was disappointed in the relatively low level of Arts Council support, there was no ill-will borne towards the new festival; in fact, the two organisations would go on to share an office for a brief period, as well as collaborating on a two-part event in 2000 (the inevitably-named Jazzgay).

In 1994, the new Celtic Connections festival proved a useful way of filling all the various performance spaces in the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall during an otherwise quiet fortnight in January, as well as fulfilling an apparent local desire for a concentrated programme of traditional Scottish and Irish music. An estimated 35,000 people attended the first Celtic Connections festival (Anon., h.). Later that same year a further 35,000 people descended on Strathclyde Country Park, south-east of Glasgow, for another festival. Run by DF Concerts, T in the Park was a large-scale, outdoor summer event featuring acts such as Blur, Pulp, Rage Against the Machine and Björk. Whilst not a financial success in its first year, T in the Park was immediately popular with the public and the press. The festival went on to become an annual event, taking place at Strathclyde Country Park in 1995 and 1996 before moving to the Balado airfield in 1997 (Anon., q.). T in the Park's

main sponsor was Tennent's Lager, the flagship brand of Tennent Caledonian Breweries, who had sponsored GIJF from 1987 until 1992.

1994 saw the Society of Musicians, one of the Festival's most popular venues, close its doors. Originally established as a gentleman's club, the 110-year-old venue - located between the City Centre and its West End and praised for the acoustic of its concert room - had reportedly accumulated over £50,000 of debt, receiving no support from public bodies apart from rates relief from Glasgow District Council (Young, 1994). Changes were also underway in the promotion of live jazz year-round in Scotland. The Scottish Jazz Network had experienced tensions and challenges since its inception, as described above, and finally ceased trading in February 1992 (Williams, 1992).

In its first four years, not only had GIJF developed professionally as an organisation, but the Festival itself had grown in scale and reputation. In particular, its reputation amongst artists and their agents extended well beyond the UK. Bill Sweeney recalled particular efforts to assist Miles Davis in 1990, when problems arose first with his contact mic and then with his onward travel to Paris. Solving the latter problem involved securing a large amount of US currency, on a Sunday morning, in order to pay for a private jet. Sweeney remarked that

> I think, because things like that happened in those early years, the reputation of the Festival was always good. It went round that people got paid, and there was no messing about, and that people got treated well. … because of the backing, there was this feeling of, there is the failsafe. The Council is not gonna let you go, they're

> obviously not gonna just shell out year after year in deficit, but they're not going to have an embarrassment happen. … people like George Wein, his organisation knew that this was reliable, that if we said 'yes, this is the date', it happened, and there was no fuss. (Sweeney, 2012)

Within the UK, GIJF's reputation was such that Iwan Williams was, in 1995, invited to advise on the establishment of a similar event in Sheffield. Having conducted a feasibility study, Williams advised that organisers should aim to stage a large-scale event, supported by both the public and private sectors, with local roots and possibly a Youth Jazz Orchestra (Kay, 1995) - essentially taking GIJF's template and applying them to Sheffield. GIJF's success had already enabled another jazz festival in the north of England, with Preston's 1992 event capitalising on the presence of acts brought to the UK by Glasgow (Mitchell, 1991).

In 1991, in light of market research conducted by the Glasgow Development Agency, the iconic 'Miles Better' campaign was retired and replaced. Featuring a blue-and yellow colour scheme and a circle of stars, the 'Glasgow's Alive' logo was clearly intended to position Glasgow as a leading European City. Inevitably, the new campaign was not universally welcomed, particularly by those who felt that Mr Happy still had some life left in him. The new logo was criticised for being too simple, and it wasn't long before 'Glasgow's a Dive' parodies began to appear. 'Glasgow's Miles Better' was resurrected briefly between 1994 and 1997, before city authorities finally concluded that they could no longer justify paying for use of the Roger Hargreaves character.

1994 saw UK-wide changes in the funding of arts organisations. The Arts Council of Great Britain was replaced by national arts councils: the Arts Council of England, the Arts Council of Wales, and the Scottish Arts Council. As well as distributing funds from the UK government (and later from the Scottish Parliament), the Scottish Arts Council distributed funds raised by the newly-created National Lottery.

GIJF's Merchant City land grab

As described above, the early 1980s had seen a relaxation of regulations surrounding housing in the 'Merchant City' area of Glasgow city centre. By 1990, several galleries were well-established in the area (Anon., 1993c), and by 1992, the area was well on its way to becoming the residential area and 'cultural quarter' envisaged by Glasgow Action and their successor organisation, the Glasgow Development Agency. Writing in the *Local Government Chronicle*, Jackie Wills compared the Merchant City to the Docklands area of London, arguing that Glasgow's transformation appeared to be less transient than that of London (Wills, 1990 p. 24). Around £50 million, Wills reported, had been invested in new arts venues in Glasgow, including £27 million on the Royal Concert Hall, £500,000 on the Tramway, and six-figure sums on various other theatre spaces including the King's Theatre and the Glasgow Film Theatre. Investors included Strathclyde Regional Council, the Office of Arts and Libraries, and private sector sponsors (Wills, 1990 p. 24). At the same time, Wills' article hints at an anxiety within the city about how 1990 levels of interest and momentum could be maintained (Wills, 1990 p. 24).

The Tramway had emerged as a venue in 1989, and was described as 'Scotland's most exciting theatre space' by John Fowler (Fowler, 1989, p. 14), who would go on to hail it as 'one of the stars of 1990' (Fowler, 1991). The space had proved to be a promising venue for GIJF, lacking 'the formality of the Theatre Royal, [and] the inconvenience of the Pavilion' (Fowler, 1989). Importantly, being essentially a shell meant that it lent flexibility to arts organisations; for GIJF, this meant it could host everything from experimental contemporary music to more informal blues concerts by local stars such as Tam White (Anon., 1991b). In a review of a concert by Andy Sheppard, Elspeth Brown described the setting as a

> … gigantic space transformed into an almost intimate atmosphere of candlelit tables and darkened halls. The Tramway can become an informal, contemporary venue, obtaining the aura of a small venue, while maintaining the capacity of a shed that once used to hold trams (Brown, 1991).[21]

Neil Wallace, who had become the Tramway's caretaker manager, commented that the venue had become 'indispensable' to the Jazz Festival as well as Mayfest (Wallace, quoted in Small, 1990; Wallace, quoted in Fowler, 1991). Early in 1991, however, the space closed for three months while its post-1990 future was determined (Small, 1990).

21 A decade later, Rob Adams would describe the space becoming 'part church, part disco, part karaoke bar' during a set by the London Community Gospel Choir (Adams, 2001), and 'superior jazz club, bustling palais de danse, and the Lord's house - or, more accurately, the Lord's house party' during the 2002 Festival (Adams, 2002).

The Tramway was not the only space to have been repurposed in this way during 1990. The fabric of the Merchant City included several large Victorian warehouses, one of which - a former vegetable market - was transformed into a temporary concert hall. The man behind the conversion was Tom Lawrie, who told journalist Rob Adams that he believed that such spaces could not only capture the imagination of audiences, but also provide 'impromptu surroundings' conducive to musical and artistic creativity (Adams, 1989, p. 4).

The Edinburgh-based McEwan's beer brand were, at this time, reasonably well-linked to jazz. As well as sponsoring their home city's veteran jazz and blues festival, they had lent support to Glasgow's event by sponsoring the 'McEwan's Jazz Trail', essentially providing venues for the Festival fringe by way of brewery-owned pub space (similarly Scotland's other major brewers, Tennent Caledonian Breweries, supported the 'Tennent's Jazz Circuit'). However, suitable spaces were also required for the Festival's core activity. Prior to 1990, headline acts had appeared in venues such as the Citizens' Theatre and the Theatre Royal. The Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre had been used with mixed results, but generally posed too great a financial risk to the Festival due to its large capacity. Booking the new Glasgow Royal Concert Hall - 1990's Council-funded architectural landmark - involved what the Festival's press officer Marek Kolodziej described as 'exceedingly high charges for the Hall, and huge ticket commissions' (Leadbetter, 1991). Moreover, the venue was not suitable for all of the Jazz Festival's headline acts: in a review of Grover Washington's appearance at the GRCH, Keith Bruce commented that 'these tunes simply tended to point up the inappropriateness of the venue; what next - the RSO at King Tuts?' (Bruce, 1992a)

In December 1992, Jim Smith brought a proposal to the Board of Directors to turn a space in the heart of the Merchant City into a music venue. The former fruit market on Candleriggs, adjacent to the City Halls, was built in 1882 and had been used as a market until the 1970s. By the early 1990s, it was being used as a car park by Glasgow District Council, until Smith (along with Jill Rodger) happened upon it:

> I was walking home from work one day when I was held up by cars pouring out of this wee hole in the wall at the City Halls. I couldn't resist a peek in - and was stunned to find this architectural gem hidden in the middle of the city (Smith, quoted in Clark, 1993).

The Board shared Smith's vision for this new space and, during 1992 and 1993, petitioned Glasgow District Council and the Glasgow Development Agency to support its development. Changes to the fabric of this (listed) building were, in the first year, largely limited to necessary safety measures, staging and lighting, and the furnishing and dressing of the venue. Perhaps inevitably, the repurposed building had its shortcomings. Most problematically, it was neither completely wind or watertight, nor was it bird-proof. The arrival of an 'excitable pigeon' in 1993 (Bruce, 1993f) would prove to be an omen for the following year, when families of blackbirds and starlings interrupted sets by Martin Taylor and Annie Ross (Villiers, 1994). There were some teething problems in terms of ensuring that sufficient tables and chairs were provided (as well as allowing for sufficient time to put them out before a concert) (Mathieson, 1993b), and Bill Sweeney recalled conducting a string ensemble for Tommy Smith under less than ideal circumstances:

> … during the rehearsal this diesel van came, actually drove into the hall, and drove around and kept the engine running because it was emptying the portaloos. (Sweeney, 2012)

The fabric of the building was not its only source of problems. Its adopted name, 'The Old Fruitmarket', caused confusion, with some audience members (and taxi drivers) making their way to the active wholesale market at Blochairn. More serious issues arose from the ownership and management of the space, problems which persist to this day (and which will be revisited in subsequent chapters). GIJF Management Committee minutes from 2002 note that at that year's Festival 'the lack of trained first aiders was apparent' after a musician was taken ill at the Fruitmarket (Corner, 2002b); subsequently, two members of Festival staff were sent on first aid training on day release. More significant is a sense that staff are insufficiently respectful of the music being played. Stuart Gulliver complained that, at the 2012 Festival, bar staff were unacceptably noisy whilst going about their work, and were also having loud conversations. Gulliver suggested that this was in part due to a lack of training, and compared the service to that at Ronnie Scott's, where staff are expected to make minimal noise even when taking orders for food and drink (Gulliver, 2012).

Weighed against these problems, however, were several characteristics that made The Old Fruitmarket ideal as a venue for the Festival. Arguably the most important of these properties was its acoustic, described by Kenny Mathieson as 'sharp, crisp, and not at all over-reverberant, with a lovely clarity and separation of sound' (Mathieson, 1993b) and 'big, woody … ideal for minimally amplified music'

(Mathieson, 1993a). Bill Sweeney recalled that

> The Fruitmarket, actually, we discovered, didn't need amplification, particularly before they put that bitumen stuff down over the cobbles, the very first couple of times. I think they realised, in fact it was the Mingus Big Band that played, and they were dismantling the stage, and the pianist sat and played the piano, he actually played the first movement of the Beethoven Hammerklavier from memory, sitting at this piano, and we were standing at the other end and you could year every note, it was just absolutely clear. But it can take amplification as well … I think they didn't need to do too much with it (Sweeney, 2012).

Iwan Williams, when improvements to the fabric of the building were still being investigated, wrote that 'nobody must alter inside of the room - it will wreck the acoustics' (Williams, 1993b). The 'inside of the room' is characterised by a particular mix of acoustically reflective and absorbent surfaces. The floor consists, for the most part, of the original cobbles. The walls are stone, and are partially covered in heavy black fabric drapes. The balconies and ceiling are largely constructed from wood; the ceiling is high and vaulted.

The Old Fruitmarket's aesthetic properties added to its appeal, from its unmistakably Victorian wrought iron frame (complete with balconies and spiral staircases) to the cobbled street running through the middle of its floor which helped to evoke a sense of the outdoors. GIJF immediately recognised the potential to evoke Bourbon Street in the imaginations of its audience (Clark, 1993)

(Bruce, 1993b). At the same time, the hoardings of the building's previous occupants still hung from the balconies, with names such as 'McComish, Carruthers, Henderson, Russell Turnbull, Martin, Crossley, Jenkins' (Anon., 1993d) ensuring that the space maintained close links to its past and purpose. As the informal nature of the space was part of its charm (and offered greater flexibility in terms of production), little work needed to be done in order to transform it into the Festival's flagship venue - but the work which was needed was funded, in part, by McEwan's, and the venue named the 'McEwans 80/- Old Fruitmarket'. As described in the I*nverness Courier*:

> Wisely, no effort has been made to spruce it up for the occasion. Sponsored by McEwan's, the informal medium-sized venue has been kitted out with a stage, sound desk, lighting rig and three bars, one serving food, and surrounded by the signboards of long-gone fruit merchants, the audience sit at candlelit tables and enjoy the hottest international acts. (Anon 1997)

Although altogether more subjective and harder to define, the venue's 'atmosphere' is frequently alluded to in GIJF documentation and press reports (Williams, 1993b; Millen, 2001a; Anon., 2003d; Adams, 2011). Keith Bruce described it as 'a warm and inviting place full of warm and inviting people' (Bruce, 1993d). Lighting (of the ambient kind, as opposed to stage lighting) is perhaps one of the most obvious ways in which an 'atmosphere' can be created. The Old Fruitmarket lets in very little natural light and has a generally dark décor. Strings of multi-coloured lights hung from the balcony provide contrast and colour, and

suggest something festive or magical.[22] Despite being virtually impossible to evidence, the notion that The Old Fruitmarket has 'a good atmosphere' is one that has been roundly exploited by GIJF, Celtic Connections, and other events that have made use of the venue over the years; it was also used as a campaigning tool when the venue came under threat of closure (as will be discussed below).

Parallels were drawn between the atmosphere of The Old Fruitmarket and that of the Tramway, with Bob Flynn describing the two venues' shared 'stately industrial air' (Flynn, 1993, p. 6). In fact, of all the similarities between The Old Fruitmarket and the Tramway, arguably the most important from a managerial perspective was that they each had a flexible capacity, offering the possibility of standing, seated or cabaret-style formats and allowing for box office targets to be revised if necessary without a change of venue.

The 1993 Festival, and its new flagship venue, were opened by Jools Holland. The Old Fruitmarket served to generate welcome press coverage: a double-page spread in the *Evening Times* positioned the venue as an example of the ongoing redevelopment of the Merchant City, also reporting that Mayfest were considering using the space as a venue the following year (Clark, 1993). Kenny Mathieson described the venue as 'probably the best new venue for jazz in Britain since London began occasional deconsecrations of the Union Chapel in Islington' (Mathieson, 1993a), while the following year, Alison Kerr lamented that it would be 'the ideal setting for jazz all year round (if only there were jazz all year round)'

22 Less generously, at an Idiot Bastard Band show in November 2012, comedian Phill Jupitus described the Fruitmarket as looking like a 'cake' and joked that a fajita stall wouldn't look out of place in the corner.

(Kerr, 1994).

Kronenburg offers a typology of venues for live music, arguing that venues can by ‘adopted’, ‘adapted’ or ‘dedicated’ (2011, p. 136). Though in subsequent years the space would be adapted so as to better meet the needs of the Festival, in its first year, it was adopted more or less as it was found.. In developing the space as a venue, there appears to have been a consensus that less was more, something to which almost all interviewees alluded independently of one another. However, this was not simply to preserve the acoustic and aesthetic properties of the space. Pat Lally likened The Old Fruitmarket to the Tramway, a venue that had benefitted from not being made to 'look any more respectable' (Lally, 2012); Bill Sweeney described it as being 'raffish and slightly hand-knitted' (Sweeney, 2012). Stuart Gulliver suggested that it was the venue's informality that made it ideal:

> It always seemed to me that … you had a concert hall, and a recital room which was all about classical music, in a sense. What we needed was a venue for informal music, which jazz was, and the Fruitmarket was brilliant for that. (Gulliver, 2012)[23]

Finally, Louise Mitchell - describing refurbishments during a period of closure that

23 It may be argued that it was important for the Festival to maintain an impression of being enthusiast-led, and that one way for it to do so was through its creation of an 'informal' venue. Live jazz, has, in the UK, something of a tradition of relying on support from enthusiasts: the rhythm clubs of the 1930s and 40s, although initially established for collectively listening to recordings, were run for the most part by hobbyists who would use whatever space they could find to hold their gatherings (and, as the clubs progressed, to put on live jazz).

will be covered elsewhere - explained that an external wall was deliberately left without repair in order to 'shame people into realising that it needed more work doing to it (Mitchell, 2013).

Ever since its inception, GIJF had attempted to make its presence in Glasgow felt during the Festival, using strategies such as the aforementioned brewery-sponsored circuits of the city-centre pubs. This had never quite proved successful, in part due to the lack of a concentration of venues in any one place. The result was a sense that 'cohesion was the missing ingredient' (Clark, 1993), along with - more problematically from a managerial perspective) - a lack of visibility. Jim Smith, speaking to Kenny Mathieson about the 1993 Festival, argued that in previous years 'you could drive through the city in the middle of what is Glasgow's second biggest arts event,[24] and never know it was happening' (Smith, quoted in Mathieson, 1993a). The Old Fruitmarket represented the potential to create a 'hub' around which the Festival's activities could be concentrated, with other nearby spaces such as the Ramshorn church and Hutchesons Hall also hosting concerts (Bruce, 1993e). In 1993, the latter of these venues played host to a concert by Keith Tippett, 'the only completely free-form improvisation' in the programme (Bruce, 1993c); a short piece in the *Scotsman* described how the rest of the 1993 festival programme was accommodated:

> There will be a series of commercially viable major concerts at the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, which will include appearances by Tony Bennett, Oscar Peterson, Stephane Grappelli, and blues guitarist BB

24 The largest being Mayfest.

> King, but the Tramway will not figure at all. Jim Smith, director of the festival, said that while the Tramway had been a successful venue in many respects, it was a little remote from the other events and he was anxious to provide a more obvious physical presence in the city. (Anon., 1993b)

The decision not to use the Tramway - indicative of GIJF's faith in its new venue - meant that most of the events in the 1993 programme were within walking distance, a development cited by Jim Greenfield (along with the introduction of a 'Rover' ticket allowing entry to twelve concerts) as being of particular importance in terms of welcoming attendees from outside Glasgow (Greenfield, 1994).

With the support of Glasgow District Council and the Glasgow Development Agency, as well as the additional cooperation of Strathclyde Police and a local commercial car park, GIJF was able to close off key streets to traffic at weekends, effectively controlling the area around the new venue. The erection of marquees and bunting in the closed streets meant that, physically and visually, the Festival could mark its new territory even before any musicians arrived. The marquees were used to host 'free outdoor carnival entertainment' (Bruce, 1993a, p. 6), while the use of bunting was a way of tying together - literally - some of the spaces in which the music would be performed. Keith Bruce questioned the wisdom of hosting outdoor events in Scotland, since 'a cold wet day with jazz music is still a cold wet day', and also voiced some confusion over 'the attempt to create an atmosphere redolent of Mardi Gras in New Orleans … since the event has never really concerned itself with the traditional end of the jazz spectrum' (Bruce,

1993c). However, he also suggested that the Festival's activity on the streets might be 'drawing people into the more challenging music in the venues round about' (ibid), an indication that as well as helping to create a sense of the festive, the close proximity of venues might have important benefits in terms of short-term audience development.

The Festival's newfound presence and visibility was not met with universal approval. In a tongue-in-cheek column for the Herald, Tom Shields described jazz as a 'musical cancer' and called on Glasgow's authorities 'to curb this plague in the same swift and ruthless way they are closing down Glasgow's pubs and discos' (Shields, 1993). At the same time, he described The Old Fruitmarket (along with the MU Basement Jazz Club, another temporary venue) as being 'great fun despite the noise' (ibid). Meanwhile, an anonymous columnist in the *Evening Times* took exception to GIJF's use of bunting, complaining that 'it looks like someone's just stapled all their old pants to a bit of rope and hung it round Candleriggs' (Anon., 1993e). Jim Smith was quick to brush off such criticism, stating proudly that 'the festival has finally found its home' (Smith, quoted in Morgan, 1993).

Further developments to The Old Fruitmarket, supported by GCC and the GDA, helped the Festival reiterate its presence on Candleriggs in 1994. Work was undertaken to make the roof waterproof, as well as the installation of a mezzanine floor which increased the venue's capacity to 1,000 (Bruce, 1994a; Anon., 1994c), making it suitable for almost all headline shows and reducing the need to use the more expensive Royal Concert Hall. In the neighbouring City Halls, a 300-capacity City Cafe Bar was opened, (Bruce, 1994a; Anon., 1994c). In terms of venues available for jazz year-round, the opening of a new branch of Pizza Express on

Queen Street (considered to be on the very fringe of the Merchant City) was reported positively, its interior having been extensively remodelled with live music in mind (Bruce, 1994b); other venues had also begun to embrace regular jazz sessions, including the 13th Note (Hardie, 1993).

Changes in the geographical spread and 'hub' of the Jazz Festival's activity can be shown by plotting the venues onto maps. From 1987 to 1991 there was a cluster of venues in the north of the city centre, in an area that is home to the Theatre Royal, Glasgow Film Theatre, Glasgow School of Art, and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (formerly the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama). This cluster of venues was notable not necessarily in terms of a high concentration of venues each year, but rather the consistent use of these venues from year to year. From 1993, a cluster of venues began to emerge in the Merchant City. Unlike the pre-1993 cluster of venues in the north of the city, the 'Candleriggs Cluster' was notable not only for its consistent use from year to year, but also for the concentration of venues in the area. As well as The Old Fruitmarket and City Halls, venues included space in renovated churches, such as the Ramshorn, the Tron Theatre and (slightly further east) St. Andrews in the Square, as well as a large number of hotels, restaurants and bars. The shift in the Festival's geographic hub is perhaps best illustrated by maps of the venues used in 1991 and 1995, as shown in the figures below.

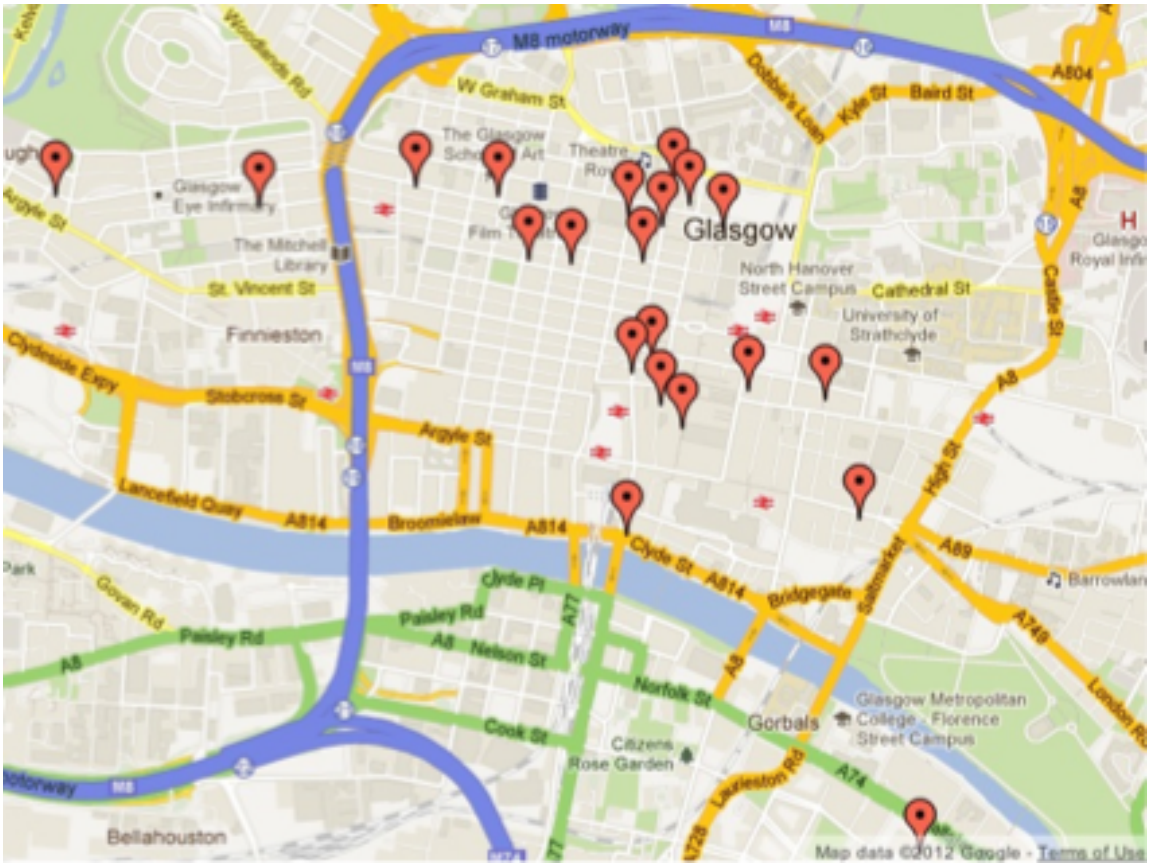

Fig 4: Venues used by GIJF in 1991

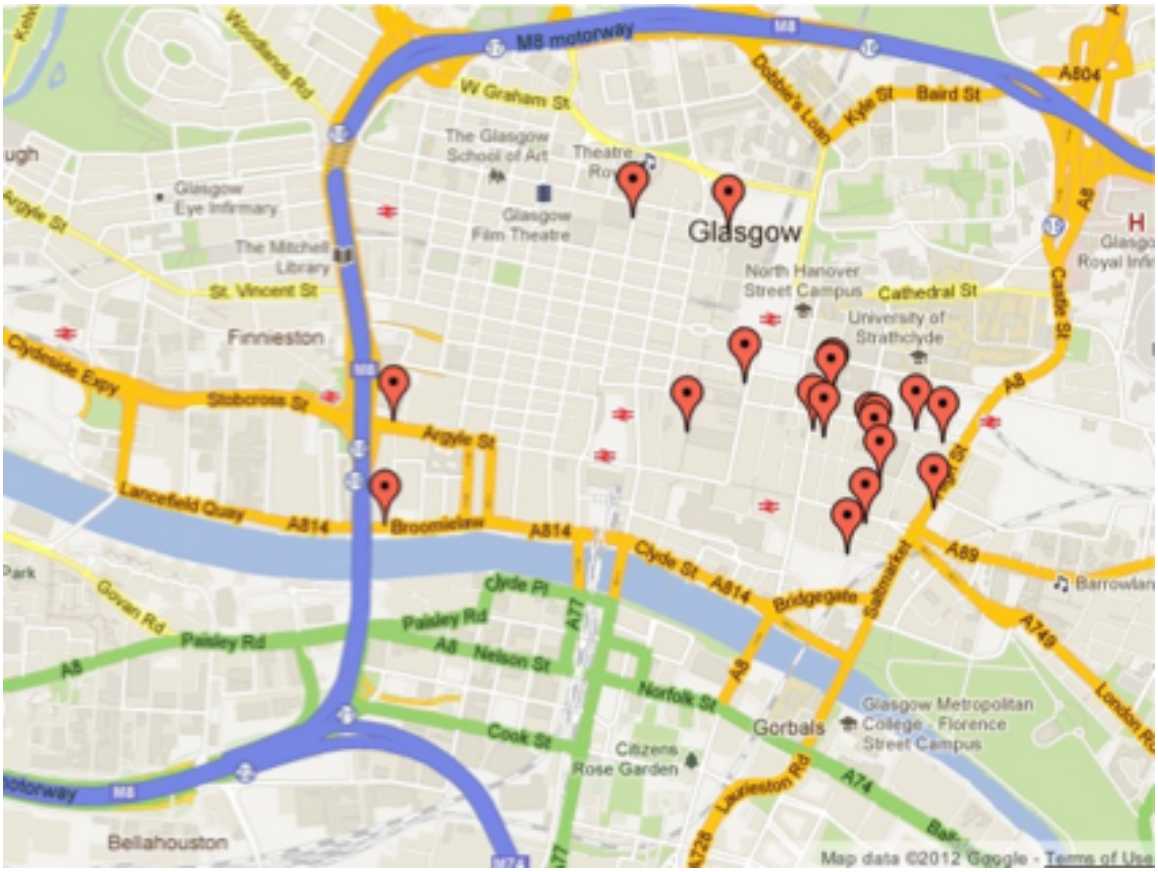

Fig 5: Venues used by GIJF in 1995

In an article in the *Stage*, Peter Hepple offered an overview of Glasgow's post-1990 performance spaces, praising its 'four fine purpose-built theatres'[25] along with the Tramway, The Old Fruitmarket and others. Bob Palmer - formerly the director of the 1990 programme, and at this point Glasgow's Director of Performing Arts - told Hepple that the city now boasted forty 'regular theatre and performance spaces' (Hepple, 1994 p. 25). Parallel to the boom in venues was a boom in diverse spaces for eating, drinking and socialising in the city, which undoubtedly served to support a night-time economy that included the performing arts. A short piece in the *Sunday Telegraph* described how Glasgow had 'metamorphosed from a city of pubs which pulled pints for a mainly male clientele, into a froth-friendly town where cafe bars serve food, alcohol and coffee until the early hours' (Anon.,

25 King's Theatre, Pavilion Theatre, Theatre Royal and Citizens' Theatre.

1994b).

Conclusion

What should be evident is that plans to establish a jazz festival in Glasgow were the result of multiple motivations. A love of jazz was certainly one such motivation - one shared by Iwan Williams, Stuart Gulliver, Pat Lally and Bill Sweeney - but it is doubtful that enthusiasm for this musical form would have been sufficient, on its own, to catalyse the discussions that took place. In fact, each individual mentioned above had a slightly different set of interests regarding the new event, and discussions took place because of a 'fusion' of those interests (Gulliver, 2012). For Williams and Gulliver (as well as David Macdonald), the Festival had the potential to be a success story for the SDA and Glasgow Action, and to contribute to the long-term economic development of the city. For Lally (and Robert Gray), the Festival was a potential success story for the city as a whole, perhaps even a rare opportunity to outshine Edinburgh. For Sweeney, the Festival and SYJO together represented an opportunity to develop a youth audience for jazz in the city. For Friel - whose interest in jazz was minimal - the Festival was potentially a powerful driver of cultural tourism to Glasgow, building on the earlier successes of the Burrell Collection and Mayfest. And whilst there was a general consensus that the Festival should be inclusive, there was also a desire for it to represent a world-class artistic standard.

Each of these motivations, of course, requires a different measure of success. The impact of the event on the city in terms of regeneration would require complex and longer-term monitoring. If successful in making jazz appeal to a youth

audience, the Festival might expect to see this reflected in audience demographics in the short term, and ideally in a growth of the overall audience for live jazz in the city. The numbers of people visiting the city specifically to come to the jazz festival might be measured by market research at the point of sale, or by additional bed-nights sold by local hotels around the time of the Festival. Inclusivity, or lack of it, might be measurable by audience research.

Its artistic reception, meanwhile, would perhaps be the most difficult to assess. Press coverage was the most obvious measure: the greater the amount of coverage, and the wider the geographic spread of articles published about the Festival, the greater its impact. However, a more qualitative approach to press coverage would raise questions about what 'success' would look like for a jazz festival. A raft of good reviews might be welcomed for relatively 'safe' musical styles, such as big band and blues concerts; for riskier, more experimental concerts, however, critical 'success' might come in the form of mixed reviews, suggesting that it had challenged its audience. As a jazz festival that had adopted a broad approach to its programming, Glasgow would perhaps have to monitor its different programming strands according to different sets of aesthetic expectations.

In its first few years, Glasgow International Jazz Festival Ltd. went through a phase of organisational professionalisation, bringing greater expertise in-house and growing as a company. The establishment of GIJF Enterprises Ltd. demonstrates that the young company was aware of its existing capacity, and the need to expand in order to support functions and activities outside the main Festival. The fact that GIJF Enterprises was set up as a subsidiary company - as

opposed to a separate one, or simply a routine area of business for GIJF Ltd. - suggests that the proposed activity of this company, such as year-round programming, merchandising etc. was viewed by the GIJF Board as being of secondary importance to its main business activity (the running of the annual Festival). However, it also tells us two other important things. First, the Board of GIJF were aware of the importance of being visible on a year-round basis in the city. Second, if it was going to promote live music as a way of achieving this aim, it was critical to keep this (notoriously risky) activity financially isolated from the main business of the company.

As will become clear throughout this thesis, the different agendas in play even before the Festival was established as an event have come to bear on it throughout its history. At various points in its life - in particular, points at which it has been faced with an uncertain future - GIJF has been forced to reconsider the Festival's identity and its positioning. Should it be: a small, 'boutique' festival with a strong (and perhaps exclusive) artistic policy; a large, broadly-programmed (i.e. populist) event with substantial funding from the private sector; or a community-oriented festival, with emphases on education and the employment of local musicians? Whilst not necessarily mutually exclusive - for example, any size of festival can have some degree of community focus - these different visions have, at times, pulled the GIJF Board of Directors in different directions, creating tensions and even causing long-standing members to resign. This matter will be revisited later in this thesis.

Chapter Five: Money Jungle (1994-2001)

This chapter examines the latter half of the 1990s, a period during which GIJF was faced with a series of challenges. The chapter begins by providing context relating to live music in Glasgow during a period in which new festivals were being established and old ones dissolved. It then goes on to examine how GIJF addressed serious financial difficulties and, having recovered from this crisis, was immediately faced with another: the potential loss of The Old Fruitmarket, the flagship venue it had championed. Additionally, the chapter considers the Festival's programming during this period.

The chapter argues that both of the challenges faced by GIJF during this period are indicative of increasing tensions between the company and Glasgow City Council. The company's push for greater levels of cash sponsorship from the private sector reflect an acknowledgement of the need to reduce its dependency on public-sector funding. The near loss of The Old Fruitmarket, meanwhile, is illustrative of a lack of understanding on the part of Glasgow City Council of the interdependency of the Festival and its flagship venue, and also - in contrast to the period under consideration in the previous chapter - the diminishing influence of GIJF.

Live music in Glasgow: changes to festivals, venues and legislation

The period 1995-1997 saw Glasgow's calendar of summer festivals continuing to change. New festivals, such as Celtic Connections and T in the Park, flourished. In 1995, local music promoter Billy Kelly started a festival of American music,

entitled Big Big Country. This was followed in 1996 by Big Big World, a festival of world music. Aside from their names, Kelly's two festivals were connected by a commitment to programme 'live roots music from around the world', a policy that included jazz. Kelly's company, Soundsfine Ltd., also worked closely with the Scottish Arts Council on Tune Up, a touring programme for visiting musicians. Acts promoted through this initiative included jazz artists such as Denys Baptiste, Paolo Fresu, Renaud Garcia-Fons, Omar Sosa and Erik Truffaz (Anon., e.).

Mayfest, meanwhile, was running into difficulties. In 1995, the 12-year-old arts festival was forced to access an 'emergency art fund' (Tweedie, 1995). A string of poor attendances, culminating in a 1997 event that had proved unattractive to critics as well as audiences, had left the company with sizeable debts. However, as Ron MacKenna noted in the *Glasgow Herald*, questions had long been circulating about whether Mayfest represented value for its £500,000 annual grant. 'Many believe a hands-off edict from the City Chambers allowed Mayfest to get too big for its boots', he wrote, 'and it has ended up serving up a poor choice of shows' (MacKenna, 1997). Ruth Wishart added that

> … it's not so much that [Mayfest] came to the end of its natural lifespan, but that it was finally overwhelmed by its perennial identity crisis. … no festival has an inalienable right to survive, and certainly none can do so on the basis of former glories, especially when these prove increasingly infrequent. … recent Mayfest programme brochures have been an object lesson in confusion. (Wishart, 1997)

By mid-July 1997, the company had ceased trading and, shortly afterwards, Glasgow Folk Festival went into liquidation. Like Mayfest, the Folk Festival had accumulated debts - reportedly over £40,000 - and was being threatened with legal action by the Musicians' Union for non-payment of artists' fees (Duff, 1997). Although the GIJF team maintained publicly that the Festival had not been affected by the apparent summer slump, stating that the event 'attracted near-capacity audiences and [was] set to increase in size' (ibid), questions were inevitably raised in the press about what the shifting shape of Glasgow's festival programme would mean for the Jazz Festival. In a letter to the *Glasgow Herald*, Iwan Williams complained that while the quality of GIJF's programming rivalled that of many jazz festivals in mainland Europe, its attendances did not, with the result that its ability to expand beyond its existing capacity was limited. Williams contrasted Glasgow's attendances with that of Pori in Finland (70,000 tickets sold in 1996) and Brecon in Wales (expected to draw 30,000 people in 1997), adding that he doubted whether the Glasgow event could shift half as many tickets as that in Brecon. The problem, he suggested, was a lack of coordination on behalf of city officials, leading the underperformance of the various individual events in which the City Council invested (Williams, 1997a). This echoes McKenna's observation that it was a lack of vision at the City Council had perhaps contributed to the demise of Mayfest; it is also reminiscent of Keith Bruce's suggestion, in 1990, that Glasgow's summer events would benefit from there being an ongoing coordinative effort (Bruce, 1990e p. 15). In a further letter to the *Glasgow Herald*, Williams drew a direct comparison between the support received by events in 1990 and in 1997:

> Glasgow has been coasting for too long on the back of the reputation built up during the years up to 1990: the complete lack of political direction at the moment is palpable. … Could it be that the senior council official who, back around 1986, said that he thought that being European City of Culture was probably a bit beyond Glasgow's grasp was right all along? (Williams, 1997c)

Williams' letter was published under the heading 'Summer events strategy in ruins', and with Mayfest and the Folk Festival gone, the 1997 Jazz Festival found itself under pressure to perform artistically and commercially. Alan Chadwick, writing in the *Sunday Times*, commented that the Festival '[found] names more important than musical purity in filling seats' (Chadwick, 1997), with the term 'jazz' being interpreted more widely than ever. British free improvisers AMM appeared in the programme alongside mainstream acts such as Cleo Laine and Johnny Dankworth; Dionne Warwick was another headliner, further broadening the Festival's musical horizons.

The landscape of available music venues continued to evolve during this period. In 1995, building work began on a new auditorium on the SECC site. Plans had been drawn up by the SECC the previous year, with support from Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council, and Sir Norman Foster had been appointed as its architect. The new SECC concert hall was opened in September 1997. Foster's design for the Clyde Auditorium - which sits close to the site of former shipyards - was intended to recall the hulls of boats, though Glasgow's public and press were quick to note the building's resemblance to an armadillo.

As noted above, jazz promoters such as Platform and Assembly had historically found it difficult to secure appropriate venues in Glasgow. While The Old Fruitmarket provided an ideal space during the Festival, it was generally disused for much of the year, and the opening of the new concert hall at the SECC did little to improve matters. Ziggy Zigman, an independent jazz promoter in the city, described the impact of the lack of venues on the health of Glasgow's jazz scenes, again relating the situation back to 1990:

> The lack of venues above the pub scene (now the training ground of the young jazz musician) and below the formality and high prices of the concert hall, together with the lack of smaller rooms as in the tradition of the music scene since its beginning, does nothing to enhance Glasgow's reputation as a supposed 'European City of Culture'. (Zigman, 1997)

On a more positive note, 1995 saw the establishment of a National (i.e. Scottish) Institute of Jazz, with GIJF contributing to initial consultations, along with the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama. It was intended that the Institute would work closely with Assembly Direct and the various jazz festivals operating in Scotland (Tumelty, 1995, p. 20). By 1997, the Institute had around sixty students, who followed a curriculum including jazz history, ear training, theory, music technology, ensemble playing, and jazz history (Adams, 1997). Tommy Smith told Rob Adams that aims for the third year included '… to set up an annual conference on jazz education so that we can exchange ideas with other organisations, and to really establish Bobby Wishart's outreach project' (Smith, quoted in Adams, 1997).

1996 saw significant changes in local governance, presenting both threats and opportunities to GIJF. As the 1994 Local Government (Scotland) Act came into force, the county's nine regional and fifty-three district councils were abolished, replaced by twenty-nine unitary councils. Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council - the two local authorities from which GIJF received most of its financial backing - were dismantled. In their place were the new Glasgow City Council and its neighbours (East Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, North Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, South Lanarkshire and West Dunbartonshire). The transitionary period, inevitably, resulted in considerable uncertainty for organisations supported by local authorities, including GIJF (Adams, 1996a, p. 14). More positively, however, Pat Lally - the long-term but intermittent leader of Glasgow's Labour-controlled Council - assumed the role of Lord Provost. Whilst largely a ceremonial role, Lally's appointment lent additional visibility to one of GIJF's most vocal champions.

Also in 1996, Glasgow City Council instigated a ban on the consumption of alcohol in the city's streets with the exception of certain licensed areas. The change in legislation was a response to growing concerns about crime and anti-social behaviour in the city; pilot bans had been in operation in other areas of Scotland since 1989. Quoted in the *Independent* the chair of Glasgow City Council's licensing board, James Coleman, made clear that the ban would not discriminate between 'somebody in the West End drinking beaujolais and somebody in the East End drinking Buckfast … If you want to drink your cheeky wee beaujolais you will have to go to one of the areas we are happy to license in the city centre' (Coleman, quoted in Bennetto, 1996).

The prospect of further significant change in Scotland's governance became very real in September 1997, when a referendum revealed overwhelming support for a Scottish Parliament with key decision-making powers devolved from Westminster. 1998 saw the passing of the Scotland Act, and the following year the legislation came into effect. The Act established the Scottish Parliament and its electoral and legislative processes, while maintaining the sovereignty of the Westminster parliament. The Scottish Executive was convened on 1st July 1999, with key powers being transferred from London to Edinburgh (www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Factfile/18060/11550, accessed 6th May 2014). Shortly thereafter, Rhona Brankin, Deputy Minister for Culture and Sport, set out plans for a nationwide consultation on the cultural and creative industries in Scotland. The results of this consultation process were published in 2000, and fed into the Scottish Executive's National Cultural Strategy. In 2001, a Joint Implementation Group - comprised of representatives from Scottish arts organisations along with Scottish and local government - was established to put the strategy into action. This group was chaired by Brankin's successor, Allan Wilson (Anon., i.).

Glasgow celebrated another year-long cultural programme in 1999, having beaten Edinburgh and Liverpool to the title of City of Architecture and Design. The programme focused on the city's Victorian architectural heritage, such as the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Alexander 'Greek' Thompson, and landmark buildings such as the City Chambers. The city's galleries and museums were especially celebrated (Anon., p.). The Clyde Auditorium - now seemingly stuck with its popular nickname, The Armadillo - played host to a fashion show featuring

Vivienne Westwood's latest collection (Anon., d.).

2001 saw the introduction of the Merchant City Festival. As suggested by its name suggests the event, spanning a public holiday weekend in September, was concentrated in the now flourishing 'cultural quarter' to the east of George Square. The following year, Glasgow City Council approached UZ Arts (the company responsible for Glasgow Art Fair and the city's Hogmanay celebrations) to develop the event. UZ responded to this brief with a proposal to build on the artistic activity already taking place in the area, as well as using the Festival to showcase work from Scottish-based organisations (Anon., o.). Under UZ's management, the Merchant City Festival became an impressive fixture in Glasgow's festival calendar, combining music, dance, theatre, comedy, food, fashion and visual arts as well as developing partnerships with other festivals. The Merchant City Festival makes use of many of the area's indoor spaces - indeed, the area's Victorian architecture is used specifically as a selling-point in UK-wide marketing for the event - but outdoor activity is a key part of its appeal, and during the Festival several streets are closed off for markets and parades.[26]

Financial challenges

With Glasgow having lost some of its 1990 'sheen', and the UK feeling the effects of the early 1990s recession, private sector sponsorship became more and more difficult to secure. Bill Sweeney suggested that it was during this period that the

26 UZ would continue to produce the Merchant City Festival until 2011, when Glasgow Life (discussed in Chapter 7) assumed responsibility for the event. In 2010, the Festival moved from its September holiday slot to a weekend in July, bringing it closer to the Jazz Festival.

length and scale of the Festival should, with hindsight, have been viewed more critically by the Board, and that 'the two-weekend-plus-a-week nearly broke the back of the thing' (Sweeney, 2012). Instead, GIJF persevered with finding private sector sponsorship to sustain the event in its existing form, and Derek Gorman's appointment as Festival Director in September 1994 was a clear indication of the company's priorities. Though relatively inexperienced in terms of promoting live music, Gorman had a career background in advertising sales for newspapers and radio (Mathieson, 1995b), and it was this experience - not to mention the resulting contacts - that proved attractive to the Board. Stuart Gulliver recalled that

> …we thought, 'right, here he is, this is the guy for sure', because he'd been involved with a commercial radio station, he talked a good game, he talked a good game in terms of commercial sponsors. (Gulliver, 2012)

Gorman inherited the directorship of a Festival that had run at a financial deficit in 1992 and 1993, resulting in an extremely problematic cash flow. Glasgow District Council had paid the full instalment of its grant for 1995 (to the tune of £69,000) to GIJF in 1994, in order to try and alleviate the problem. Gorman's official appointment was even delayed due to the uncertainty of the 'financial position and future' (Gulliver, 1994a), and he was contracted on a consultancy basis until the situation was more secure (Gulliver, 1994b).

Gorman reportedly 'set himself three years' to improve the company's financial standing (Bruce, 1995), though there is little indication that there was a strategy to accompany this target. An article in the *Scotsman*, however, indicates that

Gorman was clear in his commitment to raising sponsorship income, and aware that this would entail some degree of compromise:

> He is under no illusions about the magnitude of the magnitude of the task, and is frank in his admission that there are more than simply artistic criteria which need to be achieved. '… We also have to make the festival accessible to sponsors. The sponsors are entitled to reach the audience they want to reach, and we will put on some good music in the course of helping them do it.' (Mathieson, 1995b)

At a time when public support was stretched, and no greater levels of private sector investment seemed likely, it was critical that box office taking remained stable. Unfortunately, takings fell from £174,733 in 1993 to £125,001 in 1994, a reduction of almost £50,000, and did not return to their previous level. In his aforementioned letter to the *Glasgow Herald*, Ziggy Zigman hinted at the relationship between sponsorship and ticket sales, suggesting that some level of subsidy was necessary in order to maintain audience interest:

> …your average jazz fan (all styles) does not support the music all the year round. … The continuance of the music, which is a minority interest (4% of the music public), will not happen without commercial sponsorship and Joe Public buying a ticket to well-organised jazz festivals and smaller rooms such as ours. (Zigman, 1997)

Things came to a head with some enormously disappointing attendances at the 1997 Festival, notably by headliners Cleo Laine and Johnny Dankworth, and Dionne Warwick. The result on the Festival's finances was an operating deficit of £54,759, blamed largely on the poor sales for the headline concerts, as well as a lack of sponsorship (Cowing, 1998). Rob Adams would later describe the 1997 event as an 'over-ambitious financial near-casualty' (Adams, 1999c). In fact, according to GIJF's published accounts, sponsorship income had risen during Gorman's tenure as Festival Director, from £63,500 in 1994 (the year before his appointment) to £85,387 in 1995, £82,493 in 1996, and £99,285 in 1997. Nonetheless, with box office receipts in decline and the company's reserves dwindling, the Board recognised that much greater sponsorship income was critical if the company was to avoid become ever more reliant on its public-sector supporters. Stuart Gulliver hinted at frustrations:

> He was saying, 'I'm not getting the leads.' We said 'well, what do you mean, what leads?' (Gulliver, 2012)

The company's income was only part of the problem: its expenditure was increasing. While the costs of producing the Festival did not change significantly during this period, GIJF's administrative spend - in particular, the salaries of its administrative staff - doubled from £24,190 in 1994 (Bain, 1995) to £46,810 in 1996 (Bain, 1997). This included a salary increase for the Festival Director, backdated to 1st October 1995, with the possibility of an incentive scheme depending on the company's financial performance (Anon., 1996b). The end result of these challenges, however, was that by 1997 GIJF had a cumulative deficit of £23,421 (Rodger, 2000), and Gorman left the company 'under a cloud' (Cowing, 1998).

In the wake of Gorman's departure, the core administration team supporting GIJF submitted - at the request of the Board of Directors - a proposal for the management of the 1998 Festival. Lesley Boyd (sponsorship), Gillian Garrity (administration), Olive May Millen (artistic direction), Alison Mussett (marketing), Carol Pinkham (press and PR) and Jill Rodger (general management) co-authored a report suggesting that GIJF programme a four-day festival, with the pub circuit entirely disaggregated financially from the main programme (Boyd *et al.*, 1997).

The sponsorship target for the 1997 Festival had been set at £100,000 and, after a shaky start, a significant deal with Atlantic Telecom - a deal that was eligible for matched funding from ABSA - helped move GIJF towards this goal (Johnson, 1997). Atlantic had previously sponsored an event at Celtic Connections and had been dissatisfied with the result (Boyd, 1998a); happily, their partnership with GIJF proved to be more successful. The company became prime sponsors of the 1998 event, and indicated that they were interested in further involvement with the Festival's development and marketing (Gulliver, 1998b).

Reducing GIJF's expenditure

As noted previously, Derek Gorman was replaced as the Director of Glasgow International Jazz Festival by a team of six employees who had been working for the company for varying lengths of time. Inheriting a significant financial deficit - the first time the company had been operating without a surplus - this new management team resolved to secure GIJF's financial position.

Amongst the team's proposals for the 1998 Festival were a reduction in the Festival's length - from ten to five days - and a separation of the core and fringe elements of the programme, with the company no longer taking any financial risk on the latter (Boyd *et al.*, 1997). The 1998 Festival ran over the usual ten-day period, but its programme was scaled back substantially. Whilst the production costs associated with The Old Fruitmarket (staging, lighting etc.) were not significantly reduced, savings were made elsewhere: most notably, international acts were only programmed for the latter half of the event, with the first five days populated by local acts (Cowing, 1998).

Interviewed in *Scotland on Sunday*, Olive Millen stressed that cost-cutting was only one reason for reducing the Festival's length to five days, arguing that programming within a shorter time period would make it easier to attract visitors from outside Glasgow (Millen, quoted in Anon., 1999b). Additionally, Millen argued, the programming of multiple headline events in competition was believed to be potentially detrimental, risking 'splitting the audience' (Millen, quoted in Bruce, 1998b, p. 22). Millen compared Glasgow's event to those in Bath and Brecon, both of which were of a similar length; at the same time, she recognised that comparisons with North Sea Jazz (a three-day event in the Netherlands) were less helpful, since the programming approach at North Sea Jazz would not be readily transferred to Glasgow (ibid). Nonetheless, it was hoped that the reduction in the Festival's length would not impact negatively on its quality, and that its public backers would recognise that this was the case (ibid).

Direct comparisons of the 1997 and 1998 financial figures are made more challenging than in other years since in 1998 GIJF's financial year end was moved

from 30th September to 31st March, extending the accounting period by six months and making it almost impossible to compare like with like. However, a summary of headline figures for the first thirteen years of the Festival, produced by Jill Rodger in 2000 and based on management accounts, gives a clear indication of the changing scale of the Festival (in terms of its financial turnover) and the corresponding effect on the financial position of the company. The figures below illustrate expenditure, income, and the company's overall financial position in 1997 and 1998.

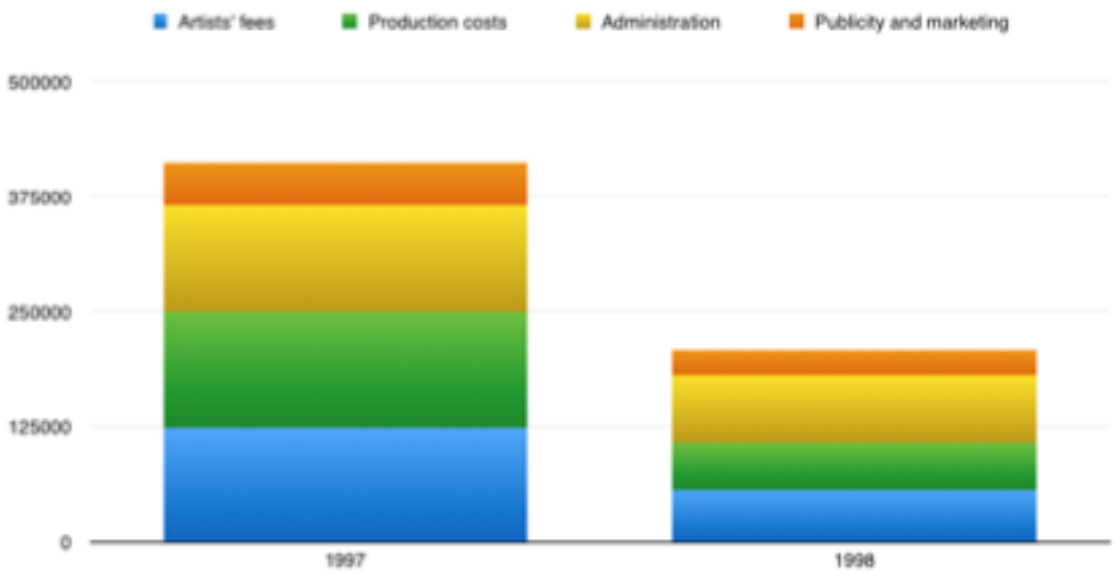

Fig 6: Expenditure on Glasgow International Jazz Festival, 1997-1998 (Rodger, 2000)

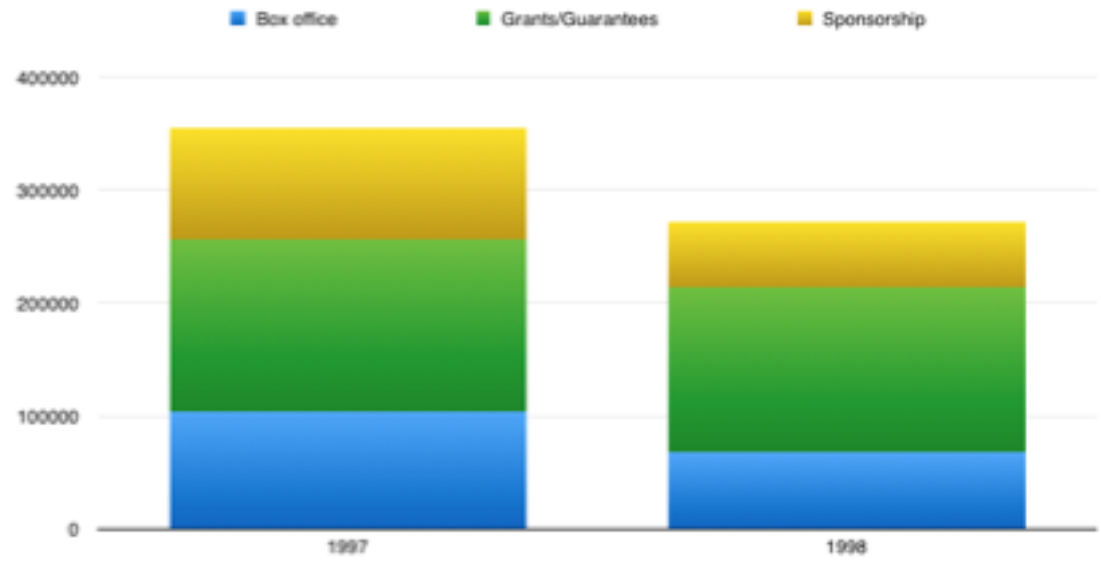

Fig 7: Income from Glasgow International Jazz Festival, 1997-1998 (ibid)

Fig 8: Financial position of GIJF Ltd., 1997-1998 (ibid)

The number of individual events in the overall programme were around 40% of those of the 1997 Festival (data taken from GIJF Festival brochures, 1997 and 1998). The direct costs involved with producing those events was also around 40% of the 1997 figures. Box office takings, meanwhile, were around 60% of the 1997 figures, and income from private sector sponsors around 65% - proportionately higher levels than might have been expected (Rodger, 2000).

The most radical element of the new management team's proposal concerned the allocation of human resources: rather than employing any member of staff on a full-time basis, it was proposed that staff would be employed on a freelance (and largely part-time basis), reducing the salary spend by a considerable amount. The Artistic Director, General Manager and Administrator would each be contracted to work from November to July each year, their pay ranging from £8,000 to £11,500, with the administrator working full-time from March. A Marketing Manager would work full-time from January to July, and a Press and PR Manager would work full-time from April to July. The Production Manager would work part-time during March and April, and then full-time from May to July (Boyd *et al.*, 1997).

This arrangement was not purely motivated by the need to reduce costs, but also by a desire on the part of the core staff to influence positive change in their working environment. Since its inception, GIJF had worked on the basis of a hierarchical management structure - headed by a succession of Festival Directors - that had produced mixed results. The shift to a team-based structure was, in part, an attempt to create a more egalitarian and modern organisation. That staff members collaborated on a joint proposal which, in effect, saw each of them take a cut in their income is an indication of the prevailing spirit amongst the staff at the time.

The fact that the staff responsible for the proposal constituted an all-female team - no longer headed by a male Director - also captured the attention of the local press, resulting in much-needed positive coverage for GIJF. In January 2001, with the company back on a sound financial footing, the team were the subject of an article in the *Glasgow Herald* newspaper in which Olive Millen offered her thoughts

on the team's strengths:

> We are not rampant feminists, but in my view the pyramid structure split us into us and them. Now we all look out for each other. We realised that the team was there, if not in name, and it was strong. We realised we didn't need an overseer. … Each of our contributions is just as important as the other's … Each of us has autonomy but a recognition where our areas overlap. This team works really well. (Millen, quoted in Shennan, 2001)

Expenditure on office accommodation was also reduced. In March 1999, GIJF identified new office space at 18 High Street - a short distance east of its Albion Street premises, and still close to its Merchant City venues. The company successfully negotiated with Glasgow City Council for a reduced rental rate on the High Street office, as well as a nominal rent of £1 per annum for the Albion Street office, to be backdated to May 1997 (Corner, 1999).

The combined result of these cost-cutting measures was that total expenditure was reduced by almost half between 1997 and 1998. Spending had been over £400,000 per year since 1989, and was now brought down to just over £200,000. Proportions of this expenditure remained comparable with those of previous years: roughly a quarter was attributed to artists' fees, another quarter to other production costs, and the remainder to administrative costs including staff salaries (Rodger, 2000).

Increasing GIJF's income

The second part of the new management team's approach to reducing GIJF's deficit was increasing the company's income. The scaling back of the Festival meant that it would be unrealistic to expect any significant growth in box-office revenue, so increasing funds from public-sector supporters and private sector sponsors became critical.

Board members Simon Clark and Douglas Corner approached Matthew Rooke of the Scottish Arts Council with a view to increasing funding in order to secure the company's position (Gulliver, 1997). GIJF requested an additional £50,000 from the SAC, and were offered, in the first instance, smaller amounts of £5,000 and £8,000 for 1997 and 1998 respectively (ibid). After being made aware of the severity of GIJF's position, the SAC offered the company a development grant of £50,000, to be split across the two years, subject to certain conditions (ibid). Glasgow City Council were also approached by GIJF; rather than offering additional funding, the Council agreed to pay the company an advance of £30,000 on its grant for 1998-1999. The Glasgow Development Agency, approached for £10,000, offered £5,000 (ibid). As illustrated by Figure 6 above, this drive for funding resulted in a relatively small drop in income from grants and guarantees against loss between 1997 (£152,200) and 1998 (£146,700) (Rodger, 2000).

Securing sponsorship from the private sector - a challenge that GIJF had faced persistently throughout its ten-year history - now became the real focus. In the aforementioned interview in the *Glasgow Herald*, Olive Millen noted that the management team shared '… a heightened sense of responsibility that the public

is funding [the Festival] … We have to get sponsorship' (Shennan, 2001).

Lesley Boyd, GIJF's main fundraiser, came to the management team with a clearer strategy than the company had previously employed, as well as much-needed contacts. Securing sponsorship was not, at this point, a means to growing the Festival, but rather to reduce (and, in the longer term, to clear) the company's cumulative deficit. The timescale involved was tight, and Boyd recognised a need to focus efforts on title sponsorship, aiming to 'streamline the sponsorship opportunities for the '98 and future festivals by securing a single main sponsor, then securing sponsors for individual concerts' (Boyd 1998a). The menu of options offered to potential cash sponsors, therefore, typically included the title of the Festival along with single-concert sponsorship deals[27] and smaller commitments such as the opportunity to purchase advertising space in the Festival brochure. In the run-up to the 1995 Festival, GIJF also began selling corporate membership packages.

In 1999, Boyd reported to the Board of Directors that she intended to apply a methodology which involved careful identification and monetary valuation of the benefits on offer to potential sponsors. She noted, however, that the formula she

27 Single-concert sponsorship deals have, throughout the Festival's history, proved difficult to sell. Why this should be the case is an interesting question: it is possible that sponsors recognise that these carry a relatively high reputational risk in terms of e.g. cancellation or poor critical reception, and judge that it is not a risk worth taking when balanced against the relatively low visibility offered by this kind of sponsorship. From the Festival's perspective, such packages also pose a certain reputational risk, since space must be offered to parties of a sponsor's employees who may have little or no interest in the music.

intended to use had been designed for sports events, and was 'more difficult for arts events without significant media coverage' (Boyd 1999d). Boyd had her sights set on drinks companies in general, and Glenmorangie in particular. Whilst securing title sponsorship was a longer-term goal, GIJF's management team recognised that corporate hospitality events, as well as promotional opportunities, had a role to play in building relationships with sponsors (Boyd 1998a). Boyd also recognised the importance of developing long-term partnerships, and suggested that some degree of year-round activity - such as workplace concerts - might help to maintain GIJF's profile amongst its sponsors (Boyd 1998b p. 2).

The results of this drive for sponsorship quickly came to fruition. In 1999, Glenmorangie emerged as a potential sponsor for the Festival. The drinks company was particularly keen to partner with jazz promoters, and GIJF found itself competing with Edinburgh International Jazz Festival - run, at that time, by Roger Spence - for the business of the company (Boyd, 1999b). By February 1999, a partnership between GIJF and Glenmorangie had been negotiated, with a strong joint brand based around the theme 'Spirit of the Festival', including a logo depicting a glass trumpet (Corner, 1999). The company's involvement with GIJF strengthened until, in 2000, Glenmorangie became GIJF's first title sponsor (Boyd, 1999a). Whilst major sponsorship from Glenmorangie would represent a success in its own right, Boyd also viewed it as an important way of raising the Festival's profile with other drinks companies:

> All lagers seem to be geared towards youth market and see Jazz festival as 'too old' (quote!). Better chance of getting 'Festival Ale/Beer' if we have already secured a spirit brand. (Boyd 1999b)

The resulting deal saw Glenmorangie become the 1999 Festival's joint main sponsor, along with Atlantic Telecom. The relationship between the two sponsors was manageable but not ideal, with the whisky brand's desire to offer on-site product sampling proving to be a particular source of tension (Boyd 1999d); however, Glenmorangie deemed the event sufficiently successful to warrant the serious consideration of a three-year title sponsorship deal (Boyd 1999e).

Once again, GIJF found themselves in competition with jazz promoters in Edinburgh. Boyd explained that

> [Glenmorangie] are currently in discussions with Edinburgh Jazz Festival for a similar three-year deal but we would like to persuade them to devote their attention and resources entirely to GIJF. My view is that this would be a far better option for GIJF and Glenmorangie, the title 'Glenmorangie Glasgow Jazz Festival' having significantly more impact for both companies. They feel the Edinburgh JF gives them greater exposure, being held during the main festival. My view is that their branding will be swamped by the competition from so many other sponsors. (Boyd 1999e)

By 2000, GIJF had offered Glenmorangie a three-year title sponsorship deal, though still considering other large sponsorship deals, and seeking more single-concert and in-kind sponsorship (Boyd 2000a). The deal with Glenmorangie, comprising of £40,000 cash and a promotional budget worth another £40,000, took into account a number of factors. Working in GIJF's favour were its reputation

and its strength as a 'promotional tool', as well as its existing relationship with the whisky brand. Working against the Festival were its audience size and type - described as 'niche' - and the 'standard of corporate facilities available' (particularly at The Old Fruitmarket) (Boyd 2000a).

Initially, the partnership between GIJF and Glenmorangie proved to be fruitful, and the working relationship strong. As noted by journalist Kenny Mathieson, 'jazz and booze have had a close association for some time' (Mathieson 2000, p. 18); Glenmorangie capitalised on this association, creating a joint brand with GIJF on the theme the Spirit of the Festival, complete with a 'glass trumpet' logo. ABSA (now itself rebranded as Arts and Business Scotland) instigated an annual awards programme to celebrate and reward strong partnerships between arts organisations and their commercial sponsors. As well as nominating Glenmorangie for an award, GIJF - with other arts organisations - petitioned Arts and Business to extend their pairing scheme beyond new partnerships, so that new deals with existing sponsors might be eligible for matched funding. Such a change would allow potential sponsors to commit to shorter, trial periods in the first instance without compromising the possibility of matched funding (Boyd 2000a); this serves to illustrate that the landscape had become more difficult for arts organisations to navigate, with sponsors demanding more opportunities for short-term partnerships.

As time progressed, however, GIJF was reminded that commercial sponsorship is as much about individual contacts as organisational priorities. A change of personnel at Glenmorangie made communication between the companies less straightforward and threw the title sponsorship deal into doubt. Boyd wrote that

> …we have agreed to allow G'gie title sponsorship for one year at £45k with an understanding that future years will be for not less than £40k. We are confident of Glenmorangie's long term aims and commitment to the Festival and are working with the G'gie team to ensure the relationship gives maximum benefit to both organisations. (Boyd 2000b)

In reviewing the title sponsorship deal, Boyd later reported, the whisky brand was '…particularly anxious to see an increase in audience numbers' (Boyd 2000c). In 2001 - a year before the original deal had been due to expire - Glenmorangie announced that it was discontinuing its relationship with GIJF, citing a perceived lack of 'national and international coverage' amongst its reasons, as well as a mismatch between GIJF's audience and its own target market of 25-35 year-olds (Boyd 2001).

It is clear that at this point in its history GIJF was conscious, as an organisation, of some of the challenges involved with sponsors - not just in terms of securing funds, but also of managing relationships with its private sector partners. Different sponsorship strategies bring with them different resource implications. One large sponsor - such as a title sponsor - can place considerable demands on any organisation it supports; however, managing relationships with a large number of supporters at a smaller level (e.g. single concert sponsors, corporate members and advertisers) can prove to be equally demanding. What is perhaps more important is the projected length of the relationship with the sponsor. It would be easy to assume that the most secure strategy would be to foster a small number

of long-term partnerships with well-established firms: this strategy can result in strong partnerships over time, but also carries considerable risk. A shift in marketing or image management can make an ongoing relationship unviable. This can occur on either side of the partnership - in 1989, discussions about a large cash sponsorship deal with Benson and Hedges fell through after concerns about public health on the part of GIJF (McDonald, 1989) - but, most typically, is driven by changing priorities on the part of the sponsor. This proved to be the case with Atlantic Telecom who, following the 1999 Festival, were focused on family-oriented branding, and were offered the opportunity to sponsor a series of children's dance workshops as part of their sponsorship package (Boyd, 1999a). By 2000, however, the company had decided to focus instead on attracting corporate business, and withdrew from its partnership with GIJF (Anon., 2000c).

Moreover, even the most well-established and mutually beneficial partnerships between arts organisations and their sponsors can be dependent on good personal relationships between staff on each side. Repeated changes in personnel at Glenmorangie made the partnership with GIJF increasingly insecure; what had been a key strength became a weakness as GIJF's contacts left the company (Boyd, 2000b). Glenmorangie also voiced concerns about GIJF's ability to provide the required level of 'national and international coverage', particularly amongst those in the 25-35 age bracket (Boyd, 2001) and, by December 2001, the company had confirmed that it was diverting its promotion budget to television advertising (Gulliver, 2001a).

At the other extreme, a strategy of fostering a number of partnerships with smaller companies - or for smaller deals - may seem counterintuitive, but can be beneficial

under the right circumstances.[28] Matched funding from ABSA (The Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts), which was generally reserved for new sponsorship partnerships, made it worthwhile for GIJF to maintain a relatively high turnover of private sponsors. This was the case until 1999, when ABSA rebranded as Arts and Business (Boyd, 1999b). As well as the change of name, the organisation - which had been funded by the Scottish Arts Council since 1991 (Anon., f.) - implemented changes to its various schemes, and the criteria that arts organisations would need to meet in order to secure matched funding. Arts and Business's 'New Partners' scheme, launched in March 2000, was aimed at complementing funds raised for individual projects (such as audience development or the commissioning of new music), rather than for raising the levels of an organisation's core funding, a move that constrained fundraising opportunities for GIJF (Anon., 2000b).

The three-year agreement between GIJF and Glenmorangie included a substantial investment in marketing (Anon., 2001f), and the success of the partnership was recognised by Arts and Business, with both partners nominated for Arts and Business awards in 2000 and 2001, and winning in 2000 (Gulliver, 2000). However, papers relating to GIJF's fundraising strategy around this time demonstrate that the Board of Directors recognised the potential difficulties represented by the changes at Arts and Business. Lesley Boyd was one of a number of arts fundraisers who petitioned the organisation to amend the 'New Partners' scheme in order to

28 Such turnover has a high cost in human resource terms: the time and energy involved in approaching new sponsorship partners is significant. This would be felt particularly keenly in a small organisation like GIJF where, especially in the Festival's early years, partnerships were often initiated based on the personal contacts of the company directors.

allow companies to enter into 'trial periods' before committing to longer term deals without compromising the possibility of Arts and Business matching the funding (Boyd, 2000a); for GIJF, this was particularly pertinent at a time when Glenmorangie, having sponsored the Festival in 1999, were considering the three-year deal for title sponsorship (Boyd, 2000b).

The length of partnerships with sponsors, and the level of support they would provide, were not the only factors that GIJF needed to consider. Another critical element of managing relationships with sponsors was an awareness of where individual sponsors' requirements might potentially clash. One of the central elements of GIJF's partnership with Glenmorangie was product sampling and promotions on-site, involving the visibility of the whiskey brand in venues. At that time, Atlantic Telecom remained the Festival's biggest private sector supporter, and tensions between the two sponsors became evident as they found themselves competing for visibility in venues (Boyd, 1999b). This issue became even more pertinent when, having made an initial commitment to support a scaled-up Festival,[29] the Royal Bank of Scotland withdrew their offer due to Glenmorangie's ongoing involvement, RBS requiring an exclusive partnership (Anon., 2001g). The 'Spirit of the Festival' joint branding had worked well for both GIJF and Glenmorangie, and discussions continued with former contacts at Glenmorangie about resurrecting the brand with a different spirit, Auchentoshan (Corner, 2002a). At this point, however, with RBS engaged as title sponsor, opportunities for other sponsors were largely limited to in-kind deals covering travel and transport (e.g. British Airways and Virgin Trains), accommodation (e.g. the

29 See the following chapter.

Beardmore, City Inn and Millennium Hotels), and a media partner (the *Glasgow Herald* newspaper) (data taken from GIJF Festival brochure, 2003).[30]

The challenges described above are common to many types of arts organisations. Additionally, music festivals can face particular challenges in terms of balancing the expectations of funders with the expectations of artists and their agents. Promoters often find that artists' fees are inflated for festival compared to non-festival concerts. This is, in part, due to the touring constraints of artists who are performing at a circuit of festivals, constraints that can even make such touring unfeasible: one act booked by GIJF in 2013 were subsequently booked for another jazz festival, and eventually withdrew from Glasgow's on the basis that there were insufficient gigs between the two festivals to make it worth spending the whole period in the UK. Such occurrences are not unusual. However, the inflation of artists' fees can also arise due to a perception on the part of artists' representatives that festivals have funding over and above the levels of other music promoters. A highly visible sponsor - whether that be from the private or the public-sector - can fuel this (often unsubstantiated) belief.

In considering the proportion of GIJF's income that comes from private sector sponsorship, it is important to note that this has proved to be the least reliable and consistent of the company's income streams during the Festival's history; it has veered from the £50,000-£60,000 bracket all the way up to the £100,000-

30 Perhaps most importantly, the interests of sponsors can force the event to pursue a particular short-term strategy - such as increasing in scale, attracting a particular audience or audiences, or programming the event in a particular way - which may not be beneficial to the event in the longer term. This will be the focus of the following chapter.

£150,000 bracket, without a strong correlation to the scale of the Festival (as measured in e.g. length in days, or number of events). However, at a time when expenditure was being so drastically reduced, it is worth observing that there was no noticeable reduction in sponsorship (indeed, the 1997 event attracted £99,000, the highest level of this type of income since prior to Derek Gorman's appointment). Combined with a concerted effort to reduce expenditure, and public funding effectively at standstill in cash terms, GIJF went from an operating deficit of £54,759 in 1997 to an operating surplus of £67,959 in 1998. Moreover, the company's running deficit of £23,421 was replaced by a running surplus of £44,538 in 1998 (Rodger, 2000). In a period of eighteen months, the new management team had pulled GIJF back from the brink of financial disaster.

Programming

Part of what made this period in GIJF's history so challenging was that, with the tourist audience in decline, the question of how to attract the city's residents to the Festival was becoming more important year by year. Even for an event like Glasgow's, which had proclaimed from day one that it would programme according to a broad definition of the word 'jazz', the boundaries of the form were an issue. For some, the diversity of musics huddling under the umbrella term of 'jazz' - as well as those sheltering close by - was, in itself, a potential tool for audience development:

> Definitions are a key to any jazz event or conversation and no other kind of music is so riven by disagreement. The healthiest definitions are open, with styles - latin, rock, Afro - that snuggle together

> comfortably. Jazz moves like genes through the musicians who make connections between the strands and, in doing so, lead their audiences and listeners from one to the other. (Steward, 1995)

For Derek Gorman, the mission was clearly one of increasing accessibility, as he stated unambiguously to both Keith Bruce (Bruce, 1995) and Kenny Mathieson (Mathieson, 1995b). While a desire to tackle a perceived sense of elitism might be laudable, translating this into a programme that was both accessible and artistically coherent was always going to be difficult. An anonymous columnist in the *Glasgow Herald* described the 1995 programme as 'predictable as always' (Anon., 1995b, p. 12), while others commented upon the Festival's increasing reliance on popular acts at the fringes of what might be termed 'jazz' (typically, American vocalists). More generous reviewers acknowledged that GIJF had always used such acts 'to underwrite more artistically adventurous projects' (Morton, 1995c), and that such projects were unlikely to fill the expensive and inflexible Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (Mathieson, 1997).

At the same time, the role of trad jazz within the programme became a point of consternation. In an article about Glasgow Jazz Festival in the *Telegraph*, Sue Steward took a swipe at the cynical use of trad jazz for commercial ends:

> Sadly, in this country, 'summer jazz' is all too often synonymous with that more feeble dilution of the original Dixie sound, 'Trad', and treated as an accessory to eating and drinking. … Jazz is a new commodity, treasured for its ability to attract tourists: at worst, it is used to boost trade in bars and cafes with Dixieland menus and

decor, and a band in the corner of the room. (Steward, 1995)

More locally, however, there was evidence that trad jazz fans felt that it was being overlooked in favour of more modern forms. Zigman wrote that it had been 'relegated to the back rooms of pubs together with … jumpers and woolly anoraks' (Zigman, 1997), while in another letter to the *Glasgow Herald* a disgruntled audience member wrote that '… the Glasgow Festival has for years been too heavily steered towards modern, contemporary, or marginal jazz forms. … A surfeit of trendiness may be part of the problem' (McKinstry, 1997, p. 14). Derek Gorman responded, asserting - with possibly misplaced confidence - that '… audiences prefer more contemporary jazz forms and it is within that area that audience growth will occur' (Gorman, 1997).

Riskier propositions in the Festival's programme during this period included appearances by the Mingus Big Band in 1995 and 1996, prompting Rob Adams to note that 'artists appearing at consecutive Glasgow International Jazz Festivals have generally been … unlikely to scare the horses. … [Mingus] could barely persuade promoters to touch him with a barge pole' (Adams, 1996b). Also running in 1995 and 1996 was a five-hour club event called Strange Fruit, providing an 'evening of seamless fades: from DJ into live music and back' accompanied by visuals (Belcher, 1996, p. 20). Perhaps most adventurous was a concert in 1997 by British free improvisers AMM, which generated 'a full house and a mesmerising hour of music' (Bruce, 1997).

This period saw a number of new jazz festivals established around the UK that are still running on an annual basis at the time of writing. Cheltenham and Manchester

ran for the first time in 1996, along with Mike Durham's Classic Jazz Party in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; in 1997, smaller festivals were established in Nantwich, Dove Holes, Limavady, and Bures (the latter donates its profits to charity). These new events found themselves having to sit within a well-established circuit of jazz festivals with increasingly homogenous programmes. As Brian Morton noted, 'the better-travelled festival-goer can see essentially the same American acts in up to half a dozen different locations over a month or two' (Morton, 1995b). Glasgow's 1995 programme, Morton added, included a 'strong local input' alongside its international core (ibid), including 'Bancrofts aplenty' and a 'doubtless bankable return by adoptive Scot Martin Taylor' (Morton, 1995a). The Festival's timing remained a strength, as it allowed audiences to hear acts from the USA while they were 'still fresh' before embarking on the European festival circuit for much of July and August (Gorman, quoted in Black, 1996).

As of 1996, the way in which the Festival used its various venues was reasonably consistent. The Glasgow Royal Concert Hall was generally reserved for the more 'bankable' big stars; the Theatre Royal served as an appropriate venue for the bigger trad jazz names who appeared; and The Old Fruitmarket was used for more mainstream and modern acts (Mathieson, 1996). Later in the evenings, the InterCity Cafe Bar accommodated 'top British and American small groups, with discount for patrons who have been in The Old Fruitmarket earlier in the evening', while the Marriott Hotel played host to a more informal Late Night Jazz Club (Anon., 1996c p. 22). As well as attracting sponsorship from InterCity, the Cafe Bar was supported financially by the Musicians' Union, a move described by the MU's then Scottish District Organiser Ian Smith as 'surely … the most sensible use of the Union's Music Promotion money and the most cost effective' (Smith, 1996 p.

31). Around the Merchant City, bars and restaurants formed a fringe marketed by GIJF as 'On the Beaten Track', assisted by the closing of key streets (Bell Street, Candleriggs and Albion Street) at weekends (Black, 1996). In 1997, the use of venues shifted slightly, due in part to the loss of the City Cafe Bar as part of a refurbishment. The result was greater late-night use of The Old Fruitmarket, with a focus on 'innovative and exciting young artists' (Mathieson, 1997). The Festival also began to make greater use of the Tron Theatre and Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA), using these spaces for a 'series of cutting-edge events' (ibid).

1997 previews hailed Glasgow Jazz Festival as 'the biggest of the UK summer extravaganzas' (Clements and Fordham, 1997, p. 16) and 'arguably the best of its kind, certainly the most coherent and consistently satisfying in Britain' (Morton, 1997), praise that made the event's poor box-office performance all the more disappointing.

Part of GIJF's rumoured 'expansion' into the gaps left by Mayfest and the Folk Festival involved a plan to run two or three events each year (Duff, 1997). An exchange of letters between Iwan Williams and Derek Gorman in the *Glasgow Herald* illustrates the thinking behind the decision. Rather than hosting smaller events in addition to the main ten-day summer programme, Williams referred to '…a horrible but well-founded rumour floating round the city that the jazz festival board is thinking of splitting the event into a number of mini-festivals throughout the year' (Williams, 1997c). Gorman clarified that 'while retaining a core summer event, we may move to a situation where we bridge the gap between yearly jazz festivals with audience-building events' (Gorman, 1997), a response that did little to mollify Williams:

> 'Audience-building events' sounds great, but it is not clear what they mean in practice, or how they would differ from the concerts Assembly Direct and others have been mounting for years. The (presumably smaller) core event runs the danger of losing the critical mass vital to a successful festival. … The Glasgow festival was designed explicitly as a major European jazz festival for a city which had the confidence that it could play in that league. … If Glasgow no longer wants such an event, it is entitled not to have one. (Williams, 1997b, p. 12)

Programming a jazz festival, like anything that might be considered a niche or minority arts event, is often a case of balancing artistic and commercial concerns. In the case of Glasgow Jazz Festival, this challenge was particularly evident during the period under review in this chapter. The Festival's champions in the Scottish press were acutely aware of the tension this created. Though he praised the overall strength of the 1998 programme (Bruce, 1998a), Keith Bruce wrote that

> [Millen's] artistic policy must meet the demands of the arts council, while her board require her to produce a commercially successful event that makes inroads on the deficit (Bruce, 1998b, p. 22).

Rob Adams also placed the commercial and artistic considerations in opposition, writing that 'there has been a necessary element of bums on seats taking priority over artistic considerations' (Adams, 1998). In fact, the situation was more complex. The Scottish Arts Council was concerned not only with the Festival's

artistic policy, but also with its 'audience development' - and, as Lesley Boyd noted in one of her regular reports to the Board, there was little capacity for this kind of development without a scaling-up of the Festival (Boyd, 1998b).

In terms of the Festival's artistic policy, two main parameters are of particular importance. One is the extent to which the Festival looked to Europe, rather than the USA, for its 'international' component. The other is the extent to which the programme embraced musical forms such as blues, funk and soul.

Millen's personal desire to include more European jazz was evident both in the Festival's programme and in the way she spoke about it. Having described the 1998 programme as including 'the best of Afro-American and European contemporary jazz' (Millen, quoted in Bruce, 1998b, p. 22), the 1999 programme gave greater emphasis to the European element, with an appearance by the Polish trumpeter Tomasz Stańko drawing particular attention. For the *Independent's* Phil Johnson, this was a 'considerable coup' given Glasgow's usual reliance on American stars (Johnson, 1999). Millen explained her thinking to Johnson:

> 'Our audience is in love with American music, as all jazz audiences are. The flavour of the festival is built on modern American players and I'm not going to change that, but the Glasgow audience is a highly intelligent one and they have a sharp sense of critique. I'm not just offering them what they already know, or telling them what they should like, but there's room for introducing the different sensibility of European jazz, which in any case has a lot of common ground with what is happening in Scottish jazz' (Millen,

quoted in Johnson, 1999)

The following year, she echoed these comments in an interview for the *Sunday Times*:

> 'We recognise the huge contribution that Afro-American jazz has made and, besides, Glasgow has always been half in love with America. But we are part of Europe now and we have to recognise that'. (Millen, quoted in Devine, 2000)

In 2000, the Festival capitalised on the 'common ground' Millen had observed between European and Scottish jazz, with a particular emphasis being given to local musicians. Kenny Mathieson noted that the programme included 'a great deal of excellent music made right on our doorstep' (Mathieson, 2000b), while Michael Russell wrote in the Herald that on listening to the music 'the neat borders on the cultural map all but disappear' (Russell, 2000).

The inclusion in the programme of musical forms other than jazz proved to be more contentious. Whilst committed to 'presenting jazz in all its many forms from traditional through to gospel and trip-hop' (Millen, quoted in Anon., 2000d), and having been praised for maintaining 'the twin virtues of variety and accessibility … without compromising artistic integrity' (Mathieson, 2000c), Millen was vocal about her desire to ensure that the Festival maintained its focus on jazz:

> 'Some of the big European festivals have gone down the route of doing a mix of jazz and more popular music … I can understand the

financial motivations behind it, but we've tried to avoid that'. (Millen, quoted in Devine, 2000)

In fact, the Festival had always used 'more popular' acts to subsidise the more adventurous aspects of its programming.

Meanwhile, the old rivalry between Glasgow's and Edinburgh's jazz festivals was reignited. Comments made by GIJF's press officer Alison Mussett in the *Glasgow Herald* - to the effect that Glasgow was more prepared to take artistic risks than Edinburgh (Mussett, quoted in Donald, 1998) - promoted an angry response from Thomas Ponton, then a member of the City of Edinburgh Council, and one of the directors of the Edinburgh event. Ponton emphasised the longevity of Edinburgh's Jazz Festival and its frequent financial surpluses, contrasting these factors with Glasgow's high turnover of Directors and financial deficit, and concluding that 'jazz festivals have a hard enough time trying to keep their heads above water without being slagged off by incompetents' (Ponton, 1998). Kenny Mathieson, reviewing the history of Glasgow Jazz Festival, noted that it immediately 'delivered a sharp poke in the eye to Edinburgh by establishing itself as Scotland's premier jazz flagship' (Mathieson, 1999) but added that 'it was always too big for its own good' (ibid). A piece in the *Scotland on Sunday* similarly noted that Jazz Festival had been one of the few events in which Glasgow had historically outdone Edinburgh (Anon., 1999b). The tensions between the two festivals was renewed, in part, by a change of direction at Edinburgh: having been 'found wanting' after an independent review of its activity (Bruce, 2000), the Edinburgh event had begun to broaden its programming, encompassing more than the trad jazz and blues on which it had previously relied (Anon., 1999b).

A new fight for The Old Fruitmarket

The Old Fruitmarket was, by this stage, well-established as the Festival's flagship venue. In the *Scotland on Sunday*, Brian Morton articulated the importance of an appropriate and well-located venue, contrasting North Sea Jazz ('the musical equivalent of the Motor Show and the Ideal Home Exhibition' (Morton, 2000)) with Glasgow:

> Glasgow's great strength is that the Merchant City, centred on the Fruitmarket, a step downhill and downmarket from the Concert Hall, and with a now established infrastructure of bars and restaurants, is the perfect city centre enclave. It feels like a district and not a bit like a cultural ghetto. It is a wonderful place to hear jazz because it already has a higgledy, improvisational cast. (ibid)

In 1998, the Tramway closed for refurbishment. Zoo Architects were commissioned to develop the former transport depot - which had been used as a venue for both visual and performance arts since 1990 - with a café/bar and additional space for rehearsals and workshops (Anon., m.). £500,000 had been invested in preparing the space for its use as a 1990 arts venue (Wills, 1990); the refurbishment would cost a reported £3.5m (Monaghan, 2003, p. 10).

The Tramway reopened after its two-year refurbishment in 2000 and, towards the end of the year, rumours were circulating that Glasgow City Council planned to sell off The Old Fruitmarket and its adjacent car park, with the proposed closure taking place sometime after May 2002 (Macdonald, 2001). The BBC, based on

Queen Margaret Drive in the city's West End, were set to move to a purpose-built media hub at Pacific Quay (previously part of the site of the Glasgow Garden Festival). As a result, the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra would move to the City Halls, adjacent to The Old Fruitmarket, which would also undergo a £3.5m refurbishment in order to house the BBC SSO (Miller, 2000).

If a letter by Iwan Williams to the *Glasgow Herald* is to be believed, the first GIJF learned about the proposed closure of the venue was 'when a council official casually asked [Millen] where the festival planned to go in 2002' (Williams, 2001). In a subsequent briefing note issued to arts organisations - including GIJF - Glasgow City Council argued that the retention of The Old Fruitmarket would be prohibitively expensive due to the investment required to render the building wind- and watertight, as well as soundproofing the neighbouring City Halls. However, the briefing note appears also to suggest that the eventual sale of The Old Fruitmarket had been a factoring the Council's decision to redevelop the Tramway, making clear that there were no plans to keep both venues open in the long term (Anon., 2001e); the fact that The Old Fruitmarket was unused for a large proportion of the year was also a factor (Miller, 2000).

Whilst The Old Fruitmarket and the Tramway shared some characteristics as venues - both being large, flexible, 'repurposeable' spaces - they were far from comparable as festival venues. Unlike The Old Fruitmarket, the Tramway - located south of the River Clyde - was in a somewhat isolated location. GIJF had used it on occasion, but it lacked potential as a festival 'hub' due to a lack of neighbouring venues, bars and restaurants (Anon., 2001d). The Tramway's location was not the only problem, however: it also lacked the fabled 'atmosphere'

of The Old Fruitmarket, with both artists and audiences seemingly left cold. Rob Adams wrote that, during all-day sessions at the Tramway in 1990, 'Band after band was announced and the audience seemed to approach each increasingly with all the relish of a school dinner queue' (Adams, 1990a); the following year, he noted that guitarist Jim Mullen and his band 'seemed tense and out of place' at the venue compared with the more informal setting of the Late Night Club (Adams, 1991).

With The Old Fruitmarket under threat, GIJF looked for alternative spaces closer to the Merchant City. One such venue, St Andrews in the Square (a restored church in the city's East End), seemed a reasonable candidate; however, its acoustic proved unsuitable for most acts. A review of Susanne Bonnar's concert in 2001 gave some indication of the problems:

> The opening concert of this year's Glasgow Jazz Festival featured a woman from the west coast of Scotland singing South American samba songs in a brightly lit church to a sober, subdued crowd likely sipping white wine. It was weird, and it didn't really work. … samba tends to lose some of its exotic, carnival feel in a church full of plastic chairs. And if there's an hesitancy in your playing, it doesn't half show when it echoes and clatters round the hall in ways that would make a church organ sound good, but which turns everything rhythmic into a mush. (Eaton, 2001)

Millen was vocal in her criticism of the Council's plans to shut the venue, even asking those attending the closing concert of the 2001 Festival to write letters of

protest to the press and their local councillors (Adams, 2003b). Interviewed in the *Glasgow Herald*, she laid out the potential impact of the venue's loss on GIJF:

> This throws into doubt the whole future of the jazz festival. There is nowhere else that fits our requirements or the capacity we have at present to have fringe events in the surrounding pubs and restaurants. … the qualities of the Fruitmarket mean it has become one of the top five jazz venues in Europe. (Millen, quoted in McLean, 2001)

Rob Adams echoed this concern, suggesting that the Festival was unlikely to survive -at least in its existing form - without its 'spiritual home' (Adams, 2001). However, Millen's concern that the loss of the venue represented a serious threat to the future of the Festival appears not to have been hyperbole for the benefit of the press: this line of argument is also reiterated in a briefing note prepared by Millen for the GIJF Board of Directors (Millen, 2001b).

Others who publicly criticised the decision included Louise Mitchell (then the Director of Glasgow's Concert Halls and Billy Kelly (Director of the Big Big World and Big Big Country festivals, both of which used the venue extensively). Kelly argued that no other venue had the particular combination of features that made The Old Fruitmarket so valuable to festivals (Kelly, quoted in McLean, 2001), while Mitchell added that the economy of the Merchant City was dependent on culture and entertainment for its ongoing regeneration (Mitchell, quoted in McLean, 2001).

Mitchell was not alone in her concerns about the state of the Merchant City. London's Covent Garden had been an obvious aspirational model for Glasgow's 'cultural quarter', but with Covent Garden now amounting to '…nothing so much as the departure lounge at Gatwick Airport in the middle of an air-traffic-control strike, full to bursting with sullen visitors longing for a sense of being somewhere special' (Sudjic, 2001), some expressed anxiety that the Merchant City was about to befall the same fate. Rumours that the site of The Old Fruitmarket and its adjacent car park would be turned into a large shopping arcade (Corner, 2001; Mitchell, 2013) were a particular source of alarm, though such plans were apparently 'stymied by lack of interest from retailers' (Bruce)[31].

In a letter to the *Glasgow Herald,* GIJF Board member Douglas Corner argued that a flexible concert venue would prove to be critical to the area's long-term regeneration (Corner, 2001). In response, John Lynch - then depute convener of Cultural and Leisure Services at the City Council - wrote a letter stating that the planned developments would 'permanently transform that area all year round, not just for a week in July' (Lynch, 2001). This view was echoed by an anonymous Council spokesperson, who told Keith Bruce that 'If you asked the pub and restaurant owners in the Merchant City if they'd rather have two festivals per year or 400 BBC employees, I'm sure they'd say the BBC' (Bruce). The views of local businesses would indeed prove to be critical in the debate about the future of The Old Fruitmarket, but - contrary to the view expressed by the Council - most appeared to be in favour of retaining the venue, which reportedly brought an estimated 200,000 people to the area every year (Macdonald, 2001). Local

31 Year unknown, but likely to be 2001.

landlords and restaurateurs also seemed to recognise the wider value which The Old Fruitmarket brought to the area. The owner of the City Merchant restaurant, which sits directly opposite the venue, told the *Glasgow Herald*:

> 'If they are going to rip the heart and soul out that's evolved over the years they will have to replace it with something very special to justify the high rents and council taxes of the people around the amenity.' (Matteo, quoted in McLean, 2001)

As well as the high costs associated with any desirable location, owners of local bars and restaurants were beginning to voice concern about a potential oversupply of outlets in the area. Sean McInnes, then the owner of Cafe Gandolfi - one of the first and best-known restaurants to open on Candleriggs - argued that Glasgow's 'natural population' was insufficient to sustain the growing numbers of eateries in the Merchant City (Abrahams, 2000 p. 6). A sense that local appetites for bars and restaurants might (literally) be sated would have obvious implications for the venue's commercial value.

An anonymous column in the *Glasgow Herald* contrasted the proposed sell-off of The Old Fruitmarket with increased funding elsewhere - specifically, a 'popular arts' festival in Ferguslie Park, a deprived area of nearby Paisley. 'It is not stretching the imagination too far', wrote the author, 'to suggest that the Fruitmarket has done the kind of job for the Merchant City that the SAC-supported festival intends to do for Ferguslie' (Anon., 2001c, p. 17). In fact, the event at Ferguslie was driven in part by Scottish Executive policies aimed at improving social inclusion, while the Merchant City's regeneration had arguably always been

more driven by the improvement and development of property in the area. Asking how the city's tourist-friendly 'cultural quarter' might become more inclusive to those from deprived areas may have provided a more convincing line of argument.

In a letter to the same paper, Iwan Williams argued that

> The real issue, however, is not simply the fate of one building, however important. The city council has generously supported the Jazz Festival and other events for may [sic] years. However, this support should properly be seen not as largesse but as an investment in the development of the life of the city on which Glasgow's citizens are entitled to make a return. The vibrancy of the Merchant City area is part of that return, and the idea of removing the facility which is at the core of it suggests that, as so often, the bean-counters are counting the wrong beans. (Williams, 2001)

It is worth noting that, at this stage, the *Glasgow Herald* itself was located in the Merchant City and so could be said to have had a vested interest in the cultural life of the area. In general, however, the local press were seemingly on-side in the fight to retain The Old Fruitmarket.

During what she described as 'one of those moments you remember in your professional life forever', Louise Mitchell was convinced by Nod Knowles (then of the Scottish Arts Council) that any campaign to save the venue would need to be championed by those who used it. Mitchell, Olive Millen, and Billy Kelly - who met regularly on an informal basis anyway - used their existing friendship and networks

to maintain momentum, ensuring that the issue was kept in the public consciousness. For her part, Millen drafted a proposal for an alternative, cooperative-type ownership model for The Old Fruitmarket (GIJF had even considered the feasibility of buying the venue itself).

That GIJF would become so vocal and visible in its championing of The Old Fruitmarket is, of course, understandable given its role in the development of the venue: as well as the energies expended in establishing it in the early 1990s, GIJF had a certain reputational investment in the venue, recognising the impact of being able to claim it had been Festival staff who had 'discovered' the space.[32] However, as outlined elsewhere, The Old Fruitmarket was, in some ways, far from ideal as a venue.

Arguably the most problematic matter for GIJF was the effect of the building's ownership on GIJF's fundraising efforts. The venue's aesthetic and acoustic properties made it a potentially ideal place to host small events for prospective private sector sponsors, with hospitality and live music, in order to give them a sense of the flagship venue in use. Whilst GIJF could provide the music, the building's owners (the Culture and Leisure Services department of Glasgow City Council) required that the Council's internal hospitality provider, City Catering, provide all food and drink at such events. Year after year, it was apparent that City Catering were not able to provide a sufficiently high standard of service for

32 This is true to this day: journalist Keith Bruce, a long-serving member of the GIJF Board of Directors, frequently makes this claim when speaking at GIJF events, while a recorded interview with the Festival Director, Jill Rodger, appears as part of an interactive walking tour of Merchant City music venues.

potential sponsors. Concerns were first raised in 1995, a mere two years after the venue opened (Gulliver, 1995); by 1998, with attracting sponsors the company's key priority, it seemed that matters had not improved (Gulliver, 1998a).

Boyd reported that 'many prospective sponsors' were put off by the low standard of corporate hospitality at the Council-run venue (Boyd 1999c). In terms of securing a deal with Glenmorangie, a more specific problem was the Council's prohibitive position on product sampling, at that time the sponsor's 'primary demand' and therefore a potential deal breaker (ibid). Matters were not helped by the fact that liaison with two Council departments - Performing Arts and Venues, and Catering and Cleansing - was required in order to ensure that restrictions were lifted (ibid). Finally, Boyd reported that Glasgow City Council had agreed to meet Glenmorangie's conditions, and that this was a 'huge step forward' in terms of the working relationship between GIJF and the Council (Boyd 1999d). Boyd maintained constant pressure on the Festival Director and members of the Board of Directors to push for a higher standard of hospitality. This applied not only to events held for sponsors, but also extended to the Festival itself, with general concerns being raised about the standard of the bar facility at The Old Fruitmarket; in 1998, Boyd considered implementing a sort of 'mystery shopper' scheme in order to monitor quality (Rodger, 1998).

Olive Millen was also highly critical of hospitality at the venue. In an interview with the *Scotsman* in 2001, she recounted a particularly bad experience:

> … during the 1994 Jazz Festival … We were obliged to use the catering franchise that was operating [at the venue] already, and we

> didn't know anything about them so we thought we'd play it safe - they couldn't ruin pasta, surely? How wrong we were. … It was quite the worst food I have ever tasted. (Anon., 2001a)

Ruined pasta was the least of the problems stemming from poor management at the venue. Unexplained closures of the ticket office (Gulliver, 2001b), poorly-trained bar staff (Gulliver, 2012) and 'time-wasting, obstruction and general lack of efficiency' (Millen, 2000) all served to create additional work for the GIJF team, as well as an underlying sense of frustration.[33] (Louise Mitchell leapt on these problems as an argument for the retention of the building under co-management with the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall and City Halls, insisting that 'if we manage it holistically as a venue … then it will work' (Mitchell, 2013).)

Perhaps most importantly, however, the transformation of The Old Fruitmarket into a music venue had been GIJF's biggest success story, illustrative of a festival that was a key part of its local cultural calendar, and that had sufficient influence to alter its environment. In terms of meeting its original goal to 'establish the city as a major European jazz centre' (Williams, 1986b), GIJF's Merchant City 'land grab' had been a significant step forward: an attempt to create a permanent, physical home for jazz in Glasgow. To lose The Old Fruitmarket, then, would not only force the Festival to relocate to a less ideal venue, but would also represent the

33 At the time of writing, whilst the management of the venue has greatly improved, problems persist: audience members have voiced their frustration at the closure of the City Halls ticket office at busy times; on the busiest day of the 2012 Festival, the online box office was inaccessible due to a technical issue; and Internet access in the production office can be unreliable, making correspondence and bank transfers difficult.

diminishment of GIJF's position in the cultural life of the city, and of its influence over its environment. GIJF would also be likely to suffer in reputational terms, being no longer able to claim that it had been a key player in the existence of 'one of Glasgow's most popular music venues' (Macdonald, 2001).

Although the Festival made a short-term relocation with the support of a private sector sponsor (as will be discussed below), it was always likely to be reliant to some degree on venues owned and operated by departments of Glasgow City Council. It is worth finally noting, then, that problems at The Old Fruitmarket were also likely to be problems at Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, the City Halls, and the Tramway.

Conclusion

During this period in its history, GIJF was forced to take drastic steps in order to ensure its survival as a company. The scaling down of the Festival, along with the reconfiguration of the staff base employed to deliver it, provided substantial savings, but also meant that income from the box office was unlikely to increase. Whilst the Festival's major public-sector funders - Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Arts Council - were supportive of the new approach to the Festival, the drive for sponsorship demonstrates an acknowledgement on the part of GIJF that its long-term survival was likely to depend increasingly on support from the private sector. The company's approach to sponsorship became clearer and more mature than it had been previously, and this clarity and maturity was rewarded by a fruitful partnership with Glenmorangie.

Unfortunately, the downsizing necessary to secure the Festival's future in the short term meant that GIJF became less visible within the cultural life of the city, its influence greatly diminished when compared with a decade earlier. The organisation that had proactively championed its own flagship venue in 1992-93 was now forced into a reactive position in order to retain the space - and its reaction was arguably less influential than that of Celtic Connections in securing the venue's future.

Although Glasgow City Council provided financial support for the Festival at a critical point, the lack of consultation over the proposed sale of The Old Fruitmarket - not just with GIJF, but seemingly any of the Festivals that used the venue - suggests a lack of understanding on the part of the Council of the spaces needed to accommodate these events. In her proposal for the retention of the venue, Olive Millen argues that moving to another venue would likely cost GIJF box office sales, making it more dependent on Council funding, whilst bar takings in the Merchant City - from which the Council would profit - would suffer (Millen). At the very least, the Council could be accused of a failure to appreciate the wider consequences of the proposed closure; at worst, a complete lack of commitment to the organisations and events that had helped shape the cultural life of the Merchant City.

Chapter Six: Change of the Century (2002-2006)

This chapter sees the Festival enter something of a renaissance period. The chapter begins by providing context regarding changes to the ways in which creative and cultural activities were supported in Scotland, as well as other national policies that would have a potential impact on live music. The chapter then examines briefly the venues available to the Festival following the securing - albeit with a temporary closure - of The Old Fruitmarket.

The main focus of this chapter, however, is the scaling up of the Festival that occurred during this period, made possible with financial support from the Royal Bank of Scotland, and the subsequent decisions that needed to be made regarding the Festival's future once this support was withdrawn. The chapter argues that the different visions for the Festival's future are comparable with those that were in play when the event was first established. This period ends with the Festival facing a number of challenges simultaneously, the withdrawal of support from RBS coinciding with greater insecurity relating to public funding, as well as the resignation of key personnel.

Developments in Scotland

In 2002, the Scottish Arts Council was reviewed by the University of Glasgow's Centre for Cultural Policy Research on behalf of the Scottish Executive (Hamilton and Scullion, 2002). The Executive also carried out a separate review of Scottish Screen, then a key funding body for locally-produced cinema (Anon., 2002e). Common to the two reports were recommendations for greater transparency and

better working relationships with other agencies. These reviews were followed in 2004 by the Scottish Executive's publishing of a Cultural Policy Statement, in which it outlined its plans for a year-long Cultural Commission. The Commission made its final report in June 2005, recommending that a national (i.e. Scottish) council for the creative sector be established by 2007 (Anon., 2005d).[34]

Further Scotland-wide changes affecting the arts followed with the establishment of a new 'national events agency, EventScotland, with a remit to stage international-scale events in Scotland. Some of these events (e.g. the 2014 Ryder Cup in Gleneagles; the 2009, 2011, 2013 and 2015 MOBO Award ceremonies in Glasgow) were attracted from outside Scotland. However, the agency also generated a programme of home-grown events, entitled Scotland, the Perfect Stage. The first phase of this programme was Homecoming Scotland in 2009, a celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns with a clear economic impetus (Anon., r.). Homecoming Scotland was followed by 'years of focus', in which different aspects of life in Scotland would be celebrated: 2010 would be 'Year of Food and Drink'; 2011 would be 'Year of Active Scotland'; 2012 'Year of Creative Scotland'; and 2013 'Year of Natural Scotland' (Anon., i.).

Scotland's biggest opportunity to appear on the world stage, however, was yet to come. In July 2005 it was announced that London was host the 2012 Olympic

34 In fact, it took until 2009 for the Board of the new Council - formed as a company limited by guarantee, and named Creative Scotland 2009 Ltd. - to meet for the first time, following concerns from Members of the Scottish Parliament about escalating transition costs. It would be a further year before the Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Screen were merged and the resulting body, Creative Scotland, was officially launched.

Games. The following month, Scotland's First Minister, Jack McConnell, announced that the Scottish Executive would back a bid for Glasgow to host the 2014 Commonwealth Games, a move that was welcomed by all major political parties in Scotland. Key to this bid would be an infrastructure of venues and accommodation, including existing facilities such as Hampden Park and the SECC, and new developments such as a Commonwealth Village in the East End of the city. The areas of Dalmarnock and Sighthill were, even from the very earliest stages of the bid, earmarked for regeneration (Anon., 2005c).

Scotland-wide and UK-wide legislative acts concerning public health were introduced during this period with the potential to impact on GIJF and other arts organisations. By early 2003, the effects of the Tobacco Advertising and Promotion Act 2002 were becoming obvious, with adverts for tobacco products disappearing from hoardings as well as print and broadcast media. The act also saw an end to sponsorship and other kinds of promotion by tobacco companies. The effects of this legislation on GIJF were largely limited to a reduction in advertising revenue, rather than sponsorship; as noted previously, the company had not pursued sponsorship from tobacco companies since a potential £100,000 cash sponsorship deal[35] with Benson and Hedges had fallen through on the grounds of public health concerns in 1989. These concerns had been voiced by Board member David McDonald to then Festival Director Alan Stanbridge:

> Thank you for the above minutes. I feel the last item on sponsorship

35 To put this into context, GIJF's total income in 1988 was £327,022, £81,259 of which was in the form of cash sponsorship.

> should be expanded somewhat. The question of tobacco sponsorship was not merely discussed. I expressed some serious concerns about it. The Jazz Festival receives substantial public funding on the grounds that it contributes to economic development and employment opportunities in Glasgow. A recent report, however, provides strong evidence of the negative impact of smoking on employment in Glasgow (McDonald, 1989).

GIJF had not adopted an official policy to reject cash sponsorship offers from tobacco firms - indeed, it continued to sell advertising space in the pages of its brochure each year - but the Benson and Hedges deal did not go ahead. What this would suggest is that there was a certain pressure on GIJF to consider potential sponsorship deals not just in terms of their cash impact within the city. It also demonstrates that, for GIJF, its ongoing relationship with Glasgow Action was of greater value than a one-off cash injection.

On 26 March 2006 the Smoking, Health and Social Care (Scotland) Act came into effect, banning individuals from smoking in most enclosed public spaces including pubs, bars, restaurants and, of course, music venues.

Venues

Good news for the Festival came in 2002 with the announcement that, after much discussion about its future, The Old Fruitmarket would be retained as a music venue, and would be included in the planned improvements to the City Halls complex. The budget for the required renovation work had been increased to

£8.3m, financed by the Scottish Arts Council, Scottish Enterprise, the Townscape Initiative, the BBC and other trusts and foundations, as well as Glasgow City Council (Anon., 2002d).[36] It was also announced that Glasgow Cultural Enterprises - the Council organisation that managed Glasgow Royal Concert Hall and the City Halls (as well as the Celtic Connections festival) - would assume responsibility for The Old Fruitmarket when it reopened in 2004 (Gordon, 2002 p. 9). While Glasgow Cultural Enterprises was ostensibly an arms' length subsidiary of Glasgow City Council, Louise Mitchell noted that 'It wasn't very arms' length … the Chairman was always a Councillor (Mitchell, 2013).

Mitchell recalled a conversation with Phil Smith, a production manager for Glasgow's Council-operated concert halls, in which she asked what changes he would ideally make to The Old Fruitmarket, a question that prompted the response 'nothing' (ibid). In fact, the renovation of the venue went beyond the necessary water- and wind-proofing:

> …we turned it round, which makes it much easier to operate, because it then had a common front-of-house with the City Halls … it also meant that we could get disabled access up to the balcony, because you could use the lifts that were in the City Halls … (ibid)

While bringing operational benefits, the relocation of the stage from the western to the eastern end of the venue was met with some ambivalence from critics and audiences. Reviewing a concert by Norwegian trumpeter Nils Petter Molvaer in

36 Funding was also secured from the European Regional Development Fund (Doherty, 2003).

2008, Rob Adams commented that 'with the stage now pointing "downhill", musicians are in greater danger of appearing distant - physically as well as emotionally' (Adams, 2008).

The recent refurbishment of the Tramway, meanwhile, had attracted the interest of Scottish Ballet, who announced in 2003 that they were in discussions with Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Arts Council about the possibility of relocating to the venue. The organisation was keen to move from its existing accommodation, a former army drill hall on West Princes' Street, close to the University of Glasgow. The Tramway was reportedly suffering from low attendances, with a resultant negative impact on its financial position, and it was hoped that the relocation of the ballet company might draw additional audiences to the just-out-of-town venue. However, the plans drew protest from the visual arts community, for whom the Tramway 2 exhibition space - which would, if the ballet moved to the venue, be converted into a rehearsal studio - was a particularly valuable resource (Monaghan, 2003, p. 10).[37]

October 2003 saw the proposal of an ambitious plan for the development of the Queen's Dock area (home to the SECC and Clyde Auditorium). This was to include a new 12,500-seat indoor arena.[38] The following year, Foster and Partners won

37 It was eventually agreed that Scottish Ballet would relocate to a purpose-built extension to the Tramway, with their former headquarters sold to a private developer for student housing (www.scottishballet.co.uk/press/about-tramway.html, accessed 6th May 2014) (Loxton 2012).

38 While the new development was unlikely to ever be used by the Festival - the 2,475 capacity Royal Concert Hall been considered high risk since the poor attendances of 1997 - its construction was to have unforeseen impacts on GIJF that will be discussed in a subsequent

the tender for the design of the arena, with their designs unveiled in 2005 (Anon., d.). GIJF used the SECC itself for an appearance by French DJ St Germain in 2002, a concert that met with a mixed reception. Kate Spence wrote in the *Sunday Mail* that

> French urban mix masters St Germain's acclaimed blend of traditional jazz and dance music is ideal for intimate clubs and venues. Put them into the vast warehouse environment of the Scottish Exhibition Centre and they are lost. … a meandering and impersonal show. (Spence, 2002, p. 24)

An audience member credited only as Paul put it rather more succinctly in a vox pop for *The List*: 'Venue's shite, music's class' (Anon., 2002b).

In Edinburgh, meanwhile, two new jazz venues had opened: The Bridge, previously owned by the late Bill Kyle, and The Jazz Beat Basement, a 'great dive' connected to Blue Note Records (Irvine, 2002, p. 8).

The RBS era: taking George Square

With the closure of The Old Fruitmarket - albeit now a temporary closure - looking certain, GIJF had been exploring the option of creating a tented 'jazz village' in George Square, a large public space in the city centre (Anon., 2001g). Other major events had adopted this approach, with mixed results: it had worked well for the

chapter.

Glasgow Art Fair, but for the Glasgow Folk Festival it had proved an overly ambitious move, resulting in poor ticket sales and the eventual liquidation of the company (Duff, 1997). The sponsorship target for staging an event was initially estimated at around £150,000 and the most promising potential partners were the Royal Bank of Scotland. As noted previously, RBS required exclusivity in return for this level of support, and initially withdrew an offer based on Glenmorangie's continued involvement with GIJF (Anon., 2001g). By 2002, following Glenmorangie's departure, a three-year title sponsorship deal with RBS was being finalised (Gulliver, 2002).

Lesley Boyd, still responsible for GIJF's fundraising efforts, had been instrumental in securing the RBS deal. Much of the energy behind its pursuit - as well as the personal contacts that eased the first steps - also came from Stuart Gulliver, who explained that he had viewed the temporary loss of The Old Fruitmarket as an opportunity to 'create a new epicentre for the short period of time', an epicentre that would make the Festival more attractive to sponsors due to its novelty, visibility and scale (Gulliver, 2012). Edinburgh Jazz Festival, meanwhile, was enjoying title sponsorship from the Bank of Scotland, the culmination of a five-year partnership between the two organisations (Bruce, 2000).

As discussed previously, GIJF's strategy at the time of building its partnership with Glenmorangie had not been to scale the Festival up to its previous level, but rather to secure the company's financial position. By contrast, the deal with RBS meant that the Festival was set to become a different kind of event altogether: bigger (in terms of its length and number of events in the programme), more visible in the city (by way of taking over a central public space), more visible in the UK and

beyond, and also arguably more populist in its programming. Following 1999's dramatic downsizing to around sixty events over five days, the partnership with Glenmorangie had seen the Festival scale back up gradually. In 2000, around seventy events ran over seven days; in 2001, ninety events ran over nine days. In 2002, the first year of RBS's sponsorship, the Festival returned to its traditional ten-day run, with around 120 events taking place (GIJF Ltd. brochures, 1999-2002). The result was an estimated attendance of 50,000 (Anon., 2002c), with more than 20,000 people watching concerts on the free Big Stage and 3,000 people taking place in a successful attempt to set a world record for salsa dancing (Boyd, quoted in Anon., 2002c).

In addition to the free stage, the jazz village included a Spiegeltent, described as an 'Edwardian tent of mirrors' (Devine, 2005). For Olive Millen, the space provided a compromise between the increased capacity of the event as a whole, and the aesthetic appeal of The Old Fruitmarket:

> Artistic Director Olive May Millen says that one of the Fruitmarket's attractions was that it offered audiences a memorable visual experience. The Spiegeltent, with its stained glass, cubicles, and continental style, she says, is the best solution until the festival returns to its spiritual home in 2005. 'It also has a similar feeling of intimacy that's ideal for audiences listening to the music we're putting on in there,' she adds. (Adams, 2003a)

The Spiegeltent proved to be a suitable space not only for live concerts, but also late night jam sessions and DJ sets. Mark Robb, who ran the popular Buff Club,

brought his mix of jazz, funk, soul and hip-hop to the Spiegeltent in 2005. Robb recognised that the appearance of the Buff Club in the programme represented a broadening of the Festival's programming and an attempt to attract a new audience. 'This is the way it should be,' he told the *Glasgow Herald*; 'jazz is not an elitist sport' (Robb, quoted in Devine, 2005). The Festival's programme even extended beyond music, with appearances by comedian Phil Kay in 2003 and 2004, and was praised for its accessibility and 'freshness' (Fisher, 2003). Other developments during this period included 'a left-field programme of improvisational sound at the CCA' in 2005 (Anon., 2005b p. 10). In 2006, a similar programming stream - entitled EnVision and programmed by Graham McKenzie, then the artistic director of Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival - ran at the City Halls, 'exploring the freer side of jazz, looking more to the cutting edge and the outer limits' (McKenzie, quoted in Wilson, 2006b).

A larger Festival, of course, meant a bigger workload, and GIJF's routine HR expenditure increased by around 37% between 2001 and 2002 (Bain, 2001; Bain, 2002). The bulk of the work required to set up the necessary infrastructure in George Square was financed by the cash sponsorship provided by RBS; however, the management of the event remained the responsibility of the core GIJF team. RBS, more than any other sponsor in the Festival's history, were in a position to instruct GIJF on everything from programming decisions (e.g. how many free concerts should be held in George Square) to management of the brand (e.g. the insistence that Festival staff use the full name 'Royal Bank Glasgow Jazz Festival' when answering the phone).

The choice of venue, too, brought with it particular problems. Rather than using

a marquee such as that used for the Glasgow Art Fair, RBS had requested an open-air free stage (Boyd, 2002); whilst allowing for greater footfall and visibility in the city centre, this also left the Festival at the mercy of the notoriously changeable Glasgow summer. Noise from other sources was also a non-trivial problem. One of The Old Fruitmarket's great strengths had been its acoustic, which had made the venue popular amongst jazz enthusiasts (Anon., 2003d); by contrast, the temporary venues in the city centre, surrounded by traffic, were likely to prove less than ideal:

> Buses to the left of us, police sirens to the right, there we were stuck in the middle of George Square listening to Bobo Stenson giving new meaning to the term 'go out and play in the traffic'. The Swedish pianist made light of the situation, telling us that the reversing bleeper of the truck cleaning up after Tony Bennett was in A flat, and such like. (Adams, 2003b)

One issue particular to Glasgow was the annual summer processions by members of the Orange Order, the largest of which was set to take place on the Saturday of the 2003 Festival, with its route passing George Square. GIJF approached Glasgow City Council for advice on the matter (Corner, 2002b), even going as far as to ask the Council to change the route of the procession (Millen, 2002); eventually, it was decided that there was to be no Festival activity before 12:30, or between 16:00 and 16:30, on the Saturday (Millen, 2003). The same problem arose in 2005 and, on this occasion, created a notable disruption. In one review in the *Glasgow Herald,* journalist Alison Kerr wrote:

> The advertised line-up for Saturday afternoon's free music in George Square should really have included the pipes of the Orange marchers, since they took up more than half an hour of an otherwise superb set by the five-piece Havana Swing. Jazz on the Big Stage ground to a halt while wave after wave of marchers passed through the square. Anticipating a musical clash, the band's leader announced an intermission, but the group only managed one number before being blasted back into silence. (Kerr, 2005)

The Orange procession was not GIJF's only rival for presence in this key public space. In 2004, Glasgow City Council - having already agreed to GIJF's use of the area - planned to erect a big wheel in George Square (Rodger, 2004), impinging on the Festival in a number of ways: due to the space needed for safe evacuation, the big wheel would reduce audience capacity by 2,000, with a projected corresponding loss of around £8,500 in box office takings (Gulliver, 2004); there was a possibility of the ride's operators wishing to play amplified music, which would potentially interfere with concerts (ibid); and there was the possibility that the ride would have its own sponsorship which, although not directly related to GIJF, could cause tensions with RBS (Rodger, 2004). Additionally, the surface of the Square proved unable to withstand a particularly hot Glasgow summer, leading to the Festival's chairs sinking into the tarmac (Geddes, 2011). In an echo of the anonymous letter to the *Evening Times* that described the Festival's Merchant City bunting as looking like 'old pants', the author of a letter to the same paper complained that the George Square jazz village was let down by 'the throwing down of some metal fencing and erecting of a cheap stage' (Caven, 2004).

Even without the problems outlined above, the partnership with RBS did not allow GIJF much respite from its anxieties about sponsorship. Delays in confirmation about each year's funding levels resulted in poor cash flow at critical times of year; in 2003, with GIJF at its overdraft limit, creditors yet to be paid, and staff contracts due for renewal, the company was forced to request an emergency grant from Glasgow City Council in order to alleviate the pressure until RBS confirmed its ongoing support (Gulliver, 2003). By the end of 2005, RBS had confirmed that it would no longer be supporting the Festival (McLean, 2005). GIJF once again faced an uncertain future, one that would almost certainly see the Festival having to downsize, with implications for its visibility, influence and financial security.

A post-RBS downsizing had always been a likely outcome of the sponsorship. Whilst attendances had grown to fill George Square, the fact that many of the events were either free or low-cost to attend (such as a 'Live for £5' series) meant that box office takings did not always rise accordingly. The figure below illustrates GIJF's income from box office receipts from 1999 (the year the Festival was shortened) until 2005 (the last year of RBS's title sponsorship). This income is shown alongside the number of individual events - including those that were free to attend, and those for which GIJF assumed no financial risk - in order to give an indication of the Festival's scale in each year during this period.

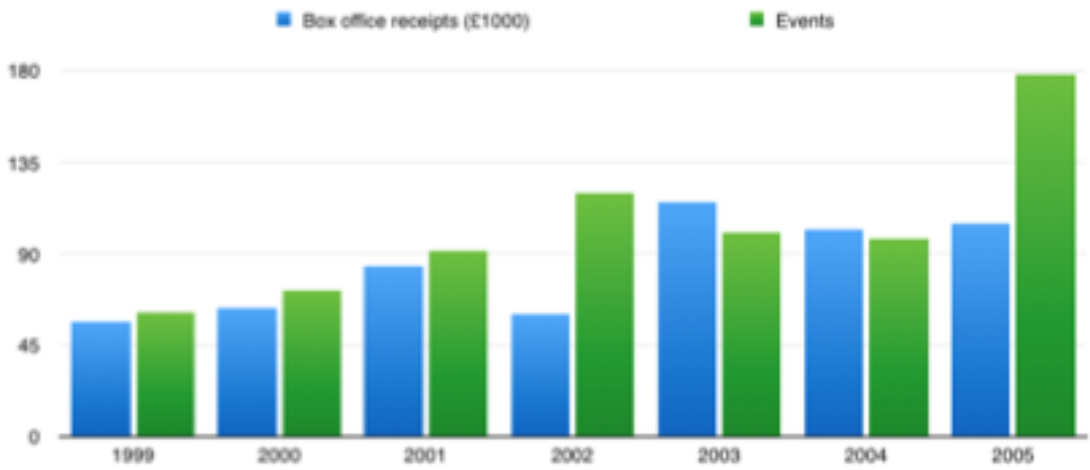

Fig 9: Box office receipts compared with number of events, 1999-2005

In the years following the financial recovery described previously, GIJF's box office income remained roughly proportional to the event, in terms of the total number of events in the programme. In 2002 - the first year of RBS's sponsorship, and the year the Festival returned to a ten-day run - there was a jump in the number of events, but a disappointing drop in box office income. During 2003 and 2004, the balance returned, even working slightly in GIJF's favour, with box office takings proportionally higher than might be expected. In 2005, however, the last year of RBS's sponsorship, the number of events jumped again, but box office takings remained static.

In effect, the scaling-up of the Festival was due to a sort of inflation, rather than real growth: through event became bigger and more visible, many of its resources - such as its staff base, paying audience, public funders, and local jazz scenes - did not see any real growth during the RBS period.

The post-RBS era

In September 2004, a year before RBS confirmed that it would not be continuing its partnership with GIJF, Olive May Millen announced that she was resigning from her position as Artistic Director at GIJF, and from jazz promotion in general. An article in the *Scotsman* outlined the reasons behind her decision:

> The jazz aficionado who has presided over the Glasgow Jazz Festival for the past six years has left her role, saying the event is becoming too 'populist'. Olive Millen, the artistic director of the festival since 1998, has a reputation as a true enthusiast who has tried to bring cutting-edge international musicians to the event. Jazz insiders[39] say her decision to quit follows a troubled few years for the festival, which has been dogged by financial difficulties, the loss of a major venue and rumours of power struggles among the festival's board. … The former director said she hoped the festival would flourish in future, but hinted that other members of the governing board were not driven by a love of music. (Anon., 2004b)

In March 2005, the company lost another champion with the death of Iwan Williams, one of its founders (McLean, 2005). Though Williams had left the Board of Directors in 2003, he had remained involved with the company, offering advice and support whenever he was able to do so.

39 It is unclear who these 'jazz insiders' are, particularly as this article is unattributed.

More resignations followed: by the end of 2005, having been on the Board of Directors since 1986, Stuart Gulliver had resigned from GIJF. Despite the successes of the RBS title-sponsored Festival, Gulliver had found himself frustrated with what he perceived as 'complacency' amongst Board members, and a feeling that the event was 'the same old same old' (Gulliver, 2012). Simon Clark, a business consultant who had joined the Board in 1993, was elected Chair. The following year, Pat Lally stepped down as chair of the GIJF Board of Directors, a position he had held since the company's inception.[40]

GIJF's post-RBS problems were only just beginning. In March 2006 it emerged that Scottish Enterprise, whose financial position had been under scrutiny for a matter of months, would be reducing its funding to several Glasgow festivals. Following a £30m overspend in the 2005-06 financial year (Musson, 2006, p. 18), the economic development agency was ordered by the Scottish Government to find ways of making savings (Fraser, 2006). Substantial cuts were made to its urban regeneration budget, and the agency was criticised for 'undermining Glasgow's regeneration efforts (Gordon Matheson, quoted in Musson, 2006, p. 18). Festivals reported to be affected by the cuts included GIJF, the Merchant City Festival and the Glasgow River Festival (Musson, 2006, p. 18).

GIJF suffered its second serious blow in a month as the Scottish Arts Council, having conducted a thorough review of the company, concluded that it could no longer include GIJF amongst its core funded organisations. Whilst the company

40 Lally was also the Festival's Patron during his tenure as Lord Provost (1996-1999), and its Honorary President from 2003-2006.

would still be able to apply for funding this would in future be on the less secure 'project' basis. The Scottish Arts Council cited concerns about the organisation's governance - factors both contributing to, and resulting from, the departures of Olive May Millen and Stuart Gulliver - as a key reason for the change in funding status. The artistic quality of the Festival's programme was also noted as an area where improvement was necessary (Goodwin, 2006, p. 10). Interviewed for the *Sunday Times*, Jill Rodger hinted at the difficulties GIJF had faced balancing the demands of the SAC with the demands of the Festival's title sponsor:

> For the past four years we have been very much bound by requirements of our main sponsor, who acted as pay master … [The Royal Bank of Scotland] wanted to see popular programming and bums on seats and that's what we did. We had great audience figures but these are not possibly the type of people that the Arts Council feels it wants to support. (Rodger, quoted in Goodwin, 2006, p. 10)

In fact, the loss of core funding from SAC did not come completely out of the blue. In 2003, Olive Millen had reported to the Board of Directors that although GIJF was, at that point, to remain one of SAC's core funded organisations, its funding would not increase until the Festival programme was developed to include more European jazz, and concerns about the company's governance were addressed (Millen, 2003). Correspondence between GIJF and the Scottish Arts Council from 2003 to 2005 suggests that the SAC had been concerned about GIJF's operation as a company, and the artistic quality of the Festival, throughout the period. Nod Knowles - who had been Head of Music at the SAC since 1998, and who had

previously worked as the Director of South West Jazz (Knowles, 2014) - had written to Stuart Gulliver in 2003 to convey his concern that the severity of GIJF's financial position had not been made clear to the SAC (Knowles, 2003).

The Scottish Arts Council were not the only stakeholder concerned with matters at GIJF: the Festival's other major public-sector supporter, Glasgow City Council, were similarly perturbed by the operation of the company. In a letter to Jill Rodger, the Council's Arts Manager, Charles Bell, asked that the GIJF Board of Directors be reminded of its funding agreement with GCC, which included a stipulation that the Council be consulted on key changes to personnel (Bell, 2004). By the time RBS finally confirmed its withdrawal as the Festival's major private sector funder, GIJF's relationships with its two main public-sector supporters - the Scottish Arts Council and Glasgow City Council - were under unprecedented strain.

Visions for GIJF

In late 2005, following Stuart Gulliver's resignation and the termination of its relationship with RBS, GIJF engaged Baker Richards Consulting to conduct a business planning exercise on its behalf. This work, supported financially by Scottish Enterprise, Glasgow City Council and Glasgow Business Gateway, resulted in GIJF being presented with three options: to stage a smaller, more specialised and tightly-programmed Festival; an improved version of the RBS-era Festival, continuing to make use of a George Square 'tented village'; or a much larger, green-field Festival in one of Glasgow's public parks. The first option - which would see the Festival's activity centred on the refurbished Old Fruitmarket, as well as venues such as the Centre for Contemporary Arts - was recommended by

the consultancy firm (Baker Richards Limited, 2005). In effect, the options paper presented to GIJF simply brought into focus an issue that had been implicit for some time: the Festival lacked a clear identity and was, as such, vulnerable to being pulled in different directions by stakeholders with competing ideas of the kind of event it should be.

One example of such competing demands is described in the section above. For the Royal Bank of Scotland, a bigger Festival was a better Festival, and this could be achieved by extending the event in terms of length and number of events, as well as concentrating activity in a large, outdoor space in order to maximise its visibility. In order to attract audiences to an event of this scale, however, GIJF needed to cater to ever broader tastes, and for the Scottish Arts Council this meant an unacceptable compromise in terms of artistic quality (specifically in terms of the underrepresentation of European jazz).

These competing demands for the Festival also existed at the level of the individual, however, with different Board and staff members advocating different future paths for the event. Aligning most closely with the views of the Scottish Arts Council, Olive Millen - whilst conscious of the commercial pressures faced by the Festival - had long petitioned for the event to include more challenging music. In 1999, shortly after becoming the Festival's Artistic Director, she had outlined her position in an interview with the *Independent*:

> I'm personally keen to get more Europeans involved in the festival, but to do it bit by bit … Our audience is in love with American music, as all jazz audiences are. The flavour of the festival is built on

> modern American players and I'm not going to change that, but the Glasgow audience is a highly intelligent one and they have a sharp sense of critique. I'm not just offering them what they already know, or telling them what they should like, but there's room for introducing the different sensibility of European jazz, which in any case has a lot of common ground with what is happening in Scottish jazz. (Johnson, 1999)

That Millen's eventual resignation was driven, in part, by her concern that the Festival was becoming too 'populist' suggests that the event had not taken the direction she might have hoped. Meanwhile, the increase in the Festival's scale - and corresponding increase in its 'populism' - had been championed by Stuart Gulliver, who had been largely responsible for the involvement of RBS, and whose vision for the Festival involved large, outdoor, televised events, headlined by popular acts, and curated by leading musicians (Gulliver, 2012).

However, a third vision for the Festival is evident in company paperwork: that of an event connected strongly to its local communities, with education and outreach activities built in to the programme. Whilst the Festival had included such activities since its very beginnings - the establishment of the Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra and the Composer-in-Residence initiative being the key examples - it seems that the extent of these activities became a point of contention in the mid-2000s. Before resigning from the Board of Directors, Stuart Gulliver had argued for a further upsizing, in line with the third option presented to GIJF by Baker Richards; in doing so, he had found himself at odds with the general mood of the Board, and in particular with Simon Clark, who would eventually replace

him as its Chair. Gulliver was sceptical about the ability of GIJF to marry a large-scale, high-profile event with the community activities for which Clark was pushing:

> … ten-year-old primary school kids playing the drums and beating things and so on, is okay, but it's not part of what a jazz festival is. … If the Jazz Festival is looking for support from business, and is looking for business support, I think it's got to be more high-powered, it's gotta be names-led, it's gotta be an event, and it's gotta be a destination. … I think if you want to attract people to come and stay in the city for the Jazz Festival, you're gonna have to have big names, and a weekend like that would have to have Harry Connick, and a big band night, only performance in Britain, and a couple of those, people would then travel. And they would stay, and they would get involved with other things, I think. … that was probably a personal agenda, in a sense that I didn't think I had any endorsement for that, from the Board. (Gulliver, 2012)

The Festival's public-sector funders were, understandably, supportive of GIJF's wish to increase its community and education activities. Jazz Cats and Cool Dudes, a jazz dance project aimed at primary school children, ran in 2000 and 2001 and attracted additional funding from the Scottish Arts Council. However, private sector sponsors were also interested in being seen to support activities that benefitted local people, schools, and community groups. As early as 1999, Lesley Boyd was reporting to the Board of Directors that a perceived lack of activities for children, and lack of community outreach activities, were being cited

as reasons why potential sponsors turned GIJF down (Boyd, 1999b). Whilst these may have been given as reasons for not sponsoring the Festival, their appearance at the top of the list is perhaps unlikely to be due to the frequency with which they were cited. It is more likely that these factors were emphasised by staff pushing for a community-facing Festival, rather than a larger, more commercial one.

Other reasons cited included a perceived 'relatively small audience', as well as the perennial issue of 'no guaranteed media coverage', both of which might be considered more obvious reasons for potential sponsors to decline (ibid). The issue of securing media coverage is, of course, linked to the issue of securing sponsorship, with the interrelationship between these factors forming a virtuous or vicious cycle depending on the fortunes of the Festival. Private sector sponsorship can lead to the scaling-up of an event to a point at which the interest of media companies is piqued; greater presence in broadcast media, in turn, increases visibility and makes an event more attractive to potential sponsors. Conversely, as Stuart Gulliver put it, 'if you didn't get any TV coverage you were always grubbing around for sponsors' (Gulliver, 2012). In a letter to the *Glasgow Herald* in 1995, Iwan Williams complained that even the biggest names secured by GIJF, including Sarah Vaughan, Miles Davis, Dizzy Gillespie, Max Roach, and Carol Kidd, had been ignored by local broadcasters. By way of contrast, he wrote,

> ...the Brecon Jazz Festival, probably Glasgow's nearest rival, has all its major concerts recorded by BBC Wales for presentation on the network. Most of the major European jazz festivals have similar arrangements with their local broadcasters. (Williams, 1995)

The Festival has benefitted from local broadcast media on occasion. In 1989 and 1995, Radio Clyde (and its successors, Clyde 1 and Clyde 2) acted as the Festival's media partner, a sort of in-kind sponsorship arrangement whereby the station would broadcast a Festival Diary. BBC Radio Scotland's weekly jazz programme The Jazz House also routinely covers the Festival although, as one interviewee note, 'if [it] didn't cover the Jazz Festival, what else would [it] do' (Gulliver, 2012). BBC Radio 3 have also broadcast GIJF concerts on several occasions, including the 2002 launch night hosted by singer Stacey Kent and a set by Soweto Kinch in 2012, both of which aired on Jazz Line-Up. Additionally, at least one recording made of a GIJF concert by the BBC - Stan Getz at the Theatre Royal in 1989 - was commercially released (*Yours and Mine - Live at the Glasgow International Jazz Festival*).

However, there is a general sense of a lack of real support from the BBC in terms of coverage, despite efforts to on the part of GIJF to foster close relationships with BBC representatives. Miles Davis's 1990 concert at the SECC is a case in point. While there were discussions about this concert being recorded and broadcast, in the event no recording was made, in part because of the requirement on GIJF to raise the necessary funds for the BBC. Given that 1990 was Glasgow's year as European Capital of Culture, that the concert was only Davis's second appearance in Glasgow (the first having been at the Apollo in 1973), and Davis's status as both a household name and a jazz pioneer (although perhaps not at the top of his game), it seems surprising that the commercial potential for a recording of this concert remained unfulfilled. The sense of this having been a missed opportunity was heightened for Stuart Gulliver by the release of the live

video *Miles in Paris:*

> Miles came here and performed the SECC with the same band that he then went to Paris and performed with, and recorded 'Miles in Paris'. Now I don't believe a 'Miles in Glasgow' would have been the same, but it was the same band, same repertoire, everything was exactly the same. Now, … I just think that would have been a really good thing to do, to be a little prescient in that sense and … be into the business sufficiently to know that Miles was going to, with this band, do a recording. And he would do it live. And it was the same bloody thing, I was really furious. I bought it about six months after, and he left here to go to Paris, it's the same stuff. (Gulliver, 2012)

Other than a few short items on local news, the Festival's presence on television has not been rich. One of the few success stories was a 28-minute documentary on Carla Bley's 1992 work 'Birds of Paradise', commissioned as part of her appointment as the Festival's composer-in residence that year. The documentary - which follows Bley, four musicians from her own band, and a big band comprised of local musicians - was produced by an Edinburgh-based film company, Skyline Productions, for BBC Scotland, and was aired in 1993. The Festival is, perhaps, merely the victim of a broader issue in terms of jazz broadcasting in the UK; Nicholson, Kendon and Hodgkins find a disparity between the representation of jazz on public radio in the UK and in Europe, and another between the representation of jazz on public radio in the UK and the 'skills, formal training, diversity and international status' of UK jazz musicians (2009, p. 1).

One particular area where the needs of media partners and sponsors could potentially clash is that of coverage by the BBC, since the names and logos of private sector sponsors would not normally appear in broadcasts by the public-sector Corporation. In fact, during the Festival's early years, this would never prove to be a problem:

> The BBC never gave us any encouragement. Right under our nose, then, they started recording live from Brecon, in the 90s, and we didn't get that … here, BBC Scotland were crap. They weren't very good. We had someone from the BBC on the Board, it didn't make any difference. … How the bloody hell do we get sponsors, and therefore, how do we get media involved, TV basically, step it up a bit. (Gulliver, 2012)

Gulliver's position was corroborated by others. Bill Sweeney recalled

> … an immense frustration that the coverage from the BBC was never strong, either radio or television. Huge amount of televisual potential … like the visiting composers, jazz artists working with the Youth Jazz Orchestra. It's a gift. (Sweeney, 2012)

Conclusion

The period 2002-2006 saw Glasgow Jazz Festival enter something of a renaissance period, having secured a title sponsor in the Royal Bank of Scotland. The 'Royal Bank era' saw the event scaled up considerably (along with the workload required

to support it), achieving unprecedented visibility in the city. However, this brought with it both practical challenges and a certain insecurity about the long-term security of the event.

There were three visions for the post-RBS Festival: an even bigger event, catering to popular tastes; a smaller event with stronger artistic direction; and a smaller, community-facing event, interacting more directly with local institutions such as schools and prisons. These three visions, whilst not necessarily mutually exclusive, each had to contend with obstacles such as the demands of sponsors and funding bodies, the tastes of local audiences, and the capacity of the Festival (and the city) to attract tourists; these obstacles meant that the Festival could not realistically be all things to all people. The visions are also reminiscent of the various agendas in play when the Festival was first introduced.

Title sponsorship from the Royal Bank of Scotland enabled the Festival to scale up, returning to a ten-day run, and creating the outdoor 'jazz village' to which it had always aspired. It also provided a solution to the temporary closure of the Festival's key venue, The Old Fruitmarket. However, the use of a central, public space proved to be a double-edged sword: whilst resulting in greater visibility, and attracting larger audiences, the Festival was forced to compromise in terms of artistic direction and acoustic quality, as well as having to share the space.

The RBS venture was also always likely to be problematic in terms of its impact on the Festival's long-term scale and visibility, and in the post-RBS era GIJF was left facing some difficult decisions regarding the future of the event, as well as a number of questions about the Festival's identity: what kind of jazz festival was

it? What kind of jazz festival, if any, did Glasgow want? And what kind of jazz festival could the city sustain in the long term?

The competing visions for the future scale, shape and musical orientation of the Festival reflect the competing visions that were in play when the event was first established. Olive Millen's criticism that the programming was becoming too populist suggests a genuine enthusiasm for an event with a strong artistic direction. This was an ambition shared, in the Festival's early years, by Iwan Williams, Bill Sweeney and Alan Stanbridge. There is also evidence of a genuine ambition for the Festival to engage more meaningfully with the local population. Simon Clark's desire to drive the event in this direction is an echo of the earlier establishment of the Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra. The option presented by Baker Richards Consulting for the Festival to scale up further corresponds most closely to Stuart Gulliver's ambitions for the event; from the earliest days of GIJF, Gulliver had brought to the company a vision of a large, highly visible, influential and commercially successful jazz festival, with a strong potential to draw a tourist audience.

By the time GIJF had taken steps to address its identity crisis by engaging an outside consultancy firm, the issue had led to the resignations of two key personnel. With the losses of Millen and Gulliver, two of the three options presented to GIJF by Baker Richards - the 'small scale jewel' and the 'big event' - had lost their obvious champions. What remained was the second of the three options: 'same but better' (Baker Richards Limited, 2005).

Although Stuart Gulliver was no longer involved with GIJF, one part of his vision

for the Festival was eventually realised. A major improvement suggested for the 2007 Festival was the involvement of a Guest Programme Director. As well as bringing greater artistic cohesion to the Festival programme, it was hoped that this initiative would improve the visibility of the event by building strong associations with prominent jazz musicians. GIJF received an award of £20,000 from the Scottish Arts Council to fund the initiative in 2007 (Wilson, 2006a). After assembling a shortlist of six musicians - taking into account their respective reputations, availability and affordability - Doncaster-based trombonist Dennis Rollins was selected. This initiative is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven: The Third Decade (2007-2015)

This chapter focuses on the 'post-RBS' period. 2009 saw the Festival undergo a rebranding exercise that saw the word 'international' dropped from the name of the event, and a list of musical genres displayed prominently on promotional materials: jazz, blues, reggae, funk, soul and world. This chapter examines the rationale for and impact of the rebranding exercise, arguing that the genre-based marketing allowed the Festival's organisers to programme the event according to both their own strengths and the tastes of local audiences, but that implicit in this approach is an acknowledgement that the local audience could not sustain a narrowly-programmed jazz festival.

Developments in Glasgow and Edinburgh

Glasgow's chances of hosting the 2014 Commonwealth Games improved significantly when, in March 2007, the Canadian city of Halifax withdrew its bid amid concerns about the budget and perceived benefits to be gained from hosting (Anon., 2007b). On the 9th November that year, it was announced that Glasgow's bid had been successful (Anon., 2007c.); the announcement was watched live by crowds gathered in The Old Fruitmarket, Kelvin Hall, and leisure centres around the city. By the following year, the impact of the Games on Glasgow's arts organisations was becoming clear, with reports that the Council's funding application form 'included the statement that the council would look favourably on organisations that were relevant to the city's hosting of the 2014 Commonwealth Games' (Anon., 2008d, p. 15).

Inevitably, the success of the bid was not met with universal approval. The narrative of regeneration and job creation drew criticism from those who argued that the social costs to the people living in the areas earmarked for development were being played down. A blog entitled Games Monitor 2014[41] quickly appeared, highlighting the effects of the regeneration programme on the local communities that were likely to be most affected, and documenting an emerging protest movement. In Dalmarnock, particular attention was paid to the Jaconelli family, evicted from the tenement flat that they had owned since 1974, and the loss of the Accord Centre, a valuable resource for adults with learning disabilities (Anon., 2011c.). Critics argued that, rather than benefitting from the proposed developments in the area, the local community was being systematically displaced and short-changed by city authorities. Further north, the area of Sighthill - where demolition of notable high-rise social housing blocks was already underway - was identified as a potential base for the 2018 Youth Olympic Games (Anon., 2012c). As well as concerns about community displacement, the proposed regeneration of the area threatened an astronomical stone circle built for the community in 1979 (Ross, 2013).

Plans to develop these and other areas of east Glasgow were integrated into a twenty-year plan of urban regeneration. In 2007, Glasgow City Council, South Lanarkshire Council and Scottish Enterprise established a company, Clyde Gateway, to implement this plan (Anon., a.). In the same year, Glasgow City Council established another company - limited by guarantee and with charitable status - to work on its behalf in the management of cultural and leisure services.

41 gamesmonitor.org

The company, named Culture and Sport Glasgow, had a huge remit including the control of venues such as the Royal Concert Hall and City Halls, but also encompassing work not directly connected to the Council (Anon., c.). Louise Mitchell was unconvinced by the Council's approach to the management of its concert halls:

> I think concert hall management is a specialist field … you need people who care about what you're doing, and I don't think you can manage it in a portfolio of golf clubs and swimming pools. (Mitchell, 2013)

In 2010, Culture and Sport Glasgow underwent a rebranding exercise at a reported cost of £54,000, emerging as Glasgow Life (Anon., b.). The exercise drew criticism from unions and prompted industrial action (Anon., 2010c).

Work on Glasgow's new 12,500-seat indoor arena began in 2011. The venue was to be managed by the SECC, in collaboration with AEG (one of the UK's leading promotors of live events); building work was carried out by Bovis Land Lease and, once construction of the arena was well underway, it was revealed that energy company Scottish Hydro would become a major partner in the project. The venue, it was announced, was to be named 'The Hydro', though this would later be amended to 'The SSE Hydro', incorporating the name of Scottish Hydro's parent company (Anon., d.). While Glasgow was expanding its capacity for large-scale events, Edinburgh was struggling to retain its smaller venues. In 2010, it was reported that the organisers of Jazz on a Summer's Day, one of the most popular events at Edinburgh's jazz festival, were unable to secure their usual space in West

Princes Street Gardens, an outdoor space close to the city's central Waverley Station (Miller, 2010, p. 8). Two years later, Andrew Eaton-Lewis wrote in the *Scotsman* that a popular concert series hosted by photographer Douglas Robertson in his own home had been shut down by the City of Edinburgh Council, 'people who don't care that Robertson was offering crucial, much appreciated support to a city's fragile music scene, only that he'd taken it upon himself to do something without asking them first' (Eaton-Lewis, 2012). Eaton-Lewis placed the loss of this initiative in the context of a city that had seen many of its smaller venues closing down, including 'the Bongo Club, the Venue, the Forest Cafe, the Roxy etc.' (Eaton-Lewis, 2012).

Further blues

By 2009 the effects of the global recession were becoming all too evident. Jill Rodger described ongoing efforts to raise funds as her least favourite part of the Festival Director role (Rodger, quoted in McDonald, 2009, p. 27), and specifically drew attention to the challenges associated with selling tickets for smaller concerts:

> In Glasgow there is no ticketed jazz clubs; there are free things in the pubs but getting people used to even handing over a fiver is hard! (Rodger, quoted in Anon., 2009b pp. 102-103)

In late 2011 GIJF, along with other arts organisations based in Glasgow, started to feel the effect of pressure on public spending. The *Evening Times* reported that Glasgow City Council planned to reduce funding to GIJF, Scottish Opera, Scottish

Ballet, the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, the Scottish Chamber Orchestra and the Scottish Ensemble (sometimes collectively referred to as the 'Big Five', supported directly by the Scottish Government, rather than via Creative Scotland), whilst spending on policing and certain community services would be prioritised (Leask, 2011). The effect on GIJF was a cut of 10% of its grant (ibid). Increasing income from other key sources - i.e. private-sector sponsorship and box office receipts - became even more important than usual.

Elsewhere in the UK, events were looking to diversify their income. The founder of All Tomorrow's Parties, which had grown out of the Bowlie Weekender in the late 1990s and always prided itself on being sponsorship-free, was forced to concede that he 'would entertain sponsorship, if it was something relevant and executed in a tasteful fashion' (Hogan, quoted in Marshall, 2012). Meanwhile, the consultant behind the Lincoln Inspired community arts festival launched a crowd-funding campaign (Bullimore, quoted in Ionescu, 2012). For Keith Bruce, the latter approach was

> … no substitute for proper state support … but it is of more intrinsic value than the commercial sponsorship that arts organisations spend inordinate amounts of time and effort chasing. Not only does crowd-funding offer a more democratic alternative to corporate largesse, it is also a more accurate guide to the product's market value. … How clearly the moral vacuum at the heart of world football was demonstrated last week when the high ground was occupied by Adidas and Coca-Cola (of all organisations) without a murmur of dissent. (Bruce, 2011)

In April 2013, the Conservative Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, Maria Miller, gave a speech at the British Museum entitled 'Testing times: Fighting culture's corner in an age of austerity'. The key message delivered by Miller was that the economic impact of artistic and cultural activities supported financially by government would need to be clearly demonstrated in order to justify ongoing investment (Miller, 2013). The Arts Council of England was faced with cuts of between 5% and 15% and the dilemma of how - or, indeed, whether - to support both large, heritage organisations such as the Royal Opera House and grassroots arts organisations (Higgins, 2013).

During the 2011 Jazz Festival, GIJF moved to new office space in the Briggait, a Grade-A listed building close to the River Clyde that had originally been used as a fish market. Like The Old Fruitmarket, the space had been largely unused since its traders relocated to a new market space in Blochairn, further east, in 1977 (Anon., k.). For a brief spell in the 1980s the Briggait had been used as a shopping centre, and had its own bar - The Blue Note - which was used by the Jazz Festival in 1987. Between 2001 and 2009, the local WASPS artists' collective renovated the Briggait into studio and office space for arts organisations, making it their main base (Merchant City Initiative, 2007).

In 2012, GIJF was on the move again, and for the first time, the company was relocating to a space outside the Merchant City. The new accommodation at Hayburn Court, based in a renovated stable block, was located in Partick, a lively part of the city's West End. Whilst more remote from the Festival's usual hub of Merchant City music venues, the new office space offered considerable

advantages, quickly proving to be a friendly working environment shared by arts organisations already connected to GIJF.

The 2011 Festival was GIJF's silver anniversary, and its programme included a nod to earlier events with reprisals of works by composers-in-residence: Benny Carter's Glasgow Suite and Gerry Mulligan's Flying Scotsman (Gilchrist, 2011 p. 36). The following year, Keith Bruce heralded the 2012 Festival a success before it had even begun, with its healthy ticket sales and an audience that was 'noticeably youthful, funky and keen on experimental eccentricity' (Bruce, 2012).

September 2009 saw the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama[42] launch an undergraduate degree in jazz (Scotney, 2009). In terms of both its inception and its delivery the course was largely the work of saxophonist Tommy Smith - arguably Scotland's most well-known jazz musician - who had long been a campaigner for the provision of more, and better, jazz education in Scotland. Along with Tommy Smith, the degree was delivered by Mario Caribé (bass), Alyn Cosker (drums), Chris Grieve (trombone), Paul Harrison (piano), Kevin Mackenzie (guitar) and Ryan Quigley (trumpet).

In December 2012, the Scottish Jazz Federation launched 'The J Word', a new touring initiative covering Scotland and the North-East of England. The scheme,

42 In September 2011, the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama changed its name to the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. This renaming exercise - and the rebranding that accompanied it - was intended to communicate that the institution's activity was not limited to music and drama, but extended to other areas of the performing arts; it was also intended to clarify the institution's pedagogical style.

supported by Creative Scotland to the tune of £30,000 (Ferguson, 2012), was based on a network of key music venues in each of the participating cities and aimed to bring world class jazz artists to Scotland and Gateshead for short tours (around half a dozen concerts), supported by local artists. The initiative's stated aims were: to raise Scotland's international profile as a centre for live jazz; to establish the necessary infrastructure of venues and promoters needed to support this scale of touring; and to offer greater opportunities to local jazz musicians, as well as developing the audience for live jazz in Scotland (Rae). Beyond the Glasgow Jazz Festival Director, Jill Rodger, acting as one of the Scottish Jazz Federation's trustees, GIJF's involvement with 'The J Word' was minimal. Moreover, the Festival's key venue, The Old Fruitmarket, was interestingly omitted from the network of venues that would be used by the touring initiative.[43] As an attempt to build a touring circuit for jazz in Scotland, 'The J Word' was reminiscent of the activities of the Scottish Jazz Network in the early 1990s, and also the Arts Council-supported 'Tune Up' programme of the mid-1990s. It was not, therefore, the first time such a project had been initiated. Where it differed, however, was in its self-conscious (and expensive) branding, with the word 'jazz' conspicuous by its absence. Singer Cathie Rae, then director of the Scottish Jazz Federation, told Brian Ferguson in the *Scotsman* that the it was hoped that the 'beards or beer bellies' image of jazz could be overcome (Rae, quoted in Ferguson, 2012). Meanwhile, Adrian Harris, then chief executive of Edinburgh's Queen's Hall, emphasised that such initiatives were important in order to raise interest in a musical form for which audience levels were plateauing 'our research showed that

43 The venues involved were Eden Court Theatre (Inverness), Aberdeen Performing Arts, Perth Theatre, Queen's Hall (Edinburgh), Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, OnatFife and the Sage Centre (Gateshead) (Ferguson, 2012).

many different demographic groups were interested in going to jazz gigs,' he told Ferguson, 'but were turned off for various reasons' (Ferguson, 2012).[44]

In December 2012, Creative Scotland found itself the subject of media interest following the sudden resignations of its CEO, Andrew Dixon, and Director of Creative Development, Venu Dhupa.

(International) Jazz Festival

As noted in the previous chapter, the 2007 Glasgow International Jazz Festival was programmed in part by trombonist Dennis Rollins, its first (and, to date, its only) Guest Artistic Director. Rollins, a British musician of Afro-Caribbean heritage, used as his central theme the bicentenary of the abolition of slavery, and his programme showcased the talents of other musicians with Afro-Caribbean parentage. Rollins was interviewed about his role in the *Scotsman* and took the opportunity to emphasise that his programme would be forward-thinking and celebratory, with an emphasis on emerging artists (Gilchrist, 2007). As well as appearing on the bill himself and running workshops for 12-14-year-olds, Rollins programmed such artists as Courtney Pine, Byron Wallen, Jason Yarde, Cleveland Watkiss, Randy Weston and Ayana Witter-Johnson (data taken from GIJF brochure, 2007). Whilst individual concerts were critically well-received, the programme overall did not make notably more impact with audiences or the press than in previous years, and the initiative was not repeated.

44 To date, the extent of the initiative's activity has been somewhat limited; at the time of writing, the site has not been updated since May 2013.

This is not, however, the only time the Festival had looked to a particular part of the world for part, or all, of its programme. In an effort to foster a stronger presence of European jazz at the Festival, GIJF has partnered variously with Alliance Français and the Goethe Institut in order to ensure that French and German acts and styles have been represented in the programme (data taken from GIJF brochures, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2012). In 1996, with additional support from the Association Française d'Action Artistique, the Festival programme included a well-developed French strand: the Orchestre National de Jazz played alongside the Scottish National Jazz Orchestra under the title of 'Auld Alliance Jazz', while acts such as Jean Toussaint appeared elsewhere in the programme (data taken from GIJF brochure, 1996). In 2004, the Festival brought Russian jazz to Glasgow, programming the Rostov-on-Don Children's Jazz Group and Vladimir Skiba alongside locally-based guitarist Lev Atlas (data taken from GIJF brochure, 2004).

In general, however, the Festival's 'international' credentials have come from its booking headline artists from the USA. Acts of note in the very first year were Sarah Vaughan, the Modern Jazz Quartet, Gary Burton and Dizzy Gillespie; in 1988, Oscar Peterson, Art Blakey, Ray Charles, McCoy Tyner and Elvin Jones; in 1989, Stan Getz and the Duke Ellington Orchestra; and in 1990, Miles Davis, Dizzy Gillespie, BB King and Branford Marsalis (data taken from GIJF brochures, 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990). Additionally, a popular repeated concert in the Festival programme during its early years was 'Atlantic Bridge', a band with an ever-changing line-up, but organised by local drummer Bill Kyle (data taken from GIJF brochures, 1988, 1989, 1991 and 1994). As the name of the band suggests, the

idea behind the band was to 'bridge' the Atlantic by bringing British and American artists together during the Festival.

The Festival's reliance in its early years on household-name jazz acts from the USA began to cause problems as - to put it tactfully - the availability of such acts diminished. By 1994, Sarah Vaughan, Dizzy Gillespie, Art Blakey, Stan Getz and Miles Davis had all died, as had Connie Kay, leading to the permanent disbanding of the Modern Jazz Quartet. Interviewed in the *Scotsman*, Jill Rodger acknowledged that the shift towards European bands was a 'way forward for a lot of UK festivals' (Rodger, quoted in Gilchrist, 2008).

As discussed previously, the Scottish Arts Council - one of GIJF's major public-sector supporters - had, in its criticisms of the organisation, raised concerns about the relative underrepresentation of European jazz in the programme. Funding agreements between GIJF and the SAC indicate that the balance of 'international' and 'European' concerts was stipulated as a condition of funding (10-12 'international' concerts and 3-4 'European contemporary or new music' concerts), though it appears that GIJF proposed this balance, rather than SAC (Anon., 2002f). The requirement that the Festival be 'international' also came as a condition of the funding agreement with Glasgow City Council, GIJF's other major public-sector funder (Eales, 2012). Whilst the Festival had, in 1998, programmed international acts for only five of its ten-day run (Cowing, 1998), this had been intended as a one-off solution rather than a long-term programming policy.

Despite recognising the need to retain a strong international programme, in 2009 GIJF, as part of an overhaul of its marketing, dropped the word 'international' from

the Festival's branding. The company name remained 'Glasgow International Jazz Festival Ltd.', but the name of the event was shortened to the less unwieldy 'Glasgow Jazz Festival'. Whilst the rationale for the name change is not explicitly stated in any company documentation, the introduction of Gateshead International Jazz Festival in 2005 may have been a catalyst for the decision, since the two festivals shared an initialism as well as similar programming (the Sage venue at Gateshead was also considered geographically close enough to Scotland to be included in the 'J Word' touring initiative).

GIJF made a feature of local talent by introducing a programming stream entitled Homegrown. Described as a 'festival-within-a-festival' (Anon., 2011b p. 36) and a 'Scottish Jazz Expo' (Adams, 2010, p. 17), Homegrown - coordinated by Cathie Rae - was attended by festival directors and other jazz promoters, each invited to hear established and emerging Scottish artists on the understanding that if they didn't book bands, they wouldn't be invited back (Bruce, 2008a p. 16). Initially concentrated into weekend sessions, Homegrown's limited showcase places were later spread throughout the Festival, and by 2007 these slots had 'become annual statements of the Scottish jazz scene's health' (Adams, 2007). More significantly, the success of Homegrown led to GIJF making a successful bid to host the EJN's General Assembly. The event, held in September, involved not only the EJN meeting, but also an important opportunity to showcase the work of British jazz artists - including, of course, a healthy representation of Scottish and Scotland-based musicians - over the course of a weekend (Adams, 2009). As Keith Bruce wrote, the EJN had 'decided to invite the Glasgow Jazz Festival into its inner circle as one of the continent's elite events (Bruce, 2009)'.

In addition to the benefits described above, there was a strong economic impetus for giving local musicians a stronger presence in the programme: they were unlikely to require travel and accommodation expenses to be paid. Making savings in this way became increasingly important in an economic climate where fuel prices were high, a situation that not only made paying travel costs expensive, but also dissuaded audiences from travelling long distances, a problem encountered by the organisers of Bideford Folk Festival in 2011 (Bix, quoted in Masson, 2011, p. 7).

(International) Jazz (etc.) Festival

The dropping of the word 'international' from the Festival's name was only one part of the rebranding exercise. From 2009 onwards, a list of musical genres appears on publicity materials: jazz, blues, funk, soul, world, reggae. Like the dropping of 'international', this does not necessarily represent a change in programming policy: at its inception, the Festival had undertaken to interpret the word 'jazz' as broadly as possible (Williams, 1986b), a policy that inevitably saw the programme include what might be considered its 'neighbouring' musical styles. Rather, the rebranding provided potential audiences with a clearer idea of what was included in the programme. Couching the Festival's programming approach in somewhat cynical terms, Kenny Mathieson had previously described GIJF as 'not averse to stretching the boundaries of the genre well past breaking point in the interests of selling tickets' (Mathieson, 1993a). More charitably, around the same time, Brian Morton acknowledged that the term 'jazz' was contentious even amongst jazz musicians, and that the belief that 'jazz and non-jazz can be distinguished at a stroke' was the result of an 'anorak mentality' (Morton, 1994).

Of all the genres listed alongside jazz on GIJF's new publicity, blues is arguably that with the closest relationship to jazz, lending it one of its common song forms. In Ken Burns' documentary Jazz, trumpeter Wynton Marsalis summarises the relationship between the two forms in a comestible metaphor, describing blues as the roux upon which the gumbo of jazz is based (Marsalis, quoted in Burns, 2000). Rob Adams offered a perhaps more Glasgow take on the relationship between jazz and blues:

> At the reception to launch this year's Glasgow International Jazz Festival programme, festival director, Jim Smith, was asked to justify the inclusion in that programme of a blues singer - next question: why are there bubbles in my beer? (Adams, 1990c p. 16)

Blues had always proved to be a popular inclusion in the festival programme, represented by acts such as BB King and Buddy Guy as well as local heroes Tam White and the Dexters. The Renfrew Ferry was used as a key venue for blues, no doubt in part because of its hosting afternoon blues gigs throughout the year and therefore having an established reputation and audience. Funk has appeared in the Festival programme by way of the James Taylor Quartet and Federation of the Disco Pimp, both of whom have proved to be reliable venue-fillers. Local keyboardist Marco Cafollo, a member of the latter, has been a regular contributor to the Festival, as the leader of various funk-oriented bands, and a member of the Jazz Funk Collective. Soul has been represented largely by vocalists, such as David McAlmont, Madeleine Pritchard and Zara McFarlane. World music programming has included Svara Kanti, a project led by guitarist Simon Thacker and featuring

tabla player Sarvar Sabri. Reggae was perhaps the least well-represented of the musical styles included in GIJF's new genre-based branding and was dropped from the Festival's list of genres in 2011, though this did not signify the end of the relationship: the 2014 Festival included a Jamaican thread, featuring a double-headline evening of Courtney Pine's House of Legends (a celebration of Jamaican music) followed by Jazz Jamaica, both acts displaying strong reggae influences. What is interesting is that 'Latin' did not appear specifically in the list of genres, since the Festival had, since the 1990s, programmed strong strands of Latin jazz. Indeed, perhaps the Festival's most visible individual event since 1990 was a (successful) attempt to set the world record for the biggest salsa dance, with 3,000 people dancing in George Square (Anon, 2002).

Although the Festival had always programmed broadly, the genre-based branding allowed it to do so more explicitly. There were three main advantages to this. First, the decreasing supply of 'big name' American jazz artists could be offset somewhat by programming well-known American artists from other musical styles. Second, the broadened branding allowed the Festival Director, Jill Rodger, more freedom in her programming. Whilst extremely knowledgeable about jazz and blues, Rodger's own tastes leant more towards funk and soul, and in the absence of an artistic director this measure proved a useful compromise. The third advantage of broadening out the Festival's brand was that this also allowed GIJF to take greater advantage of local tastes. Stuart Gulliver saw the grouping of these genres as a sensible way of capitalising on the local audience's 'general interest in … all these forms of music' (Gulliver, 2012). Rodger had expressed a desire for GIJF to own and operate a venue that would act as the home to the Festival as well as year-round jazz gigs (Rodger, quoted in McDonald, 2009, p. 27;

Rodger, quoted in Anon., 2009b pp. 102-103); however, as Bill Sweeney pointed out,

> … in Glasgow you couldn't do a six-nights-a-week jazz club … You'd have to do things like blues nights and things like that. (Sweeney, 2012)

What is implicit in this list of musical genres is that they may all be considered to be musics of black origin, and - with the partial exceptions of world music and reggae - musics originating from the USA. This is especially true given that Latin music was not included in the list of genres.

Whens and wheres

The timing and the geographic location of the Festival within Glasgow are perennial topics of discussion. The final weekend of June is problematic for several reasons. Rochester Jazz Festival's dates usually run over this weekend, and their Made in the UK concert series has the potential to drain local talent; this was the case in 2013, when Creative Scotland funded the Scottish National Jazz Orchestra to appear at Rochester. Whilst offering those musicians a valuable opportunity to raise their profile, it made programming Glasgow Jazz Festival all the more challenging, since the pool of available local musicians was greatly diminished. A Love Supreme, the jazz festival established in Glynde the same year, may yield opportunities for GIJF in terms of booking international acts, since it falls the following weekend; to date, however, this has not been the case. Acts have welcomed an approach from GIJF, but have been unable to accept the

booking without a guarantee of work on intervening days. While Serious, who programme and promote A Love Supreme, may have the capacity to offer this kind of work, GIJF does not.

Most seriously, booking The Old Fruitmarket - still the Festival's flagship venue - is becoming more problematic. Perhaps an indication of the City Council's indifference to the Festival, its arms' length company Glasgow Life will release the venue for weddings and conferences, despite the Festival dates being set well in advance, as these are significantly more profitable. The BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra use the neighbouring City Halls for rehearsals and recordings and, since the sound leakage from The Old Fruitmarket has never been fully eradicated, GIJF and the BBC SSO cannot comfortably use the venue simultaneously. While recording sessions are usually finished during regular office hours, leaving The Old Fruitmarket available in the evening, sound checks can be difficult to schedule on days when the BBC SSO are at work.

Louise Mitchell commented that, as the city's orchestras generally work from late September to early May, the current timing of the Jazz Festival is 'very sensible' (Mitchell, 2013). Nonetheless, several options have been cited for alternative slots in the calendar.[45] Holding the Festival on the May Bank Holiday weekend, for example, would allow the Festival to capitalise on the popular Cheltenham Jazz Festival, which takes place at the same time; acts appearing at Cheltenham on the Friday night might appear at Glasgow on the Saturday, and vice-versa. (At

45 In its current summer slot, the Festival also has to compete with the football World Cup every four years. This has in the past had a particular impact on the fringe programme, with live jazz competing for attention with big screen football in pubs around the city.

the time of writing, this option has not been ruled out.) Another suggested slot is December; however, this is considered impractical because of the diminished availability of musicians due to pantomime season. Theatre pit work becomes a lucrative source of income in the run-up to Christmas. Any change in the timing of the Festival will, of course, be related to its artistic policy and the circuits on which its desired acts are moving, a relationship that can be restrictive. For example, a reliance on American acts requires promoters to be cognisant of the US calendar. As noted by Keith Bruce, the Festival has already

> … moved stealthily slightly earlier over the years as US players stopped caring as much about not leaving their homeland before the fourth of July (traditionally a hot time for gigs). (Bruce, 2008b)

With the Merchant City now well-established as a home for arts venues, restaurants and bars, it is no longer as affordable (or, perhaps, as exciting) as it once was. Potential alternative locations have been identified, with Sauchiehall Street being the forerunner. This is one of Glasgow's busiest streets: its eastern end is pedestrianised and forms part of the city's main retail area, with the Buchanan Galleries / Glasgow Royal Concert Hall complex at its most easterly end. Its western, non-pedestrianised end, is home to bars and restaurants, but notably also the Centre for Contemporary Arts (formerly the Third Eye Centre), an ideal space for improvised music. A more recent opening, the O2 ABC, a multi-space music venue located in one of Glasgow's many converted cinemas, also offers exciting possibilities. Its largest space has a capacity of 1300, while its smaller live space has a capacity of 350, a capacity that is missing in the Merchant City. Other potential venues nearby include the King's Theatre, Glasgow School of Art,

Nice 'n' Sleazy, and Slouch (already home to a popular Tuesday night jazz session). Perhaps most importantly, Sauchiehall Street is one of the busiest walking routes between Glasgow city centre and the affluent West End, offering a greater degree of footfall and visibility than the Merchant City is able to provide. Again, at the time of writing, such a move is still under consideration.

Conclusion

Local perceptions of Glasgow Jazz Festival in 2015 vary from the very positive to the indifferent. At the time of writing, the Festival's email newsletter has around 3000 subscribers, its Twitter account has 9232 followers, and its Facebook page has 3952 'likes'. Whilst it is difficult - perhaps impossible - to accurately measure the geographic spread of this this electronic 'reach', it is perhaps safe to assume that it is largely a Glasgow-based audience, as this is reflected in the physical attendance at Festival concerts. The digital footprint of Glasgow Jazz Festival - which has been achieved without any concerted effort on the part of GIJF - suggests that there is notable local interest in the event, at least amongst those who are aware of its existence. Less promisingly, however, many people in the city are unaware of the Festival's existence. Stuart Gulliver recounted a conversation he had had following the 2010 event:

> …there's not enough of an event about it … it's out of visibility. … I was telling somebody about the Jazz Festival, he said, 'oh, is it finished?' (Gulliver, 2012)

Perceptions of the Festival outside Glasgow are similarly mixed. The Festival's

profile is not sufficiently high to attract an audience far beyond Glasgow, and it attracts scant press coverage outside the city, though this situation improved somewhat in 2013 and 2014 with the engagement of London-based PR agency Air. Good relationships with artists from outside Glasgow have also helped in this regard. In an interview with the *Evening Times* in 2012, pianist Neil Cowley praised the Festival for the attitude of its management: '…so welcoming, so forward thinking and so un-jazz' (Geddes, 2012).

The Festival can be likened to a vehicle. In 2015, its engine - the team of people who run the event from year to year, and in particular Director Jill Rodger - keeps it moving forwards. However, since the loss of Artistic Director Olive May Millen in 2006, there is nobody behind the wheel. Additionally, it is financially 'running on empty'. In certain intangible ways, the Festival enjoys an abundance of fuel, being staffed from year to year by a small but energetic group of enthusiastic professionals; its perpetual cash-flow problems, however, mean that it in perpetual danger of grinding to a halt.

GIJF's Board of Directors provide some direction to the company in terms of e.g. fundraising strategies (presently the main topic of conversation at most Board meetings). The direction of the Festival itself is another matter. In order to regain a clear artistic direction, GIJF would require greater levels of resource. Whilst it is not impossible that the Board of Directors could provide such direction - perhaps through the establishment of a programming subgroup - this would require expertise that the present Board does not have. At the time of writing, the Festival needs its parent company to focus on fuelling the engine (i.e. raising funds), and it is proving challenging to secure a Board membership with suitable

skills and contacts to do so. Additionally, a Festival programmed by committee is unlikely to enjoy the overarching vision that could be achieved by the appointment of a knowledgeable and enthusiastic artistic director.

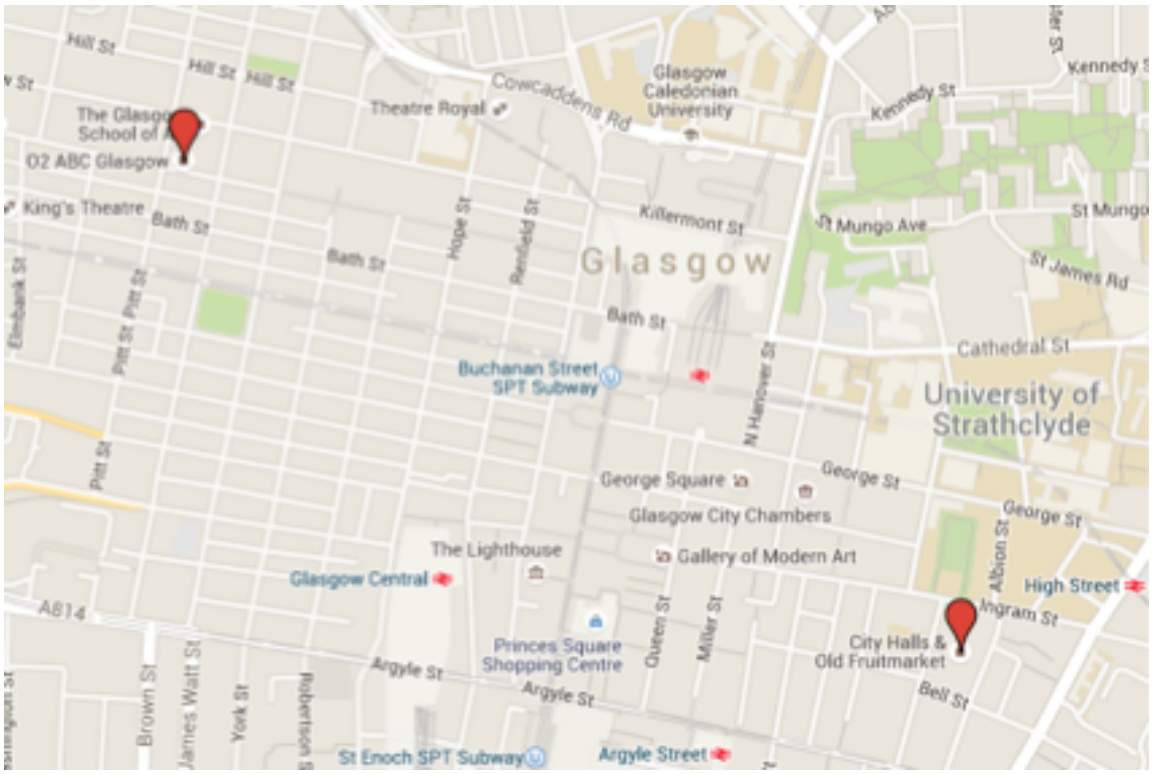

Fig 10: Locations of O2 ABC and the City Halls / Old Fruitmarket complex

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Revisiting the research questions

Has GIJF achieved its primary aim of establishing Glasgow as a major centre for jazz in Europe? If it can be demonstrated that Glasgow has moved in the direction of becoming one of Europe's major centres for jazz, how much of this is due to the existence of its Jazz Festival? Are there other agents - whether related to the Festival or not - that have influenced this change?

The Festival certainly exists today in a city with more of a 'jazz infrastructure' than there was in 1987. Part of this infrastructure is the direct work of GIJF (i.e. the Strathclyde Youth Jazz Orchestra and The Old Fruitmarket). However, other developments, not initiated by GIJF, have also contributed to an environment that is more conducive to the development of live jazz scenes. The establishment of the Scottish National Jazz Orchestra in 1995 has undoubtedly given Scottish jazz a much-needed boost, offering a reliable stream of employment to its members, as well as raising the profile of their work. Under the direction of Tommy Smith, live performances by the SNJO attract highly respected international collaborators such as Randy Brecker and Kurt Elling, while the Orchestra's recordings are routinely met with acclaim in the mainstream UK press. However, the SNJO's position is notably less secure than that of the 'Big Five' Scottish arts organisations (the National Theatre of Scotland, the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, Scottish Ballet, Scottish Opera, and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra); the SNJO s largely reliant on Creative Scotland funding for its survival and, like GIJF, was formerly core-funded, but is now required to submit an application for funding each year.

The BMus in Jazz at the Royal Conservatoire admitted its first cohort in 2009. Its intake is intentionally small, but its students are encouraged to seek as much work on the local scene as possible in order to build experience and contacts, accounting for a small increase in the supply of jazz musicians in the city. That there appears to be sufficient demand to accommodate them is very promising - even late on a Sunday or weekday evening, their sessions attract a lively and appreciative audience at venues such as The Halt Bar, The Rio Cafe, and Slouch.

Another development is the Bridge Jazz series, programmed previously by the late Bill Kyle, a well-respected jazz drummer and promoter who also owned Edinburgh's Jazz Bar. Until 2015, Bridge Jazz received funding from Creative Scotland to programme high-quality jazz; at the time of writing, the organisation's most recent application for funding had been unsuccessful, and the long-term future of the series was insecure, though concerts were still being programmed. These take place on Thursday evenings in Glasgow's Art Club, and feature a mix of local, UK-based, and international acts. Scotland-based acts have included Trio HSK, The Illusive Tree, Ken Mathieson's Classic Jazz Orchestra, and young musicians such as Alan Benzie, Jonathan Edwards and Brodie Jarvie; acts based in the UK have included Bruce Adams and George Crowley; and international acts have included Ole Seimetz and Ben Bryden. Notably, when promoting these shows to his email mailing list, Kyle makes a point of stating where each performer is from. As with his popular Atlantic Bridge project (discussed previously), Bridge Jazz serves not only as an opportunity for musicians to play, but also for them to forge international links. Scottish-based musicians can often be seen playing alongside those from overseas, e.g. Edinburgh-based drummer Tom Bancroft and Japanese saxophonist Sakoto Fujii's 'Vincent' project. Bridge Jazz also serves

another important function: it offers young jazz musicians, such as those studying at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, an opportunity for paid, tickets gigs under their own names, often playing their own original material. Kyle is a valuable ally for these young musicians, since he is also able to offer them similar work at his venue in Edinburgh. This is in contrast to the increasingly common, free-to-attend jazz sessions around Glasgow, which are heavily staffed by the same network of young musicians.

At one of Glasgow's most popular year-round jazz events, listening plays second fiddle to eating and socialising. The Ubiquitous Chip's Jazz Lunch takes place on the first Saturday of every month. The restaurant, located in Glasgow's West End, is itself popular and well-respected. Its main dining area is situated in a leafy atrium with (rather like The Old Fruitmarket) high ceilings and cobbled floors, and from 1pm until 4pm, diners enjoy a set menu whilst a small ensemble (typically a trio) play. The jazz lunch is popular enough that booking in advance is advised, yet the music itself is a notably unobtrusive element of the event; it is played at a low enough volume that diners are able to converse, and many of the usual conventions of live music (e.g. applause) are not generally observed.

In 2014, Glasgow Life's music team began programming regular jazz sessions, late on Saturday nights, in a new space within the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall complex. This programme is certainly giving live jazz a much-needed boost of visibility in the city, with large posters appearing around the venue and the Glasgow Subway. As with Bridge Jazz, this affords local musicians with paid, ticketed gigs - and, encouragingly, is proving popular with audiences. At the time of writing, every session has sold out (Brown, 2015). However, it is possible that the new space in

which these gigs are taking place - named The City of Music Studio - is an important part of the draw. The advertising blurb for the Late Night Jazz Concerts reads:

> Enjoy a jazz-filled Saturday night in the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall's intimate City of Music Studio. With its own bar, a social cabaret style set up, and views right down Buchanan Street, it's the ideal location to hear some of Scotland's finest jazz talents, up close and personal (Anon., 2015b).

Without meaning to diminish the quality of the music, what is being sold to audiences is a social experience in an attractive space. As with the Ubiquitous Chip's Jazz Lunch, live jazz is being sold as part of a package.

Conversely, if the Festival has not been able to move Glasgow in the direction of being a major centre for jazz in Europe, what are the factors that have inhibited it?

Alongside the above positive developments described above, there are indications that the distance travelled has not, in fact, been all that great. Some of Glasgow's jazz scenes are thriving - but the city also has a small community of experimental improvisers who do not necessarily identify themselves as jazz musicians, and these artists are arguably underrepresented in the Festival programme. The trad jazz scene, which fills several city centre and west-end pubs at weekends, is similarly marginalised beyond the Festival's fringe.

In terms of the city's external reputation for jazz, as indicated in the literature

review, Glasgow does not usually appear in lists of must-visit jazz cities in Europe. Moreover, given that once other UK cities looked to Glasgow for advice on establishing their own jazz festival, the influence of Glasgow Jazz Festival would appear to have diminished significantly. An illustration of this lack of influence might be the timing of Serious's *A Love Supreme* festival which has, since its first year, run the weekend after Glasgow Jazz Festival; this has the potential to create tensions, since acts from outside the UK are unlikely to remain in the country for a week without other work between the festivals. Despite longstanding professional relationships (and, indeed, friendships) between individuals involved in both festivals, the clash remains, an indication of GIJF's limited bargaining power.

Places and spaces

A phrase which is often used about festivals is that they 'take place'. In fact, it is arguably more important that they are effectively able to 'take space', particularly as both urban centres and the jazz festival circuit become ever more homogenised. In the short term, 'taking space' can mean the difference between a bona fide *festival* and something which might be better described as a concert series: it is crucial to try and 'control the space between gigs', as Iwan Williams beautifully put it. Key to this, of course, is audience development, since people are much more important than bunting in the creation of a festival - along with other factors, such as the continuity of music throughout the event. In the long term, a festival which is able to occupy a space - using the same venue year after year, perhaps having office facilities nearby, being on good terms with local businesses, etc. - has a significant advantage over one which is not.

When Glasgow Jazz Festival was instigated, there was a particular buzz about Glasgow as a place, generated by a commitment at local and national (i.e. Scottish) level to improve the quality of life for its citizens and to market it to the rest of the world. What the city lacked, however, was an appropriate configuration of venues for a concert-format festival: a range of spaces, both in terms of capacity and aesthetic, ideally within walking distance of each other.

The Festival's lifespan has aligned with an agenda of regenerative activity in Glasgow which accounts for some changes in both the type and locations of space available. In turn, venue availability - particularly in terms of capacity - has impacted on the programming of the Festival. Different types of venue can be defined, from pubs and cafes to theatres and concert halls, as well as outdoor space; each type of venue carries certain connotations in terms of accessibility and prestige. Taken as a group, hotels, restaurants, bars, pubs and cafés - what might loosely be termed 'hospitality venues' - consistently make up the bulk of the venues used by the Festival each year, and the number of these venues shows the most variation, correlating closely with the total number of venues used each year. Accurately disaggregating this group would require certain distinctions to be drawn between, for example, pubs and bars (a distinction which might depend on whether a venue had a link to a particular brewery) or restaurants and cafés (a distinction which might depend on a venue's opening hours). Whilst there is still some correlation with the total number of venues used each year, it would appear that the number of pubs being used by the Festival is in decline. The number of venues used may be considered an indicator of the Festival's scale, and it would appear that a small 'core' of music and arts venues provide the Festival

with its primary accommodation each year. In years in which the Festival is more active, it expands into hotels, restaurants, bars, pubs and cafés, and in years when the Festival is less active, these venues are used less. It is also worth noting that the relationship between different types of space and their proximity to the city centre. Whereas all the city's concert halls fall within postcode regions G1 to G5 - which may be considered the most central regions of the city - almost a third of venues classified loosely as 'pubs' are outside this area.

GIJF has both benefitted from the development of the Merchant City (by making use of low-rent music venues and office spaces in the early days of its regeneration) and contributed to this development (most notably by championing The Old Fruitmarket). What is still missing from the area is a mid-capacity (200-300) music venue - moreover, the spaces which are available do not always work economically for GIJF (an example being the Recital Room in the City Halls complex). Nonetheless, a festival-friendly configuration of music venues exists now which did not exist in 1987. In fact, as indicated by the Festival's consideration of the west end of Sauchiehall Street as an alternative, there are now multiple areas of the city where the Festival could call home.

Conversely it is worth asking whether, if Glasgow had never had a jazz festival, it would be an obvious choice of location for a new one. Riley and Laing found that the biggest age range in the British jazz audience as of 2008-09 was 45-64 years (34%, compared with 30% in that age range in the general UK population) (Riley and Laing, 2010 p. 24). At the same time, in Calton - an area of Glasgow just a short walk east of the Merchant City - the life expectancy for a man was 54 (Reid, 2011 pp. 706-707).

Glasgow Jazz Festival was undoubtedly an important part of the city's cultural 'bunting' at a time when all eyes were on Glasgow. Many people who experienced the city's year of culture count seeing Miles Davis at the SECC amongst the highlights (perhaps rather more people than were actually at the concert). Almost thirty years on, with the rest of the 1990 decorations long taken down, Glasgow Jazz Festival is remarkable for its longevity. However, whilst there is still sufficient will (and, importantly, sufficient audience) for the Festival to survive, its role in the present and future cultural life of Glasgow is far from clear.

Implications for future research

It is useful here to revisit the two landmark literature reviews referenced in chapter two. Getz emphasised in his 2010 report that 'studies of festival failure are rare indeed' (Getz 2010, p. 19), and while this is true, it is necessary to consider first what festival failure (and, indeed, festival success) look like. 'Festival failure' may not simply mean that a festival ceases to operate. It may mean that it fails to meet certain aims or objectives, and while these may be set by festival organisers, they are likely to be influenced to some degree by the demands of external stakeholders - stakeholders whose own agendas are not necessarily aligned neatly with each other and which may, in fact, pull the festival in opposing directions. The success of Glasgow Jazz Festival in establishing Glasgow as a major centre for jazz in Europe has been modest; however, taking into consideration the challenges it has faced throughout its history, its ongoing survival is, in itself, a marker of success that it is important to acknowledge.

Webster and McKay conclude their 2016 research report with a recommendation for the 'development of an interdisciplinary, mixed methods approach to measure economic, social and cultural impacts of festivals, including qualitative analysis of stakeholder interviews' (Webster and McKay 2016, p. 185). This recommendation is certainly endorsed here. However, it is also important to recognise that any meaningful theorisation of festival impacts will incorporate a long-term view. Synthesising a mixed-methods approach with (looking to the past) historical case studies, as well as (looking to the future) longitudinal research, is likely to be key to understanding the effects that festivals have.

Festivals do not exist in a vacuum: their potential impact can be amplified or dampened by myriad influences beyond their control. As our understanding of the contexts in which festivals operate deepens, so our research into their impacts will be enriched.

Appendix A: The Composer-in-Residence initiative

One of the initiatives pursued in the early years of the Festival was a Composer-in-Residence project, intended to bring a respected jazz composer to Glasgow each year prior to, and during, the Festival. As well as new work being commissioned by the Festival, the scheme was intended to offer young local jazz musicians the chance to work with the Composer-in-Residence, primarily through collaboration with SYJO. Bill Sweeney recalls about the initiative that 'there was always a feeling 'oh it's not quite worked', in some years it worked well and in some years it [didn't], but I think [that's] the nature of the beast' (Sweeney, 2012).

The first composer-in-residence, Benny Carter, proved especially popular with the youth orchestra in 1987. Gerry Mulligan, who occupied the position the following year, was a less comfortable fit; whilst his performance at the Festival was met with praise (e.g. Kerr, 1988, p. 28), he was also criticised for not engaging with the other aspects of the role. In an article in the Glasgow Herald, it was claimed that Mulligan had been nicknamed 'the composer-in-the-Holiday-Inn' and, 'on being dropped off for his centerpiece gig, told his festival-provided chauffeur to "leave the motor running… this won't take long" ' (Belcher, 1989, p. 8).

Nonetheless, Alan Stanbridge persevered with (and indeed developed) the initiative. John Surman, the Composer-in-Residence for 1989, was programmed for a series of concerts giving an overview of his varied career. In contrast to Mulligan, Surman visited Glasgow on a number of occasions prior to the Festival (Belcher, 1989, p. 8), and his involvement was broadly applauded, even if questions were raised about the funding of his position:

> … a hefty £1750 is being bunged to John Surman, composer-in-residence at this year's Glasgow Jazz Festival, for doing what I rather assumed he was going to do anyway for his fee, out of the already subsidised Jazz Festival kitty. (Anon., 1989f p. 7)

The 1990 Composer-in-Residence was George Russell, at that time a recent winner of a Guardian Jazz Award (Anon., 1989c). In order to make the most of Russell's status as a respected music theorist, his tenure included a public lecture series three months prior to the Festival. By this stage, faith in the initiative was dwindling; as Kenny Mathieson wrote, 'if Russell can't produce [a substantial work], it is probably time to pack the idea in' (Mathieson, 1990e). GIJF dropped the initiative in 1991, instead appointing an Artist-in-Residence, Arturo Sandoval (Mathieson, 1991).

After a year's break, GIJF persevered with the Composer-in-Residence idea, bringing Carla Bley to the role in 1992. The Guardian's John Fordham applauded the appointment of the 'quirky writer and pianist', heralding Glasgow's as 'the best jazz festival in the UK this summer, an ambitious and imaginative programme' (Fordham, 1992). Bley - the only woman to hold the role - became the subject of a documentary, produced by the Edinburgh-based Skyline Productions, comprised of talking-head interviews and rehearsal footage. The short film took its name from Bley's commissioned composition, 'Birds of Paradise'.

Tommy Smith was the Festival's Composer-in-Residence in 1993, and Bobby Watson assumed the role in 1994, the latter drawing a 'disappointingly modest audience'

for his headline concert (Mathieson, 1994). In 1995, Bobby Wellins became the last person to hold the role. In 1996, rather than appointing a Composer-in-Residence, GIJF opted to commission a piece by Tommy Smith, a move that met with rather more critical success, with journalist Rob Adams declaring the resultant piece - 'Beasts of Scotland' - an 'absolute triumph' (Adams, 1996c).

Appendix B: A diary of live jazz in Glasgow, 2013

2013-09-07, Ubiquitous Chip, Ashton Lane (West End)

On the first Saturday of each month, the Chip hosts a jazz lunch. From 1pm until 4pm, a set menu is offered, whilst a small ensemble (typically a trio) play. Today it is a trio consisting of baritone sax, double bass and electric guitar. Apart from the guitar, they are unamplified, but the high ceiling, brick walls and cobbled floor allow plenty of space for sound to travel. When I booked, I specifically asked for a table where we could hear the band, to which the person taking the booking replied 'You'll be able to hear them. You can hear them everywhere in the building.'

I have been to the Chip's jazz lunch once before. The band was different - on that occasion it had been a trio of piano, double bass and drums - but other aspects of the event were much the same. Both ensembles were playing jazz standards, with nothing too up-tempo or too loud. On both occasions, the restaurant was full, the diners mainly in their fifties and sixties, in couples and small groups.

The jazz lunch is popular enough that booking in advance is advised, yet the music itself is a notably unintrusive element of the event; it is played at a low enough volume that diners are able to converse, and many of the usual conventions of live music (e.g. applause) are not generally observed. I am not sure whether these diners constitute an 'audience' or not.

Later that afternoon, I come across a busker channelling Acker Bilk in the city

centre. I am fairly certain that this is the same man I once watched drunkenly assembling his clarinet on the Subway. 'I'm just cleaning it,' he had insisted unconvincingly, before launching into 'Stranger on the Shore'.

2013-10-12, Avant Garde, King Street (Merchant City)

It is fitting that Avant Garde sits between the somewhat sterile City Halls and the 13th Note's sticky floors and graffiti. The bar has been refurbished fairly recently, and its new aesthetic is in keeping with the wine/cocktail bars found on Candleriggs. Its Saturday afternoon jazz sessions, however, predate the refurbishment. If it weren't for the PA system, you could almost imagine that the six-piece trad/swing jazz band in the corner had wandered in by mistake.

The most noticeable thing on arrival is how busy the bar is. There is standing room only, and no room at the bar. The audience, like that at the Chip, are generally in their fifties and sixties, perhaps slightly more men than women. The musicians are of a similar age range to their audience, with the exception of the rather more youthful drummer. A female singer joins the band for some of the more 'big band' sounding songs, and although I don't realise it at this stage, she will be the only female musician I see on this little tour.

The audience are lively and appreciative; although there is a large amount of background noise and chatter, the band receives applause after solos, and people get up to dance for most songs. My drinking companion comments that it feels more than a community centre than a bar.

2013-10-19, Halt Bar, Woodlands Road (West End)

One of the most recent additions to the Halt calendar is a Saturday afternoon jazz session.

The musicians who play at these sessions are amongst the city's youngest, some of them studying jazz at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. Today's line-up is drums, bass, electric guitar, sax and trumpet. The band play two sets: from 3pm they generally stick to standards. 'Even I know this one,' exclaims my companion, on hearing the opening strains of 'Bye Bye Blackbird'. The bar gets progressively busier over the first hour or so of the session, with customers ranging roughly from their twenties to their forties, and I recognise a few regulars, including one man who often brings his two dogs into the bar.

There are also a few irregulars, courtesy of a children's party taking place in the neighbouring function room: a clown occasionally wanders into the bar, and at one point a child stands in front of the band and dances, clutching a helium balloon.

The afternoon wears on and the children go home. After around ninety minutes the band take a short break. Their second set is louder and more uptempo; the numbers more modern, the solos more exuberant. A fair number of customers, particularly those seated at the bar, appear to be here on their own and are listening keenly to the music.

2013-10-20, Three Judges, Byres Road (West End)

It's back to the West End for this session. The line-up and repertoire of the band is similar to that at Avant Garde - drums, bass, banjo, trombone, trumpet, clarinet and vocals - though there is no female vocalist. The audience, too, is similar to that at Avant Garde. I recognise some of the same individuals, and people are up and dancing.

This afternoon trad jazz session is always extremely busy. Turn up at 3pm and you are unlikely to get a seat. Turn up early to get a seat and you are likely to displace a regular. Along one side of the pub, close to where the band are playing, there is usually a core of people who seem to know each other well; one afternoon, the whole pub was treated to sandwiches and sausage rolls brought in by someone celebrating a birthday.

2013-10-21, St Enoch Centre, Argyle Street (City Centre)

In autumn 2013, as part of the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau's 'People Make Glasgow' campaign, the shopping centre begun to play host to live entertainment in order to bring people in for early evening shopping. An empty retail unit on the ground floor was used as a space for stand-up comedy, whilst on the first floor, alongside large advertising hoardings and a stall selling art prints, bands play in front of a balcony.

Today is the turn of the funk-oriented Marco Cafolla Trio (Rhodes-type electric piano, electric bass, drums). It is not the band's first time playing in this kind of

environment: they played in Central Station as part of the 2013 Glasgow Jazz Festival, as part of a continuing initiative to provide live music on the station concourse on Friday evenings. Unfortunately, they have only a fraction of the audience here that they did at Central, as the whole first floor of the shopping centre is relatively quiet, and there is not much in the way of seating close to where they are playing.

2013-10-26, King Tuts, St Vincent Street (City Centre)

King Tut's Wah Wah Hut is one of Glasgow's most celebrated venues, but is generally known for rock and indie/alternative music. This afternoon - and every Saturday afternoon - trad jazz is in charge. More specifically, Penman's Jazzmen are in charge. This is one of Glasgow's longest-established and best-loved jazz bands, and despite the fact it is absolutely pouring with rain, the main bar is jam packed. The audience is very similar to that of the Avant Garde sessions - perhaps a little older, and with a few more women. The band's line-up includes vocals, clarinet, trombone, banjo, double bass and drums.

I manage to find a space at the bar, and am soon chatting to a gentleman - perhaps in his early 60s - who has come into Glasgow for this session. He tells me that he lives in East Kilbride, and bemoans the lack of live music there. He comments on the importance of events like this in terms of keeping this generation socially active, and I agree with him - these trad sessions sometimes feel like parties, with old friends mingling from table to table. It also keeps people physically active, I note, as couples start to get up and dance in the tiny space near the band.

Before leaving, I point to the Belle and Sebastian poster and tell my new friend

that I once saw another of Glasgow's well-known trad jazz bands, the Uptown Shufflers, supporting them in Dunoon. He says that he once saw The Rolling Stones supporting Acker Bilk on the Isle of Man. I think he wins.

2013-10-31, Beer Cafe, Candleriggs (Merchant City)

Saxophonist Michael Deans is well-known musician in Glasgow's jazz scene, and has a Thursday night residency at the Beer Cafe, a modern bar adjacent to the City Halls. The membership of the band changes from week to week: tonight they are a trio (Deans with Hammond-style organ and drums); last week they were a quartet (Deans with electric guitar, double bass and drums). Their repertoire depends on the line-up, but is generally modern, with leanings towards funk and Latin sounds.

Last week, the Beer Cafe felt quite busy, with a small but appreciative audience clearly there to listen to the band, and a group of younger people chatting at the bar. Tonight, the bar is quieter. It's Halloween, but there is not a great deal of passing trade in this part of town - the younger student crowd are more concentrated around the West of the city centre and the West End.

2013-11-03, The 78, Kelvinhaugh Street (West End)

Jazz at the 78, which takes place every Sunday night, has become one of this venue's most popular events. Tonight the place is very busy as usual - there are a good number of empty seats, but only one empty table. There are no seats available close to the band, who are playing modern, lively jazz to an appreciative audience.

Two things are immediately noticeable. Firstly, they are the youngest crowd so far, mainly comprised of people in their twenties and thirties and assembled in small groups. Secondly, this is perhaps the loudest session so far - not just in terms of the music, but also the level of conversation in the bar, and the volume of the applause given to the band.

2013-11-10, Òran Mór, Byres Road (West End)

The converted church regularly hosts live music in a number of different spaces, including a basement venue and an impressively decorated auditorium. The Michael Deans Quintet play each Sunday in the Whisky Bar, all low light and dark wood, with casks mounted behind the bar. It is not unusual for impromptu trad jazz sessions to take place here.

By the time the band are set up and begin playing, the bar is busy, but few people appear to be listening actively to the music. The layout of the bar is not ideal: the band are squeezed into a corner close to the toilets, with a seating booth immediately in front, acting as a sort of barrier between them and the rest of the bar.

2013-12-17, Slouch, Bath Street (City Centre)

The bar is surprisingly busy, given that it is a Tuesday night. Like The 78, both the band and their audience are in their twenties and thirties, perhaps leaning towards the younger end of that range. This is the only venue in which the band

are playing on an elevated stage, and although there is a good level of conversation in the bar, the music is more than background noise.

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