University of Groningen

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Published in:
European Journal of Cultural Studies

DOI:
[10.1177/1367549416638525](https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549416638525)

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
2017

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

McGee, K. (2017). Staging Jazz Pasts within Commercial European Jazz Festivals: The Case of the North Sea Jazz Festival. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 20(2), 141-166.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549416638525>

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Staging jazz pasts within commercial European jazz festivals: The case of the North Sea Jazz Festival

European Journal of Cultural Studies

2017, Vol. 20(2) 141–166

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DOI: 10.1177/1367549416638525

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Abstract

This article examines the North Sea Jazz Festival in order to highlight the growing influence of both 'convergence culture' (Jenkins) and prevailing jazz mythologies upon the reception and organization of contemporary European jazz festivals. In particular, the European jazz festival is examined within the context of increasing commercialization and digital mediation of the live music field. To stake my claim, I first sketch the context within which European jazz festivals arose, especially as initially driven by curators/aficionados, whose longing for 'authentic' jazz within natural (resort) surroundings provided the basis for our current European jazz mythology. Next, drawing from both secondary sources and journalistic reviews, I trace how the North Sea Jazz Festival transitioned from an independently curated event to a highly professionalized media festival in Rotterdam, northern Europe's most modern, post-industrial jazz city. Finally, my close reading of the recent North Sea Jazz Festival's headlining, crossover Dutch jazz artist, Caro Emerald, reveals how this transformation encouraged associations with the so-called European jazz myth, one which privileged Europeans' connections to past American aesthetics and promoted New York-based jazz 'heroes' alongside crossover European jazz acts. My research draws from the fields of cultural studies, historiography, ethnomusicology and media studies to postulate a multidisciplinary theoretical perspective for examining jazz ideologies in light of large-scale transformations of festival culture.

Keywords

Caro Emerald, convergence culture, culture industries, European jazz, jazz festivals, jazz myths, jazz pasts, North Sea Jazz Festival, popular music

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Introduction

This article presents an analysis of the changing value structures, promotional mechanisms and performance strategies exhibited within large-scale Western European jazz festivals in recent decades. In particular, it reveals how jazz festivals have expanded from small-scale, aficionado-driven, elitist events to large-scale, highly commercial corporate phenomena, a trend which relates more generally to the commercialization of cultural spheres within the 21st century. To contextualize these transformations, as a case study, I examine one of Europe's most popular jazz festivals to emerge since the 1970s, the North Sea Jazz Festival (NSJF). The focus upon this festival aims to underscore the persistent impact of dominant jazz tropes upon the reception, promotion and discursive meanings surrounding contemporary European jazz festivals. By examining historical and journalistic reviews of this festival and others emerging in the post-war moment, the article first sets up the context within which the NSJF later grew into a large-scale, digitally mediated, commercially successful event.

Within the introduction's historical contextualization of some of the most reputed European jazz festivals, I establish the discursive frames that currently condition our fascination with what I refer to as the European *jazz past*, an opaque notion connected to the representation of prominent early European festivals and especially the Jazz à Juan Jazz Festival in France, the Beaulieu Jazz Festival in Britain and the NSJF in the Netherlands. I first argue that the prestigious position of early jazz festivals owes greatly to the codification of a uniquely European jazz mythology, one intimately connected to both heroic American jazz myths and to the live interactions, investments and contributions of touring European jazz musicians. Additionally, by highlighting the expansion of jazz genres and the continued convention of promoting New York-based jazz stars alongside an eclectic and rising group of European jazz artists, I will complicate historical conceptions of American jazz exceptionalism. My analysis reveals how European jazz histories, promotional discourses and festival rosters continually privilege the activities of American jazz stars abroad while also selectively promoting those European artists who collaborate with American stars. These images and interactions, passed down through the decades, have led to a persistent transnational aesthetic, performance practice and ideological constellation within festival worlds, a set of relations connected to the creative mobilities of musicians traveling the Black Atlantic (Gilroy, 1993).

My research further aims to develop the popular music and jazz festival theory of both jazz and ethnomusicology scholars including George McKay, Simon Frith, Monica Sassatelli and Fabian Holt, whose analyses variously undertake new theoretical suppositions regarding live music and festival culture within the 21st century. For example, in his work on the 1956–1961 Beaulieu Jazz Festivals, George McKay underscores how the contradictions and clashes that arose within these early festivals reflected both generational and class-based beliefs vis-a-vis jazz versus popular music (McKay, 2004). For McKay, the tensions surrounding jazz aesthetics, audience reception and festival organization and especially the interaction between elites and youth symbolized a germinal

moment for an emerging British counter-culture that adopted the popular music festival as a collectivizing cultural event. Central to this study is McKay's theorizing of the tropes of *primitivism*, *collectivism* and *pastoralism*, which, he argues, drove the programming, disruptive habits and expectations of various festival groups. These three concepts are paramount for the theoretical frame of this analysis.

Frith's work on the Scottish music industry examines and theorizes the changing nature of 'live' music in the digital era. He argues that even in our highly mediated environment, a longing for the collective, shared experience of 'liveness' guides the organization of the current music economy, which generally profits more from live concert and festival ticket sales than from recorded music (Frith, 2007: 5). Frith's concept of liveness and the highly paradoxical application of this term for contemporary music platforms, such as the large-scale rock festival or the reality television music competition, inform this study's analysis of the promotion and performance practices of jazz festival artists.

Sassatelli reveals how European festivals historically functioned as symbols of cultural heritage while also arguing that their recent proliferation has deeply impacted the transformation of the public sphere as increasingly motivated by tourism and the goals of city economies. In her study of European mixed-art festivals, she compartmentalized the post-war expansion of festival culture into three stages (Sassatelli, 2008). For her, the first stage encompassed the democratization of arts festivals during the 1960s, which led to the opening up of festival culture from elites to the counter-cultural youth. This stage quickly led to the cultural democracy commitment of festivals in the 1970s, a period of expanded arts styles and initiatives (such as multi-genre festivals) alongside the decentralization of cultural policies. Finally, the third stage, beginning in the 1980s, accompanied a period of increased mobility and tourism. According to Sassatelli, this last stage still dominates and is the driving force behind the urban regeneration movement, wherein cultural policy makers identify festivals as core mechanisms to rejuvenate city economies while also aligning arts initiatives with the growing reach and power of the so-called international creative industries and the imperative for cultural consumption (Sassatelli, 2008: 26–35). This last stage led to the growing professionalization and flexible accumulation of European jazz festivals and their increasing alignment, promotion and control by multinational music and event management corporations, especially the major jazz and popular recording labels (Blue Note) and multinational entertainment companies. Her view of European festivals as mediators of current political and aesthetic values is central to this research's main argument.

Finally, Holt and Wergin examine how processes connected to neoliberalism within the post-industrial city such as gentrification, globalization and the digital promotion (through branding) of large-scale live music events act as both cultural phenomena and routes to 'commodified' experiences within these urban spaces. They trace how older urban music structures and scenes recently gave way to streamlined, highly professional live music networks promoted either in middle, multimedia venues or within a city's many corporate-sponsored festivals (Holt and Wergin, 2013: Introduction). Their claim that recent commercial processes such as branding and digital promotion alter public

engagements with live music as well as the organizational structure of post-industrial cities informs this study's analysis of the online marketing of the NSJF within the post-industrial city of Rotterdam.

Connected to this esteemed body of work, this study also adopts humanities-based approaches to the festival as a cultural phenomenon, especially from the fields of cultural studies and historiography, yet it is expanded with ethnographic study of the 2012 and 2013 NSJF editions. My argument is supported by musicological analyses of online performances, one of the festival's recent headlining acts, Caro Emerald (from 2012/2013), and by hermeneutic readings of various marketing videos. The case study of NSJF refines the concepts of both *jazz pasts* and *convergence culture* (Jenkins, 2007) to highlight how the symbolic negotiation of a collective memory through digitally mediated platforms is paramount for current expectations of festivals as part of the northern European public sphere, even as such platforms are highly mediated within transnational commercial networks. Here, I review the ideological expectations of early jazz festival participants traced by George McKay to argue that the current fascination with a distinctly European jazz past is deeply embedded in this transitional moment of 'early jazz' mythologizing. Furthermore, I argue that an over-arching concept of a European jazz past is currently reflected in the online reception and promotion of jazz festival artists and especially via the critical junctures of convergence culture. Ultimately, the case study suggests that making connections to a romanticized jazz past enables bonds to cultural allegiances that are both global and local. Such links also facilitate large-scale festivals, and the seemingly (inauthentic) commercial promotional strategies of global media organizations, in making connections to both local music scenes and historically established jazz icons, whose prestige and reputations are often depicted in discursive terms as anti-commercial, authentic and heroic.

In the new millennium, this particular set of relations fundamentally drives how European artists navigate their careers in relation to prior jazz ideologies. Moreover, in the case study, I argue that NSJF headlining act Caro Emerald successfully engages with the *jazz past* tropes, yet simultaneously mediates these ideas through the ultra-modern, converging field of online promotion and participation. Therefore, the study works through the audiovisually and digitally mediated landscape of shared musical reception and participation in the YouTube environment to make claims about how festival culture currently modernizes the structures of performance practice while profiting from a nearly extinct set of idealistic dispositions. Finally, also in the case study, I argue that the various temporal and spatial platforms within which jazz festival culture is currently negotiated continually seek to guide the pleasures and expectations of festival participants by offering countering images of the post-industrial city and of a nostalgic revival of cosmopolitan, mobile jazz heroes.

Post-war European jazz festivals – pastoral, primitive encounters

In 1962, jazz critic Benny Green observed, 'It seems likely that the festival has now superseded the concert as the highest degree of respectability in the jazz world. To the evolutionary progress from brothel to ginmill to dancehall to podium must now be added

the greensward' (*Observer*, 19 August 1962, cited in McKay, 2004: 96). Since the 1950s, European jazz festivals arose, in part, to channel post-war preoccupations with two cultural *dispositifs*: first, jazz festivals fueled a post-war fascination for the Black urban, vernacular emotive expressions of what Richard Middleton coins the 'low others' of late modernity (Middleton, 2000; Middleton in Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000: 59), and, second, festival performances and their promotion simultaneously stimulated a cultural nostalgia for an imagined, premodern pastoral life-world. As both musical revivals and outdoor rituals, European jazz festivals offered participants escape and release in the beautiful, natural and timeless surroundings of Europe's recreational regions. Facilitating outdoor interactions between jet-setting debutantes and the legends of American jazz history, these new contexts further precipitated the movements and creative contributions of Black Atlantic jazz musicians who had taken temporary residence in resort towns throughout Europe since the early 20th century. In France, for example, Antibes Juan-Les-Prins became an anchor for artists and literary personalities beyond the busier environs and fiercely competitive cabarets of Paris. Sidney Bechet's tenure there stimulated the region's current mythological status, and so by the 1960s, the city's first jazz festival attempted to position itself as a unique, historically relevant European jazz city. The festival's 50-year anniversary highlighted the influence of early jazz legends, especially those first arriving during an earlier moment of jazz discovery and colonial racial mappings. Festival promoters even argued that Jazz à Juan was the inspiration for the spread of festivals throughout Europe:

The first Jazz à Juan, created to pay tribute to the famous adopted Antibian, Sidney Bechet, was at the origin of a number of other festivals that spread throughout Europe. Claude Nobs, creator of the major European jazz event we know as Montreux, said 'If I hadn't stopped by at Antibes, Montreux would not have existed!'¹

Furthermore, the Jazz à Juan festival organizers mythologized the duo tropes of primitivism and pastoralism that foregrounded early European performance sites claiming,

The concept was revolutionary. For the first time the public could discover the main actors of this incredible saga known as jazz. The heroes in question were there for real, on stage ... and so close. What's more there was the most exquisite backdrop you could imagine: the centenary pine trees of the Pinède Gould and behind them, the crystal blue of the Mediterranean Sea.²

Since their genesis in the 1950s, European jazz festivals increasingly endorsed jazz heroes connected to the American frontier myth (Gebhardt, 2001; Whyton, 2013), a set of narratives and beliefs that promoted and prioritized virtuosity, discovery and the urban jazz subject over the local musical investments of European jazz artists whose performances were frequently dismissed as imitative and inferior (Jackson, 2003; Jordon, 2010). In 1996, the Montreux Jazz Festival provided a retrospective of the festival, which featured large black and white photos of American jazz legends including Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie, Count Basie, Herbie Hancock and Gil Evans alongside stars of popular music genres including rock, folk and world music. Aretha Franklin, Leonard Cohen, Miriam Mekeba and Sting all appeared prominently alongside short passages extolling the mixing of musical genres in light of the expansion of

1960s cultural forces. Stories detailing the hardships endured by early jazz musicians stemming from institutional racism next to passages naming Black political and historical figures such as Frederick Douglass effectively promoted a European version of Black American history. These brief vignettes were juxtaposed alongside passages extolling the grand vision and generosity of the festival organizer Claude Nobs (Ténot et al., 1996). The emerging festival portrait, which depicted 1960s festival entrepreneurs as both generous and sympathetic Black music patrons and modern, visionary jazz and popular music curators, is reflected in many European jazz festival histories. In both the post-war period and the era of the Vietnam War, festival curators sought to compensate for the continuing racism and hardships endured by Black American jazz artists abroad. They did so while also positioning themselves as the harbingers of both 'authentic' (understood as both premodern and rural) and paradoxically cosmopolitan taste. This continental support mattered for American jazz musicians whose local livelihoods diminished while their once popular jazz repertoire increasingly languished aside newer currents in popular music such as rhythm and blues and psychedelic rock.³ Beyond their contested counter-cultural status, American jazz heroes were continually promoted within the exclusive, natural surroundings of European resorts, which became an illustrious feature of post-war international musical routes.

Yet, despite festivals' roles in cultivating unique forms of European patronage and creativity, to date, jazz histories have unquestionably disregarded their cultural significance in favor of lionizing iconic recordings as the locus for jazz creativity and historicity. Furthermore, festival reception and its subsequent remembering and retelling contributed to a particularly European narrative about jazz heroes to position a mythology, which would reify the pastoral origins of authentic jazz acts and conflate the romantic troupe of the natural, earthy jazz subject alongside the privileged status and well-intentioned patronage of well-traveled European cosmopolitans. Within this discursive frame, Paul Gilroy's positioning of the transformative power of *routes* over *roots* for modern Black Atlantic ontologies remains profoundly relevant, as American jazz artists' self-identifications and even artistic repertoire were enriched and transformed because of these interactions (Gilroy, 1993). Yet since their inception, jazz festivals have served as sites of artistic contestation and legitimization, as well as facilitated experimentation with performance practice. They also afforded European audiences the chance to bear witness to the legends of American jazz history, which for nearly three decades had served profoundly symbolic cultural, aesthetic and political ends in continental Europe.

Equally important, these festivals provided highly prestigious opportunities for regional European jazz artists to collaborate with their musical idols. During the Nice Jazz Festival of 1948, for example, the singing of 'C'est Ci Bon' by chanteuse Suzy Delair in a local cabaret culminated in an impromptu performance by Louis Armstrong. This now legendary interaction precipitated the rise of Delair as a French musical star. As this example illustrates, interactions with European culture also altered the creative expression of Black Americans to reposition overly essentializing performance expectations to yield interesting and rigorous aesthetic combinations. This interaction (and likely many others) stimulated Armstrong to performatively acknowledge European popular music as an influence upon his musical vision, especially considering the important role that European jazz festivals held for Black American artists in the difficult economic

post-war climate. Armstrong would soon incorporate a New Orleans' version of the French popular tune into his sets within the United States and throughout Europe during the 1960s,⁴ a performance that similarly spoke to the sophisticated signifying of well-traveled Black Atlantic stars, especially those who would most profit from an emerging New York-based jazz star circuit (McGee, 2011).

Paradoxically, the sponsorship and organization of European festivals by predominantly White male jazz critics and aficionados programmed within affluent communities accentuated the ideological and cultural discrepancies between the majority of performers, a mix of Black and White American and European musicians and their audiences, a conglomeration of upper-class resort tourists, middle-class jazz revivalists (and modernists) and the emerging and rebellious counter-cultural youth who occasionally overtook free festivals to promote anti-capitalist values including 'pastoral living, self-policing, DIY music making and a non-commercial economy' (McKay, 2004: 92). Further by commandeering stages to effectuate programming favoring newer currents in popular music, the younger generation's need for collective spaces gradually overshadowed the retrograde primitivist longings of post-war elites, a trend cogently argued by George McKay in his study of the 1958 Beaulieu Jazz Festival (McKay, 2004).

Within Europe and the United States, this unusual mix of jazz critics, practitioners, elites and counter-culture youth set the 1960s defined themselves by the stage for a number of contestations from the 1960 Newport Jazz Festival riots by a mass of ticketless, White and largely college-educated youths, to the alternative jazz festival staged by Charles Mingus and Max Roach to protest higher wages paid to mainstream, White jazz stars, and finally to the role of younger Black American rhythm and blues and soul fans, whose interactive dance would upset the conventions of concertizing jazz newly established within high art series such as Norman Grantz's *Jazz at the Philharmonic* (Saul, 2003). Within the early 1960s American jazz festival, White youths performed inchoate and non-politically aligned acts of civil disobedience counter to traditional notions of class and propriety subsumed within the upper-class 'white jamboree' (Saul, 2003: 99–122). According to 1960s jazz scholar Scott Saul (2003), the pleasures and promises afforded by elite outdoor jazz festivals, epitomized by the Newport Jazz Festival, prompted such contestations as white youths, entering the decade of the 1960s, defined themselves by their 'hunger for liberation' and 'defiance of older standards of civility' (p. 122). Within European jazz festivals, by the late 1960s, these aesthetic and political tensions led either to the segmentation of jazz from mainstream popular music festivals or conversely to the incorporation of currents in popular music into large-scale jazz festivals. Because of Europe's growing exposure to popular music, early jazz festivals such as the path-breaking Montreux Jazz Festival quickly diversified their music programs in the 1970s. Furthermore, Europe's first successful large-scale jazz festival embraced the cultural tastes and behavioral displays of the new generation, positioning rock, jazz and blues against the conservatism and outdated *negrophilia* of legendary jazz pundits, such as French jazz promoter and critic Hugues Panassie. In a retrospective of the Montreux Jazz Festival, the vision of concert promoter and later record executive Claude Nobs was positioned against the elitist modernism of Panassie:

Panassie est guette par l'infarctus: rompant avec la 'négritude originelle du jazz', Montreux fait son affiche avec une femme blanche en nue. Dans la sale, les smokings se font rares et se remarquent moins que les (savants?) débraillés des hippies alémaniques. Il est vrai que le Lido a été flanqué d'une nouvelle sale beaucoup plus branchée, Le Sablier: la décontraction fait attraction, public et musiciens au coude à coude ... La cause est définitivement entendue: agissant en pionnier, Montreux établit que le jazz est un nom générique, celui de toutes les musiques exaltantes, rythmées et populaires. (Ténot et al., 1996: 7)

Depicting the changing climate of jazz performance and outdoor festival culture – a break with the 'Negritude' and primitivism of French, Swiss and British jazz pundits of earlier decades – the staunchly upper-class tuxedos and cigars gave way to the jeans, t-shirts and weed of hippies and beatniks, all collectively sharing spaces and sitting elbow to elbow at tables within the Casino or on the beautiful banks of Lake Geneva. This egalitarian image of jazz musicians comingling with Europeans is not one that dominated festival documentaries of later decades. Subsequently, the cultural specificity and relevance of jazz and blues festivals would be overshadowed by historical and popular representations of Woodstock and eventually Glastonbury and others throughout Europe (Bennett, 2004a: 43–54).

In continental Europe and in the United Kingdom, changing jazz performance expectations during the late 1950s set the stage for subsequent reception tensions, yet the unique contexts of jazz festivalization in Europe have often been superseded by the carnivalesque mythologies ascribed to Woodstock or the American jazz riots sensationalized by the press during the early 1960s (Saul, 2003). After Woodstock, the cultural reference of the 1960s increasingly entailed caricatured depictions of large-scale popular music festivals, valued for their perceived classless collectivism, while eliding the absence of Black Americans at large-scale rock music festivals (Anderton, 2011; Street, 2004). Yet, together American and European jazz musicians persistently labored on the international jazz star circuits, and in doing so, their performances were often conditioned by the expectations of both growing and democratizing youth culture and the patronage of affluent elites, longing for temporary forays into the perceived expressionism and libidinal release of hot jazz. This image took on cinematic proportions in important jazz films and was highlighted in biographies of jazz festival organizers such as Newport's George Wein and Montreux's Claude Nobs (Floc'h, 1996; Ténot et al., 1996; Wein and Chinen, 2003). This connection could be productively romanticized in later Hollywood narratives such as Minghella's captivating film *The Talented Mister Ripley* (1999) and his characterization of the young, affluent, bachelor Dickie Greenleaf – a rebellious, jet-setting dandy seeking jazz and revelry in the idyllic, yet unspoiled resort spots of continental Europe.

Within this transitioning and complex performance arena, European jazz festivals became important vehicles for jazz's large-scale popularity, especially since the 1950s, as smaller clubs and cabarets struggled to attract jazz publics. Outdoor festivals in particular provided the model for subsequent popular music festivals and stimulated new performance aesthetics and specialized tastes nurtured in part by alternating interactions between festival organizers and festival visitors and participants. For example, the after-hours' jam sessions became the most cited status symbol for insider jazz fans who

retreated to musician-populated hotel lobbies to catch a glimpse of their idols relaxing through informal music making. The image of the jam session and the attendant corporeal interactions in non-jazz stages would be passed down to the online promoters of the larger, more commercially driven events of the 1990s and 2000s.

Despite the waning of free, large-scale, outdoor popular music festivals in the 1970s, European jazz festivals continued to acquire prestige for touring American jazz musicians, whose livelihood increasingly depended upon international festival circuits to compensate for the downshift in jazz club culture of the 1960s. In the 1970s, younger and more experimental jazz and rock musicians too increasingly out-sold 'straight-ahead' jazz musicians and drew new audiences to European festivals such as the now iconic Montreux Jazz Festival in Switzerland and the Umbria Jazz Festival in Italy (Chalcraft et al., 2011: 27–29). This new mixture of jazz, rock and soul was not always a welcome addition for 'straight-ahead' jazz artists or jazz journalists. British jazz drummer and journalist Benny Green dismissed the value of programming jazz with crossover jazz and other experimental styles within most European jazz festivals in the mid-1970s. His review of the Montreux Jazz Festival is representative:

Festivals are the curate's egg of the jazz world. What may appear on paper to be an invitation to musical gluttony on an Epicurean scale, can in reality produce little more than epic indigestion. The root of the problem is in the nature of the average festival: an unwieldy selection of often incompatible artists appearing on a programme dictated more by opportunity and opportunism than by artistic criteria. For European audiences, the world 'festival' summons images of American legends who every summer stampede from event to event like a herd of senescent wildebeest. A chance to hear the greats it may be, but is it good jazz? Exceptional festivals are so rare that they swiftly become legendary, as in the case of the 1956 Newport Festival, remembered for Paul Gonsalves' exertions on 'Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue' and the popular rehabilitation of Duke Ellington that they inspired. (Green cited in McKay, 2004: 431)

Despite Green's conservative criticisms, by the mid-1970s, European jazz festivals had already adapted the postmodern practice of programming an increasingly broad variety of styles, including the rapidly growing international popular music styles that would characterize mass festival events of subsequent decades.

Staging jazz pasts within modern European music festivals – the case of the NSJF

I will now turn to the case study of this article, the NSJF, to argue that the symbolic enactment and discursive reception, through various media and live performances, of the enduring European *jazz past* myth conditions current experiences and expectations regarding live jazz performances. Moreover, the negotiation of this myth enhances the festival's current credibility in light of its increasing commercialization and transnational expansion.

In the mid-1970s, Dutch husband and wife Paul and Jos Acket set out to organize an internationally directed jazz festival that would appeal to a variety of jazz fans, from those favoring experimental fusion to those preferring the more traditional sounds of

bebop and swing. Subverting their plans to travel the world (remnants of the counter-cultural love of cultural exploration and free wielding mobility), the Ackets began organizing this mammoth event in The Hague in 1976. Their interest in world cultures provided the motivation for inviting jazz musicians from far and near. Paul Acket resembled many post-war jazz promoters in his unerring passion for live jazz music; his interests as an amateur musician and his experience as a young journalist aided him in recruiting and successfully promoting the jazz activities of local and foreign artists.

The festival's international roster distinguished it from many others during the late 1970s. Yet like other festivals, the first program in The Hague's prestigious *Congresgebouw* (Netherlands Congress Centre) also promoted Black American jazz stars as its headlining acts. These included Sarah Vaughan, Count Basie, Dizzy Gillespie and Herbie Hancock with tickets costing 35 guilders (Luyken, 2009: 11). The first addition featured some 300 performers and attracted 9000 visitors (Van Aalst and Van Melik, 2012: 192). After 30 years, in 2006, the festival moved from The Hague's Congress Center to Rotterdam's Ahoy Pavilion. It now attracts some 70,000 visitors over 3 days in mid-July and features over 150 performances in 13 different stages.⁵

A defining goal of early NSJF editions was to combine a 'wide diversity of jazz' under one roof. Acket believed that a single program designed for a large audience would be less successful than a series of simultaneous concerts in which people could freely move about. He argued,

A lot of diverse talent compressed into three days would have more chance of succeeding. I also believed it was a good idea to showcase all kinds of different styles in one building so that the people in the audience could get to know different musical styles. (Acket quoted in Luyken, 2009: 10)

This style of programming reflected an early move toward the eclecticism and increasing choice afforded participants of digital, convergence culture.

The transition to mixed-genre jazz festivals occurred relatively early in the history of many modern European festivals. Under the direction of Claude Nobs, the Montreux Jazz Festival (the first large-scale jazz festival in Europe) quickly adopted newer currents in popular music including blues, soul and rock. The festival showcased headlining stars as diverse as Aretha Franklin and Led Zeppelin. Other festivals, such as the Umbria Festival in Italy, initiated in 1973, instantly incorporated a wide variety of popular music and jazz into its earliest editions. The choice to continue labeling such widely divergent festivals as jazz festivals speaks to the powerful cultural capital accumulated from earlier European jazz events, which by the 1970s had retroactively prompted images of the prestigious resort locations and Black jazz heroes from the post-war decades.

Within a few years, the festival competed with other international festivals such as Newport and Montreux. Since the 1970s, the NSJF gradually garnered accolades from both the jazz press and jazz institutes including awards from *JazzTimes* and the International Association for Jazz Education, which applauded the festival's efforts to stimulate the development of new jazz (Van Aalst and Van Melik, 2012: 192). Part of the praise depicted by the jazz press related to notions of authenticity, especially in the context of interaction and jazz spontaneity. Frequently, anecdotes about the festival's early

years included descriptions of informal late-night jam sessions. Prioritizing these instances helped to legitimate the 'authentic' jazz aesthetic of this European jazz festival. According to festival historian and organizer Jon Willem van Luyken, the Bel Air Hotel in The Hague served as 'home base' for jazz musicians who congregated at the hotel lobby and then went on to initiate impromptu jazz sessions after festival hours. The hotel also provided a focal point for festival journalists and promoters who interviewed musicians and waited patiently to catch artists in casual camaraderie for historic photographs (Luyken, 2009: 10).

Dutch tenor saxophonist Hans Dulfer first organized large-scale jam sessions with international soloists including the famous 'Tenor Battle' and 'Trumpets No End' with revered artists including Arnett Cobb, Dexter Gordon, Rosa King, David Murray, Gene Ramsey and Gus Johnson (Luyken, 2009: 20). Dulfer characterized these events by their spontaneous artistry and physical abandon: 'I set off for the Bel Air Hotel and launched myself with total commitment into the Sodom and Gomorra partying that had already started up' (Luyken, 2009: 20). At this stage of NSJF's development, jazz festivals had evolved from relatively small-scale yearly rituals within the context of local musical settings to highly professional, taste-affiliated state-of-the-art urban events.

A commemorative book of the NSJF from 2009, containing festival posters and reflections from musicians, programmers, photographers and production managers, underlined the importance of early European festivals for post-war jazz musicians (Luyken, 2009). According to jazz giants Diane Reeves, David Sandborn, John Scofield and Rita Reys, the NSJF (and other European jazz festivals) was seen as a new kind of cultural experience for traveling jazz musicians. Many stars first met other famous jazz artists in hotel lobbies or in the wings of jazz stages. Traveling the European jazz festival circuit with tens of thousands of passionate European jazz fans provided unprecedented prestige and fame for jazz musicians, whose daily professional lives could be difficult. Festivals also provided an intergenerational meeting point for jazz legends from earlier eras including the swing, bebop and cool jazz period. In the 1970s and 1980s, Basie, Davis, Calloway and Fitzgerald would share European stages with emerging talent such as Rachelle Ferrell, Weather Report and Roy Hargrove.

The growing professionalization and internationalization of European festival circuits in the 1980s also encouraged collaborations between Dutch and international jazz stars. In 1980, for example, Rita Reys, better known as Europe's 'First Lady of Jazz', recorded an album with tenor saxophonist Johnny Griffin. During the NSJF, the trio performed alternating sets with Griffin's quartet. Griffin eventually sat in with Reys' trio, an event that was later historicized as a defining Dutch jazz event in 1980 ('Special Rita Reys', 1980). Reys early aligned herself with the cultural prestige of jazz festivals; in 1960, she acquired fame by winning first prize at the international Jazz à Juan Festival in Juan-les-Pins, France (Luyken, 2009: 25).

The period of the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a steady popularity of large-scale jazz festivals even as small clubs struggled to retain their jazz clientele. The 1990s, however, accompanied dramatic changes in the organization and promotion of large-scale live events. After the death of Jan Acket in 1992, Michelle Kuypers and Sander Grande briefly managed the festival's programming. Kuypers and Grande later observed that person-to-person contacts quickly gave way to digital promotional networks in the

1990s. They also emphasized the necessary relationship with American bookers for acquiring headlining acts for the European summer jazz festival circuit, and thus, they supported the New York-based jazz star circuit (Van Aalst and Van Melik, 2012: 193). During their tenure, they expanded the festival's scope to initiate three offshoot festivals: the crossover The Drum Rhythm Festival (from 1992 to 2001 in Amsterdam), the North Sea Jazz Cape Town Festival (2004) and the North Sea Jazz Caribbean in Curaçao (2010). These festivals also reflected the prior colonial relationship of the Netherlands to South Africa and Indonesia. The expansion of NSJF to subsidiary festivals abroad further reflected the commercial expansion of festival organizations through economies of scope in the late 1990s.

After this brief interim period, in 1993, the Dutch monopoly Mojo Concerts took over the festival programming. As part of the expansion and professionalization of the festival, Leon Ramakers, Director of Mojo Concerts, streamlined the routes between stages so that visitors could quickly travel from one concert to another. Outside of the NSJF, Ramakers also directed many of the Netherlands' most famous popular music festivals during the 1990s (Luyken, 2009: 122). The alliance between pop festivals and jazz events further revealed the changing nature of an increasingly integrated live music industry.

By the mid-1990s, through a process of vertical integration, the swift emergence of a music and media oligopoly within the entertainment industry had ramifications for the European jazz performance world. A decade later, this consolidation impacted NSJF's programming and performance contracts mandated by Mojo Concerts, the Netherlands' most powerful promotion and booking agency (it once controlled 90% of national concert programming (Poele and Rutten, n.d.: 7)). Mojo became a subsidiary of the world's largest media and concert promoter Live Nation 1999,⁶ which itself merged with the world's largest ticket sales company Ticket Master, resulting in the largest media consolidation to date with Live Nation Entertainment Inc. in 2010.⁷

In 2005, Jan Willem Luyken was appointed the successor to Theo van den Hoek as Director of the NSJF. Luyken had worked as head of marketing and communications for various promoters including Mojo Concerts. This appointment indicated the definitive end of the curator/aficionado/enthusiast role of organizers and pointed to the dominance of the commercial, media institution or promoter for contemporary large-scale festivals.

In line with the growth and professionalization of music festivals in the 2000s, in 2005, the festival sought a new, more multi-functional venue because of the change of ownership of The Hague's Congress Center. After several bids by appropriately large-scale professional venues in nearby cities, in 2006, the festival moved to Rotterdam's The Ahoy Pavilion, a state-of-the-art venue offering technologically advanced, multi-mediated platforms. Since 2006, the festival's promotional images have boasted the center's advanced multi-mediated platforms while heralding the city of Rotterdam as an important *global jazz city* with its modern architecture, mobile routes and industrial ports of trade. Rather than looking back to the heritage of old Dutch cities, the festival altered its image and looked forward to the multicultural associations of the Netherlands' most diverse and global commerce-driven metropole. In 2010, Rotterdam's port was the third busiest in the world behind Shanghai and Singapore, accommodating some 429,926 tons of trade (Jacobs, 2014: 486). The transference of this jazz festival's

symbolic and cultural capital indicated the new hybrid engagement and influence of city planners into live music events, as local 'stakeholders' increasingly adopted roles as city branders and cultural curators. This transference involved a gradual displacement of cultural values connected to particular artistic sites within the city. First, individual jazz enthusiasts prioritized notions of locality and heritage by organizing The Hague festival within local jazz clubs and within the elitist theater building the *Stadsschouwberg*. Then, in the 2000s, media professionals solidified connections to multinational businesses by producing the festival within the large-scale World Congress Center. Finally, the large-scale neoliberal connections of syndicated jazz materialized within the massive, multi-mediated Ahoy Pavilion in Rotterdam, the New Northern European center of multicultural labor and transnational capital within the Netherlands' most architecturally ambitious post-war city.

Currently, the festival's internationally affiliated organizers act as mediators for cosmopolitan European jazz in the continuing context of a dominating Anglo-American performance-driven music industry. Within the jazz performance sphere, this is indicated by the persistent dominance of the New York-based American jazz star circuit. Furthermore, the influence of the cultural conglomerates as gate-keepers-come-curators for both popular crossover jazz and young, emerging acts now supersedes the prior role of passionate European jazz aficionados who independently initiated jazz festivals based upon their love of (Black) American jazz heroes.

As jazz genres continue to proliferate in the 2010s, festivals design captivating and timely themes to attract local and international audiences. One of the NSJF 2012 themes was 'Global Brooklyn, NY', suggesting the prominent place that New York continued to hold for contemporary jazz throughout the Netherlands. As part of this theme, the Dutch Metropole Orchestra, a popular chamber music orchestra conducted by Vince Mendoza, showcased New York stars Lee Konitz, David Binnery, Eric Alexander, Chris Potter, Michael Attias, Clifton Anderson, Christian Scott and Jason Moran. These kinds of international collaborations, epitomized by prestigious and well-funded European orchestras featuring New York stars, promote translocal jazz activities and push the boundaries between jazz, popular and classical music performance contexts. More importantly, the re-enactment, year after year, of the newly circulated jazz myth, which privileges both New York jazz legends and mainly those Dutch and European jazz artists who collaborate with these stars, powerfully projects into the fantasies and pleasures of New European forms of festival participation.

Since 2010, as part of the NSJF's international branding, sophisticated online promotional strategies included cross-media campaigns targeting consumers' life-styles and tastes. For example, in 2013, NSJF began promoting a yearly topical theme within the larger program to help visitors predetermine their festival routes. That year, the theme accentuated the crossover. In Simon Reynolds' terms, the festival then betrayed a broader cultural impulse of the post-analog era toward 'retromania', a symptom of the first decades of the millennium wherein 'the pop present became ever more crowded out by the past'. For Reynolds (2011), the 2000s were more about 'every other previous decade happening again all at once: a simultaneity of pop time that abolishes history while nibbling away at the present's own sense of itself as an era with a distinct identity and feel' (pp. x–xi). Within large-scale international festivals, rampant recycling was also evident

at jazz festivals where ‘bygone genres [*were*] revived and renovated, vintage sonic material reprocessed and recombined’ (Reynolds, 2011: xi).

The revival of such myths of earlier European jazz moments would also inform the work of some of the most popular crossover Dutch jazz stars, especially the recently popular act Caro Emerald who headlined several festivals beginning in 2010 (and whose work I will analyze in the following section). NSJF’s 2012 and 2013 European crossover themes corresponded with such retrograde aesthetic revivals, as headlining nostalgic pop jazz artist Caro Emerald constructed ‘new-old’ music made by young musicians in an ‘arty way’ (Reynolds, 2011: xiii). In this case, audiovisual citations of older styles, remixed and updated for contemporary jazz ears, provided a palpable platform within both live and mediated contexts for reviving the myths of European jazz history. This artful re-imaging of the jazz past powerfully projected a heavily romanticized notion of jazz’s role upon these heritage and now multi-mediated global architectural sites.

Rotterdam – the new Europe’s global jazz city

Six years after NSJF moved from The Hague to Rotterdam, the relation of city marketing and, more abstractly, the widely formulated emphasis upon an historical ‘place’ became increasingly important for how the festival attempted to promote its international image. This was accomplished by an aggressive and active marketing strategy, which quickly recognized the potential of Rotterdam as an important international jazz city. The promotional video of the 2012 festival, for example, encapsulated the hybrid structures of contemporary large-scale festivals. On one hand, modern large-scale festivals depend upon the advanced technology, professionalism and transnational promotional reach of multinationals. On the other hand, aesthetically and ideologically, they depend upon the association of jazz artistry with individualization, musical spontaneity and a seemingly local and rooted connection to Black vernacular expressive culture. This second association enabled jazz visitors and enthusiasts to reify the once elite associations of festivals for increasing numbers of upper middle-class audiences migrating to the multicultural centers of Europe’s post-war post-industrial centers.

Furthermore, the festival quickly adapted to our prevailing digital audiovisual economy, with promotional videos, which appeared before, during and after the festival moment. As representative of its technological prestige and power, within the highly professional NSJF promotional video,⁸ a variety of economic and cultural values were mapped onto both the industrial city and the venue. This deeply modern, mobile and even global image was stylishly promoted on the 2012 NSJF website video, which announced upcoming acts in catching filmic cut-ins (Figures 1 to 5). The video highlighted the urban, industrial port of Rotterdam as well as the modern infrastructure of highways, bike routes and skyscrapers. Block white letters of featured artists floated above the waters, bridges and city lights. Here, Paul Gilroy’s Black Atlantic routes adopted hyper-modern forms in an era of social media and cross-digital promotion or convergence culture (Jenkins, 2007). The festival’s exploitation of such synergetic media was boldly boasted in various marketing videos directed at both patrons and corporate sponsors.

Figure 1. North Sea Jazz Festival 2012 Promotional Video, Joshua Redman.⁹

Figure 2. North Sea Jazz Festival 2012 Promotional Video, Jazz in the Third Space.¹⁰

Fashioned within the hybrid digital economy of the current creative industries, promotional videos served not only to showcase performing artists but also to promote the various corporate sponsors subsidizing jazz festivals. For example, during the 2012 NSJF edition, the accompanying website presented a second marketing video highlighting the role of sponsors and corporate branding for the success of the festival. The video informed viewers of the demographics of the festivals: ‘Today, 58% of the visitors are between 35 and 54 and 87% are highly educated’. Furthermore, this demographic was emphasized as an important element of the truly authentic nature of this jazz festival, which since the 1950s had featured highly educated, upper-class adults,

Figure 3. North Sea Jazz Festival 2012 Promotional Video, David Murray and Macy Gray.¹¹

Figure 4. North Sea Jazz Festival 2012 Promotional Video, Ron Carter.¹²

in contrast to the seemingly classless youths attending large-scale outdoor popular music festivals in the same decades. In this video, promoters attempted to impress the viewer with a sense of cultural authenticity: ‘We looked for something that was truly (“*echte*”) Dutch but also international’. According to the marketing video, in 2012, festival organizers signed a contract with Live Nation and American Express. The website boasted the corporate links afforded by these relationships: ‘Because of this contract, we can take advantage of all of the contact that is offered by Live Nation’. Live Nation’s monopoly of the live music market readily facilitated the festival’s acquisition of international jazz names and popular music super stars, a growing facet

Figure 5. North Sea Jazz Festival 2012 Promotional Video, Hugh Laurie and Caro Emerald.¹³

of the neoliberal cultural economy of the music performance venues and their corporate sponsors.

To highlight the desired upper-class material associations of their patronage, American Express sponsored a champagne bar, offering a free glass to American Express patrons. Each evening between 19:00 and 20:00 hours, they also contracted an internationally famous painter to create a new art work. These kinds of orchestrated antics facilitated the festival's co-joining of cultural capital with corporate wealth. Such performed connections resulted in concrete figures that could be exploited by multinationals. From the marketing video, '75 percent of the visitors recognized the branding of American Express in the time-tables (line up schedule)'.¹⁴

By 2012, it was not only essential that these links were prominently displayed throughout the festival grounds but also brand recognition became an integral facet of the festival experience. Sponsors hoped that their names would be less associated with real commodities and more associated, in marketing terms, with so-called love marks, a term identified by the Chair of Coke-Cola as images deeply associated with positive emotions which could lead to lifelong commitments through participation in brand communities (in place of music communities). This discourse betrayed the transition from music fans defined by their love of particular genres and artists to consumers aspiring toward particular cosmopolitan life-styles. Such life-styles were reinforced by the expansion of the so-called experience economy, wherein live music festivals facilitated both ephemeral experiences and identification with concrete corporate brand names. On the website, festival promoters understood 'branding' as an active process, which if successfully implemented, would lead consumers to experience positive affective associations (such as euphoria while listening to international jazz) while consuming brand name products (such as Dutch beer). Corporate names could also be connected to the spaces of festival landscapes. For example, the

spokesperson for the bank BNP Paribas stated proudly, 'We have a branding in the Birdland stage and the Hudson and we also brand the "*muntjes*" (the plastic currency) that you buy there because we think that that perfectly suits us since we are a bank'. Additional marketing research flashed in cut-in titles within the screen such as '66% of our visitors recognize the logo of BNP on the muntjes'. This video then tacitly argued that the visibility of these products would not only attract other businesses but also reinforce the commercial *credibility* of such products because of their connection to jazz's (mainstream) artistic cultural capital.

During the 2010s, as jazz festivals adapted the new strategies and creative activities characterizing convergence culture, the language of neoliberalism became integrated into the musical experiences and artistic values of this large-scale, translocal event. By affiliating the financial acumen of multinationals to the artistry and heritage of American jazz, this union simultaneously conceptualized NSJF as a well-established national and international cultural event. This facet of contemporary festival culture speaks to a profound shift where global capital increasingly influences the representation and mythologizing of both cultural experiences and of historical memory through the branding of highly symbolic events such as the NSJF. This was affirmed on the NJSF website promotional video: 'Next to Pinkpop, the North Sea Jazz Festival is the strongest festival brand in NL'.¹⁵ Within this last stage, the festival itself is proudly recognized not as a cultural event, but as a brand. The video concluded with the phrase 'all of the brands that we represent here at the festival, we are extremely proud of'. In short, the once elitist, then counter-cultural festivals (with all of their anti-capitalist proclamations) and now multi-mediated, multi-faceted jazz festivals now proudly boast their international commercial aspirations. As images of 1950's jet-setting, jazz resort aficionados resurface in this more commercial context, the reductive and well-orchestrated insertion of symbols of wealth and culture such as champagne and visual art seems less surprising.

Since the NSJF's move to Rotterdam in 2006, young Dutch jazz artists have responded to the increasingly commercial priorities of large-scale jazz festivals by adopting entrepreneurial platforms to garner local and national exposure. I will now explore the audiovisual landscape of one of the most prominent Dutch and now European crossover jazz artists, Caro Emerald, in order to illustrate how convergence culture has profoundly altered performance expectations within festival circuits. This has occurred gradually in live music venues since the 1990s through the appropriation of digital media as listening and viewing habits were increasingly altered by digital mobile devices such as the iPod and the televisual format of YouTube. Furthermore, the re-emergence of the television talent show has provided outlets for artists not yet fully integrated into the professional European jazz recording industry, with its privileged performance networks mandated first by jazz elite programmers and later by Live Nation/Ticket Master and the promotional clout of the Majors. Such converging media greatly influence and inform both the programming and performance practice exhibited with these more traditional and established live music networks, mainly the European Jazz festival circuit.

Caro Emerald – nostalgic revivals within Europe's convergence culture

As jazz culture continuously adapted to the internationalization and dominance of popular music in the 1990s, its younger fans grew up appreciating currents in both popular music and jazz, especially those crossover jazz artists who consciously positioned their visual images and sounds with references or influences from the earlier jazz eras. Through these historical citations, crossover jazz offered both younger and older audiences an interactive, performative remembering of a uniquely European jazz past. These popular jazz currents often deviate from the essentializing jazz hero images dominating European historical narratives (Whitehead, 2000; Whyton, 2013). They also fail to neatly correspond with traditional jazz industry patterns of recording and promotion set up by the Majors, yet they do symbolize hybrid engagements within the context of a DIT (do-it-together) digitally mediated popular culture.

One of the headlining artists of the 2012 NSJF was Caro Emerald, a talented artist and song writing team, whose music was quickly popularized in many European countries in part because of the project's savvy exploitation of audiovisual media, including both music videos and performances on syndicated television talent shows such as *Idols* and *Strictly Come Dancing*. The project's music recordings also adapted images and sonic references to an earlier European jazz culture. Moreover, the 'retro' soundscape of Emerald's audiovisual work drew influences from the American production styles of exotica and 'space-age' jazz composers such as Martin Denny and Les Baxter. Yet, these recordings and videos also incorporated contemporary pop music aesthetics, betrayed by digital samples of iconic lounge and jazz instruments and riffs layered among hip-hop drum sequences within accessible pop music song structures.

In 2009, the producer-led project known as Caro Emerald¹⁶ materialized because of the fortuitous meeting between Dutch producer David Schreurs and Canadian lyricist Vince Degiorgio. As the former Vice President of International A&R at RCA Records in New York, Degiorgio was a seasoned music professional who had worked with dozens of popular international groups, most famously N' Sync. As part of the record industry's consolidation, RCA released Degiorgio from his contract in 2005. In search of new projects, he contacted Dutch music producer David Schreurs. From an informal telephone conversation, the two quickly agreed to collaborate. After casually layering a number of tracks over beats constructed by Dutch hip-hop producer Jan Van Wieringen, they sought a capable vocalist to record their first song. Schreurs suggested local Amsterdam resident Carline Esmeraldo van der Leeuw (later adopting the stage name Caro Emerald), a professional singer and vocal coach who grew up in Amsterdam and trained at the Amsterdam Conservatory of Music where she followed a rigorous study of jazz and developed her repertoire while also exploring the work of great instrumentalists. With rough mix in hand, Schreurs and Degiorgio presented their first arrangement to Van der Leeuw in the traditional manner in which song pluggers have exploited the precarious labor of demo singers since the heyday of Tin Pan Alley. According to Emerald, she immediately clicked with both the melody and ambient references of the track, which for her recalled the glamorous lounge singers of the 1940s and 1950s. Her jazz training served her well

in this crossover style, as did her love of new currents in pop music, from 'nu' soul to R&B. The song's vintage/modern hybrid perfectly suited her eclectic musical vision.

Soon after the single's completion, Schreurs and Wieringen shopped the song to local labels, yet few expressed interest. Not dissuaded, they decided to promote the song through visual media, first on local television, and soon after, they staged a playback performance at an old Dutch brown bar to broadcast on YouTube in 2009. Both the television and YouTube performance incited rapid word-of-mouth attention; through digital communication, it went 'viral'. Soon after, national commercial radio stations including 3FM promoted the single.

Despite the song's contemporary aesthetic, the song references exotica conventions from the 1940s and 1950s such as the opening growling tenor saxophone blues lick, the rolling vibraphone sample and thick brass horn lines. Yet, the electronic hip-hop beat, the backbeats and the call-and-response chorus layered over Emerald's main text point to modern electronic pop music conventions. The breakdown also features dub elements such as the phasing of the offbeat horns, the scratching and the deep resonance of the bass. Dense polyrhythmic textures build before the last voiceless refrain during which the iconic, but here, a generically sounding disc jockey's (DJ) voice is sampled over a muted speaker effect. Emerald's lazy, throaty scat section on the chorus signals jazz vocalisms from the heyday of swing, the 1930s and 1940s.

The video reinforces 1950's crime jazz scenarios, as the first sequence sets up a film-editing studio, symbolized by the shadowy set of the grungy studio. Film footage rolls to the ground amid pin-ups of Emerald propped against the wall. In the next scene, the projector spotlight suggests an illicit adult pictures theater, with battered footage in sepia tones. Visually the track also juxtaposes 1940s swing and lounge against contemporary, gentrified racial signifiers in European hip-hop and nu jazz; the final sequence highlights the young handsome, White DJ mixing two 45s prominently positioned to showcase the Grandmono record label. Vintage technologies promote notions of authenticity and scarcity to reify particular media within the history of recorded sound. The spatial incongruities of reel-to-reel projectors compete with the street credibility of two turntables, each fashioned within the subterranean, subcultural spaces of editing studios. Conspicuously absent, however, are the computers and their flexible digital software, which facilitate convergence culture's sonic anomalies of space and time within this nostalgic time-trip.

As 'Back It Up' rose in the charts in 2009, breaking no. 1 records for multiple weeks in the Benelux region, the Emerald crew got to work on a full album similarly inspired by jazz and cinema from the 1950s. For the next recording, the project mined YouTube to meticulously imitate the great producers of the so-called Golden era of Hollywood exotica from the hybrid Cuban American dance music of Perez Prado to the space-age exotic lounge odysseys of Martin Denny. For Schreurs, the music of this period represented an apotheosis of musical quality coupled with expert production values and visualized with the necessary glamor and spectacle that surrounded the rat pack appearances in Las Vegas. This music's live and mediated reception privileged the visual aesthetics of musical films and television series. It was these vintage images that inspired the style and design of the promotional video for the group's second video *A Night Like This* in 2009 (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Still from Martini Moments promotional video *A Night Like This* (2009).

When asked about the significance of this ‘American’ inspiration for an international Dutch project, Schreurs reflected upon European’s self-fashioning against the model of post-war American prosperity through the pathways of leisure, social mobility and exotic domestic getaways. For him, this period particularly resonated wealth, prestige and optimism for the future:

Well in the 50s everybody was looking at America weren’t they – I mean the Dutch were covering the Americans as were the Germans. A lot of the hit music came from America and it wasn’t until the 1960s that more hits came from Europe.

Emerald highlighted more ephemeral associations with this era, from the prominent role of the ‘American Dream’ to the glamorous popular music culture of Hollywood crooners. These were powerful images for a post-war Dutch nation, deeply invested in conceptualizing its own traumatic, war-torn past through the escapist and soothing routes of popular culture, epitomized through the images of prosperous, care-free film and music stars.

The album’s second single *A Night Like This* surpassed the popularity of ‘Back it Up’, but did so outside the usual channels of radio promotion. This led to several bookings for Emerald within pop and jazz festivals. In January 2010, the 12-song album *Deleted Scenes from the Cutting Room Floor* on Schreurs’ Grandmono label was released. After the success of the second single, the two took over the entire business side of the project, initiating their own record company and establishing distribution deals with international labels in over 17 countries.

While the single (*A Night Like This*) stormed Dutch charts, it was not until Zazou Mall, a young contestant on Germany’s *Idols*, performed her version in 2011 that German audiences began buying the album.¹⁷ Soon after, performances of the song appeared on other reality-based syndicated programs including the United

Kingdom's *Strictly Come Dancing* and *The Voice of Poland*. These interactive TV platforms provided unprecedented opportunities for the song's promotion. The current promotion of European popular music stars through syndicated mainstream European talent contests betrayed historically established relationships. Since the 1950s, the industry promoted the spectacle of professionalism by appropriating the promotional potential of television to publicly mentor and break young talent. The Beatles appearance on the *Ed Sullivan Show* in 1965 is but one prominent example. In the Millennial climate of media consolidation and integration, Europe's entertainment-consumer complex dedicates national media for exposing European stars to an expanding European audience. Such a relationship had seldom been symbolically spectacularized since Abba's rise to international fame after their first *Eurovision* song contest appearance in 1974. This adaptation of Anglo-American creative formats points to globalization's flexible routes of transplantation and 'deterritorialization' in the expanding media landscape of television and digital media (Appadurai, 1996).

By the time Caro Emerald was invited as one of the headliners for the 2012 and 2013 NSJF editions, audiences were very familiar with the act's online videos and recorded singles, which signified both popular and crossover engagements with northern Europe's unique jazz past. Emerald often performed in vintage couture, with a red gardenia in her hair, as she did at the 2012 NSJF. Furthermore, audiences were so familiar with the song's melody, lyrics and post-war dance productions aesthetics; they could respond in ways familiar to pop stars in large pop music venues. The crossover appeal of popular music stars who re-enact the fantasies of collective memory, such as the image of care-free, jet-setting, European jazz lovers, prominently colored the pleasures of Emerald's public, who danced and sang full voice the romantic, euphoric chorus of *A Night Like This* during the height of her NSJF set. In a dramatic but well-rehearsed moment, Emerald pointed the microphone to the large festival audience who crooned:

I have never dreamed it
 Have you ever dreamed a night like this
 I cannot believe it
 I may never see a night like this
 When everything you think is incomplete
 Starts happening when you are cheek to cheek
 Could you ever dream it
 I have never dreamed, dreamed a night like this

Such images of romantic encounters may elide the hard-earned labor of traveling Black American jazz artists. They may also overshadow the enduring longing of European jazz soloists to be included in the great American jazz canon. Nevertheless, these popular, highly creative musical troupes encapsulate the fascination and desire for the romance and

passion of Europe's early jazz festivals, as beautiful, natural sites where romance, the scintillation of hot jazz, and cultural and racial encounters were coveted experiences.

Conclusion

In the case of the NSJF, the growing fragmentation of jazz genres, the recent professionalization and commercialization of multi-mediated, live music events and finally, the influence of global capital upon contemporary festival stages points to the current commercial climate foregrounding European jazz festivals. In this trajectory, the pristine, outdoor sites of early festivals are superseded by urban, state-of-the art media centers, where bottom-line capital facilitates symbiotic relations between a small coterie of knowledgeable jazz programmers and the players of the growing European 'creative' industries. Despite the rapid influence of music oligopolies upon these highly popular stages, young European jazz musicians manage to commandeer new promotional vehicles afforded by the digital and physical intersections of convergence culture. Before, during and after festival performances, musicians adapt old and new media to establish presence in the gaps between experimental, independent jazz, and the most popular, broad-based programming of large-scale events. Within this multi-mediated climate, current festival organizers are beholden to their corporate sponsors and to the programming dictates of the world's largest media conglomerations.

Within the NSJF, such transnational commercial relations have driven an emerging hierarchy to direct new flows of people, musicians and aesthetic practices onto the large and small stages of the European jazz festival circuits. Yet despite the importance of global capital, young European crossover artists like Caro Emerald successfully compete for the limited attention spans of the omnivore adult demographic. However, they must position themselves against established American jazz stars, either the bebop performers lionized in the 1940s and 1950s or the pop crooners of earlier decades. They must also compete with the international pop heroes who have headlined jazz festival stages since the early 1970s. Today, rhythm and blues, nu soul and crossover artists such as Janelle Monae and Lenny Kravitz also headline festivals and are promoted as exclusive events for special patrons purchasing more expensive tickets. The exclusivity of such events is inculcated and branded by the contemporary digital media marketing campaigns of wealthy multinationals like American Express.

Despite the broad array of musical styles and performance aesthetics offered by the 2012 and 2013 NSJF editions, programming Caro Emerald's nostalgic, crossover jazz contributed to the current project of re-imaging a European cultural jazz past through digitally mediated revivals and the changing conventions of live music performances. These popular jazz currents repositioned dominant and, often, heavily nostalgic jazz sounds and images within European and American historical narratives; yet, they also rejected traditional jazz industry patterns of recording and promotion to foreground hybrid, physically interactive engagements with digitally mediated popular culture.

The resurgence of glamor, dance and the mediated body in Europe's configurable culture is powerfully reflected by Caro Emerald's current hybrid reception within global (post-industrial) jazz cities such as Rotterdam, a featured destination within European

jazz performance circuits. The project's unprecedented popularity, especially within New European jazz festival routes, foregrounded changing cultural conceptions of how a new Europe might position itself against the ubiquity of American cultural exceptionalism still centrally situated within the global music industry.

Cultural pundit Simon Reynolds might characterize these retro-looking crossover projects as forms of post-industrial gentrification, yet Emerald's star status offers unique engagements with local and transnational cultural participants. The romantic appeal of prior aesthetic forms speaks also to the regendering of prior masculinist representations. Her glamorous but progressive musical image satisfies a giddy fascination with the stratified roles of an imagined near past, yet stimulates positive female role models for young audiences who revel in vintage spectacles and exotic transgressions of time and space. The duo European jazz festival troupes of primitives and pastures find modern voice in the eclectic engagement of contemporary European stars, who profit from recycling dated jazz myths into shiny, modern spectacles with the help of the old and the new afforded by Europe's uniquely situated convergence culture.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. See 'History of the Jazz á Juan Festival' on the *Jazz á Juan* website, <http://jazzajuan.com/en-us/festivalhistory.aspx> (accessed 25 March 2015).
2. See 'Festival History' in the *Jazz a Juan* festival website at <http://www.jazzajuan.co.uk/homepage/festivalhistory.aspx> (accessed 10 October 2011).
3. For an overview of the difficult post-war climate for US jazz musicians, see any of several jazz histories including most recently *The History of Jazz* by Ted Gioia (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011) and *Jazz* by Gary Giddens and Scott Deveau (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. 2009).
4. See an excerpt of this performance from an unnamed variety television performance from 1962 on YouTube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OFCS7kZwxug> (accessed 15 March 2015). However, this may actually be a misdated excerpt from the *Danny Kaye Show* from 1966 (16 November 1966), as cataloged in David Inman's (2006) *Variety Television: Histories and Episodes Guides to 57 Programs* (p. 160).
5. See 'About North Sea Jazz' on the festival website *North Sea Jazz Festival*, <http://www.north-seajazz.com/en/about-north-sea-jazz/> (accessed 20 March 2015).
6. Dominique Haijtema's 'Mojo: We Hebben Geen Sterke Machtspositie' in Management Team (MT), 20 June 2013, <http://www.mt.nl/332/77931/business/mojo-wij-hebben-geen-sterke-machtspositie.html> (accessed 1 December 2015).
7. Kavoussi, Bonnie. 2011. 'Live Nation Reports Small Profit In Third Quarter Of 2011, As Consumers Hold Back', posted: 4 November 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/04/live-nation-small-profit-third-quarter-2011_n_1074214.html (accessed 25 March 2015).
8. See the 2012 'North Sea Jazz Line-Up Video', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2bae9IFT-E> (accessed 14 February 2015).

9. See the 'promotional video' for the North Sea Jazz Festival 2012 edition, <http://www.north-seajazz.com/nl/gallery/2012-promo-video/> (accessed 25 March 2015).
10. See Note 9.
11. See Note 9.
12. See Note 9.
13. See Note 9.
14. 2012 North Sea Jazz Festival Marketing Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f8jVaRdj8eg> (accessed 14 February 2015).
15. See the promotional video for featured artists, <http://www.jazzajuan.com/en-us/festivalhistory.aspx> (accessed 15 January 2014). From this video, we learn that these businesses do research during the festival, in addition to holding special events for their clients.
16. Consisting of Dutch vocalist Caroline Esmeralda van der Leeuw, Dutch song writer/producers David Schreurs, Jan van Wieringen and Canadian lyricist Vince Degiorgio, it was released as a promo video on YouTube.
17. Zazou Mall performed *A Night Like This* on 9 April 2011 during the episode 'America vs Europe' on *Deutschland sucht den Superstar* broadcast on media channel RTL.

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