

Redefining sounds, outlining places: Rock, scenes and networks

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Abstract

In this chapter we present the results of a research project conducted between 2012/2013¹ which sought to contribute to the sociological thought about musical events linked to pop rock, attempting to understand how and to what extent the NUT III Tâmega is able to support a rock scene oscillating between the global and the local. As a peripheral region in the Portuguese context, Tâmega is a region that promotes conditions in which culture and recreational areas take a strong role in the consolidation of young people's individual identities. The results show us a range of rock music fans, the development of musical projects as well as small events linked to the promotion and discussion of this musical genre. However, these same social, economic and cultural conditions of Tâmega end up working as an obstacle to further development of the rock scene: there are more bands, more events, more audiences, but, paradoxically, this intensity has an almost spontaneous nature, and these musicians, mediators and consumers continue to mobilize themselves especially in an informal, familiar, amateurish logic, making this scene not only a local but an affective one.

1. The interpretative possibilities of musical scenes

In a context of globalized modernity, pop rock's manifestations have gained greater visibility; this is a trend that has aroused the interest in sociological perspectives affiliated with the post-subculturalist current (Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003) in which the musical scenes are rooted (Bennett, 2004; Guerra, 2010). Thus, and following that theoretical affiliation, it was our intention to explain and understand the emergence of local music scenes considering a particular context of Portugal — Tâmega. The choice of this regional context is of utmost importance in our holistic understanding of music, given its peripheral status in the Portuguese context. Similarly to what happens in other artistic sectors in Portugal, the major dynamics of production, intermediation and fruition of pop rock have a central, coastal and urban distribution. As such, we

¹ Research carried out under the Master's Program in Sociology of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, under the supervision of Professor Paula Guerra (see Moreira, 2013).

were led to question the possibility of existence of scenes in peripheral areas, as well as the differences and similarities which these regions might pose. This intent was reinforced by the existence of a current and ongoing worldwide research focus on the urgency and relevance of music scenes, without much empirical expression in peripheral areas.

Through quantitative and qualitative techniques it was possible to design, analyse and understand a local, virtual and affective pop rock scene, marked by spaces, actors, institutions and private channels, which does not compete with central scenes, but has contributed to a musical (re)affirmation of Tâmega in recent years — something which is notable given it is one of the regions with most youths of Europe. In fact, in Tâmega there are several small groups feeding into the rock scene. Some things here, some things there, which emerge, stay for a few years, and then disappear: they are in all aspects perfectly characteristic of the scenes and tribes, with fluid and transient nature... Imagine a 'cloud', a 'rock cloud' that, over the years, seems to have been carried by the wind to other lands, spreading the interest and taste for this musical genre. This is a scene, we would say, inter/ independent: inter, because, as we will see, there is some exchange between different Tâmega zones, but always maintaining a certain independence at different levels of the scene. We could imagine a micro-scene (because, after all, Tâmega does not cease to be a micro-rock scene within a wider scene) with some micro-micro-scenes; some can support themselves better and last longer, while others require further external support. In the 1990s and early 2000s, it seems to have been the municipalities of Paredes, Penafiel and Castelo de Paiva that most moved this rock scene. With the advent of the new millennium, others have taken the lead: Marco de Canaveses and Paços de Ferreira.

The concept of cultural scene — based on the concept of field of Bourdieu and art world of Becker (Bennett & Peterson, 2004: 3) — is, according to several authors, the concept that best captures these cultural dynamics, although, as advocated by Paula Guerra (2010: 441, 465), it is a notion that cannot cover all the complexity of the cultural field (searching for such a concept would be painful, since it does not exist). Rather than originating in the scientific academy, it was birthed by journalists and tourists who, for a long time, talked about scenes to refer to certain clusters of socio-cultural activities (which are bundled together by its location — usually a city or a district — or by its type of cultural production — for example, one music style) (Bennett, 2004: 223; Straw, 2004: 411).

Only in the nineties was the concept taken seriously within scientific analysis, mainly due to a famous article by Will Straw — *Cultural scenes* (1991). Since then, the concept has been increasingly used as a model for the analysis of production, performance and reception of popular music (Bennett & Peterson, 2004: 3). Through an informative and synoptic approach, we could say (as does Alan Blum (2001)) that scenes are characterized, principally, by nine dimensions. The first is the spatiality of the scene. In this concept, the space — in the sense of territory — has a great importance; it is in space that different and interrelated practices occur, and which in turn have reciprocal relationships with space. Alan Blum (2001: 10) states that the scene has always been and is closely linked to the city. According to this author, there are some situations where the scene and the city are so indistinguishable that one might wonder if the hospitality of the city will not put into question the exclusivity and distinctive character of the scene. One can see similar questions in other theoretical contexts: we need only think of concepts such as *fantasy city* (Hannigan) or *new city* (Amendola), in which the simulation and the show are taking the everyday life, the spaces of inhabiting, and the metropolitan experience, and in which the city appears increasingly as an heterotopic space where we can no longer distinguish the city from its narrative (Gonçalves, 2002: 211).

The second analytical dimension of the music scenes is their regularity. The existence of scenes is possible only because people often visit them and have developed real commitment to them — if necessary, people are even willing to sacrifice themselves (e.g. to face the traffic; to buy high-cost tickets; etc.) in order to continue to attend it (Blum, 2001: 10).

The ephemeral nature, mortality and volatility support the third dimension of the scenes. The scenes make and break quickly, but this does not mean they are a less important factor to the city. This ephemerality allows them to have a role even more creative, productive and functional within the urban life. The scenes, most of the time, come by from the will of the locals, which (apart from restating the importance that scenes have) shows the existence of a collectivization (the fourth dimension), the existence of intense sociabilities, groups of individuals who have interrelated interests and externalize, share, exchange ideas about these interests and tastes, meaning that scenes influence the way in which cities are organized, seen and experienced (Blum, 2001: 11–13; Filho & Fernandes, 2005: 6; Straw, 2004: 412). But this collectivization has little to do with the concept of community. Bennett and Peterson (2004: 8) argue that this mistake is often committed, for example, when talking about the

appropriation of global musical styles by the scenes, as if the scenes create something totally distinct from the global mainstream. It is true that the scenes reflect the place and the people who gave them life. However, scenes constitute times and places that (re)appropriated cultural signs of other places.

In the scenes a certain performance is required, as a kind of social commitment in which people agree to act under a certain way, in a specific space and time. In the scenes, everyone wants to (and must) be seen seeing; everyone wants to be not simply voyeuristic (see) but also exhibitionistic (be seen) and, therefore, scenes end up working as occasions for the exhibition — matrix spaces of theatricality: this is the fifth dimension (Blum, 2001: 14–16).

Since in the scenes there is a desire for exhibitionism, it's not strange that transgression appears as another characteristic (sixth dimension). Rather than a transgression that evokes other lifestyles, other cultural values or esoteric doctrines, this is a transgression that invites for difference, exhibitionism, show and play, participation, as well as unwinding from everyday routine (for example, singing in a karaoke) (Blum, 2001: 16–18, 22–25).

If it is true that the scenes demand for a visibility of their participants, they have also to do something in order for it to happen. The scenes, more than impress and fascinate, want to seduce and attract; more than mere curiosity, scenes seek to incite continuous visitation through various programs — therefore, scenes are shows. Indeed, it is in the management of this characteristic that we find the answer to the success of some cities and the failure of others. The city becomes a memorable icon through the contents offered (Blum, 2001: 18–20). The eighth dimension of scenes (their inter-relationship) contributes to sustain their attractiveness: musical scenes are related to other cultural scenes (theatrical, literary, cinematic) which allows the creation of more attractive cultural programs (Blum, 2010).

The scenes are, also, steeped in political economy elements, for the reason that they represent

opportune occasions for investment and the creation of consumers (...) [and therefore] are made and unmade under the insatiable drive for maximizing profit and minimizing loss (...). Of course this desire to market the scene and vice versa, to make markets into scenes, expresses the concerted revenge of the idle onlooker upon the city, the attempt to make its creativity profitable. (Blum, 2001: 25)

If scenes are composed by fans, tourists and eccentrics, they are also made up of the business, trade, mediatisation and massification. "The mix of

commerce and creativity marks the city and its scenes" (Blum, 2001: 25; Guerra, 2010: 456). And it is this in itself which produces the specificity of the concept of 'scene', since they are not only "the result of purely social interactions, but also the consequence of the logic of production and marketing" (Filho & Fernandes, 2005: 5).

Considering these dimensions, we will then interpret the rock scene of Tâmega in its scenes and *micro-micro-scenes*.

2. Actors, spaces and dynamic musical sociability

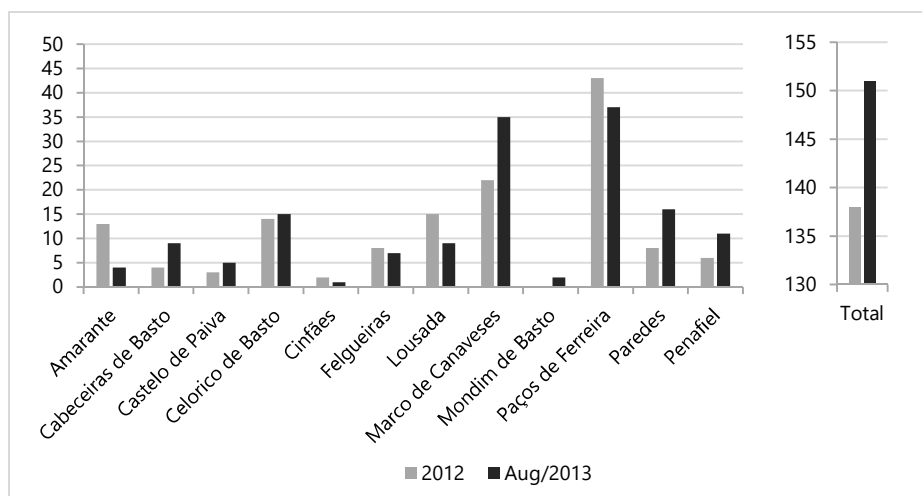
Almost all of our interviewees² say that, in the last decade, rock fruition spaces have decreased in Tâmega. In the transition from the twentieth to the twenty-first century the most important spaces were the Ribeira Bar located at Paredes, the Sunny Side of Lousada and the Sindicato situated at Castelo de Paiva. Today, other places take on that importance, such as Canecas Bar (Paços de Ferreira), Wood Rock (Marco de Canaveses) or Roque Bar (Paredes). However, we must highlight the existence of two types of movements in this rock scene: one that tries to be as professional as possible (anchored in a certain formality) and another more informal. These two movements are not new; they were visible throughout the first decade of this century, and exhibit a trend towards convergence: if a few years ago, according to our interviewees, there were more bars dedicated to rock (read: exclusively dedicated to rock and regularly had live acts) or 'big' festivals (recognized by the local rock scene), and there was also a more underground movement promoted by rock lovers in their most private areas; today, we watch as the first movement grows more precarious and the second grows in size and importance: the people who played for free in the past within their more private spaces, now play for free in the semi-public spaces of rock fruition. At the same time, the emporium of bars

² Between December 2012 and May 2013, we conducted 24 semi-structured interviews with key actors (musicians, producers/ promoters, bar owners, fans) from Tâmega's rock scene (born/ residents in the municipalities of Cabeceiras de Basto, Castelo de Paiva, Celorico de Basto, Felgueiras, Lousada, Marco de Canaveses, Paços de Ferreira, Paredes and Penafiel) as well as 7 interviews with actors from Porto and Matosinhos municipalities, in order to obtain a comparative view and better position Tâmega in the wider musical context. In socio-graphic terms, respondents are aged between 17 and 38 years; they are mostly single; they have an education ranging mainly between the Lower Secondary Education (Level 2) and Bachelor's or equivalent (Level 6); 5 interviewees were studying, 6 were seeking for a new job and 19 had a professional occupation.

exclusively dedicated to rock was shaken by the arrival of live acts in cafes and other spaces whose function is not rock and, sometimes, nor is the music. Thus, the number of rock spaces may have decreased, but the possibilities to act increased (regardless of the disadvantages that this has entailed, which we know not to be unique to Tâmega).

This shows us that the rock scene of Tâmega has a specific spatiality, regularity and collectivization: central dimensions of the definition of a scene. This explains the increasing number of events between 2012 and 2013 (an increase of about 9.4%, Figure 1). However, the density of this rock scene is also conditioned by the economic and social development that crosses Tâmega, which allows us to understand why only a few venues organize those events: as we can see in table 1, although 35.16% of the venues analysed by us had organized rock events at least once, only four venues organized more than 17 events.

Figure 1: Number of rock events in Tâmega, by municipality and total (2012–2013)³



Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

³ Data was collected from the internet. The results of this query include all the events that had been treated as such, namely by displaying posters and flyers. This criterion was important to exclude routine activities of artists (including disc jockeys) in the identified spaces.

Table 1: Number of rock events by fruition venues (outdoor venues excluded)⁴

No. of rock events organized	Venues (bars, cafes) which received the events	
	No.	%
17 – 35	4	4.4
8 – 11	4	4.4
4 – 7	3	3.3
1 – 3	21	23.1
0	59	64.8
Total	91	100.0

Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

In fact, the increase in the number of events goes against all identified negative trends. First, there is limited support from the city hall and private companies (whether in terms of licenses, monetary contributions or initiatives that promote rock). Second, there is a weak demand from people who reside in Tâmega, which, according to our interviewees, is (1) sometimes based in a preconception that (in an attempt to escape a categorization as ‘parolo’ [boorish]) values what is urban, cosmopolitan and mediatically well known, devaluing what is rural, local and unknown; (2) or, sometimes, is the result of choices made by those who have some money to spend and, therefore, choose to go to a more recognized concert; (3) or, other times, this is the consequence of a habit of the public to attend free events. Moreover, the lack of local media (radio, newspapers) to promote what is done in the area also seems to hinder the survival of this scene: according to our interviewees, even when there are some media outlets which promote rock music (namely radios), the local bands or events are left out of their agendas.

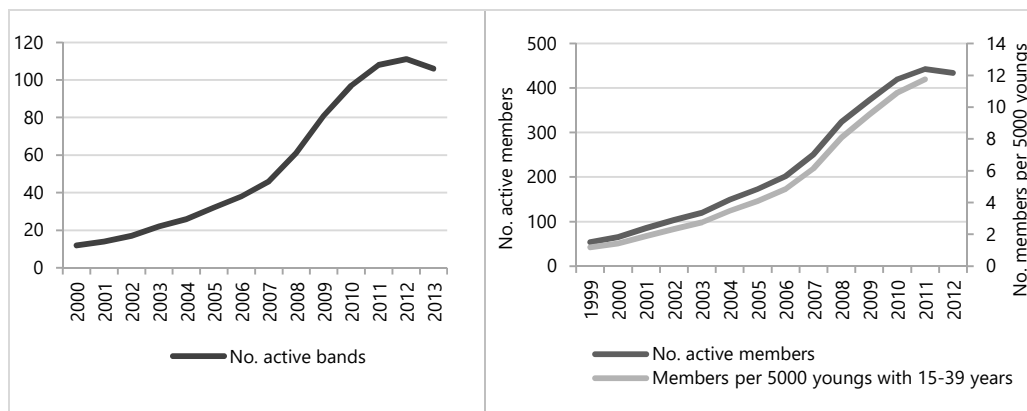
Another major difficulty noted by interviewees is the failure to pay the bands that act live. This has indeed become such a commonplace practice that even the artists (desiring to one day achieve the status that gives them the deserved benefits) promote these free events. Finally, these actors also refer to

⁴ The 91 musical enjoyment spaces were found through an online search and correspond to spaces that, by the end of August 2013, were active. The spaces are semi-public establishments with a legal framework and with permanent or temporary human resources; establishments with a daily or weekly recreational and cultural activity which provide (some) moments of musical content (concerts, *djing*) to their public, and may take the form of cafes, clubs, bars.

the crisis that Portugal is facing nowadays and which has further emphasized these constraints.

Despite all the difficulties, the will of the people tends to 'speak louder' and there are always those who organize and promote concerts. The increasing number of bands (Figure 2) dedicated to rock music is a clear example of this will among the youth from Tâmega — young people are, in fact, one of the main drivers of this scene. Here, it should be noted the importance of those bars most dedicated to rock music, namely Wood Rock and Canecas Bar or even the newly created Compaços Association from Paços de Ferreira, or the different music schools and rehearsal spaces that exist throughout the territory of Tâmega as influential organizations of the taste of young people of this region, and as the main sponsors of the meetings and exchange of ideas.

Figure 2: Evolution of the number of (a) bands and (b) of active members in the rock scene in Tâmega, by municipality (2000–2013)⁵



Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

These bands are mostly amateurs, often times garage bands, and their elements, often for economic reasons, had no music lessons: only in rare cases did these young musicians have access to this education, mostly due to the existence of music schools which have nothing to do with rock music — that is, focused on the philharmonic bands. Indeed, the importance of youth musical education through philharmonic bands is a constant in the North of Portugal,

⁵ Only bands with a minimum amount of information possible were admitted. Despite the extensive research, the results displayed are limited, because our main source was the internet and not all existing bands had a site, a blog or other online disclosure mechanism.

having been noted as an important instance of musical socialization in rural and peripheral areas (Tavares, 2011).

I remember that, at the time, I bought a second-hand guitar without knowing how to play... (...) I bought this guitar and a colleague of mine gave me some lessons with few chords, such as C–D–E–F–G–A–B, no more else... and let's go play! We didn't know play, we didn't know anything... "You're going to be the drummer, you're going to be the guitarist, and you're going to sing!" (Francisco, 35 years old, driver, musician, Paredes⁶)

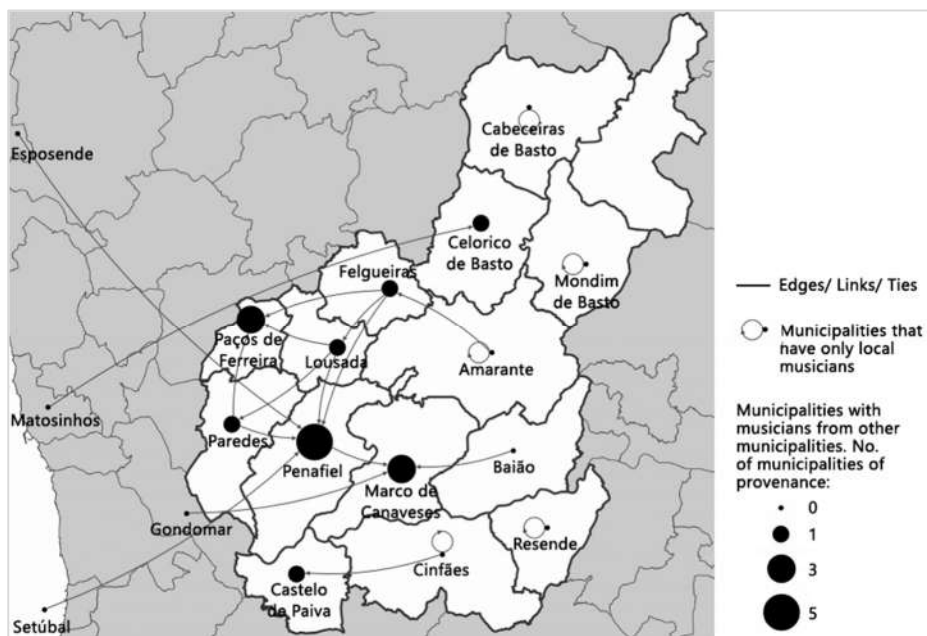
Another characteristic of these artists expresses what is happening in Tâmega scene: these musicians and their music bands are based on informality. Many of them are friends who studied together and, due their similar tastes, decided to join up and form a band. Figure 3 shows this idea of proximity and informality by revealing a weak relationship between artists from different cities: as our interviewees say, these bands exist to entertain a their members for a while and are often created between friends who live in the same city, especially when we take into account that these bands are mostly created when musicians are in the high school. This means that bands are formed mostly by members from the same place, which explains the shapes drawn in Figure 3. These artists seek then to join their friends who take advantage from the concerts, and are able to go out of home and be among friends, forming in this way a network of musicians and fans with very close ties.

This friendship with fans, though most often proven to be advantageous for the bands (they can have public more easily in their concerts), sometimes also creates rivalries between groups. This antagonism is reflected in the refusal to attend certain concerts, because the players do not belong to the 'friend band' or are opposite to it in some way. Due to the increasing number of bands in Tâmega and the reduced opportunities to play (if we match the number of bands with the number of events), the competition has increased and, with it, a higher probability of dispute between bands. However, this circumstance shows well how familiar this scene is. There is an important relational density that favours the creation of social capital and increases the effectiveness of reputation: since actors have relationships and information from each other, it often results in trust bonds, and creates informal cooperation and reciprocity (Crossley, 2008).

⁶ All names presented here to identify interviewees are fictitious.

In the band we are all family. We have the bass player who is not family... But it's almost as if he is. I've known him since I was 10 years and then we started to share ideas and decided to create the band. (Rui, 17 years old, student, musician, Felgueiras)

Figure 3: Musician mobility between municipalities (2000–2013)

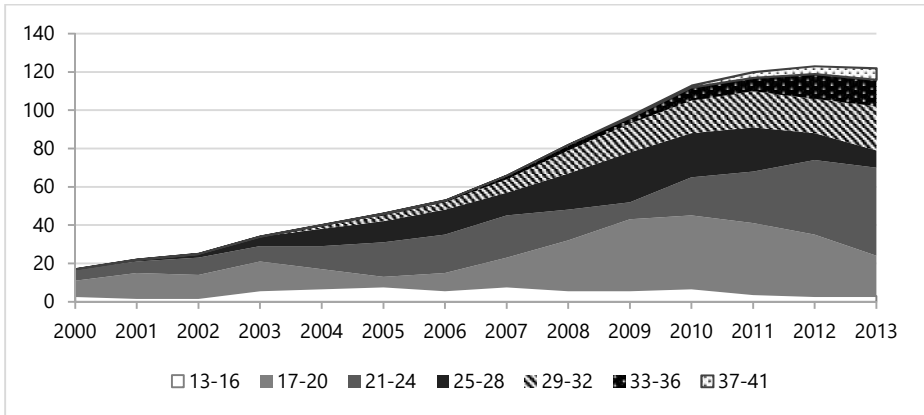


Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

This increasing competition, the lack of financing, together with the fact that these artists are mostly youths (Figure 4) who are still studying, means that music has to be taken as part-time activity, which, in turn, makes it difficult for artists to put in more time for rehearsals and, thus, for the evolution of the band. Even when some of these artists have chosen to interrupt their studies, insufficient financial resources will force them to find another activity which give them the support that music does not — and, again, the opportunities for rehearsals will be scarce. It is for that reason, that the so-called cover songs are so important for these bands: first, bands do not need time to create new songs; second, due to the 'pre-existing notion' that values what is 'from another place' and what is 'best known', bands that play covers will have more chances to act and are more likely to receive a cachet. Because of these same circumstances,

bands of Tâmega are characterized by a certain turnover of members between bands and ephemerality.

Figure 4: Evolution of the musicians' age in Tâmega (2000–2013)⁷



Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

Tâmega is likewise witnessing an increase in the number of disc jockeys (DJ) (Table 2) often coming from these bands and seeking to address the lack of a greater range of events which could better develop room for the existing number of bands. However, the limited number of spaces receiving this musical genre means that DJ's have a similarly narrow number of opportunities. In fact, in this region, we could identify a certain preference for live performance/bands.

Moreover, these youth are also faced with a negative bias on the part of the general population of the region. Not only does the association of rock artists to drugs, alcohol and delinquency persist, but the activity of these musicians is not recognized, as people associate it with a hobby unworthy of recognition. However, and while recognizing that this overall appreciation is almost impossible today, the motivation of friends and also the relatively good acceptance by the family, as well as their love for music, influence many artists

⁷ Ages were obtained through the duration of the members' activity, intersecting the age of entrance in the bands and the age of leaving (or the current date, in the case of still active bands). Only artists born in Tâmega were considered. There is no data for Resende, Baião and Ribeira de Pena: the first, because its members did not provide this information online; the other two, because they have no bands.

Table 2: Number of events per type of event (2012–2013)

Type of event	2012	Aug/2013	Total
Concert	89	88	177
Concert(s) + DJ Set	27	19	46
Bands Contests	2		2
DJ Set	13	31	44
Festival (more than 1 day)	7	13	20
Total	138	151	289

Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

in their quest for a place in the sun in the world of music, at least to attract more enthusiasts for this genre. There is, therefore, the assumption of a set of conventions needed to belong to the *art world* (Becker, 1982) which are mixed with the requirement of paid professional tasks intended for daily survival and *future*. There is a perspective of commercialization but, in practice, this is denied by the scene's real conditions (Blum, 2001: 25; Guerra, 2010: 456). Overall, this can be understood as a tribal network that is drawn by an irregular structure that, even by giving a general advantage to its participants, gives them advantages in different degrees, creating potential for conflicts between personal satisfaction and community acceptance or between family acceptance and economic compensation (Crossley, 2008; Filho, 2010). This community of belonging and interest, close to the Maffesoli's theorization (1998), points to a specific rocker lifestyle. So, if "a lifestyle can be defined as a more or less integrated set of practices that an individual embraces not only because these practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity" (Giddens cit by Filho, 2010: 99), we are dealing here with a lifestyle that we can name *antinomic*, which carries reasons and integrative and disintegrative forces of the scene.

The motivation is the love for music and to try to get as far as possible, with a band or another, my ideology is to get as far as possible. If I can sustain myself through music — which is almost impossible, but always thinking about it. Always thinking we can get it (...), because otherwise I would not play music anymore. My father does not care (...). My mother likes it. She likes to hear us and asks if we have concerts... she likes when I am playing and she feels happy, despite never having seen one of my concerts because she did not want to go. (Luís, 29 years old, gas station employee, musician, Penafiel)

Therefore, these actors are not afraid to 'put their hands-on' and, in a truly do-it-yourself movement, do everything themselves, from creating and recording their originals to the dissemination and music band promotion — to a great extent because the scarce economic resources prevent them from hiring other people to do this work. In this context, the new digital media have become very important, namely the ones available online, as they allow greater autonomy and quality.

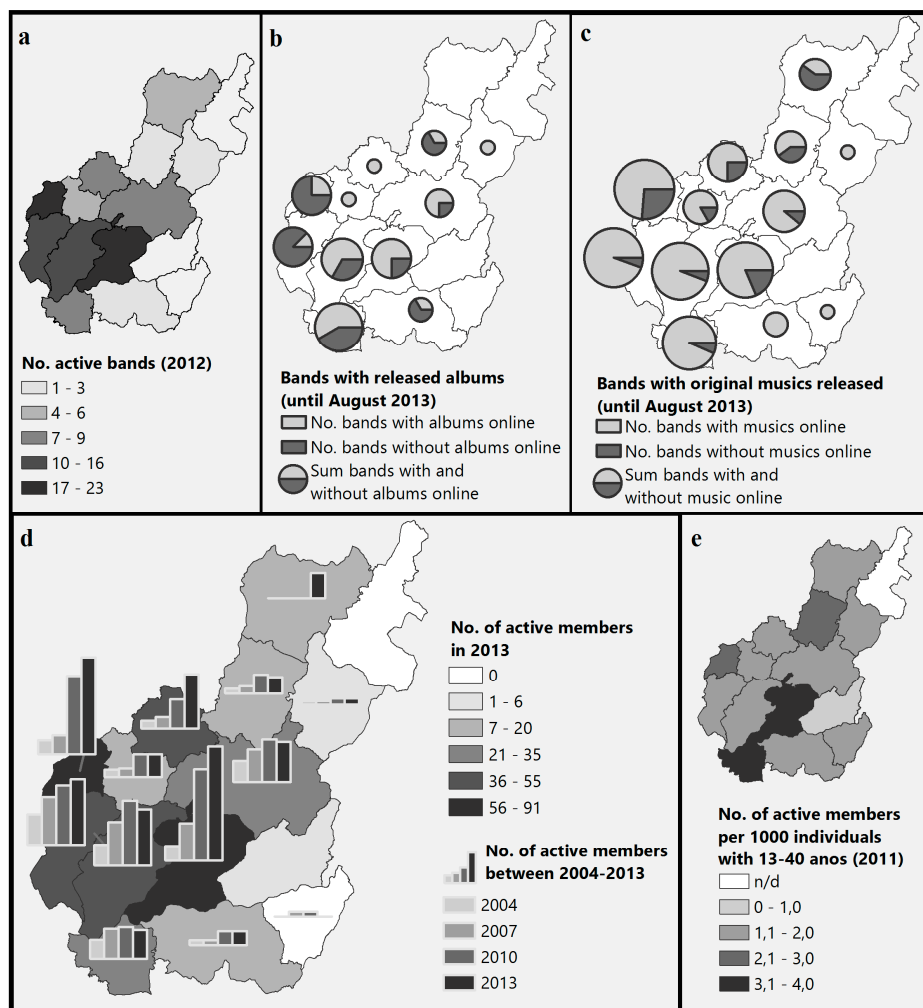
3. Musical scenes, networks and capillarities

Under this scenario, the question remains: is there a scene in Tâmega? We have seen that, despite all adversities, and despite being few in number (or in excess to the existing demand in the case of bands), there are still (precarious in nature) spaces, events, artists and an audience that sustains and keeps alive the *flame of rock* in Tâmega; more intensely in some locations, less densely in others; in some years more vigorous, less so in others, but this flame seems to have a drive (as real as its difficulties) to shine (Figure 5). Thus, new members join this community over time — young people looking for another way of being and who find in rock a possible solution to some of their concerns, values, and a way of transitioning to adulthood.

When we focus our analysis in the bands that constitute the current scene (Figure 5), it is important to note that between 2000 and 2013 their number increased in general terms, which gives rise to the hypothesis of a growing dynamism of the scene. The municipalities of Marco de Canaveses, Paços de Ferreira, Paredes and Penafiel are leading this dynamic. The availability of sound recordings on the web by the Tâmega bands has taken an undeniable relevance (more than half of the bands make albums and songs available online). If we add to this data the number of bands' active members in the region, we can recognize, between 2004 and 2012, a markedly positive increase, that is, from 120 participants to 434 (which represents an increase of 261%), reflecting the sustainability and reinforcement of the scene as we have been referring. It seems relevant to detect that, in 2011, the number of band members per 1000 local young people accounted for a total of 10.9 members (most notably in the municipalities of Marco de Canaveses, Paços de Ferreira and Felgueiras); between 2005 and 2011, the number of members per 1000 local young people in Tâmega increased 214% (especially in Marco de Canaveses and Paços de

Ferreira), corroborating the above considerations, but also the mobilization of the region's youth around the pop rock music.

Figures 5: Bands, members and discography in the municipalities of Tâmega



Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

It is notable to remark that having kept track (up until June 15, 2013) of the number of likes on each band's Facebook we see this as symptomatic of what we have been explaining: 1035 likes (the highest number registered) is significant when compared to numbers of bands located in the metropolitan areas of the country (Lisbon and Porto). In this collection of virtual data, it was

also possible to register the predominant age group of people who talk about⁸ the bands on Facebook (until June 15, 2013): the predominant age range is between 18 and 24, which reveals the youthfulness of the scene in question.

The possibilities of demonstrating a regional pop rock scene seem to stand at the production, intermediation, consumption and enjoyment levels. That one stems from the diversification of music's supply and consumption and, of course, from the greater extent of musical activities and greater quantitative and qualitative range of publics and events. It is also worth mentioning the importance of certain practices of collaboration between promoters and bands in its sedimentation. We are, thus, bringing again Becker's concept (1982) of *art worlds*: some of the most important events like Acampa Rock or Chaos in Mesio result from initiatives of different people and promoters; some concerts, a bit throughout Tâmega, exist only by virtue of the will of the bands; many bands only exist because they share instruments in rehearsals and concerts; there are associative initiatives of management and information exchange, as the one launched by Compaços Association and Degradagem Records — for example, the latter provided spaces for concerts and rehearsals, instruments and recordings.

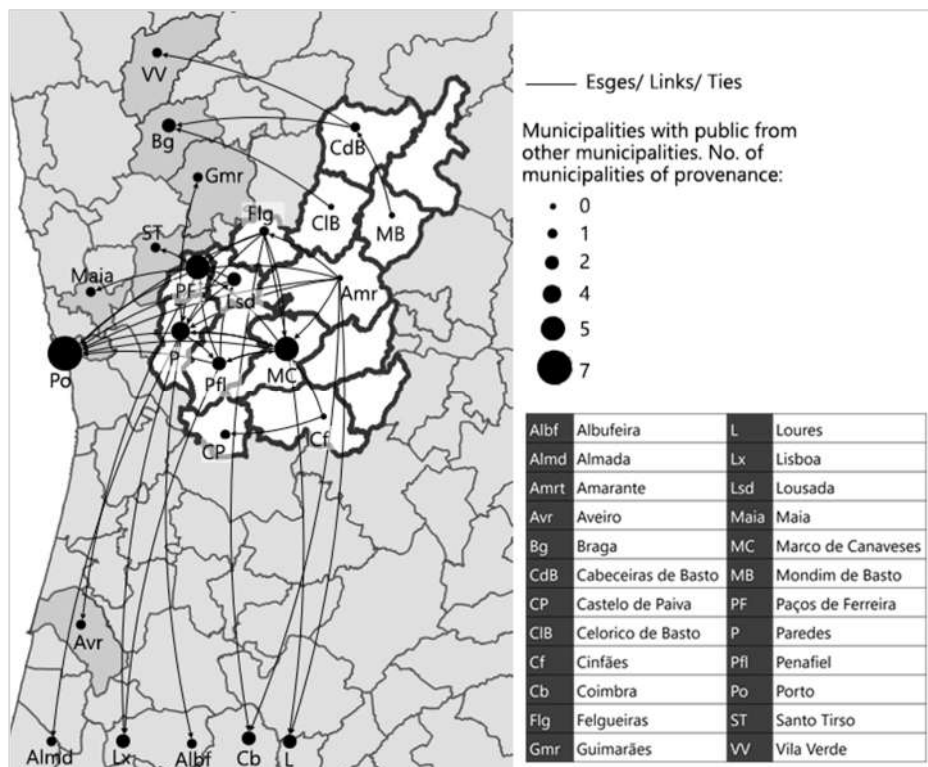
In an attempt to position the Tâmega region, as well as its various municipalities, in a relational network of social and spatial nature, we turn to the concept of a *social network analysis*. As shown in Figure 6, the region of Tâmega is dependent on the areas that surround it, highlighting the role of Porto as a tutelary city in terms of bands, spaces and audiences. In this regard, we cannot help but mention that Porto takes on an even greater role in the lives of these actors due the geographical proximity between Tâmega and Porto and a network of transport and roads which further shorten that distance, allowing musicians and fans to have the option of going to Porto.

However, there are municipalities that can curb the departure of these publics and even of these artists (Figure 6): Paços de Ferreira and Marco de Canaveses appear in the front, followed by Paredes, Lousada and Penafiel, cities holding a dynamic provided mostly by some bars which, for its exclusivity, can well meet not only the needs of individuals living there fairly well, but also the surrounding municipalities — exerting what is called a 'region of influence' in

⁸ 'People who talk about the bands' refers to the number of people who have created a 'story' from the publication of the band's page. The stories include: share, like or comment on its publication; answer a question; responding to an event; or claim an offer.

the classical term. We are talking about Canecas Bar (Paços de Ferreira), Wood Rock (Marco de Canaveses), Roque Bar and Indie Bar (Paredes), Old Rock (Penafiel) or Sunny Side (Lousada).

Figure 6: Destinations elected by the public: municipalities (bars/ cafes) with public from other municipalities



Note: Data obtained through survey by questionnaire.

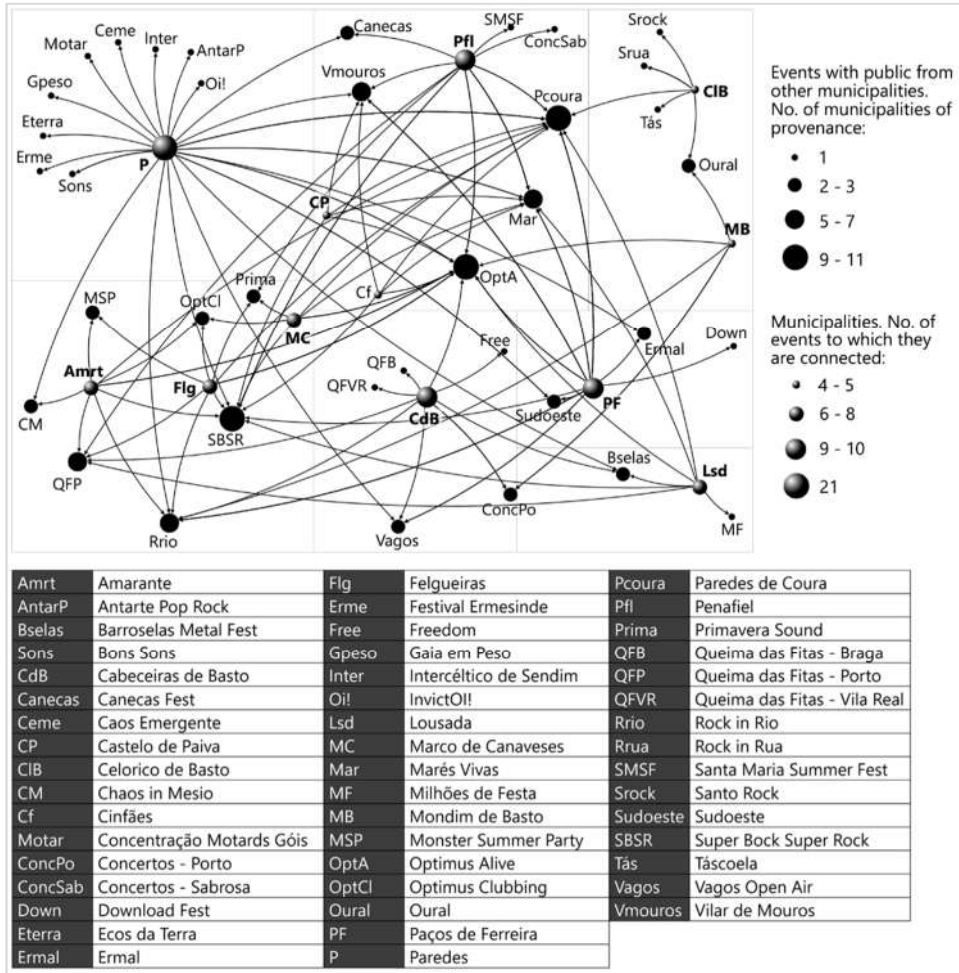
We should also mention the fact that this population is devoid of large monetary resources, which means that they are often unable to make long trips to go to other bars. Nevertheless, as shown by some interviewees, it is not that people who attend these rock bars are, strictly speaking, rock music aficionados. What they like is to be with friends, to have fun, to socialize. Crossley (2008), in his pioneering approach to the establishment of a punk scene in London and Manchester, had already called attention to the importance of sociabilities, including friendships and affections, in the structuring of musical networks. This is attested by the public dynamics to enjoy rock events, especially festivals, in

other Tâmega's municipalities. In the course of the survey (Figure 7) we conducted⁹, the actors declared they will often go to nationwide events (Optimus Alive, Paredes de Coura, Super Bock Super Rock). Given this cross regularity throughout the national territory, it is possible to demonstrate the existence of events in Tâmega that support much of the people's access to events, although they do not take place in their home county (Chaos in Mesio (Lousada); Canecas Fest (Paços de Ferreira); Oural (Cabeceiras de Basto)). Moreover, among some of the respondents to the survey, it is important to highlight the weight of friends and family as companions in attending musical events in Tâmega's pop rock framework. It is interesting to observe the affective and social proximity of this scene's design and structure, in the confluence of what Andy Bennett has recently called *affective scene* (2013).

If we focus on the bands' movement (Figure 8) in the Tâmega's area, we can see that there are local projects which have more performances and concerts on the intra-regional framework. Paços de Ferreira, Marco de Canaveses and Celorico de Basto municipalities hold the greatest number of events focused on projects that were born in these same places. Simultaneously, the municipality of Paços de Ferreira is receiving more projects from outside Tâmega region, followed by the municipalities of Marco de Canaveses, Lousada and Celorico de Basto. This means that the internal and external inter-relationship characteristic indicated by Blum (2001) is here. However, given the overall design of the profile and spatial distribution of the events, we can guarantee that this is predominantly a local scene (Bennett & Peterson, 2004) fed by a local *art world* without translocality contours, as can be seen in more metropolitan, cosmopolitan and coastal areas (Straw, 2004; Guerra, 2013, 2010).

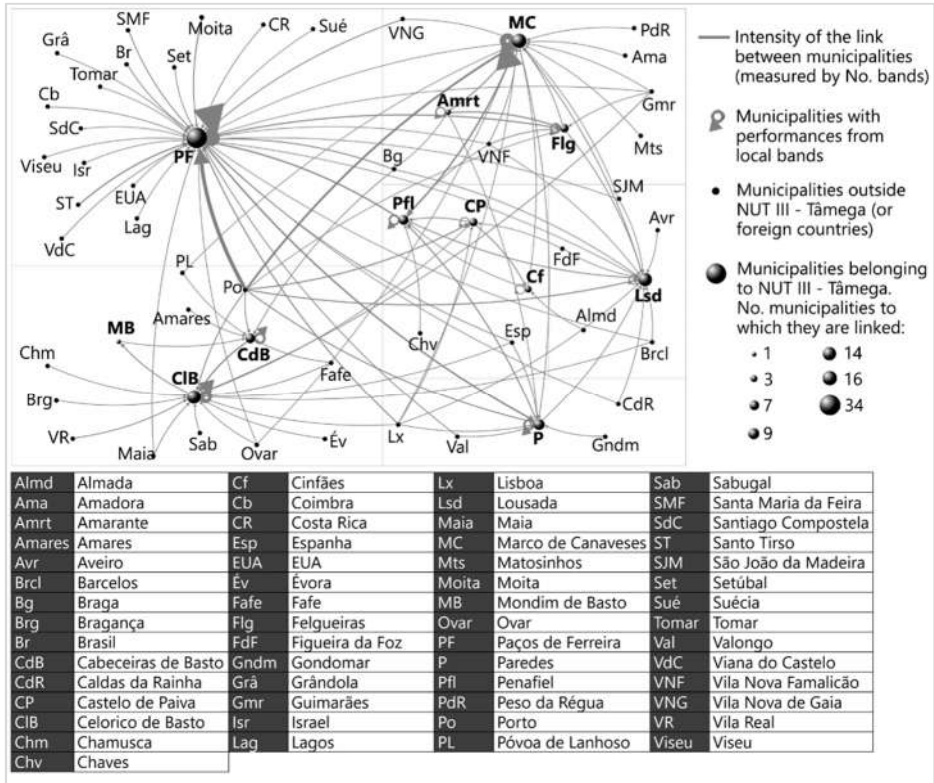
⁹ Within our data collection, 145 semi-structured surveys were applied to the attendants of musical enjoyment spaces in Tâmega (it was not possible to conduct the survey in the municipalities of Baião, Resende and Ribeira de Pena, for lack of spaces or events linked to rock music). In socio-graphic terms, these actors are mostly between 20 and 24 years; they live in different municipalities of Tâmega, are mostly males, singles, with 12 years of schooling. From the occupational point of view, we have a set of respondents where the majority takes a worker's condition, and mostly fall into the categories of executant employees and factory workers.

Figure 7: Destinations elected by the public: events with public from other municipalities



Note: Data obtained through survey by questionnaire.

Figure 8: Provenance of the bands that act on the municipalities of Tâmega (2012–2013)



Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

Let us return to the surveys to highlight the strengthening of Tâmega rock scene. In assessing the interest of musical venues and events to the region, respondents indicate the importance of the spaces for the promotion of rock and the incentives and support to the local bands that these produce. In short, these considerations settle a recognizable local (rather than translocal) scene, as well as the need for its material and emotional support. Without the scene's power — as studied by Stahl (1999) in the case of Montreal — it is possible in this particular geographic context to identify a music scene showing a diversity of actors and their web of relations, participations and affections (Bennett, 2004; 2013). We cannot fail to mention the predominance of musical projects (bands and artists) marked by what Becker (1982) called *naive artists*, actors who have no formal contact with the musical world, particularly by the absence of musical training accredited and recognized as legitimizing an official place in the musical

world. So, they are not quite like conventional artists and have no entry credits in musical art world in general; but they have qualifications to enliven the local scene. It is also interesting to correlate our data with Mitchell's work (1996) for, as in our case, the author demonstrated that a global musical style can acquire specific appropriations for creators, fans, consumers, promoters and producers located in a social context. Mitchell calls this process location of musical style, resubscribing rock at a local level.

Tables 3: Reasons to attend the space/ musical event and the importance of the space/ musical event to the region (no. of respondents, 2013)

Reasons to attend the space	No.	Reasons to attend spaces outside the municipality	N.º
Atmosphere – music, concerts	65	Atmosphere – music, concerts	80
Friends/ Conviviality	56	Friends/ Conviviality	48
Friend of organizers, space owners and/or musicians	41	Atmosphere – behaviour of people	31
Atmosphere – behaviour of people	24	Near residence and/or school	12
'I feel good' (escape to problems)	7	'I feel good' (escape to problems)	6
Non-smoking space	3	There is nothing in residence area	4
Offer drinks and/or food	3	Distance/ price	1
'I came by chance'	2	Do not attend	32
Opening/ closing hours	2	Do not know/ Do not answer	2
Near residence	2		
Space (decoration)	1		

Importance of the space/ musical event to the region	N.º
Disseminates rock music	28
Encourages/ supports local bands	28
Disseminates/ streamlines the region (culturally and economically)	24
Promotes multiculturalism and open mind	23
Attracts new people	14
Promotes a 'culture of going out' for young people	8
Promotes the sociability	6
'It's open late'	2
Provides welfare	2
'Sometimes the music is too loud'	1
Encourages good practice, because prohibits smoking	1
Do not know/ Do not answer	8
Total	145

Note: Data obtained through survey by questionnaire.

4. Conclusive clues

In this chapter, we discussed some of the main achievements of a research project that sought to know the extent to which the NUT III Tâmega is capable of supporting a specific and particular rock scene oscillating between the global and the local. We have seen the ways in which it is possible, in this second decade of the XXI century, to define and characterize a rock scene in Tâmega, which is a local scene with a regional scope, with multiple poles, and is also the bearer of agents, structures, organizations, phonographic records and relationships, and displays all the antagonisms and contradictions that characterize modernity and, in it, the contemporary pop rock industry.

Tâmega, as a peripheral region in the whole of the Portuguese context, this NUT III is a region that ultimately promotes conditions in which the culture and recreational areas take a strong importance in the consolidation of young people's individual identities and paths in these days. In this context, it is not surprising that we find here a range of rock music fans and the development of musical projects as well as small events linked to the dissemination of the musical genre. However, we also saw that these same social, economic and cultural conditions of Tâmega end up working as an obstacle to further development of the rock scene. There are more bands, more events, more public but, paradoxically, this intensity has an almost spontaneous nature, and these musicians, intermediators and consumers continue to mobilize themselves in an informal, familiar, amateur logic, making this scene not only a local one, but also an affective one.

This is a context in which creators, consumers and promoters end up developing a range of action of a particularly intra-Tâmega nature, showing that it is a local and not translocal scene, with a strong emotional support. We sought to show how the will of the people speaks louder and there are always those who (supported by a small legion of fans — mostly friends) can organize, promote and create something. The increasing number of bands and members playing rock music is a clear example of this, of this musical will existing in the young people, and how it constitutes one of the greatest rock scene engines in Tâmega, giving it visibility, regularity and collectivization. The technological development has enabled greater access to music, to its records and events. In this context, the birth of the scenes (as well as their death) has become easier and, thus, we can find scenes not only in cities or urban areas, but also in areas considered more rural, more remote from major centres. Scenes follow one

another, even in Tâmega, because they are based on a cultural, symbolic, social, familiar, emotional, economic (besides territorial, of course) apparatus that stand behind them.

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