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.

The term *canon* has its roots in religious discourse and originally meant *standard*. It initially referred to those sections of the Bible that were deemed authoritative (Gabbard 1995, 3; Appen, Doehring, and Rösing 2008, 25). However, canon-building processes have long been discussed outside of theological contexts, including in music research. In this context, the criterion of authenticity is not the primary consideration. Rather, a canon in music-related contexts should be understood as a compilation of individual pieces, songs, albums, or musicians that are considered highly relevant within the context of their respective musical frame of reference. Individual cases are thus extracted from the heterogeneous totality of certain musical repertoires, such as the diverse forms of jazz, as being particularly worthy of being listened to, significant, valuable, and so forth. The selection process is always retrospective, and the confirmation of such a selection, particularly by influential figures such as music journalists, historians, and museum curators, enables the establishment of a canon within specific music cultures (Appen, Doehring, and Rösing 2008, 26). In view of the vast quantity of musical works that are currently available, canons provide a sense of security, stability, and orientation. For instance, ideas about significant musical compositions are transmitted from one generation to the next, resulting in a consensus among many individuals regarding these compositions and their sustained popularity over decades. While canons are not immutable, they do often possess a robust and enduring core over time, serving as a reference point for subsequent generations and their musical creations (Whyton 2013, 42–43). The results of such music-related canon-building processes are documented in a variety of sources, including journalistic best lists, recommendations for listening in reference books and specialist works, and academic presentations on the history of popular music.

Canon-building processes and the critical reflection thereof have been a core topic in jazz studies since the early 1990s (DeVeaux 1991; Gabbard 1995). Jazz-related canon-building processes, as are typically constructed and perpetuated by music journalism or jazz historiography, for example, usually attempt to establish jazz as an art music, which sometimes serves to legitimize this musical culture – as the American counterpart to European art music, so to speak (Gabbard 1995, 2). The supposed genius of individuals, primarily male instrumentalists, who more or less single-handedly brought about the great innovations in jazz, according to the typical narrative, is often emphasized. The musicians generally highlighted in this way form an extremely homogeneous group – female musicians, for example, are largely or even almost completely absent from almost all canonized accounts of jazz history (Whyton 2013, 43).

The exclusionary and homogenizing logics that generally underlie canon-building processes are therefore problematic. In music-related contexts, this refers not only to musical repertoires per se, but also to the authors or performers of these repertoires. Canon-building processes usually represent only the musical creations of certain groups of people, while others usually remain in the background or are even hidden due to social categories of difference such as gender, ethnicity, *race*, class, nationality, or geographical origin (Whyton 2013, 43). In an analysis of numerous rock and pop album lists, Ralf von Appen, André Doehring, and Helmut Rösing, for example, show that these lists are an extremely homogenizing form of musical canon building. The top positions on these lists are almost exclusively occupied by *white*, male musicians from the U.S. or Great Britain who play in a classic rock band line-up (vocals, guitar, bass, drums) and whose best-known albums were released in the second half of the 1960s (Appen, Doehring, and Rösing 2008, 33). The composition of such lists is typically the domain of music critics. It is noteworthy that the albums prioritized in these lists are not necessarily those that enjoy the most commercial success (Appen, Doehring, and Rösing 2008, 36). Consequently, the aesthetic attitudes of the discursively influential actors in the field of music journalism may not fully reflect the actual interests of listeners. The clear divergences that emerge from a direct comparison are likely attributable to the homogeneity of the group of individuals responsible for compiling such lists. It seems reasonable to posit that, at least according to von Appen, Doehring, and Rösing, these are *white*, middle-aged, male journalists with a comparatively high level of education. The music prioritized in the lists may be familiar to them for primarily biographical reasons, making it likely to offer potential for identification (Appen, Doehring, and Rösing 2008, 37).

Canon-building processes can frequently be observed to align with the cultural values of specific discourse leaders or cultural *elites*. This phenomenon is not exclusive to the domain of music journalism; it is also evident in the curricula of music-related academic institutions, which are largely dependent on the biographical influences and related cultural preferences of their academic teachers (Gabbard 1995, 3). The discrepancy between the music-related preferences that are actually widespread in society and the attitudes of these elites demonstrates that canon-building processes do not develop a universally valid normative force. Rather, they are only ever effective in certain areas of society. Nevertheless, canons such as those constructed in the field of music journalism can be disseminated, become socially sedimented, and exert influence over a significant number of individuals (Appen, Doehring, and Rösing 2008, 45–46).

Prior to the twentieth century, the canonization of music was predominantly associated with what is commonly referred to as art music. Consequently, while songs from popular music cultures may have achieved considerable recognition, they were not regarded as *serious* or as having the requisite quality to be considered *art* or *valuable* music worthy of preservation as part of the canon. However, throughout the twentieth century canon-building processes have expanded to encompass popular repertoires, as evidenced by the emergence of formats such as the aforementioned best lists (Appen, Doehring, and Rösing 2008, 30–31). Von Appen, Doehring, and Rösing identify three fundamental categories of canon building: the song canon, the musician canon, and the album canon. Within the context of the song canon, enduring songs, or *evergreens*, are preserved through various means, including radio broadcasts and the work of cover bands. In these instances, the focus is not on the creators or performers but on the songs themselves. In contrast, the canon of musicians is maintained through the medium of museum exhibitions, wherein a limited cohort of individual musicians and their oeuvre are repeatedly showcased and celebrated in a similar manner. The canon of albums is the most analogous to the canon-building trends observed in the domain of European art music and is associated with cultural capital. In music journalism, for instance, selected albums are designated *masterpieces of rock history*, which subsequently informs the construction of these lists of the most exemplary albums.

The prioritization of specific musical repertoires on TikTok, as evidenced in this study, aligns most closely with the logic of song-centered canon building. This is because, as revealed by the interview results, the creators of the Great American Songbook songs are just as obscure as the numerous albums by various musicians on which versions of these songs were released. The Great American Songbook songs that are so popular on TikTok are not necessarily linked to their composers or specific performers in the public perception, which is why a form of canon building that is not strictly historically oriented is evident in the context of these songs. At most, performers such as Frank Sinatra and Ella Fitzgerald, whom the interviewees associate with specific songs but who are not the composers, are mentioned several times in the interviews. The results of the interviews indicate that jazz standards such as "Fly Me to the Moon" are of great significance to a vast number of individuals, not only to the musicians who were interviewed but also to TikTok users. However, these standards do not occupy a prominent position within the jazz-related canon that has been constructed by those who are regarded as the elites. In any case, the repertoires

preserved on TikTok are specific repertoires of jazz standards from the 1920s to 1950s. These standards were already popular prior to their distribution on the platform, and some of them were initially transferred to the TikTok context due to their use in more traditional media formats, such as films and television series. Consequently, TikTok serves to perpetuate and further popularize what was already pervasive in society in general.

The processes of cultural hierarchization are thus documented on TikTok and demonstrate parallels to earlier processes of music-related canon building. However, these processes are not congruent with those observed in the past. In the context of the platform, such processes occur under the influence of new media and new economic conditions. This means that TikTok does not produce top lists or comparable canon-building processes in which the same musicians and repertoires are prioritized again and again and with a high degree of continuity, which means that future canon-building processes can be prefigured to a certain extent. On TikTok, a video can be swiped directly if it is not to your liking; the brevity of the videos and the logic of the For You page encourage the consumption of many different videos within a relatively short time. In view of this, TikTok appears to be extremely ephemeral and is ostensibly unable to function as an instance of cultural canon building, since canon building is characterized precisely by the constant and long-term preservation of cultural hierarchies. Conversely, the very standards that have achieved popularity on TikTok in the context of jazz have for decades gained considerable recognition beyond the platform. Indeed, they were already canonized before their dissemination in digital spaces. This status as a *standard* can be further consolidated on TikTok, as evidenced by the repeated replaying of songs such as "Fly Me to the Moon" by innumerable users. Moreover, the videos remain accessible for an extended period, as they are stored on the platform and can be accessed at any time, provided they are not deleted by their creators.

It would appear that existing canon-building processes are being transferred to the context of TikTok, thereby increasing the likelihood of further social sedimentation. Musicians are acutely aware of the necessity of meeting the specific requirements of TikTok, and thus opt for specific musical repertoires in order to enhance their visibility on the platform. The interviewees were unanimous in their view that well-known and catchy songs, such as those from the Great American Songbook repertoire, are highly suitable for attracting the attention of users and encouraging them to interact. The affordances of the platform, the algorithmic imaginaries of the musicians, and their ideas about potential user reactions exert a considerable influence

on the musical repertoires that receive the most attention on TikTok. This analysis does not focus on criteria that are typically applied in the context of jazz-related canon building beyond the platform, such as the artistic merit of the songs performed. However, processes of cultural hierarchization based on categories of social difference, such as origin and gender, which also substantially shape canon-building processes, are clearly reflected in the context of TikTok. Moreover, in contrast to its Chinese counterpart Douyin, TikTok is tailored to Western markets and evidently reflects a markedly Western-influenced, or more accurately, U.S.-centric perspective on jazz. This perspective, which is strongly contextualized within Western frameworks, has been a defining feature of jazz-related canon-building processes for decades, with U.S. repertoires and musicians typically accorded greater prominence.

7.3   Cultural Hegemonies on TikTok (and Beyond)

The findings of this study demonstrate that the homogenization tendencies observed on TikTok influence not only the musical repertoire performed, but also specific demographic groups. It is evident that body norms and beauty ideals play a pivotal role in this context. These social categories have historically exerted a considerable influence on the negotiation of media visibility, long before the advent of digital platforms. In such contexts, the human body should be understood as a medium for the construction and representation of social categories of difference, including but not limited to gender, *race*, and class (Degele 2006, 579). In this way, specific normative ideas of beauty, which are linked to social power, are inscribed in the body. Individuals who conform to specific, conventionalized beauty norms generally enjoy numerous privileges. The results of socio-psychological research demonstrate that individuals who are perceived as attractive can earn a higher income, find sexual and life partners more easily, and are perceived by others as being more likeable and competent (Degele 2006, 584). In this sense, the body can to a certain extent be used as capital to compensate for a lack of economic or cultural capital (Degele 2017, 116). This phenomenon is also evidenced by an analysis of the popularity peaks of jazz musicians on TikTok. The platform allows musicians to strategically utilize their bodies to gain popularity early on, circumventing the traditional gatekeepers of the music industry, such as record labels and managers. The results of the interviews show that, in addition to music-related aspects such as the choice of repertoire, the targeted staging of one's own body and