man (primarily young musicians who are not necessarily integrated into professional music industry structures in the traditional sense) and non-human actors (the algorithmically controlled moderation logics of the platforms) in digital spaces?

7.1   TikTok and Digital Memory Production

Many of the songs from the Great American Songbook that have achieved considerable popularity on TikTok were composed and first recorded between the 1920s and the 1950s and have been a part of the jazz scene for decades. For example, they continue to serve as a foundation for improvisation among jazz musicians, particularly in jam sessions, and are subject to constant reinterpretation and re-recording. The *real books* that are commonly used in jazz contain lead sheets of a multitude of such songs, which are also referred to as *jazz standards*. It is evident that these real books reflect assessments and hierarchizations regarding which compositions are deemed to be *the standard* within the context of jazz and should, as such, be known to jazz musicians (Michaelsen 2013; Williams 2023). The act of repeatedly performing these songs serves to reinforce the creation of references to the past. This phenomenon is also evident on TikTok, where the selection of repertoire by popular jazz musicians maintains the visibility of comparatively old repertoires. In this sense, TikTok can be considered a medium through which certain musical repertoires are preserved in the public consciousness.

Memories are used to refer to knowledge about the past, i.e., to events that were either experienced personally or are understood as being culturally formative. Processes of visualizing the past can therefore relate to both personal and social history and can be enacted both individually and collectively. Fundamentally, memory processes entail an attempt to preserve the past in the present and to activate knowledge about the past (Lohmeier, Schwarzenegger, and Schreiber 2020, 49). On a supra-individual level, societies reaffirm their values and norms by remembering. That which is remembered is therefore primarily that which appears to have value for many people or which is defined as being worth remembering by actors with discursive power (Jost 2018, 84–85). With regard to the preservation of musical repertoires, supra-individual memory processes are involved. As with all memories, the memory of certain repertoires must be continuously refreshed if they are to remain meaningful for many people. Songs are thus not automatically embedded in the memory of a

society, rather, specific bodies of knowledge must be actively accessed in order to be included in a cultural debate on memory. Such memories are transmitted from one generation to the next; they are modified whenever necessary and constantly renegotiated (Pentzold, Lohmeier, and Kaun 2023, 1–2). The popularization of older musical repertoires on a comparatively new platform such as TikTok leads to a renegotiation of existing memories. Transferring these songs to the TikTok context makes them accessible to a younger demographic who may not initially identify them as jazz standards from the first half of the twentieth century. Older repertoires are essentially preserved in this manner, transcending individual experiences and becoming an integral part of the cultural memory of Western societies (Menke and Grittmann 2023, 75–76). It is relatively simple to make these pieces accessible to supra-individual memory processes, given that they are already firmly embedded in the collective memory of society as jazz standards (Menke and Birkner 2023, 500). In contrast, an innumerable number of other memories are stored in archives, for example, and are not directly accessible to collective memories. Consequently, the past is inevitably recalled selectively and non-exhaustively (Pentzold, Lohmeier, and Kaun 2023, 2).

The media exposure of these songs and standards on TikTok has the potential to ensure that the status of these repertoires in the culture of memory will not diminish in the foreseeable future. Media in general are a fundamental prerequisite for societies' ability to record and communicate their memories. The role and influence of media in the formation of memory cultures is subject to historical processes of change. For example, the various and constantly evolving types of communication media have consistently shaped the dissemination of memories and the scope of what can be remembered (Burkey 2020, 181; Lohmeier, Schwarzenegger, and Schreiber 2020, 49). Consequently, digital media also give rise to distinctive forms of individual and collective remembrance that are inextricably linked to the media technology characteristics that are inherent to them (Pentzold 2021, 2). It can be argued that platforms like TikTok have the potential to influence processes of memory production, as they create certain media frameworks within which references to the past can be produced and communicated. However, it should be noted that the visualization of a music-related past, as documented in the case of jazz on TikTok, does not necessarily imply that the content creators explicitly intended to valorize a specific jazz-related past. Nevertheless, the interviewees Erny Nunez and Kellin Hanas in particular assert that they seek to preserve specific musical repertoires and make them more accessible to a younger demographic (see chapter 6.9). Ulti-

mately, however, the selection of repertoire is also influenced by the prevailing popularization mechanisms that are characteristic of TikTok, as evidenced by a multitude of statements made during the course of the interviews.

It is therefore indisputable that particular forms of jazz-related memory production occur on TikTok. The extensive reach of TikTok and other digital platforms, which can also influence the social construction of memory, raises the question as to what extent platforms can either reinforce or potentially supersede the influence of traditional memory institutions. Upon initial observation, digital platforms appear to lack the fundamental archival premises that are characteristic of traditional archives. Archives are deliberately structured entities, and the individuals responsible for managing them have the authority to determine which documents or objects are retained or discarded. This enables them to exercise control over the potential for social recollection (Pentzold 2021, 5). Despite the absence of explicit disposal and storage practices on platforms, platform companies do exert efforts to control, curate, moderate, and monitor the content that circulates on their platforms. Digital objects, including photos, videos, and music files, are stored and made accessible to specific user groups, and the activities of users associated with these cultural objects are meticulously documented. In this sense, platforms can be considered archival infrastructures whose functionality is contingent upon automated processes of data collection, storage, and evaluation (Pentzold, Lohmeier, and Kaun 2023, 17). This is why specific platform mechanisms such as datafication and algorithmization (see chapter 3.2) inevitably intervene in processes of memory production in digital spaces.

It can be argued that platforms have the potential to supplement the cultural discourses of remembrance that are typically controlled by traditional memory institutions, such as archives and museums. Indeed, there is a possibility that they could even compete with these institutions. In the context of popular music cultures, alternative instances of memory work have already emerged and become established, particularly since the turn of the millennium. This primarily applies to archives run by private individuals (cf. e.g., Baker 2015; Baker 2017). The first jazz archives emerged in the early 1950s when private collections amassed by jazz fans were made available to the public (cf. Fitzgerald 2012). While state-funded museums and archives are often accused of approaching the subject of popular music culture in a relatively unreflective manner, sometimes reproducing common *heroic narratives* (Brandellero and Janssen 2014, 236), it is precisely the deconstruction of such narratives that is often the goal of private archivists. Since the early 2000s, for example, a

number of feminist archives with a focus on popular music cultures have been established, which attempt to leverage the potential of independent online archiving (see Reitsamer 2018; on the topic of archival collections and gender, see Eichhorn 2013; Geraghty 2014, 53–71). These archives and their respective content areas constitute a counterbalance to the archiving practices of state-run memory institutions. This is particularly evident as the individuals employed in private archives endeavor to create more visibility for musicians and repertoires beyond conventional canons.

When compared to traditional memory institutions, such as museums and archives, platforms can facilitate greater accessibility to historical references for a broader audience. Unlike traditional institutions, which are often perceived as being inaccessible to younger generations, platforms like TikTok are embedded in the digital media experiences of young people. Their user-friendly interfaces enable low-threshold access to past-related content and actively engage younger audiences in memory culture discourses. Access to traditional memory institutions is typically associated with higher barriers, and many individuals are not well-versed in these institutions. While the influence of platforms may in principle result in memory discourses becoming more diverse, active participation in these discourses remains contingent upon specific resources and skills. Those who wish to actively participate must possess the requisite devices and media skills, which can be conceptualized as *mnemonic capital* (Burkey 2020, 182).

In the context of digital spaces, we are inevitably faced with the question of which actors and instances have the capacity to determine which references to the past are visible and to what extent, and subsequently find their way into digital memories (Pentzold 2021, 12). It is self-evident that platforms are not neutral actors. The datafication, algorithmization, and logics of selection and curation that underpin their functioning largely determine which objects and topics can become part of the negotiations of cultural memory within the context of the platform (Menke and Birkner 2023, 500–01). Thus, processes of selection and hierarchization of cultural objects and people, long reserved for human gatekeepers (such as archivists and museum curators), are increasingly being pervaded by algorithmic actors, themselves dependent on the logics of data aggregation and monetization of global platform companies (Collie and Wilson-Barnao 2020, 182). The economic and technological mechanisms that are fundamental to the functioning of platforms (see chapter 3.2) thus have a profound influence on the representation of cultures, the canonization of cultural objects and persons, and ultimately the production of memory in digi-

tal spaces. In addition, content creators' interpretations of the affordances of platforms and their corresponding imaginaries and strategies of action have a decisive influence on the production of the content that is disseminated in digital spaces.

Thus, technological advances in recent years and new forms of publicity in digital spaces have expanded the repertoire of media memory practices. This has enabled the establishment of new memory discourses, in which diverse memories can become visible without the intervention of traditional gatekeepers such as journalism or memory institutions such as museums and archives (Menke and Birkner 2023, 497). Academics, archivists and curators are therefore by no means in control of the interpretation of memory-related discourses. An exclusive focus on the memory work of these institutions and actors is therefore no longer sufficient if we are to understand the complex functioning of mediatized memories in contemporary media cultures (Lohmeier, Schwarzenegger, and Schreiber 2020, 59). It is therefore imperative to view platforms as a significant and evolving domain of memory production, one that engenders novel memory practices and challenges traditional forms of memory culture. The integration of TikTok into the media practices of a vast number of individuals, particularly young people, gives rise to the assumption that the forms of jazz-related memory production that take place on TikTok can also be effective beyond the platform. This particular mode of memory production is largely independent from entities like specialized archives, jazz journalism, and jazz research. In the future, music research will have to address such shifts in focus in order to ascertain which actors can influence the public image of music cultures or the communication of music-related memories, and to what extent.

7.2   TikTok and Musical Canon Building

As discussed in the previous section, one of the things that is negotiated in the context of memory production is who and what is considered culturally significant over a longer period of time and therefore also worth remembering. This phenomenon bears resemblance to the hierarchization processes commonly referred to as *cultural canon building*. This term encompasses the mechanisms through which influential cultural actors assess the value of cultural objects and individuals, determining their memorability and, subsequently, their visibility in the media.