CHAPTER 8

'From the night and the light, all festivals are golden': The festivalisation of culture in Portugal

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1. 'Praise you, we've come a long way together'[33]

Since 2005 music has been a subject of intense focus by academic and cultural analysis, namely concerning its enjoyment, consumption and experience at major events and summer festivals (Guerra 2013, 2016). In this sense, festivals seem to be an entirety of cultural production, mediation and reception in different scales/spheres of action whose motivation is music, but which go beyond it – they are pluri-programmatic/pluri-sectoral. We can say that nowadays the festival positions itself as a 'totem point', offering 'carnal experience', music, dance, sports, therapy, food, clothing, drink, sun, beach, forest, land, mud... As referred by Purdue *et al.*, festivals are 'globalisation's somatic multisensory' (1997: 662). Then, in the last decade of the twentieth century, festivals have acquired prominence in cultural programs around the world, largely because they are an 'immense accumulation of spectacles' (Harvey 1989) in an illogicality of instantaneity/perennity. In this sense, the festival is a striking case of Debord's spectacle (1992) in its relationship with (post)capitalist order.

Historically, festivals have become established as important forms of social and cultural participation: space-times for celebration and sharing of values, of ideologies, of mythologies, of beliefs. In anthropology, the festival is interpreted as a public ritual; a 'carnivalisation' of reality in which community members participate by (re)affirming and celebrating social, religious, ethnic, national, linguistic and historical ties, in an articulation between past, present and future (Bennett *et al.* 2014). In contem-

[33] This is a song by the musician and DJ Fatboy Slim. The song was released in 1999 as the third single from the album 'You've Come a Long Way, Baby'. Kasabian presented a cover of this song for their encore at the 2014 Glastonbury Festival because it is a simple, joyous song, fun and endorphin-inducing – all key attributes of summer festivals. This song appears on the list of the most easily identifiable and listened to songs at summer festivals (New Musical Express 2016).

porary society, the festival assumes this same function, unfolding into a plurality of proposals – particularly regarding the expression of cultural identities and lifestyles (Bennett *et al.* 2014; McKay 2000).

This is where we find a cornerstone of the approach to festivals as space-times for the articulation of identities referring to liminality. As liminal spaces – removed from the routine sphere of everyday life – festivals offer opportunities for experimenting with extraordinary identities – and in some cases, socially circumscribed ones (Guerra *et al.* 2016; Simão & Guerra 2016). They are a current synecdoche of holidays, of freedom, of a better world. In addition to their importance as spaces for acquiring and articulating identities, festivals also increasingly emerge associated with the (re)constitution of different lifestyles. As societies have assumed a constant evolvement of diversified lifestyles (tastes, beliefs, attitudes, orientations and opinions) (Chaney 2002), this has been accompanied by the scenario of the global festival. Music festivals are fundamental examples of a festival genre where identity and lifestyle merge and find collective articulation.

2. How soon is now?[34] The defence of social networks

In this chapter, we will focus specifically on analysing the Instagram[35] social network of Paredes de Coura Festival[36], examining the 2015, 2016, and 2017 editions to understand both the dynamics of festival promotion and dissemination, and – more fundamentally – the festival experience as a *social practice* that emerges through the circulation of images and their transformation via scrolling, liking, and commenting. During the three years of analysis, 157 images/photos have been published on *Instagram* of Paredes de Coura Festival – which are not limited to the four days of the festival. We are positioning ourselves before the capture of a photographic lens, but also before the interaction of those who follow the publications on this social network – the followers – and that show their opinions about the published photographs, either through comments or likes. And why? Because we live in a world

[34] Since the spring of 1985, The Smiths' song 'How Soon Is Now' has been touring the world, having become a forerunner of post-punk. Written by the vocalist Morrissey and guitarist Johnny Marr, it has forever remained the epitome of alternative rock (New Musical Express 2016).

[35] Social network whose shared content is exclusively in image or video format, and the latter cannot exceed 60 seconds in duration. This social network differs from other photo sharing services because it provides tools for editing the images in the application itself and 'this democratized making good-looking images' (Manovich 2016: 4).

[36] In this chapter, we will drop the usual naming of festivals that associates them with their sponsors – e.g. EDP Paredes de Coura, Vodafone Paredes de Coura, Sudoeste TMN, Meo Sudoeste – because given the volatility of the brands involved in each festival in the last 15 years, it seems to us an exercise that rather fragments the narrative coherence that is required here.

where the virtual conquers more and more space in the lives of individuals, merging or even overlapping reality. Therefore, it seems essential to analyse the meaning phenomena inherent in the attendance/experience of a music festival:

Mobile practices - where Instagram fits – can be characterised as an intense experience because users are linked to contexts and emotional moments and this moves them away from other activities (Kuru *et al.* 2016). In the same way, music festivals can also be considered as an immersive experience, because individuals distance themselves from what is beyond the festival. In those days, only the festival matters (Carah & Shaul 2015).

This immersive experience does not merely create a simple separation between the festival and the outside world but generates new forms of hybrid spatiality. In fact, we can allude to the development of a self/hetero-mapping of the real and virtual space of the festival that models new forms of spatial appropriation (Liew & Pang 2015). Currently, smartphone apps are cornerstones of this mapping: they act as expert benchmarks of personal space and symbolic guarantees of ontological security. The mobile phone is everything: a 'Big Brother' device and a key element of self-affirmation and realisation in relation to *the others*. As a matter of fact, new media and digital technologies have very relevant impacts not only in terms of lifestyle but also in the placement and spatialisation of allegiances and collective memories (Bennett *et al.* 2014; Regev 2011; Chalcraft & Magaudda 2011; Tomlinson 2004). In (post-traditional) festivals, the intensity and speed of mapping and appropriation of one's cyberspace is staggering and, it should be stressed, it is a prime setting for interaction (Kitchin & Dodge 2007; Roche 2011; Cummings *et al.* 2011). *Instagram* shows us the growth of a visual culture which links design to photography, resulting in a combination of a *media form* and a *particular type of content,* which Manovich (2016) calls *Instagrammism*. This social network has come to be seen by its users as a tool that allows them to 'narrate their ideas and experiences, and connect to each other' (Manovich 2016: 4).

3. Methodology

In exploring the potentialities of using photography, video and hypermedia in ethnographic research, Sarah Pink favours a critical understanding of visual cultures, a reflective understanding of how visual and ethnographic materials are produced and interpreted (Pink 2001: 4). We focus primarily on the use of these visual and digital materials as the foundation for our analysis, believing that – when combined with ethnographic approaches – they offer enormous analytical potential for understanding social phenomena, given their deep integration into daily life and their capacity to transcend traditional notions of interaction (Pink *et al.* 2017: 18). The con-

tent shared on Instagram is characterised by 'subtle differences, the power of empty space, visual intelligence, and visual pleasure', which contrasts with the platform's original objective rooted in immediacy – the quick and effortless creation and sharing of content (Manovich 2016: 25). With the emergence of Instagram, our daily lives have been exposed and organised according to images in flow, where spaces of our intimacy – or other spaces and events that we attend – and our body are associated, for example, with trademarks. In that way, it is possible to say that 'Instagram enables market relations to form through everyday life and cultural space around the production and circulation of images' (Carah & Shaul 2015: 71).

4. 'Let it happen, just let it happen'[37]

We proceed, in this chapter, with the chorus of the song most often heard in the enclosure of the Paredes de Coura Festival in 2015[38] in order to demonstrate its (re) construction in a quintessential musical scene-place in the region of Alto Minho, in northern Portugal and the country itself. In the early 1990s, more specifically in 1993, the festival came into existence. Since then and uninterruptedly until today it has been populating the banks of the Taboão River in Paredes de Coura and has been established as the 'natural habitat of music'. This festival is the result of an informal initiative by a group of young people who at the time were avid readers of *the news-magazine Blitz*[39], which showed the new music trends, and were also influenced by the TV program *Pop Off*. At a time when a certain frenzy about alternative music was emerging in Portugal (Guerra 2013) with the appearance of several garage bands and of significant radio and television programs, a group of young people (calling themselves *Incentive to Courense Culture*[40]) who were passionate about mu-

[37] This is a song by Tame Impala – an Australian psychedelic rock band – released on March 11 2015 as part of the band's third album, Currents, www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ed6UeDp1ek. Tame Impala had top billing at the Paredes de Coura Festival that same year and 'Let It Happen' was the song most often heard at the venue during the festival. The song focuses on the inevitability of accepting the innumerable transitions of the self in a transglobal context, under an eight-minute base of melodic hypnotism. An important piece of information associated with this song is that it was one of 15 songs 'that would be heard at all festivals during the summer of 2015', according to a list by New Musical Express (2015).

[38] We cannot but cite an excerpt of the song 'Let It Happen': 'It's always around me, all this noise/ But not nearly as loud as the voice saying/ Let it happen, let it happen/ (It's gonna feel so good)/ Just let it happen, let it happen'. Cf. Tame Impala (2015).

[39] Blitz was the first Portuguese newspaper specialized in music and pop culture, for a long time it was the one and only, later being made into a magazine that has been editing until today.

[40] 'That group was formed by Vítor Paulo Pereira, José Barreiro, Filipe Lopes and João Carvalho. (...) they saw an 'astounding place'. Someone has an epiphany: 'What if we made here a music festival for youth?' (...) in the night of fados de Coimbra (a Portuguese type of music), there were present the Town Council and a councilman. On

sic and especially about the independent rock music of the 1980s, found there was a supply gap in the area where they lived and, moved by a certain idealism, decided to create a 'night' of concerts by rock bands in Paredes de Coura. To that end they soon got in touch with the mayor of Paredes de Coura, who was from the beginning an important interlocutor, proving to be very receptive and becoming decisive in the start-up and sustained growth of a festival that would come to be considered unique as well as a pioneer in the national context[41].

In fact, in its first two years the festival lasted only one day; later it was extended to two days and subsequently to three and four days. Time in contemporary societies is characterised by polychromic, homogenized, calendarized time that arranges everyday life. However, as Pais (1998) points out, work time is no longer absolute, particularly given the expansion of leisure time. Consequently, leisure time has become increasingly heterogeneous – it no longer possesses uniform subjective properties. Paradoxically, the less time we have available, the greater our need for leisure time to provide a break from other temporal demands. Therefore, it is here that the time for festivals is included, thus justifying the festival's extension to additional days. The Paredes de Coura Festival has been progressively growing in several aspects, consolidating a 'successful career' and even bringing about other festivals nearby and becoming an international reference – at least as far as Spain. This means that, as advocated by Geus *et al.* (2016), in its essence the Paredes de Coura Festival was born of a 'fortunate' interaction between the individuals and the 'environment' of the event – the program, the theme, the scenario, the service and the other users of that environment.

The photos published on the festival's Instagram that capture the scenery show us a place where nature prevails, as if it were a reconstruction of nature based on an idyllic construction principle. The layout of the main stage looks like a natural amphitheatre, lying at the bottom of an inclined plane surrounded by nature, which allows a good visualisation of the concerts to all the people, even when they are in the back region. There are even those who prefer to watch from this region, since it allows

an 'urge', João Carvalho takes the initiative and presents the idea to them. On the next they have a meeting at Paços do Concelho, where they are given '180 contos' (900 euros) from the municipal budget to arrange the event. And so is born the Paredes de Coura Festival.

[41] João Carvalho, one of the founders of the festival, recalls that moment in 2015: 'In Paredes de Coura we always had a group of friends who enjoyed and knew a lot about music, but who also enjoy and know a lot about independent cinema, architecture and painting. We were always interested people. The festival was born precisely at a time when everyone went off to study elsewhere, some to Porto, others to Lisbon, Évora, and I was the only one in Paredes de Coura. So, it began as a kids' game where the goal was to have a good time, and the rest is history' (*in* Pereira 2015).

them to escape from the crowd and to watch the concerts more leisurely – sitting or lying down – if there is a small audience and calmer rhythms.

Taboão River and its banks are a central element and one of the festival's trademark images. More than a place where individuals can be in contact with nature, diving and sunbathing, it is a space of sociability, where individuals meet and amuse themselves, with props and artefacts ranging from clothes, like swimwear, fashion accessories - such as sunglasses, hats, caps, among others – and rubber buoys and rubber boats that they share with friends on the river. Smoking, drinking and eating is another recurring practice during sunny afternoons, with some festivalgoers carrying portable coolers. There is a disorganised arrangement in which youth groups merge, there is no interest in distancing themselves from those they do not know or in establishing spatial boundaries. We would like to reiterate here, with Bauman (2006), the distinction between mixophobia (fear of being in physical co-presence with anonymous people, causing estrangement) and mixophilia (satisfaction through the experience of socializing with strangers, which induces fusion). Apparently, this arena is governed by mixophilia, i.e., the occupation of the different spaces in the enclosure obeys massive rationales between day and night, ruled by the abovementioned *mitsein*. This festival is even interpreted in the image of a 'Gaulish village' materialised into an indie community, for it is 'as if Paredes de Coura were the indomitable *Gaulish village* heroically resisting the diabolical concessions of true music to global capitalism'[42].

We are therefore witnessing the transformation of a festival that emerged under a do-it-yourself (DIY) rationale based on the effort of a group of young people committed to opposing the more or less fatalistic idea that the 'hinterland' location of their town would be synonymous with cultural dependence vis-à-vis the big cities. As early as its second edition in 1994, and benefiting from the absence of other festivals and/or events of the kind, the festival began to appear in full-page features in the national press.

On its 25th anniversary in 2017, all media continue to consider Paredes de Coura a 'unique festival', not only due to the natural setting where it takes place but also to its program. As a matter of fact, this festival eventually achieved the image of being an experimental venue for new artists/concepts, having presented the largest number of debuts in Portugal until the appearance of the *Milhões de Festa* festival, in 2006. Thus, a 'well-received' performance in Coura became synonymous with subsequent success, i.e., the festival became a springboard for names belonging to the so-called alternative sphere. This option corresponds to the representations that the organisers and festivalgoers themselves have about their own musical tastes. If

[42] Inês Nadais, 'A aldeia gaulesa', *Ípsilon/Público*, 2010, May 13.

we claim, like Pais, that 'hegemonic culture is much more of a culture of exclusion than of inclusion' (2010: 166), underground music pulverizes other musical manifestations, reserving for itself the primary space of action and establishing itself as the legitimate form of musical creation in Coura.

If we consider the logic of free artistic expression, authenticity – one of the core values of the indie scene – is the main criterion for ranking. Thornton (1996) has told us that authenticity is linked to the notion of subcultural capital. In fact, journalists, bloggers and opinion makers – as cultural gatekeepers – have always 'defended' Coura as an alternative, unique and singular; and it is unavoidable – year after year – that through their music tastes and recommendations – isochronous with those of the organisers – they gradually defined and built the subcultural capital of Coura (Jetto 2010).

These memorable moments decisively contribute to structuring the relations of sociability established in the festival, and here it is pertinent to join Pais (2010) when he says that popular music is a unique field to analyse social constructs. The fact that there is a temporary suspension of everyday identity based on the notion of proxemics, underscores the importance of assuming a common identity, the knowledge of how to behave that is learned at festivals and that improves the chances of starting new relationships insofar as the distance between strangers is narrowed by the symbolic, sensuous sharing of common space-time. From this we can identify the emergence of groups of affinities established on the basis of elective affinities that may amount to friendship as an omnipresent modality of sociability.

Reflecting the way the playbills and the organisation evolved, from 2007 onwards the festival presents several stages: the main stage, usually associated with the major sponsor; the *Ibero Sounds* stage (currently also associated with the major sponsor), for bands that were still relatively unknown; *Jazz on the Grass*, responsible for the afternoon entertainment in the enclosure closest to the river, where there are concerts and other activities such as the *Writing Voices* – since 2015 – in which musicians and other artists are invited to take part in some reading sessions; and the *After-Hours* stage, for more electronic-type sounds. Although there is a certain distinction and separation between national and international names, this does not prevent the best-known Portuguese bands (Mão Morta, Linda Martini, X-Wife, Manel Cruz) from featuring side by side with the international attractions on the main stage. This proliferation of stages complies with the necessary coexistence of multiple musical worlds at the same festival, demonstrating the increasingly eclectic and omnivorous music consumption (Guerra 2013; Crossley & Emms 2016).

There are other concerts that the organisation takes to various points in the village, such as *Music Sessions* – created in 2013 and in undisclosed parts of the village, such as a shoe factory, next to the church or a private farm – characterised by a greater proximity and intimacy between the artists and audience, which is quite limited. In addition to these secret and intimate music sessions, *The Festival goes to the Village* is another initiative in which the festival organises this link with the town, since it happens in the main avenue of the town, before the inauguration of the festival, and the access is free.

Speaking of the current structure of the festival, let us start by mentioning its location and its fruitful intercrossing with the town. Thinking about festivals as communities not only evokes the interactions established between subjects but is also related to the fact that music and musical performances can act as a means of connecting festival participants to the places where they are held, promoting the creation of a sense of identity and identification (Duffy 2000). Frequent trips to festival venues favour the formation of these communities – communities of identification associated with spaces of allegiance and intensification of relationships. Simultaneously, music and performances can be considered to incorporate and give voice to the relationship established with the space, on the one hand, and on the other hand to offer, through participation, ways for individuals to identify and situate themselves (Hudson *et al.* 2015).

These activities promote not only contact with the local community, but also contact with relevant political, institutional and economic agents. Can these be considered actual coordinates of local development? We do not know yet, but surely festivals cannot be forgotten when planning the development of municipalities and regions such as Paredes de Coura. Established 25 years ago, the festival takes on the central dimensions of cosmopolitan openness advocated by Skrbiš and Woodward (2011): belonging and becoming, or simultaneously the involvement with the municipality and the connection to the world; the physical and virtual mobility and perenniality of people (Hebdige 1990); the 'semiotic capacity' for reading *the other* (Molz 2011). Urry, in his 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' model, speaks to us of the *topos* of festivals as spheres for 'opening up about the divergent experiences of the present in national cultures' and the 'search by and for contrasts between societies' (1995: 167).

5. 'Desire lines'[43]: appropriations and music

Our perspective looks at pop rock – or its drifts of indie rock or electro pop – as a *social system* and not as an opaque cluster of individual activities, which implies its (re)creation in a space transformed into a *place-scene* within the framework of this chapter. The festival's line-up has been quite well defined since its first edition – independent rock. It therefore assumes an orientation that allows one to identify it and distinguish it from others, marking its difference. At this level, we align closely with Hennion (1999), who advocates for a new approach to music that moves beyond orthodox conceptions of music as art objects to be admired. Instead, he proposes understanding music as a collective activity that communicates identities – viewing music as a performance of personal taste. In Coura's line-up, one seeks novelty. This requires constant updating based on research work where the Internet is an essential tool, and which also involves reading industry publications and attending other international festivals – Reading[44], Roskilde[45] and Benicàssim[46]. This is very interesting because the festival's line-up - as we can see on Instagram – seems like a live and ephemeral flow of images (Carah & Shaul 2015: 72).

In order to publicise and promote the festival, in 2016 the organisation of the Paredes de Coura Festival opted to make a publication with a photograph and name of each artist or band that were being confirmed to act in the natural habitat of music in the same year's edition which occurred between February 29th and August 6th. This is a way not only to approach audiences and to keep the festival alive in their minds months before it happens, but also to perceive public opinions about the invited artists or bands. The comments on these publications are divided between thanks to

[43] Desire Lines is a song by Deerhunter – an American indie band associated with 4AD, a major British independent record label – blending a variety of musical genres and subgenres (noise rock, art rock, shoegaze and post-punk...), which also features in a New Musical Express list, this time intended as a ranking of the 'best festival road trip songs' of 2010. See www.nme.com/photos/the-50-best-festival-road-trip-songs/309307. 'Desire Lines' is acknowledged to be magnetic and an indie hymn to freedom and self-realisation.

[44] Reading and Leeds are a pair of festivals that take place annually in two cities in England, Reading and Leeds. They are both a music festival, renowned for being the number one in UK. More information can be found on their website: www.reading-festival.com; www.leedsfestival.com.

[45] The Roskilde is an annual festival held in the city of Roskilde, Denmark. Is considered one of the 3 biggest and most well-known festivals in Europe, being the largest in North Europe. Initially created for hippies, but nowadays is more eclectic and covers a more mainstream part of the youth. More information can be found on their website: www.roskilde-festival.dk.

[46] The Benicàssim festival is an art and music festival that takes place annually in the city of Benicasim, Spain. It offers a place for art displays, short movies, theater, dance, fashion and various workshops and courses on these themes. More information can be found on their website: www.fiberfib.com.

the organisation for bringing the artist or band announced, requests to bring other artists and bands who people would like to see performing at that festival, and identifications of friends in those publications, many of them with requests to accompany them in that edition. In the latest edition, held in 2017, they adopted another strategy of disseminating the confirmed artists, placing only one image where four confirmed names were registered, followed a month and a half later by a new publication with another international band confirmed for the edition of the festival's 25th anniversary.

If festival confirmations were once given through the press, today promotors see a need to adapt to the audience, who is increasingly disconnected from traditional media and gives exacerbated attention to social media. See the example of the Portuguese version of *Primavera Sound*, which is held in Porto, whose poster of the 2017 edition was first published on Instagram with videos that narrate a story, interpreted by a character, focused on emblematic buildings of the city – since the brand of the city is associated with the festival. This was preceded by several warnings to the public that they should be attentive to Instagram stories to be released on that day and at that time, a whole marketing strategy that proved effective and that aroused the curiosity not only of the public, but also of the press. Remember Tia DeNora's concept of music in action (2003b), in which music assumes itself as a social practice, endowed with senses.

These new forms of promotion and dissemination create a link that connects the festival and the public intermediated by the artists that constitute the poster – there is an identification with what the event involves that leads to the desire to remain in contact with it, namely from social networks. In the days in which the festival takes place, the artists that make up the poster are prominent on Paredes de Coura Festival's Instagram. Throughout these three editions – 2015, 2016 and 2017 – the organisation shared several photographs of the artists and bands that passed through the natural habitat of music, either by the main stage or the secondary stage. What is behind this option of highlighting the artists during the festival instead of the other dimensions that constitute and define it? Is there a logic behind strengthening the association of the poster to concepts such as quality, originality and diversity through the creation and/or intensification of hypes?

The headlines are not always those that reach a greater number of likes and comments on Instagram, although there is often a direct relationship between these aspects. Take the example of the last day of the festival of the 2017 edition, in which Ty Segall and Foals are the protagonists of the poster and whose photographs reached 433 and 821 likes, respectively, compared to the 1218 likes in Benjamin Clementine's photo or 607 likes in the photograph of the Portuguese artist Manel Cruz who also performed on the main stage, but was less prominent in the poster.

The comments on the photos of these two include thanks, congratulations and compliments: 'The best of the festival!'; 'It was so good!'; 'Amazing!'; 'idol'. Initiatives such as *Jazz in the Grass*, *Writing Voices* and the after-hours do not have as much visibility on this social network, and in the case of the after-hours, there are no publications on Instagram in the last three editions.

The main point to bear in mind here is to understand how the programming is experienced and appropriated according to the subjective dispositions and objective possibilities of the actors at play in Taboão. We can say that there is no 'strong' code of regulation – which does not mean that there is no order at the festival. There is, and it is precisely the order of improvisation, of disorganisation. In the interactive framework, this is where the difference resides between being in (being cool) or out (being an outlier). The 'art' of infraction demands that it be done naturally, like a 'gift' one has, an expression of something inherent to one's being – something spontaneous and unconstructed, unrehearsed. Here lies the true *knowing how to be* of the festivalgoer, i.e., the ability to 'naturally fit in/ into the space – or Malbon's (1999) coolness criterion. We are in the sphere of musicking, which is the way we act before music, the value we place on it, etc. In other words, we are talking about social skills in relation to music (Crossley 2015: 473). And musicking can only be completely apprehended if we seek to understand its collective nature through the concept of music worlds and of the way it functions in the festival scene-place.

The consequences of musicking are varied, cutting across the whole festival experience. Fonarow (1997) speaks of 'regions inhabited' by the enjoyers during the live shows: in 'front of the stage' are the youngest and most enthusiastic; 'behind the pit' are the older ones experiencing music without distractions; in the 'back regions' are industry staff and other professionals, peacefully enjoying the distance. In one of the videos published on the festival's Instagram we see a whole frenzied audience at a concert of the Portuguese Orelha Negra, a band that is in its essence instrumental and that locates its sonorities between diverse musical genres like soul, jazz, rock, funk or hip-hop. Once again, the diversity that the Paredes de Coura Festival offers to its audiences stands out, not being restricted to a genre or subgenre.

Festival authenticity can imply ignoring the rules ('everyday garb', for example) ostensibly and systematically (as a habit, therefore). Think of 'finite provinces of meaning', as Schutz would say (Wagner 1979). Other people purposely prepare for this place. The party – the 'carnival' in which the masks invade the hosts (Bakhtin 1981), and value scales are subverted: a different place, a different time and, above all, chronotopes. Convergence, orchestration – the expectations of what will be shared, the backward assumptions (Garfinkel 1967) evidenced by the people who dress for, who 'commit' to the bands. Regev's (2013) perspective on pop-rock as a

possibility for cultural rapprochement is, in this regard, exemplary. The expressive elements that different cultures use to show the uniqueness of pop-rock are very close to each other. While those differences and singularities do exist, the processes and instruments for expressing these particularities are very similar.

DIY is an ethos and a praxis that defy and subvert the codes of mainstream culture (McKay, 1998). In this sense, this festival takes on the role of a heir that lubricates this ethos. It is an 'autonomous temporary zone where the fragments of everyday symbolic life are suspended, or like a cultural laboratory where dominant codes are summoned to enable the formation of experimental identities and forms of neotribal sociability, or temporary *communitas* '(Purdue *et al.* 1997: 660). Thinking about the festival's game of sociabilities leads us to the notion of an 'exception regime' – of planned and organised (regime) lack of control (exception), with no contradiction in terms.

The diversity of aesthetic styles speaks for itself. The heterogeneity of clothes, props and artefacts takes on a common value. The aesthetic function becomes an axis of signification that crystallizes (originates) the main dynamics engendering subjective polyvalence. Aesthetic issues are visible not only in the way individuals present themselves and through the artifacts they carry, but also in their appropriation of space in the camping zone. Along with the tents are placed cards with handwritten expressions related to the festival, with its practices or with identity aspects. Read on these posters' expressions like 'Take me to the Couraíso [Coura (the festival's and town's name) + *paraíso* (which means paradise in Portuguese)]', 'Danger Zone', 'Beware, drunk is camping', 'Eat, Sleep, Rave, Repeat', 'Kamacoura, Bragasutra'.

Along with music, the wish to interact with the (known or unknown) *other* is one of the main motivations behind attending festivals: 'there are people who get together and do not know what they are going to find. That is why we came here. We are people of different cultures, different nations, different religions, that is cool '(Larsen & O'Reilly 2005: 7). At the same time, sharing the reality of the festival and a preference for certain bands is a reason for establishing new relationships. In this sense, and perhaps more important than the music itself, are the non-musical aspects of festival attendance. We could even speak of the formation of transitory communities based on an awareness of similar tastes and sharing of experiences. These are geographically and temporally limited communities, slightly different from the communities that are formed when attending concerts. The camping area is one of the highlights in the festival where these communities manifest themselves. It is in this area that festivalgoers meet basic necessities like sleeping or eating, cooking their own meals with equipment, utensils – portable gas stove, plates, cutlery, and so on –

and food that they transport to the festival, favouring fast and easy food, always in a great atmosphere of relaxation and permanent contact with each other.

The festival is a catalyst of networks. There emerges a spontaneous reformulation of the festival's structure, interweaving the previous structure with individual practices. Thus, 'the festival organisers weave a fabric of relationships that can be approached in different ways by individuals.' (Purdue *et al.* 1997: 661). The music festival community can be perceived as 'a means of promoting the identity of a community, or at least, the way the community would like others to see it.' (Duffy 2000: 51). In this respect we cannot but draw attention to Cummings *et al.* (2011)[47]: although indie music is defined by its independence from mass 'commercial' music, it is itself also commercialised and its idea of authenticity is also a marketing strategy. We can therefore suggest that festivalgoers often end up forming communities of individuals linked together because they are consumers of a particular commercial brand. For this reason, we can emphasize the fact that the brands that sponsor music events are important as symbolic elements connecting individuals who belong to music neotribes: the 'Primavera Sound' brand is prototypical. The appearance on the scene of a growing number of brands, even in Coura, has met with the acceptance of the participants, leading us to believe that they have accepted the role of sponsorship and of trade brands as essential for the festival's continuity. Since this is a time for neotribes to gather, it is necessary that the presence of a particular brand is linked to the values inherent to the community of festivalgoers and to its symbolic universe (t-shirts, backpacks, mattresses, scarves, key rings, etc.).

6. 'From the night and the light, all plans are golden'[48]: (in)conclusive clues

As Dowd *et al.* observe: 'Gathered from geographically disperse locations far from the normalized expectations of everyday life, fans and performers can immerse themselves in a particular culture and experiment with different identities' (2004: 149). As we have seen, in a festival the actors tend to occupy mixed positions

[47] In her reflection, Cummings *et al.* (2011) mention the American Vans Warped tour, associated with the punk music that connects many skaters. This event has the name of a brand of trainers that is strongly associated with that community. They do so to compare this tour to the Australian Big Day Out festival which, by refusing to sell its name to a sponsor, has itself become a brand.

[48] This is an excerpt from the song Golden Skans by Klaxons and marks the moment when the band moved from nu-rave/new rave to art-pop. With all its vocal falsettos, mystical lyrics and indie-disco drums, this song from the 'Myths of the Near Future' album – winner of the Mercury Prize – dominated the 2007/2008 festival season and became part of the clothing and aesthetics of many festivalgoers (New Musical Express 2016; Reynolds 2011).

between creation, intermediation and musical enjoyment – referring to music *in ac*t. The festivalgoing way of life is made up of layers recreated from festivalgoing cultural capital constructed by total participation – body and soul – in the Coura place-scene. McKay (2000) revealed an interesting duality in music festivals that is also present in Coura: if on the one hand the festival has an emphatically dreamlike brand associated with pilgrimage and to divinisation, at the same time it is very much rooted in the real world, the market and consumption, which is also denoted by use of social networks. The virtual has brought new forms of self-presentation and new forms of interaction not only between individuals but also between consumer products and the individuals. According to Carah & Shaul (2015: 71): 'the portability and habitual use of the smartphone within everyday life enables Instagram to extend the role played by images in the stimulation, capture, and modulation of attention'. It is here that the sphere of action of the organisation of Paredes de Coura Festival is inserted, through the use of Instagram: to communicate and interact with its public, capturing their attention.

In fact, there has been an exponential increase in the number of festivals in the UK and throughout the world: the music festival is now an economic figure in the popular music industry. Moreover, these are constituents of urban repertoires of regeneration, of seasonal cultural economies, of ritualised collective events, of tourism, of museumisation-*nostalgia*, of endogenous local development. Thus, the Paredes de Coura Festival also lives between these two levels and the music *in act* experienced there also suffers from this dualism. The search for the alternative is an impactful motive for action but it is always carried out within the framework of a symbolic, economic and cultural struggle for authenticity. The Coura festival's way of life is presented as a complex *utterance under construction* of beliefs, symbols, modes of interaction, values and ideologies around what is alternative – not to mention underground.

This festival is defined by the search for experiences, which have marked their unique presence: experiences of communion with nature, of enjoying the most 'beautiful' amphitheatre in Portugal; experiences of direct contact with pioneering bands and with big names of alternative rock; experiences with festivalgoing authenticity as opposed to the mainstream. In all these experiences, or rather in the festivalgoing 'economy of experiences', Coura has gained a competitive advantage because it has offered the best symbolic, musical, affective and emotional experiences. A significant aspect is that the rain has 'already become a tradition': what would *a priori* be a competitive disadvantage of the festival has been transformed,

over time, into an absolute experiential capital – because it brings the experience of this Minho festival closer to the legendary Glastonbury (Geus *et al.* 2016).

The immersive analysis of Paredes de Coura Festival's Instagram was central to understand that Coura is music, but it is much more than music. Put another way, *musicking* can only be fully apprehended if we seek to grasp its collective nature through the concept of music worlds and the way it operates in the festival scene-place (Crossley 2015). As we have seen through the analysis of the festival's Instagram, music *in act* is present not only on-stage performances but in the experience that it dictates in the festivalgoer's 'world of life': at the camping site, at the river and its banks, the food, drinks and in the use of technologies and social networks. This issue helps us realize the complexity and heterogeneity that currently characterise the universe of music intermediation, which do not arise only from the coexistence of multiple forms of diffusion. They are also associated with trends that dilute the boundaries that traditionally structured, on several levels, the worlds of music. And festivals are quintessential place-scenes of this mix. The development of cultural industries and the flexibilisation of their forms of productive organisation have blurred the boundaries between work and activities of creation, diffusion and enjoyment. Alongside this, diversity is evident in the varied content offered by festivals, which are increasingly showing their awareness of the importance of dimensions other than music, even though music continues to be the key element.