

'From the night and the light, all festivals are golden': The festivalization of culture in the late modernity^{1,2}

Paula Guerra

Abstract

Festivals have been stated as important forms of social and cultural participation. In the twenty-first century, all countries have been faced with a number of annual festivals, but also by diversifying the type of festivals, its location and its audiences. The festival model has expanded all over the world and became globalize. With this model emerged the so-called 'festivalization of culture'. Portugal was no different in this phenomenon. The main purpose of this chapter is to explore the Portuguese festival dynamics. These dynamics have the function of globalization coding, marketing and culture of media coverage, mobilizing thousands of actors on the supply side, in mediation and on the demand side. There are several elements that prove this in Portugal: unprecedented evolution in the number of festivals over the past two decades; the spread of festivals around the country, especially in its Atlantic coast and in metropolitan areas; the exponential increase of the *habitués*; the weight of the turnover of the festivals in the statement of accounts culture and cultural industries; the importance of festivals for the launch and projection of the bands; and, above all, the design of a new way of life in an environment marked by consumptions, appropriations and embodiments of practices, associated with experience and sociability of the festival.

¹ This chapter result of an intensive research carried out since 2005, anchored in three projects. The first, developed between 2005 and 2009, *Urban cultures and youth lifestyles: Scenery, sounds and aesthetic in contemporary Portuguese (SFRH / BD / 24614/2005)*, at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Porto (IS-UP), coordinated by the author of this article and funded by the Science and Technology Foundation (FCT). This project gave rise to the doctoral thesis *The unstable lightness of rock. Genesis, dynamics and consolidation of alternative rock in Portugal (1980-2010)*, which appears here referenced as Guerra, 2010. The second project, called *Urban polycentrism, knowledge and innovation dynamics (PTDC/CS-GEO/ 105476/2008)*, based in the Research Centre of Geography and Regional Planning (CEGOT), was developed between 2010 and 2013, and was funded by the FCT. The third project, still in progress, entitled *Portugal to the mirror: Identity and transformation in literature, film and popular music*, is led by the IS-UP and funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (FCG) under the Program Gulbenkian Portuguese Language and Culture (PGLCP). For further developments, see Guerra, 2016.

² The publication of this article was supported by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (Foundation for Science and Technology), within the scope of UID/SOC/00727/2013.

1. Festivals: origins and meanings

Historically, the festivals have been stated as important forms of social and cultural participation, celebration of space-time and sharing (values, ideologies, mythologies and beliefs), crucial for the structure of communities and society. In anthropological literature, the festival is a public ritual of interpretation; a real 'carnivalization' in which the community members participate (re)affirming and celebrating social ties (religious, ethnic, national, linguistic and historical), a relationship between the ontogenesis of the prevailing values and their projection in the societal future (Bennett, Taylor & Woodward, 2014). In contemporary society, the festival has the same meaning, but deployed in a number of proposals — particularly the expression of cultural identities and lifestyles (Bennett, 2004; Bennett, Taylor & Woodward, 2014; McKay, 2000).

Nowadays, after Woodstock³, the music festival has a similar function, reflecting an expression of identities and the lifestyle of young people (although not restricted to). In the current scenery of fragmentation of musical contexts, especially as a result of technological advances, the festival hold forth criteria about as dominant and unifying the assessment / certification of commercial success and audience. As shown in previous international researches, festivals thus represent the expression of a dynamic tension (fragmentation against globalization, mobility vs. community, belonging vs. anonymity) in the identity and cultural construction in the twenty-first century. We can say that currently the festival is like a 'totemic point', providing the physical experience and carnal, music, dance, food, clothing, drink, sun, beach, forest, land, mud... According to Purdue *et al.*, that are "somatic multisensory globalization" (1997: 662).

Festival is an "emancipatory structure" (Purdue *et al.*, 1997). As a result of cultural and identity fragmentation, festival has emerged as a response to mobility processes and to the cultural globalization. Most of the festivals are a synthesis of duality represented by the local and the global in a changing context: it's a conciliation between maintenance and vertigo (Bertho, 2009). Thus, the festival is a potential representation of space-time. In the twenty-first century, all countries have been faced with a series of annual festivals, but also by diversifying the type of festivals, its location and its audiences (Fouccroulle,

³ Woodstock Music & Art Fair (commonly known as Woodstock and Woodstock Festival) was a music festival held in 1969 in New York. This festival was associated with the end of the counterculture of the 1960s and early 70s, which flocked about 400 thousand people (cf. Bennett, 2004; Laing, 2004).

2009). The festivals also become economically attractive to both the consumer and for the testing of culture. Festivals are a significant feature of the socio-economic and cultural landscape of contemporary everyday life. That is our focus here: to interpret the social, economic, territorial and cultural impacts of the Festival making a provision for a fundamental matrix of identity restructuring, particularly in the field of youth cultures.

Figures 1: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

In synthesis, music festivals take place in a short time (can go up to a week) under an intense schedule of concerts (several hours of uninterrupted presentation of musical projects, where the performances take place simultaneously in three or more stages) which are oriented to the dissemination of specific musical projects, and may be accompanied by workshops programs, lectures, book signings, sports, beauty contests and other performances. In the case of 'major events', the diversity of (sub)genres is bigger and it is essential to attract the most diverse audience. Generally, also occur in the summer. In other words, this type of event shows the flexibility of artistic and playful designs, a

spatial intensity and considerable time and a vehement impact on the territory and the society in which they occur (Abreu, 2004: 166).

It is worth exploring a little more socio-cultural impact levels. This type of event can have an effect at the internal level (the event itself), at a local level (in space — county and city where they perform) and programming of similar events, reflecting on two other levels: (1) at an endogenous level, the repercussions can focus on strengthening innovative activities with regard to music production, dissemination of new projects in the public loyalty or their inter-municipal enlargement, regional, national or international; and (2) at an exogenous level, it can have effects on the communities, in their local economy and the development of training programs related to sound, light, image, or even getting structures for artists and equipment rental (Guerra, 2010).

Figures 2: Savages Performance in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

In just over 40 years, music festivals have played a decisive role in many plans: (i) the festivals explore and integrate space, associated with the production, intermediation, the joy, for the recovery of the music industry; (ii) the festivals as an artistic tension of spaces and aesthetics, between the mass

market and the underground market, as spaces of different music scenes; (iii) the festivals are a local development factor and pleasure logics associated with well-being and quality of life and local / global coordination; (iv) the festivals are key elements of the local and cultural development policies.

2. The summer festivals in Portugal

The first music festival in Portugal dated 1968 and was called (until present) Festival Vilar de Mouros. It was created in 1965 by Antonio Barge and had as main objective the diffusion of popular music of the Alto Minho and Galicia, which made the village Vilar de Mouros a tourist destination. In its first edition, in addition to the band of the National Guard, the Fado and the protest song, the Festival was marked by names as Zeca Afonso, Carlos Paredes, Luis Goes, Adriano Correia de Oliveira, Quintet Academic, Shegundo Galarza and some folklore groups (Zamith, 2003). It would be in the year 1971 that the (real) first edition of Festival Vilar de Mouros as an international festival was held, becoming the largest festival in the country. Despite the restrictions imposed by Dictatorship⁴, on weekends between 31 July and 15 August 1971, about 20.000 people (unofficial numbers), from various places in the country and Europe, attended to the performances of Elton John and Manfred Mann⁵.

Although it was considered the Portuguese Woodstock, given the freedom of expression experienced there, only after 11 years, in 1982, the second edition of the festival took place, which has maintained and consolidated the presentation

⁴ This Portuguese historical period is also known as the 'Estado Novo' (New State). It is the name of the authoritarian political regime, autocratic and corporatist state that prevailed in Portugal for 41 years without interruption, since the adoption of the Constitution of 1933 until his overthrow by 25 April 1974. The New State Revolution (1933 -1974) was an authoritarian regime, conservative, nationalist, fascist-inspired state corporatist, partly Catholic and traditionalist, the illiberal nature, anti-parliamentarian, anti-communist, and colonialist, in force in Portugal under the Second Republic. The regime created its own state structure and a repressive apparatus (PIDE, penal colonies for political prisoners, etc.) characteristic of so-called police states, relying on censorship, the propaganda, the paramilitary organizations (Portuguese Legion), organizations youth (Portuguese youth), the cult of the leader and the Catholic Church.

⁵ Although it has been a milestone for the village and the history of music in Portugal, like Woodstock, the Festival Vilar de Mouros also meant a great loss for the organization. The church has positioned itself against the event, asking parents not to let their children go to the festival. The members of organization, which works as a family, were 'excommunicated' (Zamith, 2003).

of a wide variety of music genres, with national and international jazz, rock, blues, fado, folklore and classical music groups (Zamith, 2003). In fact, the Festival Vilar de Mouros marked and highlighted the emergence of a true rock culture in Portugal. António Duarte, synthesizes this in the following words: "I realize the importance of this festival was the gradual birth of a rock culture in Portugal and in the passage of a state of 'rock barbarism' to a new era of musical creation, directed not only for the adolescents but also for concerts they hear with their ears and eyes" (Duarte, 1984: 51–52). After this second edition, only in 1990, the festival took place again, with editions in 1996 and 1999. From this year until 2006, when it celebrated the 35th anniversary of the first Vilar de Mouros, the festival became organized on an annual basis, with national and international names, especially in the rock sphere. However, changes in the organization dictated an interval of eight years, which made that a new edition of the festival happen again only in 2014, organized now by the Foundation AMA Autism, by the Municipalities of Caminha and Vilar de Mouros.

Figures 3: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



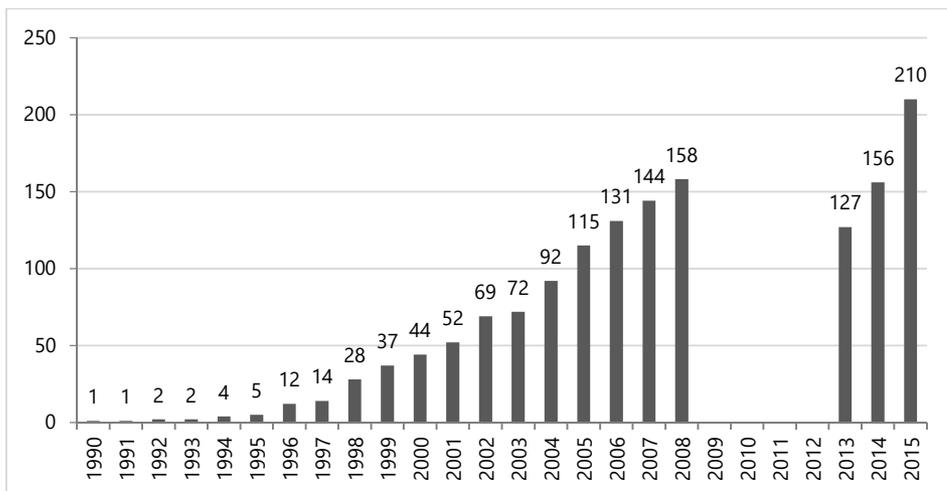
Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

After the Festival Vilar de Mouros, and especially from the late 1990s (post-Expo'98), there has been a proliferation of music festivals. Nowadays, Portugal is included on the international routes (Figure 4). Since the summer of 1998, with the achievement of the second Sudoeste Festival, the festivals are considered mega events (Ferreira, 1998, 2002; Costa & Santos, 1999).

Several factors combine to explain this trend. First, it should be noted the dynamism of the various promoters of events, which have increased in number and walked towards greater sophistication of technical, logistic and transport, which contributes greatly to the success of the initiatives they promote. Second,

one must highlight the effort operated by these organizations to maintain and/or to reduce the price of event tickets that promote, particularly in the summer festivals, which allows greater influx of audiences. Third, it is possible to note that the political powers (including local authorities) are more aware of the potential that music festivals represent to the region where they place, being decisive with regard to contribution with logistical, technical and financial resources for put into effect. This type of events and especially the large-scale festivals are seen as true local economic development factors (Guerra, 2013).

Figure 4: Evolution of the number of festivals over the last two decades in Portugal (1990–2015)

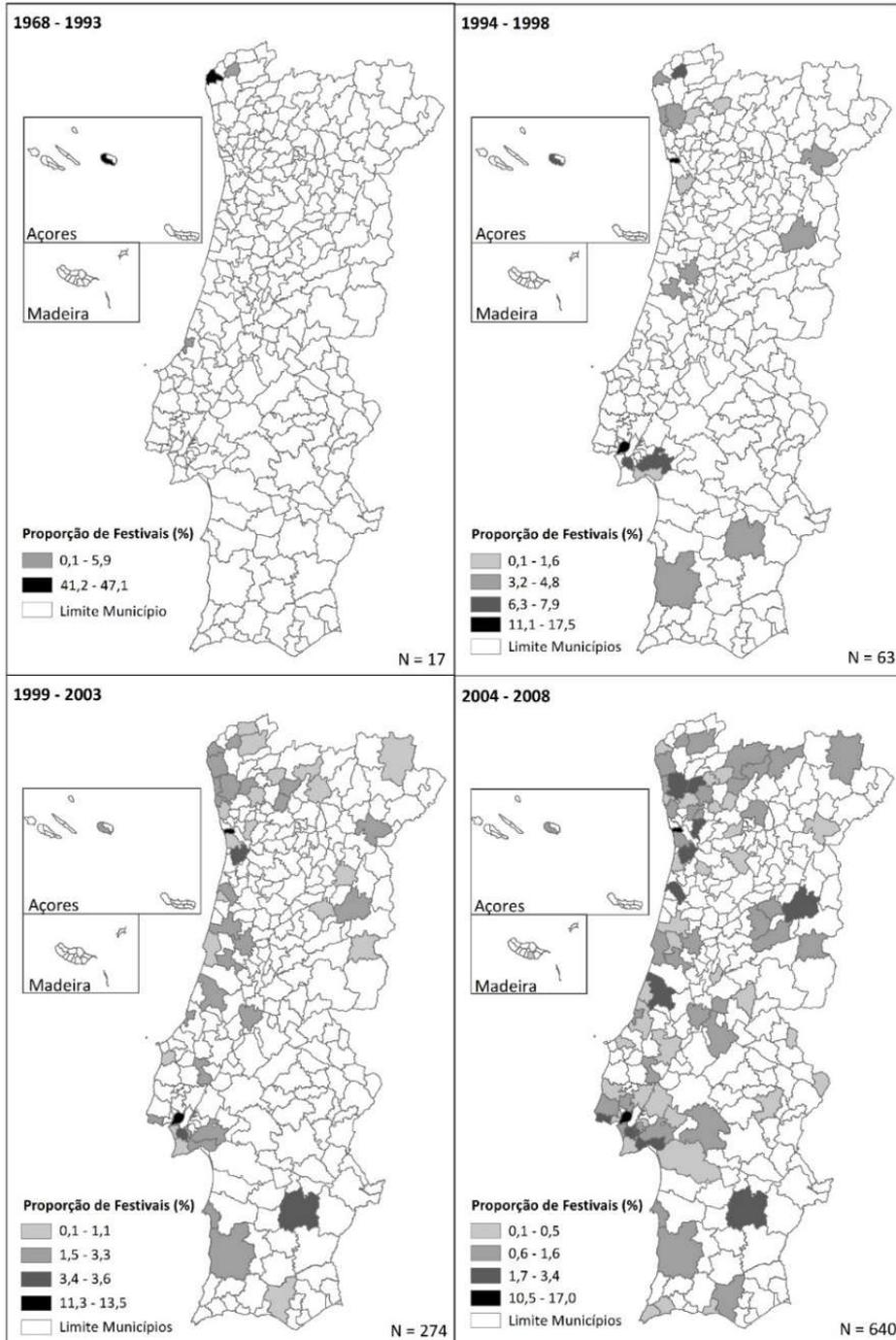


Note: There is no data information about the number of Portuguese festivals between 2009 and 2012.

Source: Guerra, 2010; APORFEST, 2014, 2015.

While the number of festivals increases, growth the number of places where such events take place. Figure 5 shows the evolution of the number of municipalities that are held festivals, being notorious concentration of events in the cities of Lisbon and Porto, as well as a predominance of this type of events along the coastal strip of the country (see Table 1). Thus, the festivals have been associated with urban and territorial marketing strategies in recent decades, assuming increasing importance in socio-economic development strategies of cities and regions (Guerra, 2015).

Figure 5. Evolution of the number of festivals (editions) by municipality in Portugal (1968–2008)



Source: Guerra, 2010.

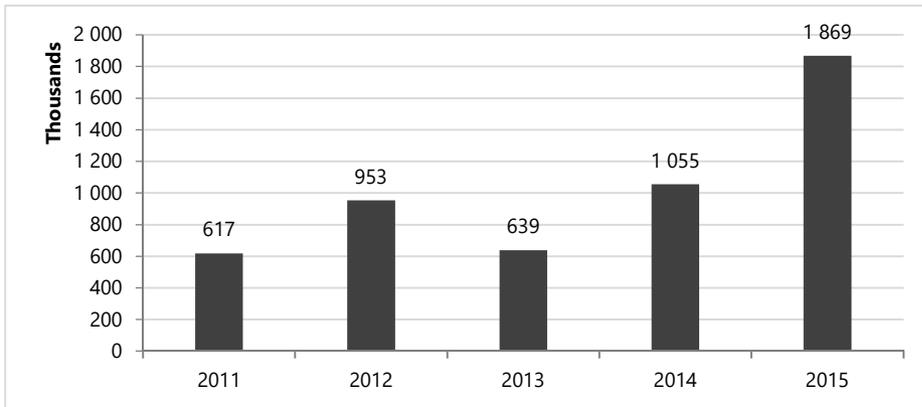
Table 1: Identification of municipalities with more festivals per year interval (1968–2008)

1968–1993			1994–1998			1999–2003			2004–2008		
County	No.	%	County	No.	%	County	No.	%	County	No.	%
Caminha	8	47,1	Porto	11	17,5	Lisbon	37	13,5	Lisbon	109	17,0
Angra do Heroísmo	7	41,2	Lisbon	7	11,1	Porto	31	11,3	Porto	67	10,5
Nazaré	1	5,9	Angra do Heroísmo	5	7,9	Seixal	10	3,6	Santa Maria da Feira	22	3,4
Paredes de Coura	1	5,9	Paredes de Coura	5	7,9	Beja	10	3,6	Leiria	22	3,4
			Seixal	4	6,3	Santa Maria da Feira	10	3,6	Cascais	17	2,7
			Palmela	4	6,3	Angra do Heroísmo	9	3,3	Barreiro	15	2,3
			Caminha	3	4,8	Coimbra	7	2,6	Aveiro	14	2,2
			Esposende	3	4,8	Leiria	7	2,6	Barcelos	13	2,0
			Odemira	3	4,8	Aveiro	7	2,6	Seixal	12	1,9
			Torre de Moncorvo	3	4,8	Palmela	6	2,2	Beja	12	1,9
					Setúbal	6	2,2	Setúbal	12	1,9	
					Cascais	6	2,2				

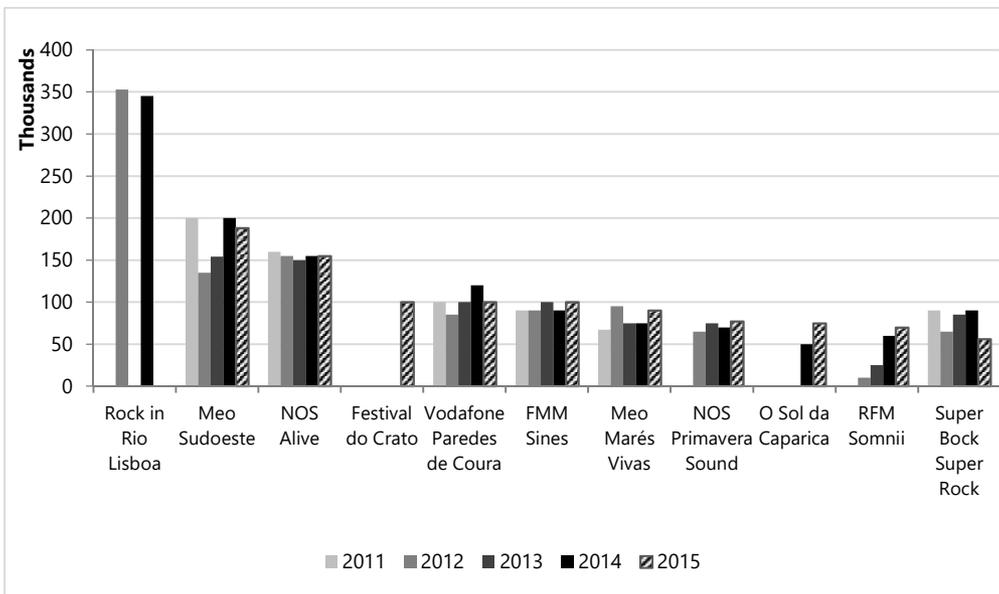
Source: Guerra, 2010.

Therefore, music festivals have become increasingly important in Portugal and this is reflected in the increased participation and audiences: in 2011, 617.000 spectators were recorded in all festivals held in the country; in 2015, that number grew to 1.806.000 spectators (Figure 6), assuming relevance the festivals Southwest, Alive, Crato, Paredes de Coura, FMM Sines, MEO Marés Vivas, Primavera Sound, Sol da Caparica, RFM and Super Bock Super Rock (Figure 7).

The Festivals represented in Figure 7 were the most frequented festivals in 2015 (except for the Rock in Rio Festival, which was not held in 2015 due to its bi-annual character, but which has the highest audiences in 2012 and 2014).

Figure 6: Evolution of the number of visitors of festivals in Portugal (2011–2015)

Source: APORFEST, 2015; Blitz, 2014.

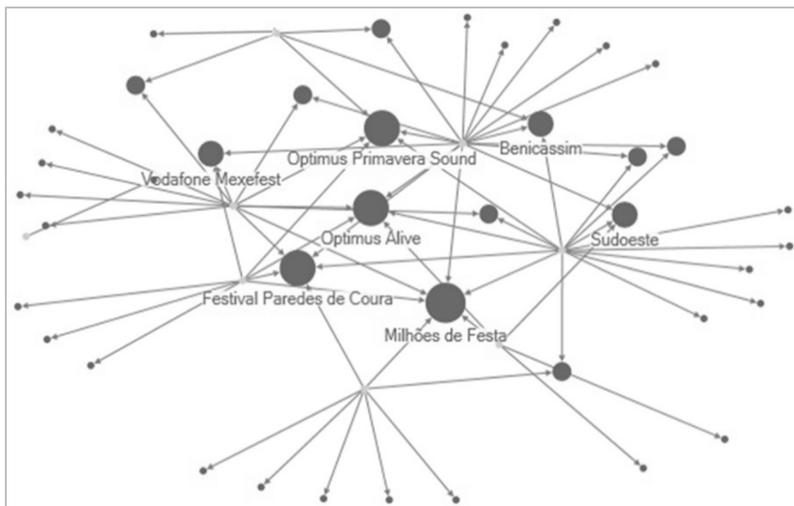
Figure 7: Evolution of the number of attendees by festival (2011–2015)

Source: APORFEST, 2015; Blitz 2014.

Festivals are seen as sociability spaces, discovery spaces, sharing spaces ways of being face to music. It is therefore highly valued by their audiences, which seek to perpetuate the feelings triggered in festivals; not only be present in the various editions of the same festival as well as make your own 'roadmap festivals' (national and international). At this level, it is important to remember

an exercise done at 50 festival-goers at Primavera Sound in 2014 (Figure 8). This exercise shows us not only the preferences in terms of festivals, but the existence of a 'summer festivals frequency circuit' composed of Milhões de Festa, Alive, Primavera Sound, Paredes de Coura, Mexefest, Sudoeste and International Festival Benicassim (Spain). Thus, festival-goers already have a script of festivals, starting in the winter with Mexefest and ending in the August in Spain. Exponentials ownership of festivals as leisure and musical enjoyment, but also its relevance as privileged places of everyday interaction beyond the spheres of work and study. In fact, today we are witnessing a growing phenomenon of *The Festivalization of Culture* (Bennett, Taylor & Woodward, 2014) which is characterized not only by its global character (and almost despotic) in terms of frequency privilege of artistic and cultural practices, but also for its deep variety and diversity, covering the most diverse artistic fields, cultural, recreational and creative in increasingly broad sense.

Figure 8: Festivals circuit of frequency in 2014



Source: Urban Polycentrism, 2014.

Thus, the festival mobilizes a set of networks. Festival organizers create a multiplicity of relationships that may include other festivals, municipalities, tourist accommodations, promoters, managers, record stores, shopping centres, sponsors, sound and image businesses, restaurants, transport and telecommunications. The "community music festivals" (Duffy, 2000) results from

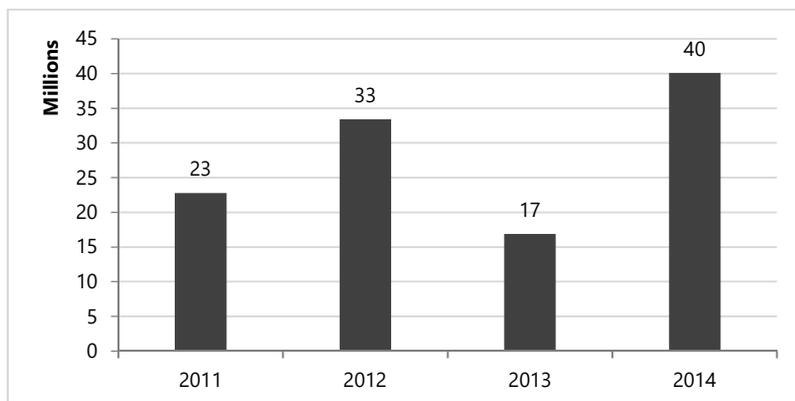
the demand and supply and highlights the profound differences with the traditional form of cultural and artistic program, creating a more monolithic and specialized profile.

The turnover achieved by the festivals is also a sign of the economic importance of the festivals have been taking in the Portuguese context even in a context of financial crisis. As showed at Figure 9, festivals has increased in recent years, reaching in 2014 a total of around EUR 40 million (Cordeiro, 2015)⁶. The fact that important music names are been associated with big brands — particularly telecommunications companies — contribute to a strong economic and sustainability component. In fact, the regulars festivals tend to 'create communities of individuals' linked to the consumption of a particular brand. See the cases of Super Bock and NOS (formerly Optimus) at national level. Cummings⁷ argues that the new tribes develop their self-identification and connection to the community through their consumption practices, "especially in relation to music, taste and style, and imaginary vehicle individual self-definition" (Cummings, 2007a). In this identification, the use of clothing, hats and artefacts linked to brands that are the festivals' sponsors appears as an aesthetic factor and aggregator of communities installed at festivals. Hence the interest of the observation made by McKay, concerning the Glastonbury Festival, when he points out that the increasing commodification of festivals is required to pass a 'radical' for an 'alternative standard' (McKay, 2000, 2015).

⁶ It is important to recognize the economic importance of summer festivals, setting one of the most dynamic aspects of the cultural economy of assets a bit throughout Europe. Examples are many: the Edinburgh Festival recorded an revenue of about 120 million pounds and sells about 1 million tickets per year; the Festival Les Vieilles Charrues (Brittany) enrolled him an annual turnover of 5 million euros (KEA, 2006). Although we are unable to determine the economic impacts of the Southwest Festival, it is possible, by way of example, to identify the key clashes: facilitated the coming of not supportable projects economically in other contexts (e.g. the performance of Daft Punk in 2006.); It enabled a more democratized access to certain musical projects; increased parallel business activities to music as food and logistics stages; allowed an intensity of the local economy around the catering and accommodation (Guerra, 2010).

⁷ In this context, it is very interesting the study presented by Cummings about the American Vans Warped. This tour is associated with punk music and skateboarding, so is located in an underground level and an even (sub)cultural niche, musically speaking. However, this event is designated by the name of a brand of sneakers, which shows a contradiction irresolvable being the underground token resistance and the need for sustainability based on a media and commercial mainstream of American society (Cummings, 2008).

Figure 9: Evolution of the festivals' turnover in Portugal (2011–2014, in euros)



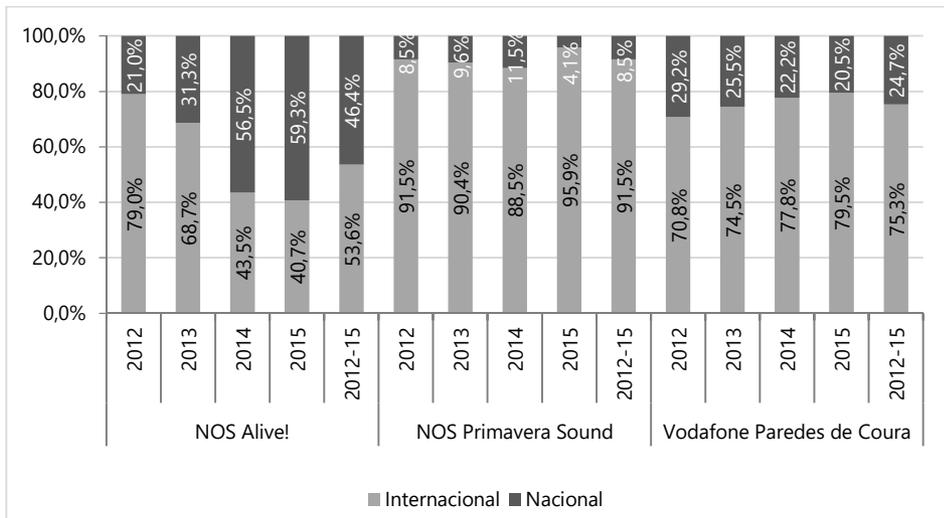
Source: Blitz, 2014.

At the same time, the music festivals in Portugal are assumed to be important channels of musical evolution, being the promoters of festivals among the key Portuguese music scene agents. The participation of a band (namely, emerging projects) in a medium or big scale festival is recognized as a major factor for its public dissemination, which can increase the national projects exposure. In addition, there is a general understanding that the festivals are stages of excellence to a more alternative music consumption and independent and often provide a unique opportunity to see certain bands in the country (Guerra, 2010). Figure 10 shows the evolution of the proportion of national and international artists over the past few years, three major festivals in Portugal: Primavera Sound, Paredes de Coura and Alive.

According to currently available data, the three festivals have a very international profile, despite having a different performance: the Primavera Sound festival was characterized by a greater number of international artists, with no significant fluctuations in their values in different years considered for analysis; the Paredes de Coura Festival followed this trend, although here the proportion of Portuguese artists reaches almost a quarter of its total artists; in Alive Festival, despite having presented in 2011 a proportion of national artists that not even reach one quarter of its artists, showed a positive trend in the number of these artists (in 2015, the proportion of Portuguese artists in all the artists was 40, 7%). It is particularly important to place the calendar of festivals and its cosmopolitan expansions. The problem of the evanescent meaning of cosmopolitanism in late modernity was placed in a very interesting way to

Vertovec and Cohen (2002). Thus, the authors proposed that cosmopolitanism is related to the socio-cultural conditions of the subject and its connection with a kind of philosophy and worldview; the same authors put into perspective cosmopolitanism as a political project of recognition of multiple identities. But it is especially the emphasis they give to cosmopolitanism as an orientation attitude or disposition and a practice or competence that interests us here (Skrbiš & Woodward, 2007). So cosmopolitanism focuses on the emergence of cosmopolitan conditions that include the expression of identity, lifestyles, political projects, empathy with different cultures and value systems, the different mobilities, setting a global connectivity scenario (Rovisco & Nowicka, 2011). And the line ups of the summer festivals seem to be actually a proven set of cosmopolitanism at national level. Beck's appeal (2004) for a new grammar of social sciences, able to question dichotomous categories (east/west, local/global, internal/external, us/them) must therefore be understood as an attempt to map the 'new' cultural phenomena — such as cultural hybridization, economic globalization and mobility conditions.

Figure 10: Proportion of artists/ bands that have worked in US festivals Alive!, NOS Primavera Sound and Vodafone Paredes de Coura by nationality (2012–2015)



Source: Portugal ao Espelho [Portugal to the mirror], 2015.

Figures 11: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

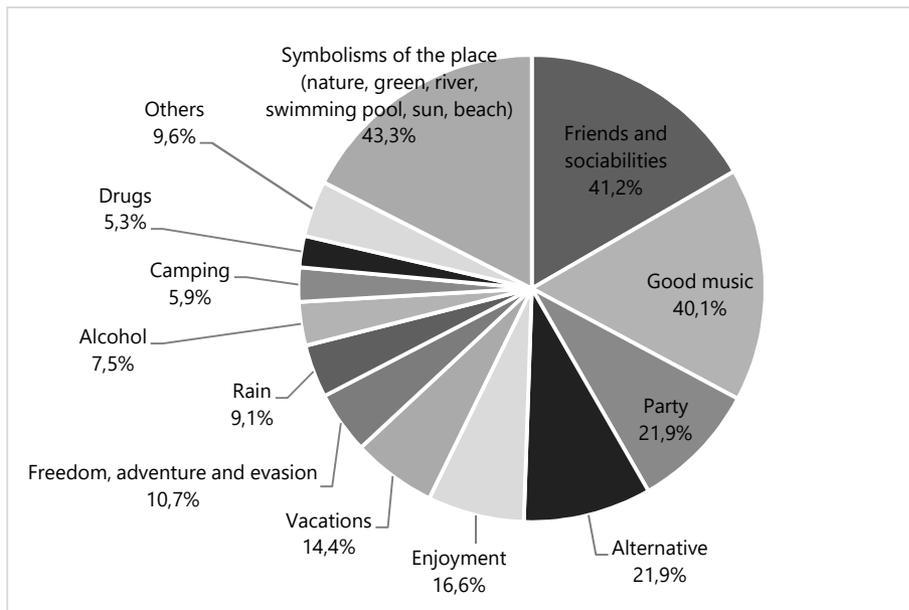
3. Summer Festivals, crossing sounds and identities

For all its content, music festivals that took place today in Portugal have a strong impact on the construction of identity (especially if we take into account the increasing participation of young people), consumption and 'modern' ways of cultural appropriation. If we consider the social character of the music — that is, that music is "socially constructed, socially integrated, their nature and value are inherently social" (Larsen & O'Reilly, 2005: 3) — we can realize the importance of festivals music are lining up, especially in terms of consumption and musical enjoyment. Since the music is socially constructed, music festivals to be seen as times when people give collective meaning to sounds, transforming them into 'relevant music', which will influence the creation, consumption and musical enjoyment. Also, if music plays important social functions, which are reflected in the construction of social identity, the relationships that are developed and how they are organized (if you take the example of emergency subcultural groups), also festivals (such as moments of collective consumption of music) are possible scenarios of these functions. To understand the connections between the local and the music, Sarah Cohen suggests using the concept of 'musical paths', a notion that encompasses many participants created links between a group and that gives a sense of belonging, based on a track sound (Cohen, 1993: 128). This connection is not necessarily to a particular place, although participants speak in these terms, but the musical performance and social music experience in a particular place, materializes the development of musical performances that

take place in the lists of the best concerts of the best songs shared by festival-goers⁸.

Today, festivals tend to become a real way of life — the way of life ‘Festival Goer’ — as if it were a complete ritual. Thus, alongside the music, the symbolic place and sociability are both the most important meanings of the festival to festival-goers (Figure 12). Music festivals are assumed to be social areas, discovery spaces, spaces of exhibition and self-affirmation, sharing spaces of lifestyles concerning music. They are therefore highly valued by its public moments, trying to value the feelings triggered by festivals, not only attending

Figure 12: Meanings associated with the festivals for their regulars (August 2012, N = 187)



Note: The data refer to the festivals Milhões de Festa and Paredes de Coura Festival. The survey was conducted to 187 people.

Source: Urban Polycentrism, 2013.

⁸ The 2005 edition of Paredes de Coura Festival in which acted for the first time in Portugal, the Arcade Fire was in memory of all who were there and amplified with the media records, “Oh, Paredes de Coura... The defect can be ours, of course, have seen anything of epiphany order in the middle of an afternoon of July (or August, or whatever it was, was five years ago, and this afternoon we were hopelessly older, and when we are more old memory, ah, memory, where it already goes), but we are not alone in this” (Nadais, 2010).

the various editions of the same festival, as well as developing its own 'festival script.' So they can have on important component parties of the modern lifestyle, urban, young and experienced, and also areas of 'total consumption', which are discussed in the different spheres of social reproduction (Cummings, 2006, 2007a, 2007b). The socialization at the festival allow us to reflect on the notion of 'regime of exception' — of runaway (exception) planned and organized (system). The deviation (systematically) scheduled — the festival program is a non-program ('Do nothing', 'I came to relax'), which states (program) some behaviours that spread the 'right to laziness'.

Therefore, music festivals are spaces that promote the creation, mediation, musical enjoyment; they are complete observatories, which reflect artistic and cultural practices, and represent the values of youth in contemporary Portugal. This is particularly important to situate ourselves in the sphere of "aesthetic cosmopolitanism" (Beck, 2011). This cosmopolitanism means an aesthetic capacity, emotional and cultural experience of pleasure through consumption and participation in cultural flows. Undoubtedly, the music festivals were allowing this cosmopolitan experience to grow at a fast pace and is distinguished by the diversity of supply. This diversity is characterized by the diversity of the bands that make up the line ups of several Portuguese festivals (bands of different alternative music (sub) genres, see Table 2), the search for public internationalization. But alongside these influences, the Portuguese music festivals are also based on a logical basis, characterized by local identity and positioning in relation to other festivals, including the international market.

The festivals' areas have come to assert itself as small towns or transitional cities, which do converge in space all that is essential to the experience and appropriation of life and music until the close of festival, providing the fullest possible experience for audiences. Music, common denominator and dominant element, is offered in different stages: the main stage and the secondary stage (usually the name of the main sponsors); a stage with more electronic sounds and danceable, with a detailed program to more late hours; and sometimes a stage for the more alternative projects and possibly less known but which recognizes high quality and potential. Music is also present at the commercial level, through the stores that sell CDs and vinyl, books related to music, in addition to t-shirts and patches with the names of bands. But attending summer festivals is much more than simple musical enjoyment. It is an overall experience which includes innumerable moments of sociability and consumption of a

lifestyle, where music, but it is also an entire aesthetic dimension and conviviality, which assumes a massive centrality in the attendance of summer festivals.

Table 2: Identification of the 16 most prevalent genres among the artists performing at festivals Alive!, Primavera Sound and Paredes de Coura (2012–2015)

	NOS Alive!			NOS Primavera Sound			Vodafone Paredes de Coura			Total		
	Subgenres	No.	%	Subgenres	No.	%	Subgenres	No.	%	Subgenres	No.	%
1	Indie Rock	57	14,5	Indie Rock	72	33,8	Indie Rock	64	37,6	Indie Rock	193	24,8
2	Electronic	37	9,4	Electronic	30	14,1	Alternative Dance	41	24,1	Alternative Dance	70	9,0
3	Indie Folk	33	8,4	Experimental	9	4,2	Garage Rock	32	18,8	Indie Folk	59	7,6
4	Experimental	23	5,8	Alternative Dance	9	4,2	Alternative Rock	26	15,3	Electronic	52	6,7
5	House	23	5,8	Folk	8	3,8	Folk	25	14,7	Folk	46	5,9
6	Post Punk	22	5,6	Synthpop	8	3,8	Synthpop	23	13,5	Garage Rock	41	5,3
7	Indie Pop	21	5,3	Post Hardcore	7	3,3	Folktronic	22	12,9	Alternative Rock	38	4,9
8	Alternative Dance	20	5,1	Shoegaze	6	2,8	Indie Folk	21	12,4	Experimental	38	4,9
9	New Wave	20	5,1	Rock	6	2,8	Electronic Rock	19	11,2	Synthpop	36	4,6
10	Soul	17	4,3	Indie	6	2,8	Electro House	18	10,6	Post Punk	36	4,6
11	Post Punk Revival	15	3,8	Indie Folk	5	2,3	Folk Rock	18	10,6	Electro House	34	4,4
12	Folk	13	3,3	Dream Pop	5	2,3	Psychedelic Rock	18	10,6	Indie Pop	33	4,2
13	Hip Hop	13	3,3	Folktronica	5	2,3	Post Punk	14	8,2	Electronic Rock	31	4,0
14	Post Dubstep	13	3,3	Post Rock	5	2,3	Punk Rock	12	7,1	Folktronic	29	3,7
15	Electro House	12	3,0	Post Punk	5	2,3	Shoegazing	11	6,5	House	26	3,3
16	Alternative Rock	11	2,8	Psychedelic Rock	5	2,3	Noise Rock	11	6,5	Psychedelic Rock	25	3,2

Note: The analysis of the line ups of the bands' musical (sub)genres of bands resulted in a total of 205. For demonstration here only we reference 16 (sub)genres. Note also that each band, artist or project could belong to more than one (sub) genre.

Source: Portugal ao Espelho [Portugal to the mirror], 2015.

As an example, since 2010 the Festival Alive! has had a strong bet a total concept. In addition to the five stages, with a wide musical offer, the last two editions also contemplated a stage dedicated to stand-up comedy, which highlighted some of the most recognized comedians on the national scene.

Thus, it is possible to merge the concerts with moments of humour, a space filled with beanbags, which give the festival a more relaxed space. Another example at the festival was the area dedicated to street art and see the work (or the intervention result) of some highlighted national names in street art, challenged to present seven different looks of the tree that makes up the festival symbol, which refers to the concept and the festival's own name: alive — live — live music.

Considering the artistic offer provided by this type of event, it is reflected in the way the defining features of contemporary Portuguese identity are manifested in music festivals. Such an exercise is inseparable from reflection on the impact of the economic and social crisis period lived in Portugal during the intervention of the International Monetary Fund. To be more precise, after this period of austerity, mention the Portuguese identity implies mention the concerns of this social and economic context as specific, which, in turn, take shape in the artistic expressions of various Portuguese artists. Thus, the ethnographic observation held at Primavera Sound, the Alive! and Paredes de Coura in 2015, highlighted the explicit manifestations of the social context that is currently living in Portugal and its influence on artistic creation. Therefore, music can serve as a fundamental instrument of social struggle as a conscious vehicle of complaint.

Bearing in mind as an example, let's focus on the Primavera Sound Festival and Manel Cruz with his latest project, *Estação de Serviço*. The Porto-based musician, composer and singer joins António Serginho, Nico Tricot and Eduardo Silva to visit themes from the past (previous projects, except *Ornatos Violeta*), giving them new clothes, a voice format, guitar, banjo, percussion, melody and bass. Basically, this new project seems to work as an experimental space in which old and some new themes are 'tested' in a minimal version in terms of musical arrangements. We can note here some approaches and rhymes with an aesthetic associated with a particular Portuguese nationality. The concert at the Primavera Sound was therefore a combination of past, present and what could be the future. *Ovo* is by far the best known song of this new project and its letter contains clear austerity references policies in Portugal, as well as a message of encouragement to action, non-compliance with the delay of the situation denounced. Among the letter, come to expressions like "Our people can stay, but I do not know how long" or "no one has to face washed, all played in shit / But I'm willing to change it, I'm not willing to committed" which can be associated with a critical perspective against the economic and social

consequences of austerity measures imposed in recent years in Portugal. Incidentally, and corroborating the connection of this music to a social protest logic, political and economic, it is noteworthy that was first presented in Porto, a demonstration against the Troika in 2012. In the same line can be interpreted the presence of Capicua in Alive! Festival. As usual, their performance on stage left clearly the discourse that shows the identification in a generation. A generation in their thirties, educated and urban, who built scenarios that made projects, which created expectations of a future that is now uncertain. At the Passeio de Algés, in Lisbon, Capicua had the cooperation of the Knave rapper, also known for his lyrics with a strong of social and political criticism component, perhaps connected to its own way of life, as a child born in São Tomé, currently living in Damaia, one of the most stigmatized suburbs of Lisbon.

Figures 13: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

4. The inevitability of cosmopolitan Festivalization of culture

Following the comprehensive approach of dialogue between social context and artistic creation, let us pause now in the realm of demand, thinking about the identities of the public who attend these events. At this level and following the trend for cosmopolitanism and openness detected on the supply side, we find the results of a growing investment of festivals in the internationalization of the audiences. Thus, according to data from the production of events, the 2015 edition of the Primavera Sound had 40 different nationalities of those who attended the three days of concerts; Alive! had a percentage of 30% of foreigners among those who attended the promenade in Algés; and Paredes de Coura Festival presented a 20% share of international audience.

Alongside this internationalization of the audiences, we return to be confronted with signs of fusion between the global and the local, this time in the form of presentation of the 'self.' Indeed, on the one hand, it was possible to identify a pattern of presentation of the 'self', relatively homogeneous, driven by globalization and standardization of stores, where supply tends to be the same, no matter the geographic coordinates considered. But, on the other hand, a logical feature of local identity stood out, especially among the female audience with aspects aesthetically associated with representations of Portuguese identity, such as scarves with tile patterns, swallows images or other Bordalo reasons rooted in now vintage Portuguese tradition. We also highlight the value of local gourmet products, such as the typical fish (sardines), or Beirão liqueur.

The development of aesthetic styles provides an explanation of itself. The heterogeneity of the clothes, props and artefacts are a common value. The aesthetic function is assumed as a main axis (another form of space ownership). It is a sign of presence (presence, in the double sense of 'putting a signature' — the name, the surname, the name of the 'land'). It is also a positive sign of presence: 'I am here', 'John was here'. A sign that means taking possession of the space, make it 'place': note the presence (finding its place, put your name, favourite band, etc.) and make it a place, a space (humanize it, give it meaning) (Škrbiš & Woodward, 2007: 734).

Regarding the size of the audiences, the ethnographic observation allowed us to identify another trait that seems to be characteristic of contemporary Portuguese identity, and especially the youth identity — the centrality of leisure founded in music. Thus, considering this was a period marked by unemployment, loss of economic power of households and general economic difficulties, we had the expectation of a negative impact on the sale of tickets for such events. But it did not. Instead, festivals Alive! and Paredes de Coura, among others, saw sold out. It is important to note that most people who attended in these festivals were Portuguese. This leads us to assume increasing importance of leisure, and in this case the pleasure associated with music appreciation, the configuration of youth identities, similar to what happened in other contexts.

Some authors argue that cosmopolitanism refers to the cultural status of citizenship, and as such, refers to issues of identity, community and belonging in a globalized world (Kendall, Woodward & Škrbiš, 2009). In fact, the ethnographic observation performed at festivals Primavera Sound, Alive! and

Paredes de Coura showed the assumption music festivals as an 'holiday program' for many young people. Go to music festivals may be an option (most economical) for the holidays, which is at the same time the possibility to socialize with friends and be an alternative to everyday reality. The music comes as a provider of sociability, as a common denominator of leisure, cultural consumption and social relations (Newbold *et al.*, 2015).

However, emerging as enhancer element does not mean it is immune to the devaluation. In the case of the very organization of festivals, the devaluation of music is reflected in the transformation into a kind of 'amusement park' filled with various stands, with promoted hobbies through event sponsorship marks, which can serve as distracting elements, attracting many visitors' festivals, even during the concert period. The leisure assumes a central place, and contributes to the formation of identity, as already mentioned above.

Figures 14: Interaction moments in concerts, in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

Given, therefore, the centrality that leisure seem to take for the identity configuration especially young people, can also be questioned whether and to

what extent, an economic downturn context will be the leisure a way to mitigate (perhaps even to forget, although temporarily) the impact of the crisis (Molz, 2011).

Can music festivals be interpreted as a symbolic form of resistance to dark and hard scenario generated by the economic and social crisis experienced in recent years in Portugal? In this sense, tastes, preferences and cultural skills involved in cosmopolitan consumption festivals can serve as distinguishing markers (Roche, 2011a, 2011b). This is particularly evident in the cosmopolitan guidelines in food, fashion and music.

The main events of the festivals incorporate multiple dimensions that mobilize, directly or indirectly, all kinds of interests and logics of action and contribute to different spheres of activity. In addition to its specific program areas (cultural offer, competition and sporting events, birthdays celebration, etc.), the main events are structured as holidays. They have a strong entertainment component, mobilizing mass participation and create a bubble environment and collective emotion. This aspect defines them as moments of exception against the routine and the regular planning of everyday life. Are transient moments of re-enchantment of the world and everyday life, inrush of an aura, a charisma and an exceptional sensitivity in the context of strong rationalization of modern life (Roche, 2011a, 2011b). They are working contexts, intense representation and symbolism: the production and dissemination of cultural repertoires, identity and imaginary values; assertion of collective projects that appeal to the emotional support from members of local or national community; and a stimulus to increase self-esteem and collective self-identification (Ferreira, 2006; Costa & Santos, 1999). On the other hand, the major international events are also occasions for the dissemination of rhetoric, narratives and universalist imaginary, claiming that the values and ideals of egalitarian nature, supporters and humanists. In addition, major events are known to hybridity, heterogeneity and cultural and symbolic conflict, as Canclini argues (1990), which is part of the inter-cultural relations in the contemporary world — should be interpreted as contexts of inter-cultural relationship rituals shaped by a doctrinal and programmatic matrix that reflects a vision of markedly pro-Western world.

These events materialize all current professional, commodification, cultural dynamic mediation and globalization (Costa & Santos, 1999: 20). Large companies, major investments and an extensive resource mobilization, turn the events in order to boost local economies as a globalized circuit of production

and distribution of goods and services. Through contact with people, you can see that, for example, the presence of food brands and even an ATM service assigns a consumerist shed nearby. However, this presence of impact does not stop being a reflection of the festival's entry into a more profitable logic, business logic. The economic interest of the media in major events is correlative of economic, political and symbolic interest of the organizers of the amplification effect that the media provide. The large-scale average spread exponentially extends the geographic and population coverage of events, making it more universal in the audience can get.

The implications of this media coverage are also reflected in the forms, content and, consequently, in the event communication systems. The media coverage, especially on television, promotes the spectacle. Under the logic of the spectacle, and in obedience to the media technical criteria perform construction, the action of mediation of the media is not limited to adding participants to events. It turns and reinvents them, adding new meanings and interpretative possibilities and also new dramatization levels.

4. Final remarks

Pop rock music festivals have played a central matrix design and identity projection in youth culture since 1970. This means that the festival has become a representation of space-time and an important space for meeting music, and for cultural consumption. In the twenty-first century, all countries have been faced with a series of annual festivals, but also by diversifying the type of festivals, its location and its public. The festival 'model' that is globalized, expanded to all over the world in recent years. With this model came the so-called 'Festivilization of culture' against which the programming and cultural management have come to obey. Pop rock festivals are characterized by flexibility of artistic and leisure projects, by a spatial intensity and considerable time and an impact on the territory and the society in which they occur. And this has led to its popularity as event format and cultural product, but also reflects its importance in the structure of juvenile identities around music, culture, leisure, fashion and symbolic ritualization.

In Portugal, the first festival model happened in Vilar de Mouros in 1971. This was a milestone for the perception and representation of identities and youth (sub) cultures in Portugal. Later, and since the 1990s, the post-Expo'98

period was marked by a multitude of music festivals. Today Portugal is present on international routes of artists, promoters and agencies. Thus, the festivals in Portugal began to emerge as mega-events which take place in a frame of direct interaction with globalization dynamics, professionalization, marketization and culture of media coverage, mobilizing thousands of actors on the supply side, demand and mediation.

Figures 15: Concerts in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

There are several elements to prove it: unprecedented changes in the number of festivals over the past two decades; the spread of festivals across the country, especially in its Atlantic coast and in metropolitan areas; the exponential increase of the regulars; the weight of the parties' turnover in the statement of accounts culture and cultural industries; the importance of festivals for the launch and projection of the bands; and above all, the design of a new way of life — lifestyle — Festival Goer, marked by supplies, appropriations and embodiments practices associated with the experience and sociability of the festival. Youth identities are increasingly linked to the frequency and experience

in festivals — ‘tell me in which festivals do you participate, then I will tell you who are you’. At the same time, festivals are assumed as spaces of artistic, sound, cultural and national borders; as times of simultaneity of practices, rhythms and actors in relation to music; and as contexts of embodiment and stylization of different ways of making music — all demonstrated by the diversity of bands, the range of genres and subgenres of pop rock and the predominance of a global/ international allure.

The experience of festivals becomes a way of life and reflects a ritual — Festival Goer. Music festivals like socializing spaces, discovery spaces, exhibition / self-affirmation, spaces for sharing ways of being face the music, leisure, culture. Thus, music festivals are therefore totemic moments that are practical full observatories and artistic values, cultural and youth in relation to contemporary Portugal. They also represent an aesthetic capacity, experience and emotional pleasure experience and navigation of cultural difference through consumption and participation in local and global cultural flows. Music festivals are allowing this cosmopolitan experience and an accelerated pace compared to other musical and artistic contexts experiencing, because winning in terms of supply and demand. In this regard, just see how the provisional spaces of the festivals are structured: as authentic cities in the form of shopping centres, offering the fullest possible experience for its different audiences. The establishment of areas of power and line ups that identify increasingly numerous (sub)genres in relation to the stylistic and aesthetic affiliation of bands / artists / projects are examples of this way of structuring festivals. The same is seen in the spaces created for food. Big festivals have a complete and targeted supply of food: vegetarian food, traditional Portuguese food, diet, organic food, macrobiotic food, gluten-free food, American fast food, Italian food, Mexican food, Brazilian food, Vietnamese food, Japanese food.

References

- Abreu, P. (2004). Músicas em movimento: Dos contextos, tempos e geografias da performance musical em Portugal [Music in movement. On contexts, times and geographies of musical performances in Portugal]. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 70, pp. 159–81.
- APORFEST [Associação Portuguesa de Festivais de Música] (2014). *146 festivais de música em Portugal, em 2014* [146 music festivals in Portugal, in 2014] [online post]. Retrieved from: <http://www.aporfest.pt/#!146-festivais-de-m%C3%BAAsica-em-Portugal-em-2014/c1e4f/7FBCAE01-BEB4-43C0-AE81-5320364A6401>

- APORFEST [Associação Portuguesa de Festivais de Música] (2015). *1 milhão e 869 mil espectadores presentes nos festivais de música | 210 festivais de música em 2015 (dados finais) [1.869.000 spectators present in music festivals | 210 music festivals in 2015 (final database)]* [online post]. Retrieved from: <http://www.aporfest.pt/#11-milhão-e-750-mil-espectadores-presentes-nos-festivais-de-música-174-festivais-ocorrerão-até-final-de-2015/c1e4f/5581d2100cf25bae5ca83a77>
- Beck, U. (2004). Cosmopolitan realism: On the distinction between cosmopolitanism in philosophy and the social sciences. *Global Networks*, 4(2), pp. 131–56.
- Beck, U. (2011). Cosmopolitan sociology: Outline of a paradigm shift. In M. Roverso, & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *The Ashgate research companion to cosmopolitanism*. Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.
- Bennett, A. (Ed.) (2004). *Remembering Woodstock*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bennett, A., Taylor, J., & Woodward, I. (2014). *The festivalization of culture*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- BLITZ (2014). *Festivais de música: Crise? Qual crise! [Music festivals: Crisis? What crisis!]* [online post]. Retrieved from: <http://blitz.sapo.pt/principal/update/festivais-de-musica-crise-qual-crise=f93530>
- Canclini, N. G. (1990). *Culturas híbridas. Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad [Hybrid cultures. Strategies for entering and leaving modernity]*. México: Grijalbo.
- Cohen, S. (1993). Ethnography and popular music studies. *Popular Music*, 12(2), pp. 123–138.
- Cordeiro, P. (Coord.) (2015). *Impacto turístico do NOS Alive [Tourism impact of NOS Alive]*. Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciência Sociais e Políticas/ Everything is New/ Streaming Ideas.
- Costa, A. F., & Santos, M. L. L. (Coords.) (1999). *Impactos culturais da Expo'98 [Cultural impacts of Expo'98]*. Lisbon: Observatório das Actividades Culturais.
- Cummings, J. (2006). It's more than a t-shirt: Neo-tribal sociality and linking images at Australian indie music festivals. *Perfect Beat. The Pacific Journal of Research into Contemporary Music and Popular Culture*, 8(1), pp. 65–84.
- Cummings, J. (2007a). Selling the indie scene. Music festivals, neo-tribes and brand communities. In *Refereed proceedings of the joint Australian Sociological Association (TASA) and the Sociological Association of Aotearoa New Zealand (SAANZ) conference 2007*. New Zealand: Auckland University.
- Cummings, J. (2007b). We're all in this together. The meanings Australian festivalgoers attribute to their music festival participation. In *History of Stardom Reconsidered: The refereed proceedings of the inaugural conference of IIPC, University of Turku, 9–11 November 2006* (pp. 153–157). Turku: International Institute for Popular Culture.
- Cummings, J. (2008). Trade mark registered: Sponsorship within the Australian Indie music festival scene. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 22, pp. 675–685.
- Duarte, A. A. (1984). *A arte eléctrica de ser português. 25 Anos de rock'n'roll Portugal [Electrical art of being Portuguese. 25 years of rock'n'roll Portugal]*. Lisboa: Bertrand.

- Duffy, M. (2000). Lines of drift: Festival participation and performing a sense of place. *Popular Music*, 19(1), pp. 51–64.
- Ferreira, C. (1998). A exposição mundial de Lisboa de 1998: contextos de produção de um mega evento cultural [The world exhibition in Lisbon 1998: contexts of production of a mega cultural event]. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 51, pp. 43–67.
- Ferreira, C. (2002). Intermediação cultural e grandes eventos. Notas para um programa de investigação sobre a difusão das culturas urbanas [Cultural mediation and big events. Notes for a research program on the dissemination of urban cultures]. *Oficinas do CES*, 167.
- Ferreira, C. (2006). *A EXPO'98 e os imaginários do Portugal contemporâneo. Cultura, celebração e políticas de representação [EXPO'98 and the imaginary of contemporary Portugal. Culture, celebration and representation policies]* (Unpublished PhD thesis). Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.
- Fouccroulle, B. (2009). Foreward: At the heart of European identities. In A. Autissier (Ed.), *The Europe of festivals: From Zagreb to Edinburgh, intersecting viewpoints*. Toulouse/St. Denis: Editions de l'Attribut.
- Guerra, P. (2010). *A instável leveza do rock: Génese, dinâmica e consolidação do rock alternativo em Portugal (1980–2010) [The unstable lightness of rock: Genesis, dynamics and consolidation of alternative rock in Portugal (1980–2010)]* (Unpublished PhD thesis). Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Porto.
- Guerra, P. (2013). *A instável leveza do rock. Génese, dinâmica e consolidação do rock alternativo em Portugal [The unstable lightness of rock. Genesis, dynamics and consolidation of alternative rock in Portugal]*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.
- Guerra, P. (2015). Keep it rocking: the social space of Portuguese alternative rock (1980–2010). *Journal of Sociology*. doi:10.1177/1440783315569557.
- Guerra, P. (2016). *Lembranças do último verão. Festivais de música, ritualizações e identidades na contemporaneidade portuguesa. Ficha de Formação 2 [Memories from last summer. Music festivals, ritualizations and identities in Portuguese contemporaneity. Formation Paper 2]*. Retrived from Portugal ao Espelho: https://portugalaoespelho.files.wordpress.com/2016/05/ficha_lembrancas-ultimo-verao.pdf.
- KEA (2006). *The Economy of Culture in Europe*. Brussels: KEA, European Affairs.
- Kendall, G., Woodward, I, & Škrbiš, Z. (2009). *The sociology of cosmopolitanism. Globalization, identity, culture and government*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Laing, D. (2004). The Three Woodstocks and live music scene. In A. Bennett (Ed.), *Remembering Woodstock* (pp. 1–17). London: Ashgate.
- Larsen, G., & O'Reilly, D. (2005). Music festivals as sites of consumption: An exploratory study. *Working Papers, University of Bradford. School of Management*, pp. 1–17.
- McKay, G. (2000). *Glastonbury: a very English fair*. London: Gollancz.
- McKay, G. (Ed.) (2015). *The pop festival: history, music, media, culture*. Continuum Publishing Corporation.

- Molz, J. G. (2011). Cosmopolitanism and consumption. In M. Rovisco, & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *The Ashgate research companion to cosmopolitanism*. Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.
- Nadais, I. (2010, March 13). A aldeia gaulesa. *Ípsilon*. Retrieved from <http://ipsilon.publico.pt/Musica/texto.aspx?id=256596>.
- Newbold, C. et al. (2015). *Focus on festivals. Contemporary European case studies and perspectives*. Londres: Goodfellow Publishers Limited.
- Purdue, D. et al. (1997). DIY culture and extended milieus: LETS, veggie boxes and festivals. *The Sociological Review*, 45(4), pp. 645–667.
- Roche, M. (2011a). Mega-Events and cosmopolitanism: Observations on expos and European culture in modernity. In M. Rovisco, & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *The Ashgate research companion to cosmopolitanism*. Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.
- Roche, M. (2011b). Festivalization, cosmopolitanism and European culture: On the sociocultural significance of mega-events. In L. Giorgi, M. Sassatelli, & G. Delanty (Eds.), *Festivals and the cultural public sphere* (pp. 124–141). New York, Routledge.
- Rovisco, M., & Nowicka, M. (2011). Introduction. M. Rovisco, & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *The Ashgate research companion to cosmopolitanism*. Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.
- Skrbiš, Z., & Woodward, I. (2007). The ambivalence of ordinary cosmopolitanism: Investigating the limits of cosmopolitan openness. *The Sociological Review*, 55(4), pp. 730–47.
- Vertovec, S., & Cohen, R. (2002). *Conceiving cosmopolitanism: theory, context, and practice*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zamith, F. (2003). *Vilar de Mouros – 35 anos de festival [Vilar de Mouros – 35 years of the festival]*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

