

- ARTICLE -

Anthem for Jersey: Music, Media and Politics in an Island Setting

Henry Johnson

Abstract

In 2007, Jersey's government launched a competition in search for a further anthem to celebrate the island's identity. Even though the island uses 'God Save the Queen' as its official anthem because of its allegiance to the British Crown, there are increasingly more occasions for the island to have its own anthem, such as at the Island Games or the Commonwealth Games when island athletes compete against other jurisdictions that might also use 'God Save the Queen'. Two other songs, 'Ma Normandie' ('My Normandy') and 'Beautiful Jersey' ('Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri'), have sometimes been used at times of celebration, but in recent years there has been increased discussion regarding the place of these songs because neither was originally composed as an official anthem for Jersey. Over the past few decades, Jersey has re-thought internal cultural policy towards island identity. This has been part of a process of increased reflection on the island's heritage as well as its place in the wider world. This article helps show how Jersey is rethinking identity through several spheres: media, political and cultural. By studying the process of finding its own anthem, the politics of local identity construction are highlighted and provide examples that help explain why a unique anthem is needed in the present-day, and how the island is represented and has responded through song and discourse as a result of the competition and local cultural politics regarding the winning anthem.

Introduction

On 3 March 2015, the title of an article in Jersey's main newspaper read: 'Jersey's anthem is "dreary and uninspiring" and shouldn't be played at Island Games says former Minister' (*Jersey Evening Post* 2015b). In the article, former politician Jim Perchard was criticizing the new anthem, 'Island Home', which had won the Jersey anthem competition in 2008. He commented that even though 'Island Home' had won the competition, it was chosen by a small group of judges without widespread public voting,

Henry Johnson is Professor of Music at the University of Otago, New Zealand. His research interests are in Island Studies, Asian Studies, and the anthropology of music, and he has carried out field research in a number of locations in Europe, Asia and Australasia. His books include *The Koto* (Hotei, 2004), *Asia in the Making of New Zealand* (Auckland UP, 2006; co-edited), *Performing Japan* (Global Oriental, 2008; co-edited), *The Shamisen* (Brill, 2010), and *The Shakuhachi* (Brill, 2014). His publications in the field of Island Studies have appeared in *Shima, Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, and *Island Studies Journal*.

and that the government of Jersey had not actually officially adopted the anthem for the island. Perchard had previously criticized the anthem, noting in 2010 that it was ‘miserable and uninspiring’ and it ‘hits the wrong note’ (ibid), and in 2015 was reiterating his antagonism towards it. The fact that Jersey’s government had not yet adopted the anthem seven years after the competition could be interpreted either as a lack of top-level support for the song, or a failure to administer the process. Another member of Jersey’s parliament, Deputy Jeremy Maçon, has also criticized the winning anthem, calling on the education minister in 2009 to ‘scrap the dirge’ (ibid). The context of such criticism is that, while the anthem may have won a competition, it seems not to have won widespread public, political or media support. Even the newspaper in which some of these criticisms have been expressed has concluded that ‘it is about time we had an anthem which Islanders actually liked’ (*Jersey Evening Post* 2015a). The winning anthem had, therefore, become an object of intense political, media and social debate. The song was highly contested in divergent spheres of island life.

As pieces of music that embody a sense of identity, anthems can be read as musical texts that reveal much about how meaning is attached to music. When a competition is held to choose an anthem, questions about musical representation are foregrounded either by the composers, the judges or the general public (including the media). What is the best way of representing Jersey’s identity through song? How can one anthem represent everyone in a certain location? Has the process been contested beyond the judging process? Further, in a global context of sporting competitions as spectacles and ‘designer nations’ (Jansen 2008), and drawing on critical analysis of the place of music, the nation and nationalism (e.g., Bohlman 2004), one might ask: can an anthem truly represent the entire community it stands for or does it represent an imagined community? (Anderson 1991) Indeed, as Anderson notes:

There is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests—above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the . . . [anthems] provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community. . . . How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound (Anderson 1991, 132–33).

Extending discussion of anthems used during the Island Games (Johnson 2008) by

focusing only on the process on Jersey for selecting a further anthem, this article offers a critical study that addresses such questions of 'ideological euphoria' (Porter 1998, 185) in order to examine the ways music, media and politics have been played out in discourse before, during and after the process of choosing a new anthem for Jersey. In what was perhaps intended as an exercise of democratically selecting an official anthem for the island has actually initiated a context of much media contestation: a winning anthem, but yet to be formally adopted; rival anthems that compete at different times of celebration (and sometimes in the same context); and much political, media and social discourse on the process.

The twenty-first century is a time of political change in the British Isles. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as a nation state comprises a conglomerate of constituent countries: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Together with the offshore self-governing Crown Dependencies of the Isle of Man and the Bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey (including Alderney and Sark, which are also self-governing), which do not form part of the UK, these jurisdictions exist simultaneously as British crown territories and as separate entities with distinct regional and local identities as well as fiscal, legal and political autonomy (i.e., functioning almost as independent countries).

The post-1999 devolution era reveals a somewhat divided UK in political terms. There is a Scottish Parliament, National Assembly for Wales, and a Northern Ireland Assembly. Further, each of the Crown Dependencies has its own government. Scotland has recently gone through an unsuccessful vote seeking independence from the UK, and some voices are calling for a Cornish assembly in a part of the island of Great Britain that is increasingly celebrating its Celtic heritage through the promotion of its distinct linguistic roots. Each of the four main entities of the UK, along with the two Crown Dependencies, are represented by sporting teams, flags and other cultural traits, and are sometimes bound together as British, and other times as separate 'countries'. While each location maintains 'God Save the Queen' as its national anthem, which helps reinforce allegiance to the Crown, most also have a separate anthem that helps show and support a distinct local identity vis-à-vis the overarching nation state or monarchy.

There are numerous ways in which one might assess the popularity of the various official and unofficial Jersey anthems, including surveys, interviews, media analysis and ethnography. For this article, I will focus on media analysis, especially dialogue about local anthems in newspapers, blogs and the number of YouTube plays. I have also undertaken ethnographic research on Jersey song on many occasions, including formal and informal interviews with key informants such as musicians, composers, language activists and educators. Interviews and discussions have been undertaken with several of the composers of anthems entered into the competition, and some information in this

article draws on these sources.

The notion of winning the anthem competition is discussed in part by addressing the dialectical relationship between music, media and politics. In part, too, in relation to the signification of affirmation and the contestation that was not only part of the selection process, but also a feature of ongoing public, political and media debate in the years that followed. By analyzing the competition process and its ongoing reverberations, the discussion explores cultural meaning that has been generated on Jersey and ascribed both to the winning and losing anthems in the competition. By decentering the winning song and its sonic and social repercussions, and by critiquing the binary between the winner and losers, it has become evident that as a result of the competition the process of having a winner has actually offered a context for the voices of those songs that did not win to be juxtaposed with the winner in discursive media analysis. I apply a critical analytical approach to media interpretation to show that through the Jersey anthem competition process, while the winner has been overtly privileged, the particular context of competition and ongoing contestation has actually generated highly affective meaning in relation not only to the winning song, but also to some other songs that were not chosen. These include: (i) other songs that continue to be held in high esteem in some island settings; (ii) the winning song being discussed in relation to other songs; and (iii) the context of contestation over the winning song and other songs. Here, each sphere of knowledge helps show how meaning can be attached to music in this particular cultural milieu and distinctive political situation.

This article divides into several sections as a way of discussing the process of staging an anthem competition and exploring some of the entries that have maintained currency on Jersey, whether the winning or losing entries. A background section studies the competition context, and is followed by a study of significant entries and finalists, dividing the entries into several relevant categories based on those songs entered: 'Traditional Songs', 'New Traditional Songs', 'Humorous Songs and Folk-pop' and 'New Songs'.

Musing and Manoeuvres

Jersey was part of the Duchy of Normandy until the French conquered the region in 1204. At this time, Jersey maintained its allegiance to the Duke of Normandy who, since 1066, was also the English monarch. In this context, the island, along with the other Channel Islands, has distinct geographical, historical and cultural links with its Norman mainland, including the survival of a unique local yet severely endangered language, Jèrriais (a branch of Norman), which is a further symbol of unique island cultural heritage.

As with a number of sovereign states in the Commonwealth of Nations, 'God Save the Queen' is the official anthem of the Bailiwick of Jersey. However, at some sporting and celebratory events other anthems have been used as 'sonic markers that celebrate island heritage and identity' (Johnson 2008, 15). These indicate difference and identity: difference, especially at times when 'God Save the Queen' might potentially be heard several times to celebrate winning countries or jurisdictions in the same event, and identity at times of distinct local patriotism. In these cases, some other anthems are heard that have powerful significance in the island context. From the twentieth century, especially in the latter half, two songs have often been heard in such contexts and on different occasions: 'Ma Normandie' and 'Beautiful Jersey'. 'Ma Normandie' ('My Normandy'), reflecting Jersey's heritage as part of the Duchy of Normandy, has usually been played to celebrate achievements in sporting events such as the Commonwealth Games, which Jersey first entered in 1958 (Commonwealth Games Association of Jersey 2015) or Island Games, held since 1985 when Jersey first took part (International Island Games Association 2015). 'Beautiful Jersey' has often been heard at local events that emphasize island history and heritage, such as Liberation Day (an annual commemoration of the liberation of Jersey held on 9 May to remember the end of five years of German occupation during World War II until 1945). 'Beautiful Jersey' is also known in the indigenous and severely endangered local language, Jèrriais, as 'Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri' ('My Beautiful Jersey'). Such songs have become markers of local identity in the way they have come to stand for heritage or island nationalism. Over time, they have become traditions in themselves, in that they have been attached to locations, events and people, either in the island context or in other settings that represent Jersey.

In this context of different anthems being used to represent the island on different occasions, the States of Jersey held a competition between 2007 and 2008 to select an anthem for the island that would be played at sporting events and other celebratory or commemorative occasions. The idea was put forward in 2006 by Chief Minister Frank Walker when he suggested how an official anthem might be found: 'My thinking is that we should embark on a competition open to Jersey people to submit their ideas for an anthem' (*Jersey Evening Post* 2006). In a statement made to members of Jersey's parliament in 2007, he made the following comments about his new anthem idea:

I would like to notify members that, with the support of the Minister for Education, Sport and Culture, Senator M.E. Vibert and the Assistant Minister with responsibility for Culture, the Deputy of Grouville [parish], a competition is to be held to seek an anthem for Jersey.

Members will know that the number of occasions on which the Island wishes to celebrate its own distinct identity is increasing. Many of these relate to sporting occasions when islanders receive a medal, or other

recognition, at events involving other islands and indeed, sometimes, other countries.

The Island Games and the Commonwealth Games are well-known examples.

It has rightly been pointed out by some of those participating that there is at present uncertainty as to the anthem which should be played. '*Ma Normandie*' is often relied upon because of its association with our past but, of course, it is a piece of music which has itself no connection with Jersey; indeed, it has quite different associations for many.

[. . .]

I should make it quite clear that this is not to be a replacement for the National Anthem which will continue to be played in recognition of our constitutional position, and of our loyalty and affection for the Crown. (Chief Minister 2007)

The statement helps show Jersey's consolidation as a jurisdiction with increasing self-assertion. The juxtaposition of anthems (island and Royal) would allow the island to maintain its political status as a Crown Dependency, and to consolidate its growing identity as a microstate that functions almost like a country (Le Rendu 2004), and as a financial centre that had global presence.

The government department responsible for making the arrangements to hold the competition was Education, Sport and Culture, and it noted that there was no cash prize for the winning entry, but it would be published by the States of Jersey (Education, Sport and Culture Department 2007). The closing date for the competition was 31 July 2007, and each entry had to provide a text, music score and recording (tape or CD) (contestants were allowed to submit a Sibelius computer programme file on CD ROM, although this was optional). The judging panel was chaired by the Bailiff, Sir Philip Bailhache, with the Chief Minister, Senator Frank Walker, Education, Sport and Culture Minister Senator Mike Vibert, the head of the Jersey Instrumental Music Service, Neil Courtney, and the concert pianist and teacher, Chris George. In the lead up to the final, it was noted that 'at the judging in St James [church], those present will also have the opportunity to contribute an audience vote to the process' (Education, Sport and Culture Department 2008). However, due to a high-profile police investigation on the island at the time, the event was postponed until Wednesday 30 April 2008 when it was held at a free event and concert at the Jersey Opera House.

The judging process consisted of a private first stage of shortlisting finalists, followed by

a public event of performances and public contribution to the voting of a winner. At the final of the competition, the Bailiff of Jersey summed up the event by offering much nationalist sentiment about Jersey and even referring to the island as a 'small nation': 'We are a small nation with our own laws, history and heritage; our own parliament, flag and traditions. We are not England, nor the UK, nor France; we are Jersey. We have our own separate identity, and most of us are very proud of that' (Morrison 2008). As a judging panel, a small group of key government and administrative figures represented an elite segment of island society, and, along with a broad audience vote at the venue, offered just a small part of Jersey society in determining the winner and losers. As this was intended to be an anthem for Jersey, the voting system did little either to reflect Jersey's nearly 100,000 population, or its diverse mix of people (about 50% of the population was not born on the island – States of Jersey Statistics Unit 2012, 9). Indeed, as I will discuss in the next section, a distinct binary between the winning entry and other anthems that continued to be popular after the event was created as a result of the competition process, and a study of the context of celebration and contestation in this island setting helps reveal a unique and dynamic relationship between music, media and politics.

Entries and Finalists

In a press release announcing the Jersey anthem competition, the Assistant Minister of Education, Sport and Culture, Deputy Carolyn Labey, reiterated the Chief Minister's earlier comments about the context of the competition by noting that Jersey had never had its own anthem, though a number of works had had to serve that purpose on different occasions: 'Now we have the chance to identify something specifically for use at sporting events and on other public occasions from entries and from nominations made by the public' (Education, Sport and Culture Department 2008). In this context, a set of guidance notes were made available to entrants, and several points indicated clearly the need for distinct local relevance and meaning:

Entries must take the form of a new anthem setting words which are appropriate to the celebration of Jersey and its identity, or the nomination of an existing piece with appropriate associations fulfilling the same criteria. . . . The text set to the music, or any newly written lyrics, should be appropriate to an anthem intended to celebrate Jersey's identity. They should be in English although a French, or Jèrriais, translation may be included. (Education, Sport and Culture Department 2007)

Based on such comments, the 'celebration of Jersey and its identity' could be a notion that foregrounds Jersey's multicultural milieu, heritage or industries, including agriculture, tourism or financial services, the last of which has boosted Jersey's name

internationally over the past 50 years or so. However, as will be outlined in more detail later, in connection with the winning entry, the notion of Jersey's identity resulted more in a statement on the idea of island difference in terms of its history, geography and politics, thus offering a sense of island identity to which residents might identify on a collective level. Indeed, for the competition, cultural identity was conceived as a concept based on government intervention. However, the outcome of the competition was one of bifurcation, with one result being a winning anthem that is celebrated on some occasions, but not receiving widespread top-down or bottom-up approval, and another being a reaction against that anthem with alternative options being supported with the continuation of prior practice in some contexts. This is what Collier (1998, 131) refers to as 'historical, contextual, and relational constructions'. Moreover, Jersey's process of choosing an anthem related to constructing a sense of belonging that the judges believed defined Jersey island identity. Such a sense of belonging offers a fixed identity through song that negates any sense of the notion of identity as a fluid process, let alone a bottom-up consensus as to what the anthem should actually be (see Hecht, Collier and Ribeau 1993; Jackson 1999). One of the inherent problems of holding a competition for an anthem is that 'cultural identities come from somewhere, [and] have histories. But, like everything that is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous "play" of history, culture and power' (Hall 2003, 225). For example, while the island's indigenous language, Jèrriais, is celebrated by some residents and has a firm place in heritage settings, there are actually nowadays more Polish and Portuguese speakers on the island, yet it was with the older cultural heritage to which the guidance notes referred.

Twenty-seven songs were entered into the competition (*Jersey Evening Post* 2015b). On 12 February 2008, the Education, Sport and Culture Department announced a shortlist of the five entries that made the final of the competition (Cudlipp 2008), and that each would be sung by the Jersey Festival Choir at a public event originally scheduled for 13 March 2008. While the five shortlisted entries were made publically available (Table 1), access to all of the first-round entries has been impossible because of issues of privacy (some were placed in the public domain). For this article, I will focus on the entries that are readily accessible, and more particularly on those that have been the focus of public discourse on the competition process.

| Composer | Title |
|---|----------------------|
| James Taberner | 'Jersey Island Home' |
| Derek Lawrence | 'My Jersey, My Home' |
| Kevin Poree and Matheson Bayley | 'Arise, Arise' |
| Gerard Le Feuvre | 'Island Home' |
| Lindsay Lennox (d. 1906) (traditional) | 'Beautiful Jersey' |

Table 1: Jersey Anthem Competition Shortlist (Morrison 2008)

Traditional Songs

Three songs exist on Jersey as either national or island anthems, each of which has distinct affectual meaning for islanders, although determined especially by the location of performance: 'God Save the Queen', 'Ma Normandie' and 'Beautiful Jersey'. Of these three 'traditional songs' (in that they are established on Jersey), 'Ma Normandie' did not reach the shortlist, even though it had been heard many times as an anthem for winning Jersey competitors / teams at the Island Games, but 'Beautiful Jersey' did. With these three traditional songs, I will show some of the ways they have been used and contested in the context of local celebration, commemoration and the anthem competition setting.

'God Save the Queen' is the anthem that is used to represent Jersey's allegiance to the Crown. When the States of Jersey Law (2005) outlined the new ministerial system of government, it also referred to the developing voice that Jersey was asserting globally: 'it is further recognized that there is an increasing need for Jersey to participate in matters of international affairs' (States of Jersey 2005, 7). As a British Crown Dependency, Jersey has relied on the UK government regarding matters such as defense and foreign relations, but its growing population and global financial interests in the presence of a growing European Union (Jersey is not a member) have helped the island consolidate its island identity. In this context, the Jersey island anthem contest was held. Jersey already has many symbols of local identity, including its own flag, currency, language, laws and system of government, but as it asserts its international visibility, a new anthem that sets it apart from Britain and other British jurisdictions also using 'God Save the Queen' would be a logical proposal in a move towards increased self-assertion.

One song that has been used to represent Jersey as an anthem on some sporting and celebratory occasions is 'Ma Normandie'. While not a song that was included in the

shortlist of the anthem competition, and, even though it was commented on by the Chief Minister, it still has currency as an anthem for Jersey nearly 10 years after the competition was held.

'Ma Normandie' is a patriotic song of Normandy—an 'unofficial anthem' (Davis 2007, 20). It was composed in 1836 by Frédéric Bérat (1801–55), a French (Norman) gas company worker who was also a composer, and since that time it has been a patriotic song of Normandy. Because Jersey has historical links with the French region of Normandy, of which it was a part before 1204, after which it remained loyal to the English King John, the island has maintained strong cultural connections with its Contentin mainland (including its linguistic branches). As such, on some occasions such as the Commonwealth Games and the Island Games (the Jersey team in the latter has used various anthems over the years), 'Ma Normandie' has been used as an anthem to represent the island. It is also a song that is sometimes found at cultural heritage events such as La Fête Nouormande, which is an annual festival celebrating the Norman language heritage of the region (Johnson 2011). A translation of some of the song's lyrics reveals distinct contradictions for Jersey in that the song notes such expressions as 'Sous le beau ciel de notre France' ('Under the beautiful sky of our France') and 'J'irai revoir ma Normandie' ('I like to see my Normandy'). However, as well as its French lyrics, there are other versions of the song with different lyrics, including Norman and Jèrriais versions. Interestingly, while the lyrics of the Jèrriais version are changed considerably to make distinct references to well-known Jersey locations, and indeed mentions Jersey on several occasions, it is actually the French version that is most often sung on the island, and often by Jèrriais culture bearers, language activists and educators.

Because of its unofficial status in both France and Jersey, 'Ma Normandie' exists as 'a polysemous text through which national identity is constantly being negotiated' (Daughtry 2003, 42). That is, the song is used to celebrate a particular region based on geographical proximity, historical jurisdiction and contemporary cultural influences (Johnson 2008, 14). That the Chief Minister questioned the song's relevance to celebrate Jersey identity is testimony to its contested existence on the island, especially in an era of the island's self-assertion. As an island anthem—a patriotic song—that is intended to construct a sense of national or local community and identity, but perhaps usually an imagined community (Anderson 1991), it seemed in 2008 not to have the support or recognition of those calling for a new song to be found. Indeed, the Chief Minister was a member of the judging panel and wanted a song that created a community, not divided it. However, as shown later, the competition opened up many divisions not only about what song to choose, but also on the politics of identity in the twenty-first century.

In 2008, and immediately after the anthem competition, it was thought that the adoption of a new island anthem 'may help put an end to the tradition of 'Ma Normandie' being

heard at such events' (Johnson 2008, 15). However, a governmental decision to adopt a new anthem for Jersey did not actually take place. Moreover, considering the ongoing public, political and media attention regarding the winning anthem and the continued controversy that has accompanied it, it seems that the States of Jersey is unlikely to adopt 'Island Home' (the winning entry) as one of the island's official anthems in the near future. In the lead-up to the 2015 Island Games on Jersey, the topic of which anthem to use was brought up by the Jersey team and played out in local media, as discussed below. Indeed, island sports teams and organizers of other celebratory events were left free to choose which song as the most suitable to represent the island. In this context, it seems that the anthem competition had actually generated renewed support for other songs to be used as anthems, and sections of Jersey society were indeed using those songs. What was perhaps intended to create a sense of unified island nationalism had in fact resulted in disparate island nationalisms.

One of the shortlisted songs in the anthem competition was 'Beautiful Jersey'. The words and music of 'Beautiful Jersey' were written by Englishman, Lindsay Lennox (d. 1906). Also known in Jèrriais as '*Man bieau p'tit Jèrri*' ('My Beautiful Little Jersey'), the song is a regular feature on Liberation Day and on some other celebratory and festive occasions, and has functioned as an unofficial anthem (Education, Sport and Culture Department 2008). On such occasions, the first verse is often sung in Jèrriais and later verses in English. Unlike 'God Save the Queen' and 'Ma Normandie', 'Beautiful Jersey' makes distinct references to the island setting. As well as including the name of the island in the title, several lines reinforce island references, including: 'Dear Jersey, fair Isle, of the ocean the queen'; 'Beautiful Jersey, gem of the sea'; and 'The dear little Isle of the sea'.

A patriotic song during the German occupation of Jersey between 1940 and 1945, 'Beautiful Jersey' has been performed on Liberation Day every year. However, when 'Island Home' won the competition in 2008, not only was the newer anthem performed, but 'Beautiful Jersey' continues to have a place at the event, as does 'God Save the Queen'. Also, the song is heard on festival occasions such as at La Fête Nouormande (Norman Fête), when it is sung in the Jèrriais translation of the original English lyrics

'Beautiful Jersey' has been the anthem of the Island Games on several occasions and in 2015 was again the official anthem representing the Jersey team. On this occasion it was used in a slightly modified arrangement (made by the head of Jersey Music Service) for a choir of school students and the Jersey Youth Orchestra at the opening ceremony (see Ashton 2015), and a shorter version played for medal ceremonies (*Jersey Evening Post* 2015a). As Jersey's main newspaper commented:

While the official anthem, Island Home, and Ma Normandie have their place, many will see today's announcement that Beautiful Jersey will be

used each time we strike gold in June as a victory for the people. The Games' organisers should therefore be commended for listening to the public (*Jersey Evening Post* 2015a).

This comment offers direct media support for the song with regard to its popularity on the island. Moreover, this sentiment, as shown later in connection with the winning anthem, has been consolidated and nurtured partly as a result of the competition.

New Traditional Songs

I am aware of one new 'traditional' song that was entered into the competition, '*Chant d'Jèrri*' (the English title is given as 'Island Song', but 'Jersey Song' is the literal translation), although it did not reach the shortlist. I refer to this song as a new traditional anthem because even though English lyrics are available, the song is usually performed in Jèrriais, the traditional language of the island.

The words are by local Jèrriais educator Geraint Jennings, and the music by Frenchman Daniel Bourdelès of the mainland Norman band Mâgene. The intention of this song is to capture the current political sentiment behind Jersey's Norman heritage while placing it into a contemporary context in terms of its musical setting. The place of such new traditional music is that it stands for the past and helps preserve and promote local heritage (particularly Jèrriais) through song. Indeed, Jennings and Bourdelès are especially active promoting their own version of Norman with much sonic activism within the Norman region.

The song has numerous references to landmarks on and around Jersey, with the English and Jèrriais versions differing occasionally. Since entering the anthem competition, '*Chant d'Jèrri*' has been performed on numerous occasions, including at the Eisteddfod and La Fête Nouormande. The song was also given an upbeat pop-folk sound in 2012 with the release of an album celebrating Jèrriais by local band Badlabecques (the same album also includes two versions of 'Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri' ['Beautiful Jersey']). In the same year, the song by Badlabecques was included in a teaching resource (CD and booklet), *Jèrri chîn' et là* (Jersey Here and There), for use in Jèrriais education on the island, and photographs of local landmarks and emblems of island heritage are included next to the song text (L'Office du Jèrriais 2012, 3–4). Because the song's lyricist is a Jèrriais educator in L'Office du Jèrriais, his linguistic activism at all levels of education has helped in the dissemination of the song in such settings, and thus contributes new local culture with island heritage at its core. The song may not have been written had it not been for the competition and, since 2008, it has been established as a new traditional Jèrriais song that functions as part of a growing repertoire of traditional music. As such, it is often heard in heritage settings where Jèrriais might be performed,

and offers a type of countercultural song with linguistic activism at its core.

Humorous Songs and Folk-pop

Based on media reports, two songs that were already in the public domain were contenders for the island anthem (I am unsure if they were actually entered, but the information available seems to indicate that they were). One is by the somewhat mysterious Hedley Le Maistre, an anonymous recording performer who plays a spoof character based on a fictional, traditional Jersey farmer. 'Hedley has been drip feeding the awaiting masses a series of songs that give the listener a unique insight into island life, from talk of road works to a night on the town. Hedley's even penned an anthem for Jersey' (Morrison 2007a).

Le Maistre's song, 'Jersey, Mon Vie!' ('Jersey, My Friend'), is typical of this singer/songwriter's humorous style. The popularity of 'Jersey, Mon Vie' in comparison to several other pieces in the anthem competition is revealed in Table 2, which shows the songs available on YouTube along with their number of plays. These figures reveal several key points about these particular songs. While 'Jersey, Mon Vie!' has been on YouTube since 2007, its number of plays by far outnumber the others in the competition that have been uploaded to this site. Also, the recent media interest in the selection process of the anthem for the 2015 Island Games has led composer James Taberner to upload his entry. While there are two videos about 'Island Home' that show more plays than the one of 'Beautiful Jersey' that has the most plays of several versions, the latter song has been uploaded by several groups, including The Band of the Island of Jersey, Badlabecques and singers using Jèrriais.

| Composer | Song Title | YouTube Plays as of of April 27 th 2015 | Date Available |
|----------------------------------|---|--|--------------------|
| James Taberner | 'Jersey Island Home' | 295 | 8 March 2015 (a) |
| Gerard Le Feuvre | Recording of the Jersey Anthem | 2946 | 6 May 2010 (b) |
| Gerard Le Feuvre | The Making of the Jersey Anthem (Interview with Gerard Le Feuvre) | 768 | 6 May 2010 (c) |
| Lindsay Lennox; Frank Le Maistre | 'Beautiful Jersey' ('Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri') | 1699 | 31 August 2012 (d) |
| Hedley Le Maistre | 'Anthem for Jersey' ('Jersey, 'Jersey, Mon Vie!') | 68,980 | 31 May 2007 (e) |

Table 2: YouTube plays of Jersey songs

(a) The composer notes that the song has been requested due to renewed interest in the island's anthem and the one chosen for use at the Island Games in June 2015 (Taberner 2015)

(b) Video about the making of a recording of 'Island Home' (States of Jersey 2010b)

(c) Interview with Gerard Le Feuvre, the composer of 'Island Home' (States of Jersey 2010c)

(d) There are various version of this song on YouTube. The one listed has the highest number of plays (Band of the Island of Jersey, The 2012)

(e) Le Maistre (2007)

The other known song that was possibly entered into the competition was 'Proud to be a Bean' by Sergeant Pippons Lonely Hearts Club Band, a local folk-pop band that sometimes includes elements of humour (Morrison 2007b). This band, with a name that indexes *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* by the Beatles of 1967, make reference to

the colloquial name given to islanders, 'bean', in the title of their song. The song makes much of Jersey's 12-parish system, with each parish named in succession before the catch line: 'I'm proud to be a bean'. More recently, this song was covered by Jersey folk-pop band, Badlabecques, to stand as an anthem as part of a political movement to change local politics. On their version of the song, Badlabecques' lyrics are partly in Jèrriais, thus offering a distinct local island reference.

'Jersey, Mon Vie!' and 'Proud to be a Bean' are both well-known songs in the Jersey pub-music setting, and each offers a creative contribution to local popular culture partly as a result of the anthem competition. It seems that such songs have widespread appeal locally, but offer a different type of music to the type chosen as the winner of the competition. The irony is that this genre has gained appeal, as shown in the YouTube data, whereas the context of the competition has generated cultural contestation in public, political and media spheres.

New Songs

Excluding 'Beautiful Jersey' as a new song of the twentieth century, three of the shortlisted pieces in the competition were new songs composed specifically for the event. While some other new songs have been discussed already under their own distinct categories, and leaving a comparison of all the shortlisted entries for another time, I will refer here to the winning anthem and offer a short analysis of it as a way of highlighting the way it has helped construct musical culture in a context of contestation regarding having a further anthem for Jersey.

The winning entry was 'Island Home' by Gerard Le Feuvre, who is a Jersey-born cellist, composer and founder in 1985 of the Kings Chamber Orchestra of London (he is a returnee to Jersey, having spent around twenty years away from the island). His symphonic work, *The Rock* (premiered on Liberation Day in Jersey in 2004—Le Feuvre 2004), which is scored for orchestra, choir, bells and concert band, is a personal statement about Jersey (the 'rock', as it is sometimes called) (Kings Chamber Orchestra 2015). The fifth movement of this six-movement work, 'Jersey Joy', is a celebration of the island's 800-year loyalty to the Crown and includes traces of the songs 'Ma Normandie', 'Beautiful Jersey' and a version of the composer's winning anthem, which was composed in Jersey in 2002 (States of Jersey 2010c).

'Island Home' is an arrangement of his earlier hymn, 'St Ouen', which was written in 2000 and is about and inspired by the local parish, St Ouen, in which he lives (a Jèrriais translation of the English lyrics was later added). Thus, the musical references in 'Island Home' link Jersey to well established songs on the island and help reinforce the composer's intention of celebrating a broad scope of the island's musical history and

musical referents.

The lyrics of 'Island Home' signify Jersey in several ways, but also include other references that have other signification:

Ours is an island home
 Firm on rock and strong by sea
 Loyal and proud in history
 Our thankful hearts are raised to God for Jersey
 The beauty of our land
 Long inspires both eye and mind
 Ours the privilege to guard its shore
 So help we God that Jersey
 Might by grace endure (States of Jersey 2015).

The island's name is mentioned twice, once in each verse; the landscape and seascape of the island are referred to with the words 'rock' and 'sea' respectively; and words such as 'loyal', 'proud' and 'history' index the island's long connection with the Crown. Also, the anthem includes a religious reference to God, which is something that makes the song sound prayer-like and could be contentious for a contemporary multicultural society.

In terms of the influences behind 'Island Home', the composer notes several points that link the anthem to distinct aspects of Jersey's heritage:

- The melody was in part inspired by the sounds of Jersey wildlife.
- The first three notes if played two octaves lower are the lowing of a Jersey cow.
- Often in the melody there are two tied notes descending, imitating various island sea birds.
- The musical genre was inspired from the Peter Kennedy's (internationally renowned folk music collector) collection of Jèrriais folk song recordings made in Jersey in the 1950s.
- 'Island Home' was not written for the competition but written in 2002 in St Ouen's bay.
- 'Island Home' formed the backbone of Gerard's enormous

symphonic work about 800 years of Jersey history entitled 'The Rock'. The work was written specifically to unify the Island in thanksgiving.

- Gerard's vision for a unified Island came in part from JJ Le Marquand's remarkable poem 'La Vie' written as a song of hope during the occupation.
- In 2008, local antiques dealer Steven Cohu uncovered a 19th century Jersey song set to traditional English music called 'Hurrah for Jersey'. The song declares 'the English, French and Jersey men form a joyous band' – a fore-runner of Gerard's dream of unity that today includes the Portuguese and Polish communities among others.
- Further inspiration for 'Island Home' was found in the writing of Victor Hugo. (*Jersey Evening Post* 2015b)

Each of these points makes clear references to the island itself, whether natural or cultural, thus indexing important elements inherent in the anthem that link to island identity. Such points follow Collier's (1998, 131) comments that identity is formed from 'historical, contextual, and relational constructions'. However, the process of choosing a winning anthem seems to negate a fluid notion of identity and offer something that is fixed, at least until a future change (Hecht, Collier and Ribeau 1993; Hall 2003, 225; Jackson 1999).

About one year after the competition, the anthem was discussed by politicians in the parliamentary chamber of the States of Jersey, when it was noted by the Minister for Education, Sport and Culture at the time that all Jersey schools had been informed of the winning anthem and encouraged to use it (States of Jersey 2009). It was also noted by the Minister that in his opinion the island should 'have a number of national songs and anthems . . . and the Jersey anthem is but one' (States of Jersey 2009). Further, in 2010, and soon after the Liberation Day service, the Chief Minister at the time was questioned in parliament as to why 'Island Home', which had been sung at the commemoration, was introduced as the 'Jersey anthem', and requested to offer an assurance that this would not again occur until the States of Jersey had formally approved this or any other anthem (States of Jersey 2010a). Further performances of the anthem have been made in subsequent years on Liberation Day, although in 2015 the song was not listed in the programme, whereas 'God Save the Queen' and 'Beautiful Jersey' were, and each on several occasions (Visit Jersey 2015). Further, in a question to the Chief Minister in 2010, Senator Perchard asked for clarification as to whether 'Island Home' would be formally adopted by the government. The response was:

I intend to bring a proposition to the States to seek the formal adoption of 'Island Home' as Jersey's anthem, once I am satisfied that there is justification in bringing such a proposition. In the meantime, 'Island Home' will continue to be played at formal and informal occasions, along with other Island songs, when appropriate. There is no intention to diminish the value placed on other popular songs, such as 'Ma Normandie' and 'Beautiful Jersey', which form part of our unique local culture. (States of Jersey 2010d).

Since winning the competition, 'Island Home' has been used at the Island Games. However, as noted earlier, the 2015 Island Games used 'Beautiful Jersey' instead as a result of dislike for the anthem that won the competition (see further Ashton 2015). Thus, the competition process helped create a divided community rather than one in solidarity with a sense of sonic and 'ideological euphoria' (Porter 1998, 185). Indeed, some athletes on Jersey have viewed publically their dislike of 'Island Home', noting that 'it sounded like something that would be played at a funeral, not a medal ceremony' (BBC 2015). Also, Jim Perchard, now a former minister, noted that 'it will never be the people's anthem. Island Home has gone down like a lead balloon at Liberation Day parades. It is certainly not suitable for proud athletes' (BBC 2015).

As well as the English version of 'Island Home', there is one in *Jèrriais*, '*Isle de Siez Nous*', which was made public after the anthem competition. The band Badlabecques, which sings primarily in *Jèrriais*, has made also another version of 'Island Home'. Their demo version is in an upbeat style and they use the title 'Not Île' ('Our Island'). With Badlabecques' version, although not officially released, it offers a more upbeat style than is usually heard, and therefore attempts to make a *Jèrriais* version of the anthem more appealing to a wider public.

A more recent poll on the ongoing anthem debate was initiated in March 2015 by Jersey's evening newspaper asking viewers to vote on their choice for the anthem. With the question 'What do you think the island's anthem should be?', as of 28 April 2015 the results were as noted in Table 3.

| Option | % |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| 'Island Home' | 19.9% |
| 'Beautiful Jersey' | 34.95% |
| 'Ma Normandie' | 7.28% |
| A new anthem should be commissioned | 37.86% |

Table 3: *Jersey Evening Post* poll on preferred national anthem (*Jersey Evening Post* 2015b)

While it is impossible to understand from this data the exact detail regarding who voted, their location or reason for voting, the information does offer a perspective on the relative popularity of 'Beautiful Jersey' over 'Island Home', although most voters actually wanted a new anthem. Such data helps show how creative musical culture and discourse about music can be influenced by a competition, particularly in a political setting that has not actually formally adopted the winning anthem. On the one hand musical culture has been produced for the competition, and on the other hand this culture is consolidated and promoted as a result of the competition. The music and discourse contribute to the present-day meanings that have been attached to the songs, and helps show the fluid nature of identity vis-à-vis the fixed nature of official songs.

Conclusion

In the present era, Jersey has gone through a process of trying to select an official anthem that is distinct for the island. However, this process, which has been guided by top-down political influence and a competition exercise in a context of aiming to frame the process as democratic and representative of island life, has not been as straightforward as might have originally been conceived. The process itself has met with opposition in media, political and public spheres, and within this small island setting has actually generated not only critical musical discourse but also new musical culture.

The Jersey anthem competition has helped the island reflect on its symbols of local heritage and identity. However, as Cerulo notes, 'national symbols project a message' (1993, 245), and in this context Jersey is currently in an era that sees greater external pressures on it from the EU, a re-thinking of its position not only in the political system of the British Islands, but also more broadly internationally, and a much more complex social and cultural make up than at any other time in the island's history. As the EU continues to grow, people, regions and islands are strengthening their identities in the face of a bigger political union.

In terms of anthems playing a role in recognizing and reinforcing a sense of identity, Jersey has several levels of identity construction, each of which helps create distinct yet often overlapping imagined communities. As a case-study of Jersey anthems, media and politics, this article has shown that Jersey is maintaining its British anthem on the one hand, while establishing an (un)official anthem on the other hand. All this occurs in a setting where other songs have anthemic meaning. When Jersey is placed against other British jurisdictional or regional identities it requires its own anthem, otherwise 'God Save the Queen' might be heard many times over. While songs such as 'Ma Normandie' and 'Beautiful Jersey' carry contested meaning in the present day, they seem to be gaining strength in the island's public, political and media spheres, and other popular songs have had much support not necessarily as true anthems for the island but more as popular songs with anthemic traits that carry a cultural and political message. That is, such songs exist partly as a result of the competition process and ongoing debate, and have offered subcultural meaning on island identity, particularly in a context where the winning anthem has been contested so much in public, media and political discourse.

The process that Jersey has gone through in selecting an island anthem has revealed contradictions in existing songs, self-mockery with the conception of some humorous songs, self-assertion with some new traditional songs, and creativity with several new songs. It is from this perspective that the former, current and other anthems of the island of Jersey have been explored, not as static pieces of music, but as polysemous musical texts that can be interpreted and defined in different ways. The trope of island identity is seen in each of the songs, although divergent at times, and each reveals symbols of island culture, place and local meaning, especially as a result of the discourse that has been attached to them since the Jersey anthem competition was initiated in 2007.

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