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Born to Be Alive: Contemporary Issues in Live Music Research

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Foreword
Cultural Life at the Threshold of a Disintegrating Society

Fabian Holt

The pop culture excitement about live music in the first two decades of this century was dramatically disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic at the very beginning of the 2020s. A series of trends had made live music seem like an unstoppable freight train of pop culture: More young people had become consumers of live music events as a form of entertainment and urban middle-class belonging; the newly branded "live music industry" was developing more and larger events in an expanding touring circuit and luxury experiences in the form of VIP packages and "glamping;" mass and social media amplified the fascination with the authenticity and extrovert visual dimension of pop culture events as alternatives to the asynchronous flow of the internet and the privatism of the personal screen device.

In the loud silence that followed from the abrupt ending in early 2020, many initially found hope in online events and informal performances on balconies and in backyards. These responses demonstrated the weakened capacity for community culture resulting from the growing reliance on media communications and professional entertainment in many societies over the past century. The explorations of new forms of performance in the early days of the pandemic did not lead to major new innovations. The static and monotonous pandemic life is characterized by a lack of motivation and creativity. The early explorations, moreover, demonstrated unfulfilled desires for a transition in a world where no meaningful transition was possible. It was like giving the participants in a marathon the opportunity to cool down in separate virtual spaces. Ritual theory needs a rewrite! Unstoppable young people broke the rules against public assembly out of hedonist desires for social fun in the here and now, not with the intent of transforming society. Their desires were amplified by a world of loneliness, depression, and death. The events were in many cases shut down by the police and did not develop into a cultural movement. The main form of collective festive action among young people during the pandemic happened at the rallies of the Black Lives Matter movement.

While those living in the live music consumer bubble of the 2010s complained about cancelled festivals, the pandemic had more serious consequences. In the live music industry and other cultural sectors, thousands of workers lost their jobs. Some found

employment in other industries. The disappearance of many experienced and creative colleagues is a major loss for the now weaker industry. Much more serious, however, is the death of more than six million in the first two years of the pandemic. More than five hundred million people have had COVID. Of those still alive, hundreds of millions are struggling with the costs of living and the trauma from losing loved ones, and one hundred forty-five million are estimated to suffer from long COVID.[1] And just as a partial recovery was signaled by the return of music festivals and international tourism in some countries in summer 2022, the pandemic morphed into a major international conflict with Russia's war on Ukraine. The pandemic has also reinforced economic, racial, and gender inequalities in everyday life. The mortality rate has been much higher in lower-income Black and Brown communities. Many mothers have done all the home care and schooling of their children, often pressured by their husband earning the higher salary. The international live entertainment industry is resuming activity with rising ticket prices, thus exacerbating patterns of excess and inequality in cultural life. *The pandemic could have been a reset, but it ended up being a setback*. That's why the pandemic is becoming a politicizing event. Social movements tend to emerge from collective experiences of injustice and disappointment. The consequences of the pandemic for society is still very much emerging.

In a longer historical perspective, the pandemic highlights a series of interrelated social, political, and economic crises, as well as the beginning of a long-term disintegration of society set in motion by climate change.[2] It is too early to say how climate change will affect leisure, except that it will likely remain more local and institutionally weaker for a while. Music events will continue to happen, and new producers and audiences will bring new creativity to the field, but the mass culture of live music will have a different meaning and not enjoy the same optimist cheer. Creating a new festival or a live show or reality contest will have less novelty value and be replaced by other expectations. The resurgence of social movements in the 2010s, many of which share a fundamental skepticism of capitalism, will stimulate interest in political art and grassroots community culture.

Where does this turbulence leave academic experts? There's an inherent practical challenge for scholars in responding to rapid change because valuable explanations take time to develop. The first round of mature analyses and efforts at institutionalizing live music as a research field appeared right around the time when the pandemic happened. This creates a resounding cognitive dissonance with the post-pandemic world.

There are solutions to this problem and new potentials to consider. Scholars can begin to understand the current moment in the longer history of a disintegrating modernity. They can inspire conversations about art and community and explore alternatives to the empire of the old normal rather than supporting it in the name of recovery and survival. The

pioneers of live music scholarship could become the pioneers of music and public culture for the working class, the new social movements, post-pandemic trauma, and climate change. They could argue that cities should not look to the arts for economic growth.

Live music's genealogies

Why is it important to recognize the pre-history of live music's big moment in the early twenty-first century? The maturation and success of the field of live music research depend on its near-future ability to develop a more reflexive understanding of its values and knowledge interests. The term live music is used for a wide range of events and experiences across the globe, including cultures and religions that still have other concepts for similar phenomena. Live music is not one thing. However, contemporary discourse on live music has fundamentally been shaped by two important forces that we can evaluate critically in order to achieve greater self-determination in the future of our academic efforts. The most preeminent force is that of modernity. In the early twenty-first century concerts and festivals rapidly became corporately owned and institutionally regulated. They also became increasingly mediated by both mass media and corporate social media platforms. In a word, concerts and festivals became embedded in the economic system and institutions of modernity. This process explains how "live music" went from being an umbrella term and aesthetic concept in everyday life to becoming a more dominant term in society. In this genealogy, scholars of live music are entering the territory of the sociology of music and modernity, culture industries, urban planning, and public policy. A general question for scholars in this area is this: How can music's role in society be imagined in the context of disintegrating modernity, and how might such thinking inspire future forms of community, ownership, and political regulation? What might replace the creative economy policies that promoted unsustainable growth?

The other powerful force in shaping live music that I would like to identify is urban youth culture. The pop culture moment of live music is preceded by numerous formations in urban popular culture history, such as swing dancing in the 1930s, bohemian jazz scenes in the 1950s, the hippie festival movement in the late 1960s, and a wide range of subcultures and scenes in the late twentieth century, emerging and dying through successive waves of gentrification. At each and every moment, scholars have been fascinated with performance as a site of artistic expression, authenticity, cultural community, and as a breeding ground of talent and cultural sensibilities. They have recognized the essential role of performance institutions in the ecosystems of music and urban nightlife cultures, sustaining the everyday life of artists and audiences. One of the most important transformations of urban culture in accelerating modernity is the shift from small-scale and informal organizing in personal networks to corporate and formal organizing. In this genealogy, scholars of live

music are entering the territory of urban cultural studies, popular music studies, anthropology of music, and literatures on individual music genres. A general question for scholars in this area is this: How could cities make sense of their music and cultural past? How could they transform it for the future?

Where could live music scholarship go from here?

I imagine two possible futures for the evolving field of live music scholarship. The first scenario is that the energy of the 2010s will dissipate and lead to a decline of the field. All the publications of the past few years will be the culmination and end of a trend. The emerging field sensibility will disintegrate, and declining research activity will unfold in more decentralized ways across separate areas for the study of music, media, urban culture, cultural industries, festival and event management, and cultural policy. This scenario would make sense if the post-pandemic world of the coming years showed declining interest in live music, and if scholars found it meaningful to tackle new challenges. However, I think it is more likely that a decline in live music scholarship would result from the ongoing budget cuts to the humanities and social sciences. Serious and socially just music and cultural research cannot exist without a certain level of public funding for the humanities and social sciences and a wider support from institutions in the educational, cultural, and media sectors. When institutions fail, social movement organizing is an option.

The other scenario is that emerging scholarly research interest in live music continues to grow and will be energized by the return of live music. The roaring twenties might happen, even if this happens later than expected. In this scenario, there will be more conferences on live music and perhaps even journals and job titles. Funding institutions will support more research projects. The academic challenge will be to make the field more reflexive about its intellectual and political interests. This work could help define strategic priorities and collaborations across disciplines and institutions. There have been efforts to make live music a field of study, and claims to this end have offered lists of a growing literature on live music. This is typical of the first stage in a field formation. Gender studies, literary ecocriticism, and visual studies began like this. Their next phase was characterized by reflexivity about knowledge interests and theory. If live music is a field of research, it is not quite there yet.

The development of field reflexivity is a potential. Scholars could move on from defining "a thing" to developing theoretical and methodological approaches that respond to relevant issues in cultural life. How about feminist and anti-racist approaches to festival production and programming? A historical materialist approach to concerts and festivals? Institutional approaches? Studies of labor? A political ecology of live music consumer

culture? These and other perspectives can be found in the existing literature on scenes, DIY cultures, venues, and festivals, for instance, and they are represented by outstanding work in this special issue. But discourse on live music as a field could do more to organize its conversations around such approaches and develop a higher level of disciplinary and interdisciplinary authority. To avoid that growing reflexivity ends in over-specialization and institutionalism it is important to continuously ensure an ethnographic grounding in reality. What are the new cultural issues and formations, and how do they display familiar and unfamiliar dynamics? How are citizens across race, ethnicity, class, generation, gender, sexuality, and religion making sense of their attachments to music and public culture in times of serious trouble? Such analysis would bring renewed meaning and justice to conversations about live music and about the humanities and social sciences. To ensure that live music scholarship can speak to wider issues in academia and society it is important to nurture the field without becoming insular. Live music is an umbrella term for a range of phenomena that also have lives in other social domains and fields of study. For this reason, the frameworks of live music scholarship can aim for interdisciplinary explorations and for dialogue with different and overlapping conceptions. Live music is a hegemonic term in consumer culture, but in a wider social history it is a hybrid and transitional term that currently exists between terminologies and discourses.

Notes

[1] "WHO Coronavirus (COVID-19) Dashboard," World Health Organization, 19 May 2022, https://covid19.who.int/, accessed 20 May 2022; "WHO: At least 17 million people in the WHO European Region experienced long COVID in the first two years of the pandemic; millions may have to live with it for years to come," https://www.healthdata.org/news-release/who-least-17-million-people-who-european-region-experienced-long-covid-first-two-years (accessed 17 October 2022).

[2] IPPC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) (2021) *Climate Change 2021: The Physical Science Basis: Summary for Policymakers*. Switzerland. https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg1/ (accessed 7 December 2021).

Introduction
Contemporary Music Ecosystems' Transformations: Live Music, the Gig Economy, and Social Changes

Paula Guerra and Samuel Lamontagne

In 2019, before the COVID-19 pandemic put a stop to nearly all live cultural activity, Mark Savage painted a devastating portrait of the music industry's state (Savage 2019). In the United States, record sales had dropped by about eighty percent in the 2010s: from four hundred fifty to eighty-nine million. From 2017 to 2018, worldwide record sales percentage plummeted an additional twenty-three percent. At the 2019 Grammy Awards, H.E.R.'s and Cardi B's albums, two of the nominated projects for the "album of the year" category never had a physical release. The situation becomes even clearer when analyzing 2018's top selling records: most of them were film soundtracks. How could the music industry face such challenges? First, we must acknowledge that this is a very recent reality, and that the actors' adaptability cannot keep up with the constant technological progress of music digitization (Guerra 2020) and that, these days, anyone with a computer or smartphone is able to play hundreds of albums and save thousands of songs. We sometimes forget that those processes only started back in 1998 with the invention of the MP3 player. At the time, the MP3 format allowed revolutionary audio compression. The MP3 technology had unintended consequences. Created as a tool to help the music industry, it ended up harming it in the long run. As we know, after the MP3, came the rise of peer-to-peer file sharing softwares like *Napster*, and *KaZaa,* opening the door to free access to music through digital downloading. It also brought the idea – innovative and destructive at the same time – that people didn't have to pay for media cultural consumption. That was true for music, but also for books, newspapers, movies, and so on. As music downloading was ever growing, the music industry's response was to potentially sue each and every individual who illegally downloaded a file by enforcing copyright law, considering copyright infringement as theft (Morris 2015). A famous example of this witch hunt began with the *Metallica v. Napster, Inc.* 2000 court case, in which the legendary heavy metal band – soon joined by the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) and the rapper Dr. Dre – sued *Napster* for enabling users to share copyrighted music (Moore 2009:197), before going after individual users of the platform (ibid.).

Afterwards, the response was to make listening to music online easier than illegally downloading it, notably through streaming platforms. Current examples include *Spotify*, which

allows users to have an unlimited access to a large selection of music for a fixed monthly fee. Because of these transformations, the era of the "traditional" record release, with advertisement and physical sale and distribution, seems long gone. As they saw their profits plummet vertiginously, musicians have been the most affected of all, especially those who weren't top billing acts and celebrities in the industry. One – if not the main – way out of this situation was live music (Guibert and Sagot-Duvauroux 2013). Before the pandemic started, there had never been as many concerts and festivals organized (Bennett et al. 2014; Guerra 2018). And if live music's importance has always been highlighted by musicians and audiences (very few bands choose to follow *The Beatles*' tracks and stop touring), for many artists, touring was the most difficult part of their activity, especially when it came to bands based in peripheral countries like Portugal, which implied spending many hours on the road or having endless layovers in airports. When it comes to indie or less known bands, touring is a problem as well: as Michaela Anne Neller (2021) describes: there are always risks, as profits depend on ticket sales, which always remain uncertain; on the other hand, costs are certain, such as accommodation, gas, food, lodging and more. As such, being the opening act for better-known bands, appears as a safe solution, since it is guaranteed money and, at the same time, a good way for the band to gain wider recognition.

The investment in live music, with music festivals being the most visible face of that effort, should then be understood as a strategy set by the industry and musicians to face ever-dwindling record sales and the low revenue from streaming services. If the COVID-19 pandemic put a stop to everything, the rise of the live music industry in the 2010s went hand in hand with the emergence of a new area of study – live music – which some argue is even richer than what dominated academic discourses until then – recorded music (Cloonan 2011). Numerous authors, from different contexts, have contributed to the development of this theme. They have focused on the implications of the development of the live music sector in the 2010s throughout the various dimensions that make up the "world of music:" transformations introduced at the level of the relationships established between the different actors in the field of music; changes in the construction of musical careers; articulations with cultural policies and urban development, particularly through the exploration of the concept of ecologies of live music in urban environments (Baird and Scott 2018; Behr et al. 2016; ibid. 2019; Cohen 2012; ibid. 2013; Frith 2007; Van der Hoeven and Hitters 2019); and the emergence of a new lifestyle, typical of late modernity, a "festival" lifestyle, in which habitués organize their summer holidays according to particular festivals, a lifestyle deeply connected to the festivalization of culture, as grounded in cosmopolitanism in an environment marked by consumptions, appropriations and embodiments of practices (Guerra 2016; Bennett Taylor and Woodward 2014). At the same time, live music has increasingly been on the political agenda, and several

cities around the world have been producing reports and strategic studies on this topic. In 2017, the first-ever nationwide live music census was conducted in the UK, allowing for unprecedented levels of detailed, comparable data on the live music cultures from different localities (Webster et al. 2018).

This Special Issue questions the directions this reality will move towards, as well as its impact on musicians, audiences, and the cultural industries. What will happen to musicians, especially those in small bands from peripheral scenes and countries who have to spend hours and days on the road to get from a concert to another (Ballico and Carter 2018; Smith and Thwaites 2018)? What kind of impact will this have on the increasing precariousness of being a career musician, in the blurring between professional and private spheres and how the concept of "choosing poverty" (Threadgold 2018) may or may not explain the situation many musicians experience? The DIY ethos (Guerra and Feixa 2019), at the core of punk culture, is now a key source of influence and inspiration for other music genres, through the creation of alternative networks of production, performance and consumption (Bennett and Guerra 2019a, Bennett and Guerra 2019b). Following this, to what extent can the DIY ethos be used as a vehicle for musicians to adapt to this new reality, whether through the reduction in cost of music production or through the monetization of sociability, notably through the blurring between personal and professional spheres, the investment in social media as a means of forming networks of relationships to perform and tour in different countries? And what nefarious effects can this reality have on the careers of new players whose networks of relationships are not well established (Rogers 2010) and who are part of more alternative and artistic spheres? We know music scenes have always had an over-representation of men, based, above all, in the classic dichotomy between private and public spheres. Secondary and backstage tasks are the purview of women, while the performing and producing, the stage, are monopolized by men. That being the case, to what extent does this emphasis on live music reinforce masculinization processes, or does it, on the contrary, serve as a vehicle to undermine them?

The Special Issue is organized in four thematic sections:

Careers

In a field marked by precariousness and discourses grounded in neo-liberal logics presented as entrepreneurship in which much of the unpaid work, what Maurizio Lazzarato (2021) famously called immaterial labor, or what Ana Alacovska (2021) calls the "wageless life," live music is characterized by multiple strategies of "getting by." In a field, which as we have seen, is at best "not easy," especially for indie musicians who cannot make a living from music without having one or more side jobs to make ends meet, how will it be now, in pandemic and post-pandemic times? As scholars, we must investigate how musicians

were affected professionally, and how they applied copping strategies to "get by," or if it was simply not possible, how they had no other choice but to give up (or put on pause) their passion for music and their dreams of being musicians.

In her article "Another Typical Day at the Office: Working Life in the Portuguese Independent Music Scene," Ana Oliveira explores the working life of the multiple actors that make up the current independent music scene in Portugal. Based on seventy-one semi-structured interviews she analyzes which activities they perform and what strategies they mobilize to manage their careers, and, in the process, reveals the centrality of live music and the key role of the actors who play intermediary roles in this sphere – music venues programmers, agents, and promoters.

Georgina Hughes, in her article "Dame Evelyn Glennie: On the Road with Trio HLK," writes about the recent touring collaboration between Dame Evelyn Glennie and the band Trio HLK. The focus of this article is twofold: first, it offers an analysis of the outcome of the collaboration in terms of venue size and social media attention. In this way, it contextualizes how Glennie's prominence may serve to raise interest in Trio HLK. Second, the article offers a reception history of Glennie's live performances with Trio HLK. This perspective aims to examine how her presence has impacted the popularity of Trio HLK, to document how she is given particular attention separately from the group, and to evaluate the public's response to a classically-trained musician evolving in the domains of improvisation and jazz performance.

Cities

The attention paid to the connections between live music and urban planning has grown in the last decade, both in academia and the policy sphere. Amongst local governments and policy makers, the economic impact assessments of live music seem to have contributed to a wider recognition of the merits of this cultural form. But in general, the perspectives on live music are often grounded in economic considerations and in the effects on city branding and the creative city. This diverts attention from social and cultural benefits of live music by too often leaving out of the analysis, discourses about cultural participation, education, diversity or citizenship (Lamontagne 2020). More research is needed on its social and cultural benefits aiming for a holistic vision of live music ecologies (Van der Hoeven and Hitters 2019).

In his article entitled "Grand Paris and Electronic Dance Music: Nightlife Policies, Neoliberal Urban Planning, and the Gentrification of the Banlieues," Samuel Lamontagne studies the 2010s electronic dance music boom in Paris. At that time, a set of public and private institutional actors agreed on the implementation of nightlife policies. Following

the principles of the creative city, these have facilitated the development of festive activity particularly as deployed in the Parisian *banlieues*. However, this boom has not avoided forms of instrumentalization of culture, sometimes closely accompanying the urban policies that prepare the Grand Paris planning project.

Paula Guerra, with "If Live Ain't Enough for Them: Live Music and an Unexpected Scene in the Last Decade," describes the crucial role played by live concerts, as well as the impact of physical venues, in the emergence, dynamics, and consolidation of the Portuguese punk scene, from its beginnings to the present day. Based on a qualitative and quantitative methodology in a pioneering Portuguese study, this article aims to systematically collect, map, identify, and categorize all live punk music events registered on the internet between 2010 and 2015. The author's main goal is to understand whether live punk music still sees itself as a vital part of keeping this scene alive, as was the case during its genesis in the late 1970s.

Platforms

Understanding the concert as an ecology, we can perceive the profound changes it is experiencing, notably because of the introduction of different technical devices. In this sense, forms of work organization and professional skills both have changed. Consequently, there are new business forms and new distribution formats, such as live broadcasts. It is therefore important to reflect on the transformations linked in to the digitization of work tools, thus taking into account the history of the evolution of musical professions and technical devices, but also their impact on daily work in this area.

In his article entitled "The Values of Live Music Videos on YouTube: A Montreal Case," Michael Spanu discusses how live music is crucial in understanding Montreal's distinctive cultural identity, and how its nightlife musical activity produces specific knowledge and behavior. As the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Montreal music scenes has been severe, the primary response came in the form of the rise of virtual concerts. However, as Spanu shows, these shows mainly benefited top mainstream artists and resulted in economic and social losses for brick-and-mortar concerts. The author aims to assess the values of live music on digital platforms through the particular case of live music videos shot in Montreal and broadcast on YouTube.

Loïc Riom, in his article "(Un)Playing Music at Sofar Sounds: Some Element of an Ethno(methodo)musicology of Live Performances," asks a seemingly simple question: How do you play music live? Answering this question implied trying to sketch out a methodology for the study of musical performances. Drawing on the principles of ethnomethodology, the author attempts to make an ethno(methodo)musicological description

of a concert of a young Parisian rapper at Sofar Sounds. Building on this approach, he characterizes the ways musicians (un)play their music at Sofar Sounds and how they adapt to this particular setting.

Gérôme Guibert, in "Live Performance and Filmed Concerts: Remarks on Music Production and Livestreaming before, during and after the Public Health Crisis," discusses the fact that when economic models for the concert broadcasting on digital platforms were still not fully developed, COVID-related measures restricting individual movement radically sped up demand for livestreaming in 2020. Drawing on notions of "immersiveness," this article explains why intermediary stakeholders, especially technical service providers, seem to be best placed to take advantage of the convergence between the economic production of concerts and their filming, rather than promoters or audio-visual producers.

COVID-19

As mentioned above, with the emergence of the first file sharing softwares, and the first streaming platforms, the music world underwent a huge change: musicians' incomes suffered a significant drop (except for the big stars, who still have contracts worth millions with these platforms) and they had to rely more and more on live performance and touring. It is not surprising that in recent decades we have seen an exponential growth of festivals all over the world. As Fabian Holt shows in his foreword, with COVID-19, all this has been called into question. In many ways, the pandemic precipitated the move of live concerts online? This disruptive innovation in the music world led artists to respond to consumer demand for greater participation and engagement with livestreams on YouTube and other social media platforms (Vandenberg, Berghman, and Schaap 2021). However, not all bands have the financial means, nor the technical skills, to make this transition satisfactorily. This socially distant paradigm (Frenneaux and Bennett 2021) raises numerous sociological questions that deserve to be properly analyzed, which the two articles of this section set to do.

Paul G. Barretta, Terrance Tompkins, and Jeff Apruzzsese, in their article "Impact and Hope for the Live Music Industry," examine the shifting ecologies of the live music industry, the reorganization of live music intermediaries and the future of live music and performances. Drawing on perspectives from both producers and consumers, the authors argue that livestreaming has emerged as a newly established component of the concert industry which will have long-lasting implications on the live music experience.

Lucas Wink, with "In the Virtual Field: Musical Performance and the New Dynamics of Bombos in Times of Covid-19," focuses on Bombos, a Portuguese musical ecosystem that annually mobilizes hundreds of individuals around live and collective musical practices

with percussion and other instruments throughout Portugal. This article addresses the pandemic's impact on the dynamics of preparation and performance of Bombos. Operating from a logic that reflects a do it yourself ethos, musicians resorted to virtual modalities and digital tools not part of their usual modes of playing. The author, through an ethnography of virtual practices, aimed to elucidate how these individuals undertook actions to overcome the infeasibility of performing face to face.

As we conclude this introduction, we want to take time to reflect on some of the shortcomings of this Special Issue. Although it sheds light on multiple crucial aspects of live music, and makes an important contribution to the advancement of the field of live music studies, we have to confess the lack of attention given to the economic dynamics and organization around live music (Guerra et al. 2021; Howard et al. 2021). While recognizing this shortcoming, we want to offer some reflections on these aspects of live music. As a way to encourage future research and studies on live music, we identify three potential perspectives we believe to be particularly interesting and fruitful:

1. From amateurs to professionals of music

Since a large proportion of concert organizers work on a voluntary basis, the question of professionalization is a central one in the live music business. A reflection is needed on the forms of learning specific to concert professions and their transformations brought about by the gradual implementation of training programs; the forms of engagement of these volunteers; the impact of these employment patterns on the functioning of the concert organization and production structures, the boundaries between volunteers and professionals in terms of practical knowledge and working conditions.

2. Organization of the live music business

In his seminal analysis, Howard Becker (1982), underlined the need for the concerted work of a vast group of individuals for the art worlds to take place. We can easily take the axioms of this seminal analysis and apply them to the case of music and live music. In addition to musicians we should think about the "support personnel" whose work is essential, but who are often forgotten or undervalued in the studies focusing on this subject. Little is known about the different occupations (technicians, bookers, programmers) and organizations (festivals, ticket retailers, public funders) required to produce concerts, but also to market live music, and to exploit it in other formats. How do musicians and non-musicians collaborate to make, play or promote music? What is the role of intermediaries, such as agents, managers, promoters, journalists, etc.?

3. Working in the gig economy

In recent times the term gig economy has been used to describe, in a generalized way, new patterns of employment, based on the fragmentation of work, self-employment, short-term contracts and intermittency, high levels of precariousness and workforce exploitation, situations that go beyond the world of music and apply to the most diverse sectors of activity. But specifically as far as the live music business is concerned, it is important to reflect on: the employment practices and working conditions within the sector; musicians and other professionals' working lives and practices; new forms of live music market and new actors in action; responses and resistance to gig-work; forms of organization of live music workers in defense of their rights and in the fight for better working conditions.

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PART I

Live Music and Musicians' Careers

Dame Evelyn Glennie: Live On the Road with Trio HLK

Georgina Hughes

To anyone who has not keenly followed the eclectic career path of the world's first solo multi-percussionist, Dame Evelyn Glennie's recent collaboration with Trio HLK might at first appear incongruous. Generally associated with virtuosic performance in the domain of art music, Glennie has created and sustained a career centred on developing and expanding the remit of solo percussion. This has resulted in an expansive discography which includes work in the contexts of popular music (Bjork), avant-garde improvisation (Fred Frith), film scoring (Mark Knopfler) and EDM (Roly Porter). Choosing to define her professional identity as "sound creator," it is clear that Glennie refutes categorizations or classifications which may serve to limit her creative scope. Glennie's appearance as a featured guest artist on Trio HLK's debut album *Standard Time* (2018) is therefore not an anomaly. However, her decision to tour with the trio is a more notable departure. This has repositioned Glennie, temporarily at least, as a gigging musician. A virtuosic percussionist and pioneering solo performer has opted to embrace life on the road as an ensemble member in an emerging jazz group.

Formed in 2015, Trio HLK have established their professional identity primarily through deconstructed interpretations of jazz standards. Touring is an intrinsic aspect of "paying their dues" in terms of establishing professional credentials. To this end, a number of questions must be posed: Does Glennie's interest in pursuing a long-term relationship impact the trajectory of the ensemble? How has Glennie's prominence in the zeitgeist of contemporary music impacted reception of Trio HLK in more general terms? What is the appeal of life on the road in this context?

After an initial review of the genesis and development of the collaboration, the focus will be twofold: firstly, an analysis of the tangible result of collaboration in terms of venue size and social media outputs will contextualize how Glennie's prominence may serve to heighten interest in Trio HLK. The second aim will be to construct a reception history of Glennie's live performances with Trio HLK (focusing primarily on events promoted as part of the album launch tour in 2018). This will ascertain how her presence has impacted the prominence and credibility of Trio HLK, appraise how she is reviewed in comparison to the rest of the group, and evaluate how the public responds to a classical musician operating in the domains of improvisation and jazz performance. At the center of the study is an interest in establishing the value and appeal of the live performance experience.

Context

Scottish ensemble Trio HLK, named for the surnames of each member (Rich Harrold, piano; Ant Law, guitar; and Richard Kass, drums and percussion), are typically described as a jazz group. Harrold and Kass began playing together in 2014, and were joined on New Year's Day 2015 by Law, a meeting defined by the group as an "arranged marriage band date" (Foster 2018). In alignment with Glennie's own strident eclecticism, the trio generally seek to elude categorization. Pursglove, however, suggests that the descriptor "jazz musicians" remains applicable, regardless of the clear influence of a diverse range of genres: "As one nowadays expects from ensembles of young musicians regarded as playing jazz, the music of this trio draws on much more than just the jazz tradition" (Pursglove 2018).

The collaboration originated when Trio HLK approached Glennie and alto saxophonist Steve Lehman to feature as guest artists on their debut album. Both musicians willingly agreed to participate, with Glennie contributing to three tracks (Broom 2018). It is clear that Glennie was motivated by the prospect of expanding her remit as a performer: "I found it hugely difficult. It's very complicated stuff, really interesting material that definitely made me sit down and work on it" (Walton 2018).

Standard Time was released on May 11, 2018, and critical reception of the work has been extraordinarily positive. Interestingly, the reviews are not centered on the appeal of the high-profile guest artists, but are much more concerned with the musical product which the collective has created. *The Herald* (Scotland) describes it as "a thing of swaggering confidence" (Jamieson 2018). *London Jazz News* ended their review by summarizing the album as "urgent, elegant, dizzying, serene . . . and maybe unlike anything you've heard before" (London Jazz News 2018). *Standard Time* was selected as one of the best albums of 2018 by a number of jazz websites (see *Bird is the Worm* and *Bandcamp* 2018), and also appeared on the list of Gramophone's Critics' Choice Recordings of the Year (*Gramophone* 2018).

In contrast to the instrumentation featured on the album (wherein Glennie plays only marimba and vibraphone), live appearances reposition Glennie as a multi-percussionist, with large set-ups which change and evolve between performances. A review of the Bristol International Jazz and Blues Festival (which predated the album launch tour) remarks: "The trio were squeezed onto half the stage to make space for guest Evelyn Glennie's spread of marimbas, timpani, vibes and other percussion" (Benjamin 2018).

The potential power imbalance between an established and renowned virtuosic solo percussionist and a recently formed band is to some extent diminished in light of the fact that Glennie is a relative novice to the domain of jazz performance. Entirely comfortable with free improvisation, which is directly connected to her identity as a sound creator,

Glennie has forged a professional path centred on experimentation and innovation. Yet jazz, even in a deconstructed and contemporary interpretation of the genre, is a largely new frontier. Speaking of the value of the collaboration, Glennie acknowledges this:

> GH: Have you learned anything about yourself as a performer through working with Trio HLK?
> EG: Well, put it like this: I've been ordering a lot of books and materials and so on as regards to improvisation within a jazz context . . . and that is something that I feel needs to be developed in my case. So when it comes to sound color, sound moods, or rhythms, I'm much more at home with that. So I've really seen a need to develop the harmonic understanding with greater ease than I do. So that's been good for me to realize (interview with Dame Evelyn Glennie 2019).

Constructing a creative democracy

Glennie has sustained a diverse and successful career. It is clear that this was not accomplished by narrowing her remit, but by continuing to seek inspiration in challenging and eclectic projects. A driving mission "to teach the world to listen" (the motto emblazoned on the Glennie website) underpins her musical and philanthropic commitments. Outreach, public speaking, mentorship and role modelling are intrinsic features of her public profile. Glennie maintains a visible cultural presence on social media, which contrasts sharply with Trio HLK's limited following. Figures from June 2020 illustrate this difference: Trio HLK have one hundred seventy-nine YouTube subscribers in comparison to Glennie's 19500; Glennie has 12200 Twitter followers, considerably more than Trio HLK's 432; Glennie's Facebook page has 38000 followers while Trio HLK's has 1282. In terms of expanding their reputation, it is clear that the trio stands to benefit from allegiance with Glennie.

Figure 1. Album Launch Tour Dates (Source: Trio HLK Facebook page, March 24, 2018).

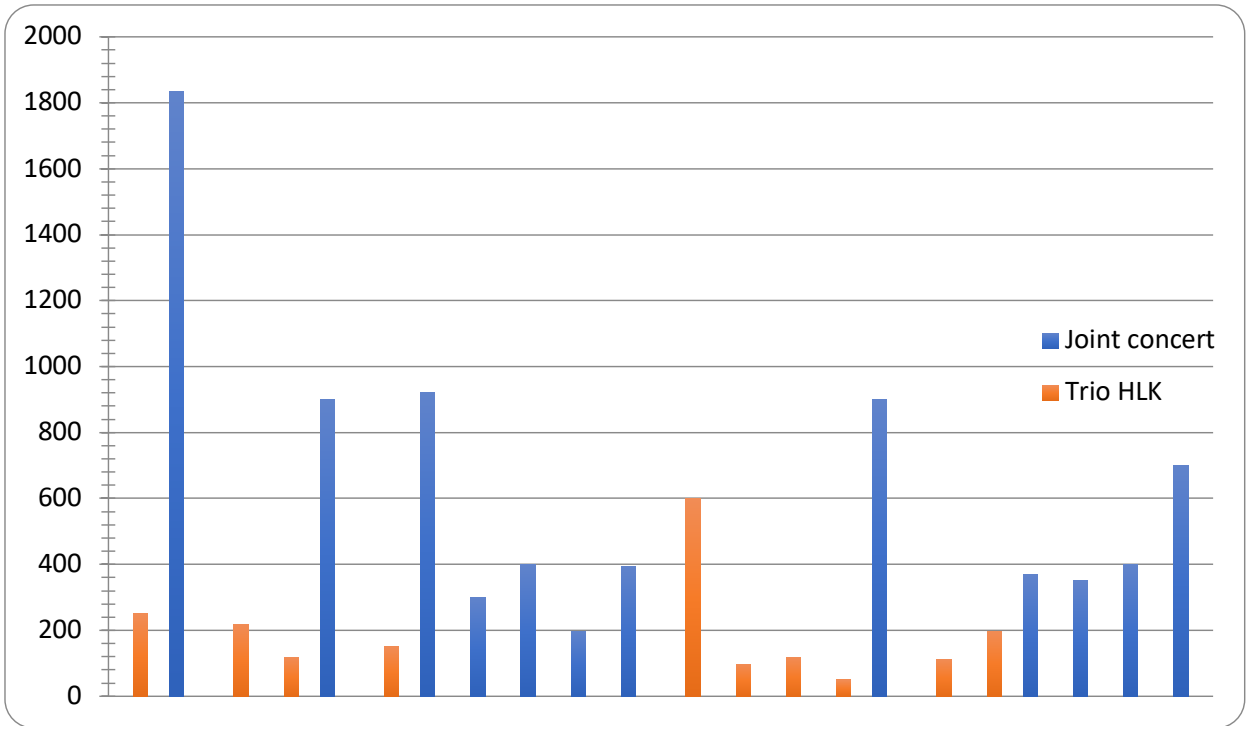

Figure 2. Trio HLK and Evelyn Glennie Album Tour Venue Capacity
(Following chronology of tour dates detailed in Figure 1; venue capacity obtained from google).

Figure 2 presents an overview of the venue capacity for each of the dates on the 2018 album launch tour. With one exception, concerts featuring Glennie accommodate larger audiences than those for the trio. The name recognition offered by Glennie's presence suggests the potential for increased interest in Trio HLK's performances. This is further consolidated in social media commentary by the trio, who frequently reference the fact that events featuring Glennie are sold-out shows (see @TrioHLK twitter posts: 3rd June 2018, 28th July 2018 and 23rd August 2018). It is important to note that Glennie has also chosen to embrace the challenges (and lessened financial recompense) of smaller venues, thus assuming the role of a touring musician (and not a featured solo virtuoso). Glennie has opted to become part of "HLKG," a term first used by the trio on Twitter, 16th November 2018. The tour has established the collaboration as a quartet, repositioning Glennie as a band member rather than a guest artist.

Concert reviews

In order to evaluate how the collaboration has been received by the general public, it is useful to consider concert reviews and interviews from the album release period. The central aim in my analysis of these critiques is to establish how the collaborative venture impacts perceptions of both Glennie and Trio HLK. A number of performances and promotional

work preceded the official album launch tour, the purpose of which was primarily twofold: to ensure that the ensemble fused effectively in a live context, and to heighten anticipation for the album release. Writing in March 2018, Hadfield opens his review with the acknowledgement that "I was a little dubious about Trio HLK with Dame Evelyn Glennie" (Hadfield 2018). Proceeding to an exposition on Trio HLK's musical style, it is clear in Hadfield's commentary that Glennie may be susceptible to greater public scrutiny in the context of live performance than the group, despite the fact that her public profile is significantly more established. An interview with Glennie for *The Scotsman* in April 2018 acknowledges the risks of transition, but also articulates the appeal of embracing new challenges in order to evolve further as a performer (Walton 2018). The potential power imbalance is addressed directly in a joint interview on May 4, specifically in relation to Kass (drummer/percussionist) working with a renowned virtuoso percussionist. His confident response, though deferential, offers clarity on the democratic and egalitarian ethos of the venture:

> As a drummer growing up I used to watch her videos and was really inspired by some of the stuff she'd done. So, for me it was quite a big deal. But she's such a nice person, such a lovely person. She makes you feel very at ease (Jamieson 2018).

The interview is concerned subsequently with introducing the work of Trio HLK to the general public; Glennie's voice is marginal, and her views on the collaboration definitively articulate respect for the ensemble:

> They are all about the music, the journey of a piece, creating suspense, surprise, sparseness, density, twists, and turns. Their music, in my opinion, is timeless and cannot really be categorized (Jamieson 2018).

The first joint performance on the album launch tour took place on May 13, 2018, in Queen's Hall, Edinburgh. Mactaggart's review for *Scottish Jazz Space* focuses initially on summarizing the achievements of the emerging trio, referencing Glennie only at the end of the second paragraph: "It is a compliment to a young jazz trio that it can attract collaborators of the stature of Glennie and Lehman" (Mactaggart 2018). The review retains focus primarily on the musicianship of the trio, embracing Glennie's role in the ensemble yet noting that her presence is "not essential to the overall sound" (Mactaggart 2018). Gilchrist's appraisal of the concert follows a similar trajectory, acknowledging Glennie's presence, but focusing on the trio as the creative epicentre of the performance:

> Glennie, hemmed in by a veritable stockade of vibes, marimba, tympani and assorted percussive gewgaws, emerged for a solo spot, hands flickering in an urgently driven piece for steel handpan and prepared tape, and to spar energetically on a separate drum kit with Kass in a number which concluded with a formidable break from the HLK drummer (Gilchrist 2018).

As is consistently the case, Trio HLK are confident and assured with regard to their musical identity. Interviews are clear on the fact that Glennie and Lehman, though welcome contributors to the album, did not alter the creative direction or ambitions of the group:

> We are all thrilled to be working alongside our wonderful guest artists, who are both operating at the very top of their game and who each have brought their own particular and highly significant layers of color to our cherished debut album (*Gazette and Herald* 2018).

A review of the performance at the Devizes Art Festival (June 3, 2018) is consolidated with interview excerpts from Glennie. The critic comments approvingly on the fact that Glennie unloads her own instruments into the venue, a small but significant gesture which definitively positions her as a band member and part of the team. This image is included in Trio HLK's Twitter feed (June 4, 2018). The reviewer also discerns this democratic framework in the context of performance:

> With the exception of her stunning solo on the halo drum, it quickly becomes clear that Evelyn is "just" one of the band. It's all about the collaboration, this. It's not just about Evelyn. Therefore anyone expecting The Evelyn Glennie show is disappointed (Foster 2018).

A review of a performance at the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama in June, although not part of the album launch tour, illustrates again the sense that this is an ensemble of musical equals:

> Evelyn Glennie was brought on stage at the end of this first number, taking up her position behind her considerable array of percussion (including vibraphone, marimba, timpani, a basic "jazz" drum kit – less complex than the one played by Kass – and a substantial collection of "small" instruments) (Pursglove 2018).

Several references to the "quartet" in this instance attest to the sense of a musical democracy onstage, and the establishment of a collaborative creative alliance. A promotional interview with Trio HLK in July reflects self-awareness of the potential publicity generated by featured guest artists, but articulates clearly that Glennie and Lehman were chosen in order to complement the pre-existing aesthetics and ethos of the group. Harrold notes:

> The music itself is quite heavily based on contemporary classical music, but there's a lot of improv and jazz language, so we wanted to get some guests who might reflect that dual nature of the music. We thought we'd aim high as high as possible and see what happens (Broom 2018).

Harrold is also clear on how the organic and evolving experience of collaborative live performance transcends and expands the ideas framed in the album recordings:

> The live shows have massively changed from the recordings. There's so much extra stuff she's bringing to it, every rehearsal she'll come in with something else, it's incredibly creative and collaborative . . . Even at the gigs, she's constantly throwing new things out there (Broom 2018).

In August 2018, Trio HLK and Glennie were featured in an interview in the *Jazz Journal*. The publication opted to feature an image of Glennie on the front cover, a significant sign of approval regarding her work in the domain of jazz, yet also a potential slight to the other members of the ensemble (Youll 2018). The interview does emphasize Glennie's role in the project, but is keen to comment on the sense of camaraderie apparent in performances. The article recounts how Glennie "joked with the audience that she was a brunette before working with the band" (Youll 2018).

It is clear that Glennie was attracted to the challenges of live improvisation and group collaboration; these are defining features of much of her output over the past decade. Thus, choosing to consolidate her guest appearance on *Standard Time* with a U.K. tour is perhaps a logical addendum to a positive working relationship in the studio environment. Yet, the concerts have since extended well beyond preliminary efforts to promote the album. Glennie's commitment to the group is illustrated in European tour dates (detailed in Table 1); the initial appeal of small-scale concerts closer to home has therefore been replaced with a larger impetus to continue making music as part of this collaborative project – in whatever organic directions this may evolve.

Date	Venue
February 3, 2019	Royal Northern College of Music
March 24, 2019	Music Hall, Union Street, Aberdeen Jazz Festival
April 27, 2019	Sello Hall, Espoo, Helsinki
July 25, 2019	St Lawrence College Theatre, Ramsgate Festival of Sound
August 26, 2019	Rottingdean Village Hall
February 11, 2020	Fasching Stockholm, Sweden
February 12, 2020	Pärnu Concert Hall, Estonia
February, 13, 2020	Estonia Kontserdisaal,Tallinn, Estonia
February 14, 2020	Vanemuine Theatre, Tartu, Estonia
March 4, 2020	St.Mary's Church, Henley-on-Thames

Table 1: Trio HLK and Glennie tour dates 2019/20
(Source: https://www.evelyn.co.uk/events/list/?tribe_paged=5&tribe_event_display=past&tribe-bar-date=2021-05-11**)**

"Quartet HLKG" are paying their dues in the traditional way, choosing to define their identity through the forum of live performance. The album launch tour offered Glennie and Trio HLK the requisite rite of passage in establishing their credibility as a cohesive creative unit. Subsequent tour dates are borne not of necessity, but of a sense that the experience of performing together is mutually rewarding. The interactive groupmind environment of positive, democratic and egalitarian collaboration offers a natural means of forging new creative directions in contemporary music.

Social media promotion for the album tour

Figure 3 indicates that early in the tour, Trio HLK maintained relative independence from Glennie in their posts. Images of the band members and references to solo concert appearances form the foundations of public engagement. Later in 2018, Glennie's presence is celebrated in a much more consistent manner. Any reluctance to subsume Glennie into the professional identity of Trio HLK is no longer a concern.

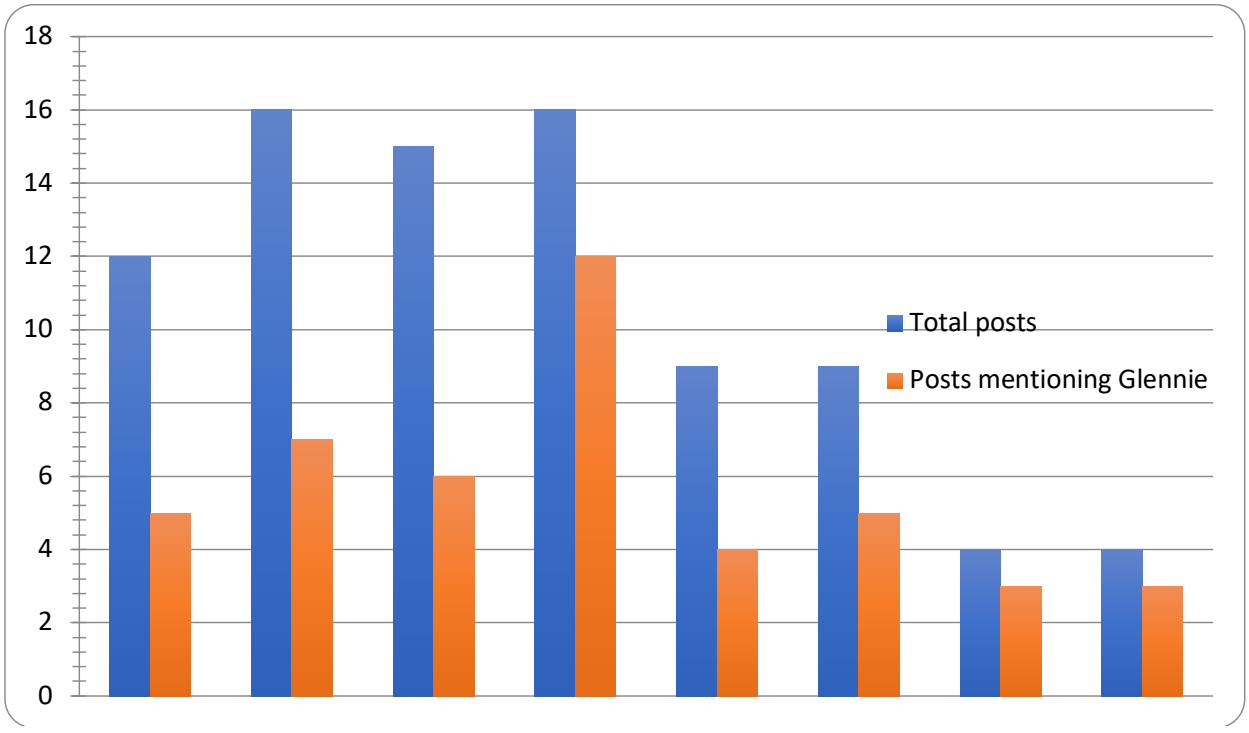

Figure 3. Trio HLK Twitter posts (during album launch period) (Source: @TrioHLK 11th May – 20th December).

The decision to include Glennie in more promotional activities suggests that initial reticence to attain a public profile directly associated with the collaboration is no longer an issue. Promotion for concert dates following the album launch tour represent a significant part of Trio HLK's social media content. References to Glennie in Trio HLK's 2019 and

early 2020 Twitter posts (excluding retweets) articulate the role played by this ongoing collaboration in terms of profile development. Of the forty-six posts between January 23 and March 16, 2020, seventy-six percent of these reference work with Glennie (concerts, videos, documentaries, photos, and rehearsals). When compared to Twitter promotion during the earlier stages of the album tour, the sense of a growing relationship between Trio HLK and Glennie is apparent, celebrating an alliance which no longer conflicts with the group's identity.

Conclusion

Positive, mutually respectful and challenging collaborations offer an important means by which the artist can diversify and evolve, as Glennie argues:

> GH: Do you feel that collaboration may represent the future of music?
> EG: Yes I do. I mean, there's always been collaborations . . . and I think that we're tapping into different kinds of collaborations whereby it's difficult to categorize the music. I don't think we have to categorize the music; I think we can just simply celebrate that this is music that planet earth is capable of finding, developing and experiencing forever (interview with Dame Evelyn Glennie 2019).

In working with Trio HLK, Glennie has presented to the public a new incarnation of her identity as sound creator. This has been accomplished, not in the context of her familiar role as a solo percussionist, but as part of an ensemble. Collaborating in order to create meaningful, connected musical experiences has driven the union between two potentially disparate entities. If the future of music is one where eclectic and experimental collaborations forge new directions, sounds and genres, Glennie is continuing to innovate. As a multi-sensory form of performance art, solo percussion is arguably best understood in the context of live performance; gigs with Trio HLK renew the sense that percussion is beholden to no single genre, epoch, culture or musical identity. The collaboration embraces a post-genre attitude to contemporary music.

It is exciting to think that new directions for twenty-first century music in the U.K., irrespective of genre, are to be found in the gig economy and not in the concert hall. The live performance experience is central to the success of the collaboration between Trio HLK and Glennie, which makes a powerful statement about the ethos of sound creation and innovation in music today. The camaraderie of life on the road has fostered a new and exciting collective identity, reframing our concepts of genres, the profession of music, and the locus of creativity. Essentialist views of musical categories are wilfully eschewed in the interest of pursuing dynamic and organic performance experiences which opt to transcend classification. Driven by a desire to connect with the listener, the gig offers a forum where preconceptions and assumptions can be negated; the music is what matters.

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Another Typical Day at the Office: Working Life in the Portuguese Independent Music Scene

Ana Oliveira

The analysis of music scenes in urban contexts has traditionally focused on music production practices, without giving relevance to how these very practices are grounded in the organizational and economic dynamics that characterize the cultural and creative economy. However, several authors have advocated for a broader understanding of contemporary forms of music production, towards the consideration of the professional and economic dimension of musical activity (Tarassi 2018). These authors acknowledged the urgency to look at music production as a professional activity, which requires a set of skills that go beyond musical ability and which encompasses management and negotiation skills, like any other professional career. It is therefore important to understand how music and work in music are taken at the intersection between art, creativity, and economy; how trajectories in music are constructed; what strategies are mobilized by musicians, and the different actors that compose the musical field to ensure the sustainability and economic viability of their trajectories; what are their working conditions and consequent impacts on their daily lives, in a contemporary context.

Several authors have focused on the construction and structuring of musical careers, paying special attention to the living conditions of musicians and the strategies they mobilize to achieve economic sustainability. The work of Oliver (2010) shows the importance of new technological tools in the search for self-sufficiency by musicians, particularly in the context of the creative and management processes in which they are involved. In regard to the Austrian context, Rosa Reitsamer and Rainer Prokop (Reitsamer 2011; Reitsamer and Prokop 2018) analyzed the processes of construction and structuring of the careers of techno and drum'n'bass DJs, as well as hip-hop musicians, showing how these underground artists manage their careers in a flexible, self-responsible and DIY approach. In the Francophone context, Marc Perrenoud and Pierre Bataille (2017) have developed work on the French and Swiss music scenes, identifying different ways of being a musician, depending on the artists' living conditions and their different sources of income.

This article focuses on the Portuguese context. It seeks to reveal the activities developed by the different actors that compose the *world* (Becker 1982) of independent music and

the strategies they mobilize to guarantee the sustainability and economic viability of their careers, which are closely linked to their perceptions of music and work in music. Recognizing the importance of the production of sociological knowledge based on the representations of social actors and their processes of signification, my approach essentially relies on qualitative methods, based on a set of seventy-one semi-structured interviews with different actors in the independent music world (musicians, promoters, label owners, producers, agents, music venues programmers/curators, critics/journalists, and broadcasters) from two metropolitan areas: Lisbon and Porto. These interviews were conducted between May 2016 and March 2018, and the sample was constructed from the theoretical sampling approach and the snowball technique. The sample was constructed on the basis of its relevance to the theoretical approach and categories adopted in the research. I started from a set of privileged informants and key players in the Portuguese independent music scene, previously identified, which facilitated the entry into the field and allowed the identification of other members of the music scene to interview. While conducting interviews I adopted the life history approach (Bertaux 1997) to obtain as detailed a description as possible regarding the interviewees' life trajectories, the construction of their musical taste and their connection to music, their forms of belonging to the music scene under study, and their performance strategies in it. The interviews were fully transcribed, using *f4transkript,* and submitted to a vertical and horizontal content analysis (Bardin 2011) using *NVivo*.

Creative work and music as a profession

The basic premise on which the understanding of music as a profession is based is the refusal of dichotomous visions that oppose music to the business world and to commercial logics, thereby detaching the exercise of creative activity from any presumption of substantial rationality. Binary representations that oppose the idealism of the artist to the materiality of work, the figure of the subversive and bohemian creative to that of the bourgeois worker concerned with social norms, or even the "art for art's sake" to the world of business and commerce, are no longer relevant. Rather than considering them as distant, we assume that art, creativity, and economy intersect in a complex space of tensions, negotiations, and struggles (Negus 1995; Menger 2005; Hesmondhalgh 2019).

This research starts precisely from the understanding of artistic and creative activities, and more specifically from the set of activities developed around music as a profession, as work, as employment. Therefore, I rely on authors such as Angela McRobbie (2016), for whom artists and creatives anticipate the future of work and the forms in which careers are consolidated in a neoliberal context and under the aegis of the "economy of talent." In this regard, Menger stated that "not only are creative artistic activities not or are no longer the opposite side of work, but they are increasingly taken to be the most advanced expression

of new modes of production and new employment relationships engendered by recent mutations in capitalism" (Menger 2005:44). For authors following this rationale, it is clear that "artistic worlds have learned to live with the pressures of economic efficiency and the criteria of profit, not to exonerate themselves from them, but to accommodate them to their guiding principles" (Menger 2005:61).

The work carried out over the last few years clearly identifies the main characteristics of the forms of work organization in artistic, cultural and creative professions: There are frequent situations of self-employment, but also different forms of underemployment (part-time non-voluntary work, intermittent work, fewer working hours). It is also common to be involved in several projects simultaneously and to work for different employers. Traditional linear careers give way to a succession of projects and experiences in a structuring logic based on flexibility and discontinuity; the prospects for career development tend to be quite uncertain and risky, with a strong inequality of income but also of reputation and recognition (Menger 1983; Menger 1999; McRobbie 2004; Menger 2005; Menger 2014; McRobbie 2016; Perrenoud and Bois 2017; Sinigaglia 2017; Everts, Hitters, and Berkers 2021). Workers are expected to be increasingly multi-skilled and to adapt easily and quickly to new projects and new tasks. In this context, investment in the acquisition and consolidation of social capital (Bourdieu 1993; Bourdieu 1996) is crucial to ensure the viability of these trajectories, which makes networking and gatekeeping processes preponderant in accessing work opportunities and therefore in building and maintaining artistic and creative careers.

Given the specificities of how artistic and creative work is organized, several strategies are mobilized for the construction and maintenance of these careers. One of the main strategies involves an exercise of splitting, reflected in the multiplication of professional occupations, through the accumulation of different jobs in the same period, in a logic of multi-activity. These professionals often divide their working time with tasks related to the artistic and creative sphere, but which go beyond the act of creation or preparation of the artistic/creative product itself (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; Hracs 2015; Haynes and Marshall 2018).

Moreover, without the predictability and monotony of routine work, these types of work are characterized by great uncertainty. But if uncertainty is seen as one of the conditions of originality, innovation, and personal satisfaction and fulfilment in relation to the creative act, it also has a negative dimension, often creating states of anxiety. In addition, several studies have shown that the autonomy, freedom, and flexibility associated with artistic and creative work are counterbalanced with harsh working conditions and precarious daily experiences: long working hours, sometimes unpaid or in exchange for a reduced salary;

difficulty in balancing artistic and creative careers with family life, particularly felt by women; nervousness, anxiety, frustration, and a loss of self-esteem generated by the instability of these careers; a continuum between work and leisure stemming from the need for socialization and networking; and a tendency towards individualization, the privatization of disappointment, and self-blame for failures (McRobbie 2002; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2010; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; Campbell 2013; McRobbie 2016; Tarassi 2018).

Considering these characteristics, some authors argue that, along with the transformation of society towards an intensification of individualism, the artistic, cultural, and creative labor market is also becoming increasingly individualized, following a neoliberal model, and governed by the values of entrepreneurship. Expressions such as "cultural entrepreneurs" (Scott 2012) or "subcultural entrepreneurs" (Haenfler 2018) have been used to refer to musicians and other social actors in music scenes who manage their careers without being dependent on intermediaries such as record labels, managers or agents. It is recognized that these actors present characteristics associated with an entrepreneurial attitude (flexibility, resilience, creativity in problem-solving, capacity to deal with risk and uncertainty) and that, in their daily lives, they engage in activities considered as entrepreneurial – networking, ensuring the funding of projects, organizing concerts and tours, promoting their work and events to the audiences and different gatekeepers (e.g., journalists, critics, radio broadcasters, and programmers). In fact, as Haynes and Marshall argue, this is rather expected, especially in the field of popular music where musicians are usually self-employed (Haynes and Marshall 2018). But these types of commercial and promotional activities are and have always been part of a musician's work. Therefore, they are not something that solely results from the transformations that occurred in the music industry (although they may be intensified by them), but rather are a continuation of already existing work patterns. Referring to the work of William Weber on the status of musicians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and of Tia DeNora on Beethoven (and we add, of Norbert Elias on Mozart), Haynes and Marshal argue that musicians are and always have been both cultural and economic figures (Elias 1993; DeNora 1995; Weber 2004; Haynes and Marshall 2018).

The DIY approach in the analysis of music careers

Though the work activities of musicians have mainly been conceptualized through an entrepreneurial perspective, another analytical approach is possible by focusing on the concept of DIY. The Portuguese independent music scene in particular can be studied through the DIY concept, allowing an understanding of musicians and other actors of the music field as managers of their careers and protagonists of a logic of development of multiple competencies. They assume simultaneously several and complementary roles –as musicians, producers, editors, designers, promoters, and agents – generating intersections

between diverse artistic and creative subsectors, and also challenging the boundaries between the professional and the amateur (Hennion et al. 2000). This emphasis is based on social theory's revisiting one of the core values of the punk subculture – the DIY ethos (McKay 1998; Dale, 2008; Dale 2010; Moran 2010; Olivier 2010; Hein 2012; Guerra 2013; Guerra 2018; Bennett and Guerra 2019). If at the beginning of the twentieth century, the term DIY referred to the practices of creating, repairing, and/or modifying something without recourse to an experienced craftsman/professional, its meaning gradually evolved over the following decades to encompass a wide range of cultural and creative practices (Bennett and Guerra 2019).

Within a music production mode symbolically and ideologically distinct from the commercial circuits of the music industry, during the 1980s and 1990s the DIY ethos remained strongly linked to the punk aesthetic but extended to other musical genres and other spheres of alternative cultural production (Bennett 2018). Thus, Bennett and Guerra argue that "while by no means eschewing anti-hegemonic concerns, this transformation of DIY into what might reasonably be termed a global 'alternative culture' has also seen it evolve to a level of professionalism that is aimed towards ensuring aesthetic and, where possible, economic sustainability" (Bennett and Guerra 2019:7). The concept of a DIY career implies understanding it as a form of professional trajectory, which stems from the need to manage the "pathological effects" of post-industrialization and, consequently, the risk and uncertainty that characterize contemporary societies. In a context like the one we live in – the "risk society" (Beck 1992) – not only are biographical trajectories more uncertain and unpredictable, but processes become increasingly individualized, and social actors are driven to create their own trajectories. It is in this sense that we can understand DIY careers as a pattern of promoting employability based on knowledge acquired through practice, contact with peers and, often, participation in youth subcultures (Oliveira 2020).

For these reasons, DIY has become representative of a wider ethos of lifestyle politics, with repercussions on people's personal projects and professional choices, on a global scale (Bennett and Guerra 2019). And in this scenario of redefining the meaning of DIY, we are now witnessing the growth of levels of professionalization that characterize much of the contemporary DIY cultural production sphere (Bennett 2018; Tarassi 2018).

Strategies for career development in the independent music scene

The changes that have taken place in recent decades in the global record industry and more broadly in the world of music have been well documented in the Portuguese context by the work of Paula Abreu and Paula Guerra (Abreu 2010; Guerra 2010). They have shown how these changes have brought new opportunities and challenges to musicians and the wide range of professionals that compose the music field. Specifically, these changes have

implications for the ways these social actors carry out their activities and, consequently, on how they ensure the sustainability of their careers. In this sense, my research has confirmed that a music career involves the combination of several strategies and, therefore, of several sources of income (Oliveira 2019; Oliveira 2020). Figure 1 provides an overview of this diversity.

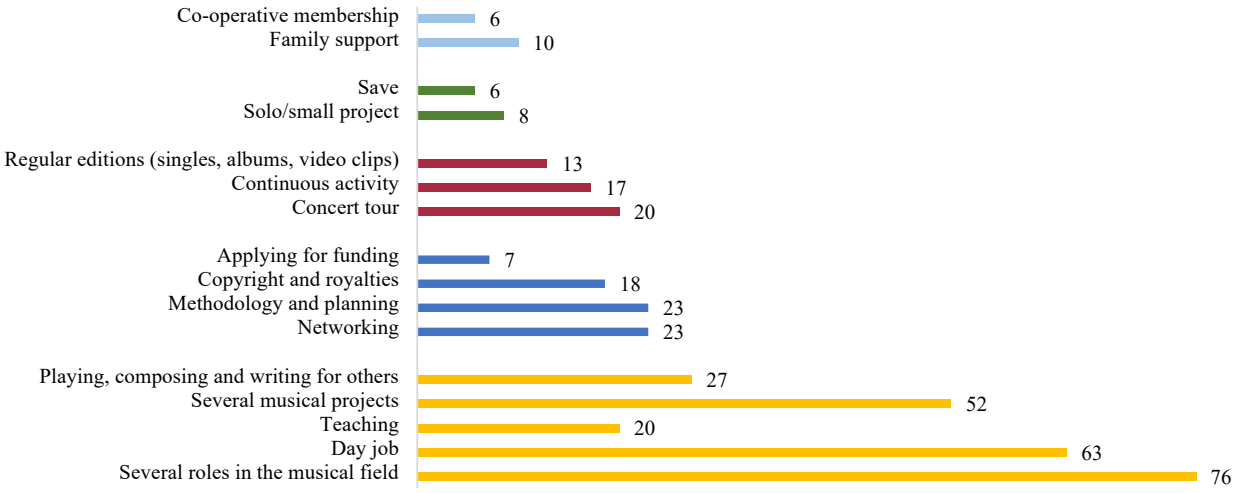

Figure 1. Strategies for the development of music careers (percent). Source: The author.

A logic of multiplication

In line with the results of other research on the construction of music careers, the main set of strategies mentioned by my interviewees follows a logic of multiplication, taking different forms (yellow bars in Figure 1) (Guerra 2010; Reitsamer 2011; Guerra 2015; Gavanas and Reitsamer 2016; Perrenoud, Marc and Bataille 2017; Reitsamer and Prokop 2018; Reitsamer 2011). First, through the performance of different roles in music, both in terms of personal projects and in terms of working with other actors in the music field – a strategy mentioned by seventy-six percent of our interviewees. This is the materialization of the DIY ethos, ensuring control over several stages of the process of making and disseminating music, often as a combination of the will to do so and the need to do so due to the scarcity of available resources (Strachan 2003; Strachan 2007; Dale 2008; Dale 2010; Drijver and Hitters 2017). To the creative dimension of writing, composing, and playing, these actors add many other roles – those of producer, editor, promoter, agent, DJ, designer, and others. Having a career in music depends on much more than knowing how to sing or play an instrument (Figure 2). It is necessary to know the field and its logics, but also to ensure a range of more administrative and bureaucratic activities. We are here before what Perrenoud and Leresche designate as one of the four types of *invisible work* that are part of

Figure 2. Different types of tasks performed by musicians in the independent scene. Source: Adapted from Hracs, 2015, based on information gathered through the interviews.

musical activity – the *perimusical work* (Perrenoud and Leresche 2016).[1] This includes all the non-musical tasks that are materially necessary for the musician's activity. It includes all the work of organization and administration, ensuring tasks such as planning and budget management; applying for funding; promotion of the artist/band and projects in different communication channels and thinking both about the audiences and gatekeepers; booking concerts; event organization; and other tasks. The authors also include *maintenance work*, which has a logistical dimension, manifested for example in the transportation and installation of instruments and sound equipment during concerts.

In most cases, the skills required to perform these activities are acquired through practice and through contact with peers, both in person and online. The predominance of intermittent employment within the scope of musical work encourages the polyvalence of musicians. Technological evolutions, mainly at the level of record production, have contributed to the greater independence of musicians in relation to social actors such as

producers and labels. In recent decades there has been a confluence of technological, economic, and socio-cultural factors that have facilitated musicians to take on tasks that they used to delegate, such as production and editing.

The multiplication of roles played on the music scene contributes to the acquisition of symbolic and cultural capital, reinforcing the position of these social actors in the subfield of independent music (Bourdieu 1993; Bourdieu 1996). By diversifying their area of activity, musicians conquer symbolic legitimacy within the networks in which they are involved. Thus, there is a strong investment in terms of relational capital, in the sense that playing different roles allows the creation and maintenance of more and more diversified relations.

A second form of multiplication, mentioned by sixty-three percent of interviewees, involves combining music with another profession, which may or may not be related to it or to the artistic and cultural environment. Within the framework of our research, of the fifty-three interviewees working as musicians, only eight were exclusively dedicated to music, while thirty-eight claimed to combine it with other activities, and the remaining seven reported being students. Activities developed in parallel with the activity of a musician included those of promotion, music publishing and music production, as well as teaching in areas such as design and architecture, and work in sound technology. These are activities relating to the artistic and cultural environment, which are recognized by interviewees as advantageous. In the case of the eighteen non-musicians interviewed, only two combined their activity in the musical field with another profession not related to the artistic area (one of the interviewees worked at a housing company and the other was the owner of a transport company). This suggests that for a musician, professional work in other activities around music is easier than pursuits unrelated to music.

For some of the interviewees, this combination with other activities was a strategy they turned to only during periods when music work was not enough to ensure their economic sustainability. However, in most cases, this activity constituted a permanent job, and not infrequently, the main job. In either situation, the flexibility of schedules is valued to facilitate rehearsals, concerts, and tours. However, there are different perspectives regarding this occupational division. For the majority (sixty-two percent of the interviewees who have another profession besides music), this situation stems from the need to seek a balance between financial pressures and the possibility of maintaining their creative passions. Indeed, these musicians face the conflicts and tensions inherent in the search for mental, temporal, and economic space to be creative while also meeting everyday needs, which can create different opportunities for engagement with creativity and a career in music (Threadgold 2018). On the contrary, the remaining interviewees, and especially

those who denote a more emotional attitude towards music, clearly state that music is for them a "territory of freedom" and, as such, they do not want to economically depend on it.

> In my case, it's impossible to live only from music. I live from the work I do outside music, which is architecture. It was completely impossible to live only from music. There are a lot of expenses and the money is not enough. With two jobs, it's difficult. So, it was completely impossible. And it wasn't something I didn't want. If I could live only from music, I would live only from music, but I can't.
> Tiago, 31 years old, master's degree, musician, and architect, Cascais.

> I have been an architect since I finished my degree, and I am self-employed as an architect. (. . .) In strategic terms, my option is to have music as a part-time. . . Music is a part-time job to which I dedicate a lot of time, time that I feel is fairly rewarded nowadays, but it is already structural for me this idea that I don't want to depend on music. Music for me is a territory of total freedom. I'm not going to give that up, so, for me, music will always be this second professional home, although in fact, in terms of my emotional involvement with it, it is often the first.
> Baltazar, 40 years old, bachelor's degree, musician, and architect, Barcelos.

Being a teacher, organizing workshops, or providing classes on a more informal and occasional basis also seems to be a common activity, mentioned by fourteen interviewees (twenty percent). Within the set of roles that can be played, being a teacher is especially relevant, insofar as it consists of a division that does not imply a detachment from the area of music and may even contribute towards the acquisition of different kinds of capital that are essential for a good position in this particular subfield (Menger 1999; Menger 2006).

The involvement in several musical projects is a third way in which this logic of multiplication is translated, mentioned by fifty-two percent of our interviewees.[2] In fact, this strategy is seen in a very positive light. On the one hand, it allows the manifestation of different identities, styles/genres, and artistic languages, in addition to also enabling musicians to play different instruments. The plurality of musical projects is thus perceived as a factor of enrichment and evolution in professional terms. On the other hand, on a more rational and strategic level, considering the importance of live music, the multiplicity of musical projects makes it possible to play several times in the same concert venues, without repeating the project, thus broadening the sources of income. If the times and rhythms of each project are well balanced, it can allow a continuous activity.

Still in this first set of strategies that implies multiplication, for twenty-seven percent of our interviewees, one of the strategies is precisely to be a musician in different ways. In other words, to be a creator and author, but also what is commonly called a session musician, i.e., to play with other artists, whether occasionally or consistently. Also included here are musicians who write and compose for other artists, as well as those who compose

soundtracks for cinema, theatre, dance shows, television, and advertising. This is a very important strategy, especially in the case of those who live only from music.

However, considering the ambiguity within which musical careers are built, these different forms of multiplication should perhaps be understood as a necessary and differentiating element of independent music production practices. They also have less positive dimensions, which have been taken into consideration by my interviewees (seventeen percent) – notably, difficulties of time management and of defining priorities between the different roles assumed in the music scene, between the creative dimension and the more administrative and managerial ones. These tensions emerge from the time, concentration, and energy spent on creating, and on generating the necessary income. The long days of work and the consequent fatigue (which is not productive in creative terms) that this implies were also mentioned. In this way, once the risks in terms of the quality of creative work are recognized, the different forms of multiplication portrayed here are seen by this set of interviewees as accentuating the precarious nature of musicians' work, simultaneously calling professionalism – and the capacity for professionalization – into question:

> It is not an aspect that I find particularly positive. It would be more interesting if it didn't have to be like this, but nowadays bands make their posters, their communication, they manage their social networks. All these are skills that go far beyond the work as a musician. And this also takes time away from that work. And, if it is already done in relatively precarious conditions, in most cases, it only makes them more precarious. There is less time and less focus on the creative issue. But it is the model that works best now. It is almost an obligation. Musicians must multiply, and they must be able to answer a lot of questions and understand them.
> Baltazar, 40 years old, bachelor's degree, musician, and architect, Barcelos.

The music like any other profession

A second set of strategies exists. When interviewees consider music as any other profession, they express a rational perspective (dark blue bars in Figure 1).[3] Calling to mind the relational and collective dimension of music – understanding it as the result of the combined work of different actors – another essential strategy for building and maintaining a music career is networking (mentioned by twenty-three percent of interviewees), (Becker 1982; Crossley, McAndrew and Widdop 2014; Crossley 2015; Crossley and Bottero 2015; Guerra 2015; Mcandrew and Everett 2015). For musicians, it is often important to be associated with groups of artists, especially when these groups include people with complementary skills and roles such as production, editing, and management. These "artistic communities" draw on the various types of capital (symbolic, cultural, social, and economic) that their members possess, and at the same time, these actors see their position and reputation in the music world strengthened as a result of belonging to these groups.

At the same time, these interviewees recognize the importance of "knowing the right people" – essentially, those who act as gatekeepers, who can generate work opportunities, or can promote the musicians and their projects. This is what Perrenoud and Leresche identify as one of the forms of musicians' *invisible work* – the *work of socialization* **(**Perrenoud and Leresche 2016).

Simultaneously, interviewees recognized the relevance of informal and face-to-face relationships established while attending nightlife venues for musical fruition and socializing. They know that it is essential to go to each other's concerts, to go out at night and strengthen relationships with peers, especially when they have something new that needs to be promoted, be it an album, a single, a music video, or a new project they are involved in. Thus, the divisions between leisure and work, and between production and consumption become blurred, which is a characteristic feature of small-scale cultural production circuits. Insertion in networks and the acquisition of relational and social capital, capable of creating a system of trust and mutual aid, but also of reputation, is essential (Crossley 2008; Scott 2012; Crossley and Bottero 2015; Mcandrew and Everett 2015; Reitsamer and Prokop 2018; Tarassi 2018). These networks function as platforms for acquiring skills and knowledge essential to the different roles that a music career entails. At the same time, they can promote new job opportunities, as they tend to be used as the main channel for recruiting new talent and finding new jobs.

The city in which musicians and other actors in the music field were based was not explicitly stated by interviewees as an important factor in the construction and management of their careers. Rather, the informality that characterizes the relationships in the music world and the emphasis that is given to personal contact, in moments of leisure and socializing, mean that the city and the spaces for meeting and musical fruition of the independent music circuit assume extreme relevance for the construction of these careers. More specifically, the concentration of gatekeepers in Lisbon makes it a crucial locale for musicians, meaning musicians living in Porto or in other cities of the country may find networking more difficult.

Another strategy mentioned by twenty-three percent of interviewees is the need to plan one's career by defining objectives, a schedule, and a work methodology. Here a rational and methodical dimension of music takes on importance, as opposed to the romantic vision of musicians as bohemians, and of music as the result of their inspiration and genius. For the interviewees who report this strategy, music is a work that implies dedication, commitment, and many hours of work around all the details of the music (lyrics, composition, arrangements. . .). It implies a great deal of self-discipline, which involves setting schedules and deadlines. It also implies thinking of the career as a process with distinct phases,

identifying priorities and defining a strategy to achieve them. Though they acknowledge all the creativity and pleasure associated with the moment of creation, they differentiate it from the moment of execution, i.e., production and promotion, which implies planning and well-defined strategies to transform the musical creation into economic returns. This notion calls to mind the argument of Keith Negus, who questioned some of the assumptions about the rational nature of the market on the one hand, and the "mystical" nature of creative inspiration on the other (Negus 1995). In his view, a binary approach based on the opposition between creativity and commerce is not the most fruitful one. According to the author, the production of popular music does not really involve a conflict between commerce and creativity as a struggle over what is creative and what should be commercial. This is precisely the logic that we find in the discourses of this group of interviewees. The creative dimension, imminently pleasurable and where a more emotional connection to music is evident, manifests itself above all at the moment of conception and creation. In the following phases, a more rational dimension is added, relating to the strategies used to make music a financially viable option. The combination of these two components, and not their opposition, is essential to enable the sustainability of a music career.

> Music is not born from acts of genius. It is born from acts of work, dedication, and discipline. It is going through trial and error to see what works. (. . .) Discipline, methodology, and effort are the most important things to be able to make a serious and profitable business. This is a very important strategy to make a living from music. You must see it as any other job.
> Gabriel, 26 years old, bachelor's degree, musician, and designer, Lisbon.

In this set of strategies, we also included the use of copyright and royalties, which was identified as a relevant strategy and source of income for eighteen percent of the interviewees. In fact, illustrating the strategic management dimension of careers, some of the musicians we interviewed consider the income obtained through the copyright and royalties as a kind of savings that they accumulate and resort to when concerts are less frequent.

Also it is pertinent to underline the applications for support and funding, be it occasional, for a tour, the release of an album or the organization of events. The use of these types of funding is a strategy mentioned by seven percent of the interviewees, allowing the development of their artistic work in a context of greater stability. However, some difficulties remain – namely, those related to the complexity of some application for funding processes. Similarly to what Campbell emphasized in the Canadian case, there is the problem of a lack of preparation for this kind of administrative work, which is increasingly a reality in the daily lives of these musicians (Campbell 2013). An idea also present in Hugo's words:

> We were making an application. Most musicians can't make an application like this. Even the training that musicians have in schools and universities. . . Musicians are not prepared for these kinds of realities that, sooner or later, everyone will have to face. We were thinking that in the curricula of the courses, musicians should be more prepared to adapt to this type of realities. Really, a musician's life is not just about playing. There is a lot of administrative work that must be done.
> Hugo, 41 years old, PhD student, musician, sound technician, teacher, Porto.

A logic of continuity

Within a third set of strategies, grouped under a shared logic of continuity (red bars in Figure 1), there are live performances and concert circuits. With the worldwide decline in record sales, live music has become the main source of income for musicians (Wilkström 2009). Twenty percent of the interviewees mentioned that playing as often as possible is an essential strategy. This implies availability to play in different venues and stages and for different audiences. Sometimes it also implies playing in venues with few conditions. At the same time, it presupposes the strengthening of ties with promoters and programmers of concert venues who, due to the centrality of live music, are increasingly key players.[4] In fact, this can be seen as one of the main changes in the power relations in the music scene.

> It's trying to be always active, always doing something, always promoting, trying to give many concerts. It's trying to organise the whole scheme in the best way possible, so that we can direct the funding we have to what is worthwhile. Music, nowadays, gives us money through concerts, royalties and almost nothing else. Music is no longer bought, what you get out of it is a minimal profit. The goal is to play all the time, to do new things so that we can play more often.
> Tânia, 31 years old, higher education, musician, dance teacher and actress, Porto.

Equally relevant is maintaining continuous activity, never stopping. In other words, one of the strategies (mentioned by seventeen percent of interviewees) is to ensure the continuity of the creative cycle by always being involved, whether through composing, recording, producing, editing, or playing. In this way and considering the interconnection between all these strategies, musicians manage to increase the possibility of performing concerts, collecting royalties, and attracting the attention of both the audiences and the media, boosting their visibility. At the same time, this logic of continuity requires a constant investment, a capacity for adaptation and reinvention on the part of musicians and other actors who have made music their professional career.

A logic of reduction

A fourth set of strategies mentioned by our interviewees highlights a logic of reduction (green bars in Figure 1). This is the case of the reduction of the size of musical projects. According to interviewees, it is common for a band with several elements to have more

difficulties in booking concerts outside the city where it is based. In logistical terms, the higher costs of transportation and accommodation render the band more expensive and therefore less attractive. At the same time, the larger the size of the band, the greater the division of income. For these reasons, reducing the size of musical projects or even opting for solo projects were strategies mentioned by eight percent of our interviewees. In a complementary way, six percent mentioned the need to save, reduce costs associated with musical activity, and adapting to available resources. It is often precisely for this reason that the DIY ethos manifests itself. But the logic of saving extends to the other spheres of life of our interviewees, who say that they "have a life without many luxuries." They have modest objectives – paying the bills through their work and ensuring the continuity of their musical projects – and adapt their lifestyle to what they can effectively afford. These discourses comment on processes of adjustment and reduction of expectations that allow them to justify the continuation of their careers even when financial return is low (Campbell 2013; Sinigaglia 2017).

> At the time of the first album, I was with a very big band, I was playing with five people. So, I was asking for two thousand euros per concert. To get into the independent scene, two thousand is already a lot. So, I had to go back to being just guitar and voice. I play with the computer. And I'm not going to put a structure on it again any time soon, because it's a huge risk.
> Dalila, 27 years old, university attendance, musician and photographer, Porto.

Finally, we consider it relevant to mention one other strategy, mentioned by ten percent of the interviewees (light blue bars in Figure 1): reliance on family support (parents and/or partners). These support networks were identified as one of the ways of dealing with the uncertainty, instability, and precariousness that characterize these DIY careers. The ability of social actors from privileged backgrounds to use family economic resources is fundamental in insulating them from much of the precariousness and uncertainty associated with their career (Friedman, O'Brien, and Laurison 2016). It seems that two essential aspects are involved here. The first is the idea defended by Threadgold that if the precarious nature of these trajectories is undeniable, it is important to remember that it is a precariousness chosen reflexively and not imposed (Threadgold 2018). The second aspect refers to one of the factors facilitating this choice: the family socio-economic background, i.e., the class origin of these social actors as an element encouraging their involvement in DIY careers. Similarly to previous studies portraying the alternative rock subfield and the punk scene in Portugal, our data shows that when compared to the general Portuguese population, the majority of our interviewees already have an advantage when it comes to economic, social and cultural capital (Guerra 2010; Guerra 2013; Abreu et al. 2017).[5]

Conclusion

The main objective of this article was to understand the work activities developed by musicians and other actors in the Portuguese independent music scene, as well as the strategies applied to ensure the sustainability and viability of their careers. This research concludes that a music career implies combining several strategies and, therefore, several sources of income. The main set of strategies mentioned by our interviewees follows a logic of multiplication, which can take different forms. First, we found that the performance of different roles in the music field is a characteristic feature of independent music production. Based on a DIY ethos and praxis, this multiplicity of roles, in addition to allowing for less dependence on others, contributes to the acquisition of symbolic and cultural capital, reinforcing the position of these social actors in the field of music production. This implies that these actors engage in many activities alongside their creative work. They engage in administrative, promotional, and management activities, revealing that the dichotomous visions opposing art and commerce are not adequate for an analysis of their trajectories. The combination of music with another profession, such as giving lessons/workshops, being involved in several musical projects simultaneously, and playing, composing, and writing for others are also common strategies.

Closely associated with an eminently rational conception of music and musical activity, which understands music as any other profession, one of the crucial strategies involves promoting networks and networking, as well as planning one's career, defining objectives, setting a schedule, and establishing work methodology. This also includes the use of copyright and royalties, as well as applying for support and funding.

A third set of strategies immediately highlights the centrality of live music in the processes of building and consolidating musical careers. Today, concerts and tours have not only become the main source of income for musicians, but also reveal themselves to be an essential activity for the creation and consolidation of networks and for building a reputation in the musical field. For this reason, one of the main strategies mobilized by these interviewees is to perform as many live performances as possible. To make this possible, they try to be constantly active, editing new music regularly and getting involved in several musical projects simultaneously. At the same time, a reduction in the size of musical projects, manifested in smaller bands and the creation of solo projects, is also a way of not only reducing the costs associated with musical activity and adapting it to the resources available, but also a strategy to boost invitations for live performances.

Inevitably, the centrality that live music has gained has changed the power relations in the music field. If in the past record labels played a key role, today musicians are less dependent on these structures, partly thanks to digital technologies and the Internet. On

the other hand, today the promoters, agents, and programmers of concert venues are the central figures of the musical field, insofar as the possibilities of live performance largely depend on them.

In summary, based on these results, I formulate two main theoretical conclusions. First, this analysis shows the importance of research that considers the diversity of workers' experiences in the creative industries, and specifically in music. More specifically, it reveals the relevance of analyses that combine a look at the activities developed on a daily basis by these actors and consequently, the strategies they mobilize with their perceptions regarding music and musical activities. At this level, our research contributes to the growing theoretical corpus that rejects binary views that oppose art and economics in the analysis of work in music. Second, by offering a deep focus on the working lives of musicians and other actors in the music world nowadays, our analysis contributes to the consolidation of live music as an important area of study. This is especially important in the current pandemic context, which poses new challenges to the functioning and sustainability of this sphere of the music field, especially in a country like Portugal, where the importance of the live music ecosystem is beginning to be brought into discussion.

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Notes

[1] The other types of *invisible work* that the authors talk about are the *work of socialization*, which will be discussed later; the *work of routine*, which concerns the incorporation, maintenance, and improvement of instrumental technique; and the *work of inspiration*, which encompasses different activities that supposedly stimulate creativity and instigate artistic creation, such as listening to music, going to exhibitions, reading, dreaming, travelling, and others.

[2] Considering only the 53 interviewees who perform the activity of musician, 29 are involved in more than one musical project.

[3] This pragmatic posture in the way of relating to music, understanding it as a full-time job and side-lining conceptions of music as a hobby or as pure entertainment, as well as the more romanticized perspectives of musical activity, is expressed by fifty-four percent of those interviewed. On the other hand, seven percent admit having a very emotional relationship with music and therefore find it very difficult to see it as a profession, assuming in some cases that they do not want to depend on it from a financial point of view. There is also a third group of interviewees (twenty percent), mainly young people, for whom music is above all a means of expression to transmit their message. They combine

or imagine themselves soon combining music with other artistic languages, such as the fine arts or writing. Given the ambiguity that characterises the forms of relationship with music, in the case of the remaining interviewees (nineteen percent) it is not clearly perceptible how they see it, since they denote intersections between a more pragmatic vision and a more emotional one.

[4] About the centrality of these actors from the music world, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is interesting to mention their capacity for collective mobilization around the awareness of the importance of live music, namely among political decision-makers. This resulted in the constitution of Circuito — Associação Portuguesa de Salas de Programação e de Música (Portuguese Association of Programming and Music Venues), which gathers more than 20 venues, in mainland Portugal and on the islands, with independent and regular programming of concerts, DJ sets, and live acts, by national and international artists. The association's main objective is to give visibility to the current independent circuit of popular music in Portugal, drawing attention to its cultural, economic, and social relevance and to the multiple professionals — artists, technicians, small agencies, promoters, and labels — that shape it. It, therefore, intends to include this circuit in the public and political debate and claim an active role for the State in its preservation, at a time when its sustainability is being threatened. To this end, it has already presented concrete proposals for support measures, defending the need to understand this circuit as culture, insofar as the work of these venues is based on a logic of cultural programming that, often, even integrates other artistic disciplines besides music.

[5] Most of the interviewees (sixty-six percent) belong to the middle class, associated with liberal professions in the artistic, intellectual, or scientific areas. Their advantage in terms of possession of economic, social, and educational capital is already present in their families of origin. Fifty-two percent of the interviewees' mothers and fifty-eight percent of fathers have completed or attended higher education; Fifty-one percent of the interviewees have parents with intellectual and scientific professions; and twelve percent of interviewees' parents are entrepreneurs, owners, or managers.

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PART II

Live Music and Cities

Grand Paris and Electronic Dance Music: Nightlife Policies, Neoliberal Urban Planning, and the Gentrification of the *Banlieues*

Samuel Lamontagne

Paris, late 2000s. Rumor has it that the city has become the "European capital of sleep." A petition titled "Paris: when the night dies in silence," draws an undeniable conclusion echoed from *Le Monde* to *The New York Times*.[1] Its authors are alarmed by the agony of Parisian nightlife, stifled by legislation considered too strict. Realizing that its reputation as a sleeping beauty is tarnishing its tourist appeal, the City of Paris finally reacts: in November 2010, it joins forces with the Police Department and the Île-de-France Region to organize the first *États généraux de la nuit* (General Assembly of the Night) at City Hall. This event marks a turning point. Nightlife had been subjected to repressive politics aimed at containing its activity, but then started benefitting from an unprecedented reinvestment (Gwiazdzinski 2014). Even a Night Council is created in 2014, in order to achieve the proposals and projects discussed.[2] The City of Paris therefore not only acknowledges its nightlife crisis, it is reacting by implementing public funding and policies. But what does such a turnaround underlie? The City of Paris reconsiders its attractiveness and development by investing in nightlife as an activity to capitalize on.[3] Nearly twelve million euros are made available to develop policies focusing on three main areas: mediation, the stimulation of Parisian nightlife, and its international promotion.[4] Integrated to these policies, the festive event-cultures of electronic dance music (St John 2017) have benefited from this investment: experiencing an incredible growth, they redeployed in the capital and its *banlieues* (suburbs of the periphery, generally lower-class). The new festive cartography they outline became part of the territorial planning project of Grand Paris. Involved in processes of instrumentalization of culture, they have contributed to the discursive reinvention of the *banlieues* and to their gentrification.

Between Revival and Institutionalization

In the early 2010s, a new generation of collectives, events, record labels and artists came to life around electronic dance music in Paris. Like Surpr!ze, the agency behind the Concrete venue since 2011 and the Weather Festival since 2013; We Love Art, which runs the Peacock Society and We Love Green festivals; or Sonotown, in charge of artist booking at the Machine du Moulin Rouge venue among others. Many collectives flourished,

often collaborating with each other, such as La Mamie's, Die Nacht, Berlinons Paris or Alter Paname. Whilst electronic dance music resonates in its full diversity, techno and house music prevail in clubs, on barges, during festivals, in squats, cultural institutions and in ephemeral and "atypical" spaces. Discreet events, attracting a public of connoisseurs, and other ones, gathering huge crowds, happen day and night, both inside and outside the limits of the city.

Born from the collaboration between record labels, artists, record shops, collectives, clubs, partygoers and music connoisseurs, this network quickly leads to the development of a dynamic local scene. Relayed by independent online media and by the specialized press, in particular *Trax* and *Tsugi* magazines, an intense discursive activity accompanies the scene and takes part in its organization and its cohesion. Despite its infancy, this new generation displays an attachment to vinyl, record shops, the cultural imaginaries of rave/free party and Berlin warehouse (Kosmicki 2010). The return to the techno aesthetic is a way to claim a certain purism. The new Parisian techno/house impulse thus likes to define itself in relation to 1990s techno, and in opposition to the electronic dance scene immediately preceding it (Latex 2014).

Finally, if the Parisian electronic dance music scene asserts itself as a breeding ground for DJs and producers in high demand outside the capital and abroad, it also welcomes many foreign artists. It is thus strongly grounded in translocal dynamics (Bennett and Peterson 2004). Through the event and media involvement of organizations such as Boiler Room (BR), Resident Advisor (RA) and Red Bull Music Academy (RBMA), the Parisian scene has found a place in the cosmopolitan networks of the electronic dance music culture revival. As a significant example, RA's 2012 documentary *Real Scenes: Paris* presents the techno scene as the sign of a festive renaissance taking place primarily in the *banlieues* and on the Seine quaysides, as disproving the so-called death of the Parisian nightlife.

Offering cutting-edge programming, combining concerts, exhibitions and conferences with the cream of the music world's luminaries, the RBMA organized two festivals in Paris in 2016 and 2017, with the mission of exploring and celebrating the capital's musical cultural heritage and its rich local scenes. Benefiting from the RBMA subtle programming and communication, Paris then gained access to a space of decisive international influence. The boom of electronic dance music in Paris in the early 2010s can be linked to the public policies of reinvestment in nightlife. The scene has indeed been very well received on the institutional level. Many electronic dance music actors have regularly performed in cultural institutions such as the Palais de Tokyo, the Gaîté Lyrique, the Quai Branly Museum or the Institut du monde arabe, which have bet in this way on rejuvenating their image and their audience. The dynamics of institutionalization – in particular

of heritagization and legitimization at work there – reflected the new positioning of the City with regard to these musical cultures. The exhibitions *Electro-sound, from the lab to the dancefloor* (2016) in the Espace de la Fondation EDF, the exhibition *Rêve Électro, de Kraftwerk à Daft Punk* (2019) at the Philharmonie de Paris, the awarding of the Légion d'honneur to Laurent Garnier for "thirty years of service to electronic dance music," leave no doubt that electronic dance music has become part of the heritage of the City of Paris.[5]

The stakes are also economic: the popularization of this music seems obvious, it now reaches a large audience and the sector has largely been professionalized. Conducted in 2016, a study by SACEM estimated the annual revenue from electronic dance music in France at four hundred sixteen million euros (Braun and Pellerin 2016).[6] In 2014, Adrien Betra, director of the Weather festival and the venue Concrete, emphasized this:

> Today, there is a political will to move in this direction. They say to themselves: "It's strange, in Berlin they make a billion and a half euros in revenue from electronic dance music and it creates jobs, it keeps the city alive. . . while we have fewer and fewer tourists! (quoted in *Les Inrockuptibles* 2014).

The promotion of Paris as a festive tourist destination is indeed at play. Electronic dance music actors are clearly taking part in this process. Active since 1996, the Technopol association has enormously contributed to the promotion and institutional recognition of electronic dance music in France, as well as to the improvement of the dialogue with public authorities. Through the Techno Parade and Paris Electronic Week, the association has played a key role in the popularization of electronic dance music and in the reorganization and professionalization of its sector. As Tommy Vaudecrane of Technopol says:

> Before 2010, we had at least a dozen organizational dossiers causing problems every year [. . .]. This has changed thanks to the evolution of public authorities' mindsets, the action of our association which has trained organizers, and the involvement of regular businesspeople who know their trade well. Festivals are now better recognized for their impact on the local economy and the territory's influence (quoted in Collectif 2017).

The Media under a Spell

The institutionalization of the electronic scene accompanies a renewal of media discourses. Formerly stigmatized in the mainstream press, electronic dance music is now treated in a largely positive and enthusiastic tone in the columns of *Télérama*, *Le Point*, *Le Figaro*, *Paris Match* and many more. Journalists swoon over the awakening of the Parisian party scene, its international influence, the dynamism of the Parisian techno scene and its refined taste for cutting-edge and experimental aesthetics. They are fascinated by the electronic dance music heroes of yesterday and today, the festive spirit of freedom of rave/free

party culture and discovering the intense festive activity of the *banlieues*. These praises often contain grateful recognition for the City of Paris, in accordance with the ambition it has cultivated to promote its festive image. Adrien Betra of the Surpr!ze collective expresses this very clearly when talking about the Weather Festival in the daily newspaper *Libération*: "The city council was willing to support us, because it makes Paris more dynamic, and we are seeing a return of festive tourism" (quoted in Lecarpentier 2015). By covering the electronic dance music activity, the mainstream press not only echoes this new image of the capital, it also performs it: "After years of stagnation, the city is rediscovering its techno nights and its festive energy. A success that overflows outside the borders of the capital" (Lecarpentier 2015).

To give it more substance, the scene activity is anchored in a historical continuity. This is exactly the purpose of the documentary webseries *Touche Française* (2016), which first traces the origins of the current electronic dance music scene in the raves of the 1990s, and then in the evolutions of the 'French touch'. What is a better way to give cachet to the Parisian scene than associating it with the libertarian utopia of raves, and with trans-continental legends like Laurent Garnier, Daft Punk, Air or Justice? Presented in this way, the Parisian party scene is more than alive, it stems from an authentic French tradition. The media discourses dreaming up this genealogy tend to consider the "death of nightlife" associated with the end of the 2000s as a brief parenthesis, from which the revival of Parisian electronic dance music and partying naturally emerges.

Investing the Quaysides and the *Banlieues*

As it redeploys itself, the electronic dance music activity is outlining a new cartography of Parisian festive nightlife – utilizing parks, cultural institutions, unused buildings awaiting contracting, industrial wastelands, squats. . . Not surprisingly, these dynamics of change marked by the extension towards the *banlieues* and the quaysides, the occupation of ephemeral spaces and public spaces, were part of the proposals discussed during the *États généraux de la nuit* (General Assembly of the Night). Mao Peninou, the deputy mayor of Paris, during the 2010 General Assembly, said:

> Some ephemeral spaces, when they are inactive, could be utilized temporarily. [. . .] Then, outside the capital, within the scope of Paris-métropole (Grand Paris), we encourage the establishment of new festive spaces [. . .] We will gradually make the Seine quaysides for pedestrians only, especially on the Left Bank, so there is no doubt these spaces will open up. And then we will start to work [. . .] by district on which squares we can open. There are a certain number of parks [. . .] in which we have set up concessions, and we will develop this policy. [. . .] Public space is going to be more and more occupied (quoted in *Le Monde* 2010).

Removed from residential areas, the Seine quaysides offer an ideal position for festive activity. The 24-hour license granted to the Concrete venue in 2017 by jurisdiction has allowed the club to remain open continuously, attesting to the good relationship with the public authorities (Narlian 2017). However, it is on the edges of the *périphérique* (Paris' ring road) and especially beyond it, that electronic dance parties and the numerous structures that organize them have flourished during the 2010s. Festivals are the most spectacular manifestation of this investment in the *banlieues*. In 2014, the Weather Festival welcomed thirty-five thousand participants over a weekend on the runways of Le Bourget airport. Others, such as the Macki Music (Carrières-sur-Seine), the Area 217 (Brétigny-sur-Orge) or the Marvellous Island (Torcy) also bet on the outdoors to offer getaways outside Paris.

The Alternative Rhetoric and Real Estate Speculation

The choice of occupying green spaces and industrial wastelands implicitly refers to the cultural imaginaries of rave/free party (O'Grady 2017) and Berlin warehouse (Leloup 2016). The so-called "atypical" cultural venues (6B, Main D'Œuvres, Station Gare des Mines, Pavillon du Docteur Pierre, Halle Papin) are presented according to a rhetoric of creativity, alternativity, self-management, conviviality, solidarity and ephemerality, which are particularly well suited to the imaginaries mobilized by electronic dance music events.

But these places do not simply position themselves on a party economy: all of them put forward a project of democratizing access to artistic creation and culture, the alternative occupation of spaces contributing to support transdisciplinary and experimental creative practices. According to the discourses they employ, these spaces would also carry out social work. Located in various neighborhoods of the *banlieues*, these places are defined as open to all, as providing a local cultural offering to the inhabitants of the neighborhood and as participating in promoting social mixing and solidarity.

However, the audience of atypical cultural places, just like that of electronic dance music events, remains largely homogeneous. It can be broadly characterized as young, white and Parisian. In the magazine *Antidote*, the journalist Maxime Retailleau reports the words of Eric Daviron of the Collectif MU, musical programmer of La Station Gare des Mines:

> "We attract queers, straights, 'hip' but open-minded people" [. . .] says Eric. Although the place is poorly served by public transportation, most people who go there are Parisian. "We don't have many people from the neighborhood who come to our parties," admits Eric, "although we sometimes try to organize events for them." La Station's audience thus mixes young, penniless artists and art students, mingling with a wealthier population that has come to slum it up, bored with the chic of clubs inside the capital, considered too bland (quoted in Retailleau 2018).

Aladdin Charni, founder of the Freegan Pony, the Péripate and the Pipi Caca, also says:

> There are two types of clientele, the one we would like to have and the one we have. In fact, from the beginning we had the idea of having a very heterogeneous clientele, in this case we are in a neighborhood here, Porte de la Villette, quite difficult. We really wanted to have a mix of Parisians, locals, migrants, homeless people, prostitutes. [. . .] Unfortunately, we have more people from Paris than from the neighborhood. [. . .] So it's not a heterogeneous enough population for our taste, but it's hopefully going to be (quoted in *Reportage au Freegan Pony* 2016).

Therefore, we must ask ourselves: to whom are the discourses of the alternative addressed to? Who do they appeal to? To whom are these spaces and events attractive, even intended for? And above all, what do they contribute and produce? Indeed, atypical cultural spaces and electronic dance music events take part in dynamics much broader than the discourses which supposedly characterize them. The partners with whom they associate ground them in real estate projects with ambitions going far beyond supporting the development of local and alternative artistic and festive activity. The building occupied by 6B belongs to the real estate developer Brémond, in charge of the construction of the new eco-neighborhood "Néaucité" in Saint-Denis *banlieue*. Other partners and sponsors of 6B include the Île-de-France Region, the municipality of Saint-Denis and the corporate company Orange. The Station Gare des Mines is housed in a building belonging to the developer SNCF Immobilier and is supported by the Île-de-France Region, the SACEM, the Centre national de la musique (CNM) and the City of Paris. For the occupation of the Pavillon du Docteur Pierre, the Soukmachines collective signed an agreement with the Company of Mixed Economy for the Development and Management of the city of Nanterre (SEMNA) and the Etic property company. The backers, partners and funding that support the activity of such places, shed light on the broader dynamics in which they are embedded. On the local level, they are involved in real estate projects that aim at the urban renewal of the neighborhoods in which they are based (Correia 2018). Their activity participates in the "making of the city," of real estate promoters who claim to be working on urban renewal concerned with the environment and social solidarity in relation to the evolution of the neighborhood, while at the same time inscribing it in the economic and cultural development of the territory. By integrating the rhetoric and activity of atypical cultural places, the promoters present their real estate projects as being in the general interest. On the Brémond Group's website we can read:

> Culture, solidarity and environmental protection are all reflections of the energies of a territory. Brémond offers genuine place to the creative world in the construction of living spaces so that the sensitive universe can participate in the identity and the spirit of the place. [. . .] It is the historical partner of 6B: [. . .] professionals, associations and passionate individuals [. . .] thus accompanying the urban and cultural mutation of Seine-Saint-Denis.[7]

Similarly, on the SNCF Immobilier's website: "[SNCF Immobilier] is a leading force in the making of the mobile, connected and inclusive city in partnership with regional governments SNCF Immobilier also contributes to the national housing effort and to territorial planning."[8] Atypical cultural spaces are not the only ones to support territorial planning by relying on electronic dance music cultures. Without necessarily relying on the alternative discourses, the festivals count several thousand participants, and are a godsend for the local economy, as well as for the attractiveness of the territory (Maggauda 2017). Their large scale and their economic as well as symbolic repercussions are the ground for a collaboration with the regional governments. The discourses of the alternative function as a means of affirming a distinctive positioning, supposedly closer to the original values of electronic dance music, and opposed to the mercantile and mass-marketing aims of festivals. Among the spectrum of collectives and structures investing in the *banlieues*, some collaborate openly with public authorities, others organize themselves in a more or less clandestine manner (Leloup 2016), thus claiming a form of authenticity.

In contrast to the representations of impoverished and unsafe areas associated with the *banlieues*, the festive investment of the latter goes hand in hand with its discursive reinvention. Indeed, for many Parisians, the *banlieues* begin to represent a zone of freedom, a playground full of unconventional spaces to explore, where to party in new ways. The ephemeral character of the occupied spaces gives the party an exciting edge, a hedonistic carefreeness, contrasting with the permanence of clubs inside the capital. The latter, with their small spaces, the omnipresence of security, the prohibitive entrance fees and excessive drink prices, as well as their pressure to profitability, would seem to restrict the spirit of partying. Freeing collectives from these constraints, the spaces in the *banlieues* give them greater autonomy, particularly in terms of artist bookings, often considered as more cutting-edge and avant-garde: "A club is nice, but [in it] you can't really transmit your whole world. There is already the world of the place, and often a club is cold, so it's complicated. Whilst there [in the *banlieue*], there's everything we love and it's really our world," says Benedetta from Camion Bazar (quoted in *Le Renouveau de la Fête* 2016). Or Eric Labbé, in 2015, in an interview with *Enlarge your Paris*: "Three years ago, when you talked to a young person about Saint-Denis, they immediately thought of civil war. Today, a place like 6B has transformed the way people think about the city. It has given it a sexier image" (Boisdormant 2018). This discursive reinvention of the *banlieues* is widely supported by the blogosphere and the press: "*Banlieue* is the new cool."

Grounding in the Grand Paris Project

As an ambitious territorial planning project, Grand Paris claims to make the Île-de-France Region "a globally competitive, ecologically responsible and creative metropolis," while

improving the living conditions of its inhabitants and levelling territorial inequalities in terms of access to culture, housing and public transport.[9] Thanks to the joint development of Paris and its *banlieues*, this monumental project affirms it is working towards the unity of the Parisian metropolitan area and towards the reconnection of dissociated territories on both symbolic and urbanistic levels. Until then disconnected from inner Paris, the periphery is reintegrated into its territorial planning policies. This is the rationale behind the deployment of clusters of innovation in designated areas of Île-de-France, with specific development strategies (*Alternatives Économiques* 2017). Among the various clusters of innovation, the Plaine Commune territory in Seine-Saint-Denis is home to the culture and creation cluster. This is why Luc Besson's Cité du Cinéma, the Cité des Humanités et des Sciences Sociales (Condorcet Campus) and many other structures are located in this territory. Artistic and cultural activities thus have a special place in the Grand Paris planning policies. Promoting them amounts to making neighborhoods of the *banlieue* attractive to a "creative class," a supposedly young, qualified and innovative population, and considered as the main driver of the economic development by authors who conceptualize the creative city. In the words of urbanist Elsa Vivant:

> In their choice of residential location, creative workers (executives, engineers, designers, researchers) would prefer the qualities of an urban space that values and encourages creativity, namely a high degree of tolerance and a 'cool', relaxed and bohemian atmosphere. The strength of the city would lie in its creative dimension, revealed by its cultural and artistic dynamism (Vivant 2009).

More likely, new artistic and cultural activity in the *banlieues* must be able to target populations with stronger buying potentials that can afford home ownership and can attract high value-adding companies. Popularized by Richard Florida, among others, the notion of the creative city has been embraced by city governments both rhetorically and in terms of public action as an economic development strategy (Florida 2002). And this despite the criticism that this notion receives for its vagueness, its lack of scientific backing, and its proximity to a commercial discourse (Le Corf 2013). The Grand Paris project is based on the logic of the creative city (Lebeau 2014): the stimulation of artistic and cultural activity is articulated with the expansion of public transportation, the creation of green spaces, and the construction or renovation of housing in the working-class neighborhoods of Paris *banlieues*. In this same logic, the call for projects *Inventons la Métropole du Grand Paris* (Let's invent the Grand Paris Metropolis) offers groups of companies, architects and investors, numerous sites in *banlieues* to develop "innovative urban and economic" projects.[10] About this Elsa Vivant writes:

> Cultural activity has become an indicator of a city's quality of life, particularly in the ranking of cities "where it's good to live" regularly published in magazines. Improving the living environment (and making it known) is becoming a necessary condition for attracting companies [. . .] whose executives are looking for cultural services (Vivant 2009).

The rhetoric of Grand Paris makes extensive use of words with positive connotations such as *renewal*, *upgrading*, *regeneration* or *revitalization* to describe processes of social and urban transformations as if they pertained to the general interest (Agier and Lamotte 2017). These words conceal the social violence of these transformation processes and expel any propensity to critique them. Urban planning and the stimulation of cultural activity contribute to the urbanistic and symbolic redefinition of working-class neighborhoods of the *banlieues*. Opening the door to land speculation, these redefinitions displace the present populations by increasing the cost of living and weakening their access to housing (Clerval and Fleury 2009). The displacement of inhabitants isn't only economic, it is also social. These neighborhoods' transformations have resulted in the erasure of popular memory and social life. The term gentrification is appropriate to describe these processes, which are similar to a reconfiguration of social hierarchies on an urban scale (Smith 1996). Even more important is the erasure of racial dynamics, which affect neighborhoods historically inhabited by populations from countries formerly colonized by France (Gonick 2011). Embedded in the doctrine of French republican universalism (Ndiaye 2009), these processes testify to the inability of public authorities to take into account inequalities rooted in the legacy of a past colonial domination (Ivekovic 2006). Therefore, underneath its progressive facade, claiming to aim at correcting inequalities and improving the living conditions for all inhabitants of the Parisian metropolitan area, the Grand Paris project conceals primarily neoliberal logics (Enright 2016).

In a program on national radio France Culture about the Grand Paris, the educator and president of the association Zonzon91 Aboubacar Sakanoko states:

> They can write beautiful sentences, and say "Yes, Grand Paris will be open to all, it will allow this, that," it will just displace people, it will favor others and the vehicle is money. We perceive it like that and we live here. [. . .] Their Grand Paris, it's not for us, unless I start making 3500 euros and that I transition to the middle class. Then, the Grand Paris, yeah, I might feel involved. They are talking about "living together," but we already live together in the neighborhoods, so their "living together," their big words. . . (quoted in *LSD: La série documentaire* 2018).

And the mayor of Grigny, Philippe Rio, adds: "The narrative of Grand Paris and metropolization exclusively develops the words like 'poles of excellence', 'innovative territories' and 'architectural competitions'. It's all very bling-bling and we don't feel part of this metropolitan project" (quoted in *LSD: La série documentaire* 2018).

Return to Electronic Dance Music

Whether it is through their association with real estate projects aimed at revalorizing deprived *banlieue* neighborhoods, through the collaboration with regional governments

to stimulate the local economy and the attractiveness of outlying territories, or more generally through the discursive reinvention of the *banlieues*, the activity of electronic dance music in the periphery has largely been embedded in the logics of Grand Paris. The atypical cultural spaces and electronic dance music events based in Seine-Saint-Denis by collaborating with public authorities have directly participated in this logic that designates this territory as its creative cluster.

The contemporary dynamics of institutionalization of electronic dance cultures, the strong media attention they receive, the professional structuring of their milieu, as well as the frequent collaboration with regional governments or with real estate promoters, lead us to re-interrogate the filiation of the current actors of electronic dance music to their anti-establishment histories, today largely mythologized. Indeed, the contemporary dynamics in which electronic dance music is integrated sharply contrasts with its histories of cultural marginalization and political repression (Lacroix 2017). The constant reference to its pasts of illegitimacy produces a romantic imaginary from which emerges what one can call an "alternative patina" (Thornton 1995). We are witnessing a certain aestheticization of electronic dance music: if its forms are rigorously reproduced, the contemporary dynamics in which it takes part in as well as the audiences it attracts clearly distinguish it from the contexts from which it emerged. And this alternative patina functions as a resource that can transform the stigma of a neighborhood into an asset. Pascale Marie, manager at SNCF Immobilier, said in 2017:

> We have many sites in Paris and the *banlieues* where we have urban renewal projects, and these sites are certainly often quite industrial, they are often perceived as derelict wastelands with sometimes negative connotations. And in order to turn such a site into an urban area, you have to create desire, you have to display a slightly new activity and it is a fact that transitional urbanism allows to offer a first step, a bridge to something else. On the Gare des Mines, the site is a little more difficult, a little more "trashy" even, one could say, and what was important was to have an artistic approach that was perhaps a little stronger than on other sites, therefore more innovative. That's mainly what caught our attention about the MU Station collective, because its musical choice, a bit experimental was therefore in line with what was expected on this site (quoted in Groupe SNCF 2017).

However, it cannot be said that organizers of electronic dance music events intentionally take part in these processes. Most show a sincere attachment to the anti-establishment histories of electronic dance cultures. Even for those who work closely with public authorities, relationships remain complex, especially with French authorities and laws regarding security requirements. They have to adjust both concretely and discursively to the precarity of their occupation agreements and the impossibility of their perpetuation. This precarity and the discourses on the ephemeral that normalize it demonstrate the ways in which the activity

of electronic dance music is instrumentalized with the objective of transitional urbanism. However, whether they like it or not, their activity is integrated into the logics of Grand Paris, a territorial strategy that diverts to its benefit musical cultures perceived as anti-establishment (Boltanski and Chiapello 1999). Historically linked to spaces of transgression, electronic dance music cultures are now involved in processes of institutionalization that are profoundly transforming them. And if the romantic gaze on their protest histories often prevents us from understanding these musical cultures through their contemporary dynamics, the political and marketing strategies of Grand Paris have been able to take advantage of their alternative patina and their cool potential (Frank 1997).

Notes

[1] To read the petition: https://web.archive.org/web/20091109202557/http://www.quandlanuitmeurtensilence.com/ (accessed 23 April 2017).

[2] See the article "Le Conseil de la Nuit" on the City of Paris website: https://www.paris.fr/pages/le-conseil-de-la-nuit-3365 (accessed 28 April 2017).

[3] See the official report from the Minister (2014), titled "22 mesures pour faire de la vie nocturne un facteur d'activité touristique à l'international :" https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/feuille_de_route_pole_nuit_finalisee_cle4add54-1.pdf (accessed 18 May 2017).

[4] See the article: "Une politique ambitieuse en faveur de la vie nocturne à Paris" on the City of Paris website: https://www.paris.fr/pages/une-politique-ambitieuse-en-faveur-de-la-vie-nocturne-a-paris-3902/ (accessed 13 March 2017).

[5] See the official journal of the French Republic: https://www.legiondhonneur.fr/sites/default/files/promotion/lh20170101.pdf (accessed 25 April 2017).

[6] SACEM is the National Association of Authors, Composers and Music Publishers in France.

[7] See Brémond website: http://www.groupe-bremond.com/identite/ (accessed 23 April 2017).

[8] See SNCF Immobilier website: https://www.sncf.com/fr/reseau-expertises/activites-immobilieres/sncf-immobilier (accessed 23 April 2017).

[9] See the Grand Paris website: http://www.grand-paris.jll.fr/fr/projet-grand-paris/

[10] See website of Inventons la Métropole du Grand Paris: https://www.inventonslametropoledugrandparis.fr/ (accessed 23 April 2017).

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If Live Ain't Enough for Them: Live Music and an Unexpected Scene in the Last Decade

Paula Guerra

God save the live music ecosystem

Given the growth of the digital sphere following the COVID-19 pandemic, thinking about live music today is a challenge.[1] However, in live punk music, audiences and venues are not subsidiary but rather essential to maintaining the meaning and importance of this genre and keeping this scene vibrant and alive (Ensminger 2013).[2] At the same time, punk concerts allow participants to abandon their social roles and the systems that establish and maintain these roles. Concert participants immerse themselves in various moments of interrelation and interpenetration with the artists and the bands, promoting a sense of unity and adopting an anti-structure stance.

Simeon Soden states that with the increasing growth of streaming platforms, live music is no longer profitable and is now just a way to promote albums (Soden 2021). In other words, only the most prominent artists have the financial capacity to support live performances. However, we intend to demonstrate that live music still has relevance in the punk universe, even if the events are small in scale. To a certain extent, live music is a means to keep the punk scene alive. Further, contrary to what Soden argues, live music – as opposed to digital – remains a source of economic sustainability for many bands.

Recently, several articles have addressed the issue of live music, but there is almost always an underlying conceptual link with the digital sphere (Lingel and Naaman 2011; Auslander 2012; Zhang and Negus 2021). Our main objective is to analyze the importance of venues that organize live punk music events, as well as to capture their ethos, which is fundamental for the maintenance and activation of the punk scene in Portugal (Barrière 2020). We start from the premise that venues are fundamental to an understanding of the history of punk in Portugal. Returning to David Ensminger's view that live punk music events focus on logics and dynamics of interrelationship and interpenetration in a scene (Ensminger 2013), it is important to understand the configuration of spaces, cities, and bands in order to gauge the logic of consolidation of punk in Portugal from its beginnings to the present day. In a horizontal sphere of appropriation of sounds, it is through performance that musicians and audiences participate. In this sense, these events enable and encourage a

spatial, geographical, economic, and cultural positioning that is the basis for the maintenance of punk.

We adopted a mixed quantitative and qualitative approach to create a relational database of the main punk events organized in Portugal between 2010 and 2015. The following topics are systematized: the cities hosting the events, geographical provenance of the artists, artists' names, organizing entities, and the type of events. In parallel, we also collected posters from these events, driven by an archival principle of the punk movements in Portugal (Guerra and Alberto 2021; Guerra 2016b). Finally, we made ethnographic observations at some of the punk music events presented in the article.

"Scream with me:" The serendipity of Portuguese live punk music

The importance of live music has been documented from various angles: economic, social, and cultural.[3] However, few studies have focused on live punk music. From any of these angles, there has been a tendency to establish a parallel with festivals, which almost inherently brings into discussion concepts such as the festivalization of culture (Bennett et al. 2014; Guerra 2016a), leading us to associate live music with a global character of great diversity marked by interculturality – the internationalization of audiences and artists. However, we explore how the festivalization of culture serves as a determinant tool for understanding the importance of the venues that organize live punk music events, given that this concept gravitates around a mediation between the global and the local. In fact, the context and the local are among the most important variables in this study (Ensminger 2013).

It is also important to explain that, in our analysis, the "local" variable does not refer to local music in the strict sense of traditional music characteristic of a geographical region, but rather to music or artistic-musical manifestations that legitimate social forms of music in a specific space (Gallan 2012). This legitimation gives rise to the foundations of a range of scenes and subcultures (Bennett 2000). In turn, it is live music that provides coherence to the social function of scenes – in this case, the punk scene – so it is the venues (bars, discos, cinemas, and clubs) that enable the creation of a cultural context (Johnson and Homan 2003).

Live punk music and venues are vital elements in urban cultures (van der Hoeven and Hitters 2019). They bring artists and audiences closer together. Indeed, this is the essence of punk: the rupturing of the barriers between artists and audiences imposed by musical genres such as rock. However, live music has many dimensions. The work of Arno van der Hoeven and Erik Hitters is central to our understanding of the ecology of live music, mainly because they introduce the importance and value of culture into this terminology, especially as it relates to the design of public policies (van der Hoeven and Hitters 2019). Although these conceptions

are fundamental, it is not possible to establish a linear relationship with the events under analysis here because underground genres such as punk are not considered in these political conceptions. Thus, an analysis of this kind shows the importance of such practice, given that the movement is still very active in the Portuguese context.

Live music has been the basis of several events aimed at urban dynamization and promotion of social cohesion and inclusion (Holt and Wergin 2013). Simon Frith states that experiencing live music is essential for creating a mythology around specific urban spaces (Frith 2007), which is even more evident in live punk music events. The importance of live music has several aspects, particularly the creation of networks and circuits between venues, artists, managers, and technicians, among others (van der Hoeven and Hitters 2019). These profit-creation and economic sustainability logics are more evident in relation to small venues. Not only is economic sustainability created, but also a common sense of intimacy or belonging is built through the creation of small communities – or *communitas* (Ensminger 2013) – around the sharing of a particular musical taste and venue.

It is the origin of punk in Portugal upon which its survival depends. Joe-Anne Priel argues that live music plays a decisive role in the creation of individual and collective identities, and in the creation of meaning and emotion towards venues (Priel 2014). Thus, we can affirm that music is a social phenomenon (Swarbrick et al. 2019), which finds its relevance in a dynamic of fruition that can only be activated by live music, as a social connection (Burland and Pitts 2014) between artists, fans, and concert-goers (Leante 2016). Every live performance is idiosyncratic and unpredictable. There is always an innovative element, and expectations are always created around the performance. This is something that doesn't happen in digital contexts or other musical genres, at least not with the same intensity as live performance (Freeman 2000).

The venues that foster and promote live punk music events are crucial to the creation and maintenance of a mythology around this musical genre. In this way, live punk music assumes a kind of mediation role. Antoine Hennion (1997) and Tia DeNora (2000) are considered primarily responsible for the re-emergence of the study of the relationship between audiences, cultural resources (e.g., music), and daily life in academic work. The concept of mediation offered by Hennion takes us to a place of interrogation that refers to the social world of everyone. Thus, there is a deep relationship between music and society. In live music, both audiences and artists possess the ability to distance their personal identity from their social identity. According to Hennion (1993), music works as a mediation between the individual and their everyday lives (Barrière 2020), with an expressive value (Hennion 1990).

Following Hennion's concept of mediation, it is important to introduce Simon Frith's concept of sociology of performance (2007), which establishes the difference between

a performance that is learned and one that is felt: "Live performance is taken to be the moment when the music itself speaks most directly to its listeners" (Frith 2007:12). It is closely associated with concepts such as authenticity and a sense of performance, since the lyrics of the songs aim to transmit a message and a political ideology (Guerra 2016b; Guerra 2018; Barros, Capelle and Guerra 2019; Guerra and Menezes 2019).

Methodology

The empirical dimension of this article relied on both quantitative and qualitative based methods. We highlight the ethnographic studies carried out; specifically, the observation of about thirty live punk music events in Portugal, in several cities such as Porto, Lisbon, and Coimbra. We wanted to deepen the various fields of performance of the punk universe. We also questioned whether live punk music still existed in Portugal, given that several people mentioned that punk was "dead" or asleep. We did not take this to be true; we believed that punk continued from the 1980s and 1990s.

We had just two hypotheses: either punk was no longer present as a musical genre present in Portugal, or it was. We adopted a quantitative methodology to construct a relational database appealing to the secondary production of data. Event agendas were consulted, and the punk events disclosed. We also consulted websites and social networks – sources of information provided by the social agents participating in the punk live music scene – as the basis for the dissemination of these events. For this purpose, we sought to systematically collect, identify, and categorize all the live punk music events we could find on the web between 2010 and 2015. This analysis focuses on about 680 events in Portugal. Because many events have an informal or underground nature, we used a "snowball method" (Baltar and Brunet 2011). We contacted some key actors via social networks and used previous contacts with venues which promoted punk concerts; through them, we found other venues and other initiatives.

Portugal is still marked by a weakness regarding statistical information about the cultural sector (Guerra 2017). In analytical terms, we first created categories linked to the memory of the event (including the name and the date of the event, as well as collected and catalogued posters for each event); second, we created categories related to consumption and artistic programming (all the bands that participated in the events, their country of origin, and links to social networks); third, we identified the venues where the events took place (bars or cinemas, or locations with dance space); and fourth, we geo-referenced each venue, identifying their municipality, county, and district in order to understand the cultural activity. Our main goal was to understand the activity of live punk events in Portugal, by region and by type of venue, in a longitudinal logic.

Seeing is believing: Punk is still alive

Live punk music has only recently acquired attention from academics (Holt 2010). A few studies have been done in the field of sociology, but these are directed more towards festivals (Guerra 2019). This article focuses on the role of live punk music in the configuration and maintenance of a scene and how it shapes the ways in which this genre is transmitted and received by the audiences. In other words, we intend to understand how the organization of these punk live music events is constituted as the means of maintaining the authenticity of the scene. This is because it is a musical genre that does not live on pre-recordings, but rather feeds on face-to-face interactions with audiences. This study deals with live music in physical venues, and it seeks to identify the bands, the venues, and the aesthetics associated with them, aiming to demonstrate that the punk movement does not depend on the digital sphere to stay alive. Punk remains faithful to its genesis, strongly anchored in the social and collective experience of live music. In fact, punk can be understood as a reflexive (sub)culture, the functional role of which is to exist outside mainstream culture, through participation in and organization of these events (Frith 1997).

Indeed, while constructing our survey, we noticed that research was still somewhat lacking regarding these topics. There was interest in technologies, such as social media, and their connection with performance, as well as in genres such as pop. However, for the two themes we propose here, the theoretical void remains. The work developed by Philip Auslander has drawn attention to live performance (Auslander 1999). However, according to Holt, "scholars have not yet explored in detail what is implied when a concert or a DJ set is identified as live music and how that informs cultural practice" (2010:244). Live punk music is produced in the context of several social transformations, which confer new meanings.

Initially, live music was linked to commerce, media, and entertainment – elements from which punk wanted to move away and even counteract. Nevertheless, it now seems that these categories have become innocuous in describing the role and impacts of live music. No empirical work is necessary to say that live music is cathartic and that it brings a feeling of individual and collective liberation. Haven't we all sighed with nostalgia when remembering a concert? Take the example of the 1976 Sex Pistols concert, often regarded as changing the history of punk forever (Inglis 2006).[4] In this sense, we assess that live punk music has an aura (Benjamin 1994), understood in a broader sense of communication. It is not bound to a recording or a presence in mainstream media. Punk music has a strong social and historical dimension. However, as Holt (2011) mentions, live music is also commonly used to advertise venues, which is confirmed by our analysis.

Our intention was to understand the the connection between punk music and its historical and social contexts in the years between 2010 and 2015. How could such a relationship manifest itself? Portugal was heavily impacted by the 2008 global financial crisis, resulting in the Portuguese financial crisis, which manifested between 2010 and 2014, almost exactly covering our period of analysis. This was a very troubled period in Portugal's political and economic history, when many support systems were cut, the unemployment rate rose, and austerity was the norm (Feixa and Nofre 2013; Silva, Guerra, and Santos 2018). During this period, several artists used music to both denounce and confront the crisis (Guerra 2020), but few studies focused on other forms of subversion and resistance beyond lyrics and musical production.

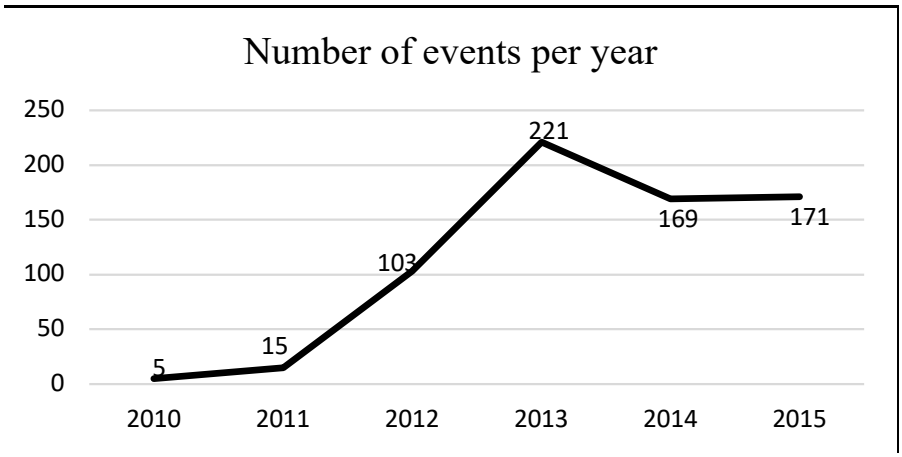

Figure 1. Number of live punk events per year (2010–2015)
Source: KISMIF Project.

As Figure 1 shows, in 2010, when the financial crisis began, the number of events was small (only five). However, in 2011, there was an increase (fifteen events), boosted in 2013, when two hundred twenty-one events were held throughout the country, while the crisis was still very present. The financial assistance program requested by Portugal ended in 2014, with the country having complied with the three-year plan. Although there had been some economic improvements, poverty levels and unemployment rates were high; consequently, many families depended on monetary support such as RSI (Social Insertion Income). Because of this, one would expect participation in and organization of punk concerts to be sparse for economic reasons since establishments suffered greatly from the economic crisis. Yet live punk music was important as a way of resisting the economic, political, and social conditions of the time, especially concerts such as those of Crise Total [Total Crisis], the first Portuguese anarcho-punk band. In 2013, we highlighted events such as Colhões de Ferro VIII (concert), Lodo Punk na Spreita (concert) (see Figure 2), Noite de PUNK & Roll (DJ set), and Punk Rock Até Aos Ossos (concert/cinema).

Figure 2. Poster for the Lodo Punk at Spreita event
Source: https://www.last.fm/pt/event/3504969+LODO+PUNK+NA+SPREITA in KISMIF Archive.

Another conclusion drawn from the data presented in Figure 1 relates to live punk music as a motivational factor for the subsistence of the venues – particularly through consumption during the events, since most have minimal or no entrance fees. These events were (and are) oriented by a marketing and audience loyalty logic – not only to the venues, but also to the bands. Concerts are the main source of income for these bands (Frith 2007), which for the most part operate according to a DIY logic (Lingel and Naaman 2012).

As punk and some sub-genres, such as straight edge, involve supporting various political causes, part of the entrance fee often went to said causes.[5] Live music was therefore a driving force for local causes. Most events (around four hundred ninety) happened in the summer months – between June and September – which is a transversal characteristic for all musical genres; in this sense, music in general acquires an extra connotation in terms of entertainment, fruition, and leisure logics. Most festivals also take place in the summer

Figure 3. Chupa na Banana, Casa Viva, Porto, 2015
Source: Rui Oliveira, 2015, in KISMIF Archive.

months. Outdoor activities were more frequent at this time, while the rest of the year saw smaller indoor initiatives in bars or discos. This enables us to understand that live punk music events tend to follow the same programming logic as other mainstream events or commercial music genres, despite not being subject to the same kind of publicity and thus diverging from the superficiality of postmodernism (Moore 2004).

The continuity and frequency of live music events at the core of punk in Portugal shows it is possible for this musical genre to allow individuals to share common ground, accentuating feelings of belonging to a community or a scene (Guerra 2014). This systematicity of events shows the creation of group identities mapped by the relationships between individuals attending the events, but also with the organizers. We can see a quick and systematic dynamization of the punk movement, demonstrating that these events build links between individuals and the subculture. The kinds of events being discussed are shown in Table 1.

Type of Event	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**Total**
Atelier	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
Concert	5	9	61	172	127	129	**503**
Concert/Djset	0	6	22	30	26	26	**110**
Concert/Cinema	0	0	2	8	2	2	**14**
Concert/Dj Set/Cinema	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Concert/Exhibition	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Djset	0	0	16	10	11	11	**48**
Djset/Cinema	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Showcase/Book Launch	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

Table 1: Number of events by type
Source: KISMIF Project.

Unsurprisingly, concerts are the predominant type of event (five hundred three concerts), followed by concerts accompanied by a DJ set (one hundred-ten events) or even just the DJ set (forty-eight events), which are intrinsically associated with smaller venues such as bars. DJ sets are important because they show the adaptability of punk music and events of this nature to contemporaneity, something that did not occur in the early days of the punk scene in Portugal. Once again, we establish a parallel with the DIY ethos, which is based on adaptability to the demands and changes of social contexts, as a way of maintenance and participation within a scene. However, the presence of events combining the typology of concerts and cinema is noteworthy, with around fourteen events identified. Examples

Figure 4. Poster for the event TUGA Straight Edge Day. Source: https://noscontraeles.blogspot.com/2014/01/review-tuga-straight-edge-day-parqe.html in KISMIF Archive.

include Hello Winter Fest, TUGA Straight Edge Day (Figure 4), Prostitour and Alenquer Rocks. With this said, we cannot fail to equate a certain evolution of punk with these events (Guerra 2013). It is no longer merely associated with bands and phonographic records, but has expanded to other formats, denoting the emergence of a certain stylistic hybridism. This combination and evolution offer singularity to the Portuguese punk scene: it has not stagnated or resigned itself to the formats of the 1970s or 1980s, remaining dynamic and persistent in defence of the underground, even if the initiatives are sporadic. Around ninety-five percent of the events last just one day, and around four percent only two days.

The Metamorphosis of *Chameleonic* Punk

Pipe considers that live music should be taken as a multimodal experience in which visual components play a key role (Pipe 2018). In the case of punk, the visual component may be more important, as it also gives meaning to the different musical subgenres that fall within punk. In parallel, the question of corporality, as a form of communication of the musical genre and its acceptance, is very present in these concerts (Longhurst 2007). In this sense, the bands also assume a prominent role. In our analysis, we verified that most events have a multifaceted program. Around seventy percent

Figure 5. Rebels in Packages + Piss!! + Leather + Superflares
Source: https://m.facebook.com/events/337438249728512?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A%223%22%2C%22action_history%22%3A%22null%22%7D&aref=3 in KISMIF Archive.

Figure 7. Poster of the event at States Club in Coimbra, which featured bands such as Dalai Lume and Re-Censurados
Source: https://www.metalunderground.pt/viewtopic.php?f=62&t=39734 in KISMIF Archive.

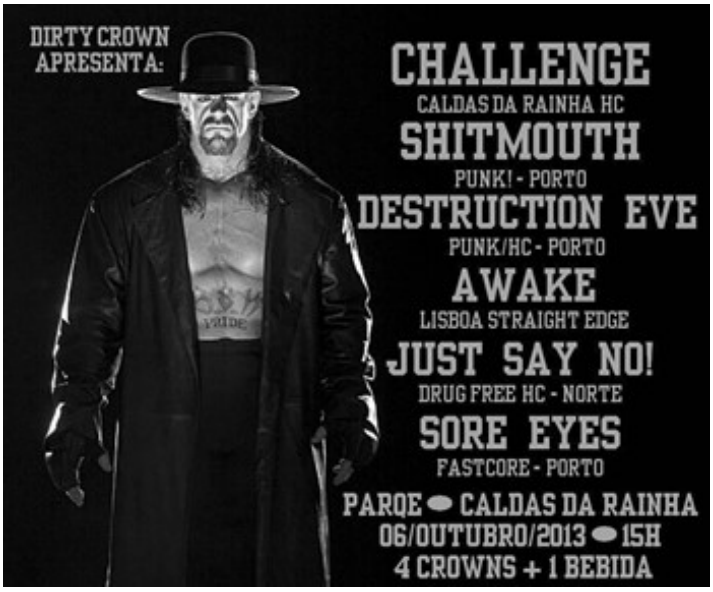

Figure 6. Poster of the event held in Parqe, in Caldas da Rainha, in 2013
Source: https://noscontraeles.blogspot.com/2013/10/review-challenge-shitmouth-awake-just.html in KISMIF Archive.

have a lineup of two to five bands, with only seventeen percent having the performance of one band. Another interesting aspect lies in the fact that the event name contains the bands performing, examples of which are Rebels in Packages + Piss!! + Leather + Superflares (2015), Monarch + Teething + Atentado + DDMC + Oniromant (2015), Stick to Your Guns + Backflip + Brace Yourself + Dear Watson (2014), and o XIBALBA + HIEROPHANT + Steal Your Crown + Utopium (2013).

Bands also have a decisive role in keeping this scene alive. Thus, while we were in the process of analyzing and categorizing the data, we considered it important to understand the role of bands in these dynamics. Having established that the punk movement was marked by a certain hybridism, we tried to understand whether the bands in these line-ups were all Portuguese or not. Then, we proceeded to collect and quantify the bands that appeared most frequently. We concluded that those bands that appeared most frequently were Challenge (Figure 6) (thirty events), Dalai Lume (Figure 7) (twenty-eight events), Re-censurados (Figure 7) (twenty-five events), Shitmouth (Figure 6) (twenty-seven events) and The Parkinsons (twenty-nine events).

More important than knowing which bands participate more assiduously in these events is understanding the main musical genres and sub-genres assumed to be determinant (Table 2).

Music genre	Total
Anarcho-Punk	42
Crust	**104**
Hardcore	**444**
Punk Rock	**207**
Metal	18
Metal Underground	12
Metalcore	11
Hardcore Punk	25
Total	**8636**

Table 2: Main music genres and sub-genres of bands participating in live music events
Source: KISMIF Project.

It is not surprising that punk rock has a strong presence in these live music events. Punk rock and punk are intimately linked to logics and processes of resistance, showing that live music events are one more iteration of these same processes and logics of individual and collective affirmation, but also of claim and denunciation (Guerra 2014). In parallel, the strong presence of hardcore deserves to be highlighted. Both these musical genres are marked by physicality and even violence. Discussions of resistance almost inevitably center white, heterosexual, and mostly male individuals. These issues have been considered by authors such as Sharp and Nilan (2014; 2017), Montoro-Pons, Cuadrado-Garcia, and Casasu-Estelles (2013), who point out that men more frequently attend live music events. From our personal experience, we gauged that attendees of heavy metal events in the city of Porto, in venues such as the Metalpoint, were predominantly male.[7]

By listing the genres presented above as those with the greatest representation in the data and building on empirical knowledge from previous research, we can conclude that attending live punk music events is not only linked to the musical genre itself, or even to the bands.[8] The motivations for attending should be analyzed in a similar way to the musical genre (Brown and Knox 2017). Thinking about these music scenes, we can infer that experiencing music and individuals' feelings of being part of a movement are among the main reasons. This is more evident when we look at events with an underground character. Further, the physical structure of some venues, such as their small size, can enhance the

connection with the bands, creating a relationship of proximity, friendship, and sharing, and influencing the use of these venues. Another characteristic is the visual aspect of the performances, and the affective feelings that are created in relation to the memorabilia surrounding them (merchandising, CDs, tickets, etc.). Thus, the physical dimensions of music and of individual and collective expression are very much present (Pitts 2014).

It is evident that live music, the motivations that may underlie the attendance of these events, and the musical genre itself are fundamental to some of the reasons why these underground events remain. However, we cannot ignore the double-edged relationship between geographical space and events. Table 3 shows the main cities that hosted the most live punk music events.

City	Number	%
Almada	**38**	5.56
Aveiro	12	1.75
Benavente	8	1.17
Braga	13	1.90
Caldas da Rainha	**30**	4.39
Cascais	23	3.36
Castelo Branco	7	1.02
Coimbra	**34**	4.97
Faro	8	1.17
Leiria	9	1.32
Lisbon	**236**	**34.50**
Loulé	14	2.05
Moita	12	1.75
Odemira	8	1.17
Pombal	10	1.46
Porto	**110**	**16.08**
Setúbal	15	2.19
Viseu	7	1.02
Other cities	90	13.16

Table 3: Number and percentage of events per city
Source: KISMIF Project.

Portugal remains macro-centric in the artistic and cultural field, with the cities of Porto (one hundred ten events) and Lisbon (two hundred thirty-six events) continuing to be hubs for artistic production and consumption. Beyond the obvious characteristics of political power and the centralization of economic investment, this can be explained by the fact that

culture – particularly music – has long been considered as a form of social revaluation of cities (Guerra, Bittencourt, and Domingues 2018). Since they have the necessary infrastructure, these large metropolises have become mediators of cultural dynamics. Despite belonging to the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (AML), places such as Almada – where thirty events were counted – fit under the narrative of the development of new spaces of consumption, social recomposition, and development of a cultural economy (Guerra, Bittencourt, and Domingues 2018), embodying a change in the urban landscape within the scope of post-modern processes of urban development.

The preponderance of events in these cities does not surprise us. Guerra and Bennett have already listed them, associating them with a clear idea of "where there are people, there are young people" (2020:74), thus establishing a connection with the genres and subgenres of punk, and highlighting cities such as Lisbon, Porto, Loures, Cascais (twenty-three events), and Almada as leading this genre. Then come medium-sized cities such as Viana do Castelo, Braga (thirteen events), Aveiro (twelve events), Coimbra (thirty-four events), Setúbal (fifteen events), and Faro (eight events). Also of note are the small cities inside the country, such as Viseu, Castelo Branco (seven events), Caldas da Rainha (thirty events), and Loulé (fourteen events). Thus, despite being considered small or medium-sized, cities such as Coimbra, Caldas da Rainha, Setúbal, and Loulé report a high number of live events. Moreover, because there are few physical venues for events, a community forms around the local scene (Guerra and Bennett 2020), with a shared motivation to attend these events (Brown and Knox 2017). This idea of community has been established since the early 1980s, when Portugal reopened to the world after the end of the Salazar military dictatorship, since most of these medium and small cities witnessed a Portuguese rock boom, with the emergence of bands, venues, and stages (Rendell 2021).

Many of these cities already had a connection to the arts, which would have acted as an incendiary fuse for the explosion and consolidation of the punk movement and subsequent subgenres. However, there is insufficient space for that topic here. Having highlighted the main cities hosting live music events of this nature, we can see which cities stand out for the lineups of their punk events, to understand their origin and verify whether these cities also stand out for the "production" and "expedition" of artists to the rest of the country.

The years 2013, 2014, and 2015 were landmarks for the affirmation of the punk scene in live music events. They saw the largest participation of artists. If there is a relationship between the year and the number of events held, it is clear that the city of origin of the bands also plays a prominent role. Therefore, from 2013 to 2015, Porto and Lisbon were the main cities of origin of the bands that comprised these events. In the case of Porto, between 2013 and 2015 we counted the presence of about one hundred twenty-eight bands. In Lisbon, we counted about three hundred, a substantially higher number

Figure 8. Poster of the event in which Fina Flor do Entulho took part, at the Bar Spot, in the STOP Shopping Centre
Source: https://www.facebook.com/events/120925484617907/ in KISMIF Archive.

Figure 9. Poster for the event '2 Years of Punk' by Gatos Pingados, in the Parqe in Caldas da Rainha, 2013
Source: http://billy-news.blogspot.com/2013/11/?m=0 in KISMIF Archive.

that corroborates what Guerra, Bittencourt, and Domingues (2018) refer to as driving forces of urban and social recomposition in artistic and cultural production. Examples of bands from Porto are Cruelist, Fina Flor do Entulho (Figure 8), and Erro Crasso. In the case of Lisbon, we highlight bands such as A Life to Take, Crepúsculo Maldito, and Gatos Pingados (Figure 9). For the events in the year 2013, we verified the presence of nine bands originating from Almada, fourteen from Caldas da Rainha, and eleven from Coimbra. Cities such as Leiria and Guimarães have also taken on greater importance in recent years, particularly in 2015, with eight and seven bands respectively originating from them. In 2010, neither city had a band participating in these events.

Another interesting aspect of this scene is the impact of foreign cities – some of them geographically close to Portugal –on the Portuguese punk scene. The majority of international bands in Portugal came from France (twelve bands), followed by the Netherlands (seven bands), Norway (five bands), the United States (five bands), Spain (five bands), and Germany (four bands). We cannot neglect the work of Gallan on what is considered as being "local" (Gallan 2012) – in order to portray a local scene, as we have tried to do, it is

necessary to consider the people, the organizations, the events, and the situations associated with the consumptions of a shared style of music. Thus, given the strong symbiosis between national and international artists in these live music events, we can affirm the global and local character of the music industry (Bennett and Peterson 2004).

Conclusion: After all, punk lives through live music

This article has demonstrated that it is possible to verify that the punk scene is still very much active and alive in Portugal, especially in the organization of live music events. The COVID-19 pandemic has put a brake on the growth and organization of these events and brought numerous challenges to the music industry and artists. However, live punk music materializes geographical locations and territories and vernacular cultures (Gallan 2012). Furthermore, live music events are strongly linked to the strength of the musical genres in the spaces where they are staged. There is a historical connection of punk with cities such as Lisbon, Coimbra, and Castelo Branco. Guerra (2018) points out that the autonomy of the punk scene is due to practices such as DIY, but it is also due to the venues that organize these events, in the sense that they have strong relationships of proximity with the actors in the scene: the artists and audiences (Barrière 2020).

This article is intended to contribute academically to the development of the field of studies focused on the importance of live music, as well as at the level of theorization around the concept of scene and subculture (Bennett 2000). It demonstrates how live music events foster the social function of punk music in Portugal, giving rise to the construction of a cultural context that is tendentially forgotten or considered superfluous (Johnson and Homan 2003). We conclude that places – namely cities and venues – are crucial to the creation and maintenance of a scene around a given musical genre, which is especially evident in the case of punk. In fact, it is these elements that have been at the root of the punk movement in Portugal and its maintenance and survival since the early 1970s. At the same time, we demonstrated that live punk music events transform the atmosphere of the places they occupy, which in turn reinforces the argument that music assumes a mediating character (Hennion 1997). This was evidenced by the data regarding the relationship between the number of live music events and their coincidence with the periods of strong economic and financial crisis that deeply affected Portugal.

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Notes

[1] Section title inspired by the song "God Save The Queen" by Sex Pistols (1977). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqrAPOZxgzU&ab_channel=SexPistolsVEVO. This study was conducted within the project Keep it Simple, Make it Fast! Prolegomenons and Punk Scenes, a Road to Portuguese Contemporaneity (1977-2012) (PTDC/CS-SOC/118830/2010) (KISMIF). The project and its results can be found at the site <www.punk.pt>. KISMIF seeks to explore in depth the punk reality in Portugal from a perspective of scene development in the last 40 years. Our intention has been to map and historically typify punk manifestations in Portugal, using extensive and intensive methodologies. The project is funded by FEDER through the COMPETE Operational Program from the Foundation for Science and Technology. It is led by the Institute of Sociology of the University of Porto) and was developed in partnership with the Griffith Centre for Social and Cultural Research and Lleida University.

[2] The title of this article was inspired by the song "Life Ain't Enough For You" by Legendary Tigerman. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9BOuDugqRks&ab_channel=bigfattruckprod

[3] Section title adapted from the lyrics of the song "Hybrid Moments" by Misfits. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wpuHOkPeGJ8&ab_channel=TheMisfits-Topic

[4] There were only 40 people present; however, among them were the members of pioneering and emblematic punk bands, including Howard Trafford and Pete McNeish, who would eventually become known as Howard Devoto and Pete Shelley, the founders of the Buzzcocks, along with artists such as Ian Curtis, Mark Smith, Tony Wilson, and Peter Hook, who would become the bassist for Joy Division, and Morrissey, who would establish himself as the founder of The Smiths.

[5] The group appearing most frequently in our analysis is GASTagus Association. This is a non-profit youth association that develops education projects for citizenship. See https://www.gastagus.org/a-nossa-historia

[6] Note that the total is not equivalent to the number of events because each event may have several bands, and we have identified the musical genre for each of the bands which makes the count of genres and subgenres higher than the number of events.

[7] It is currently the main meeting point for heavy metal fans in the city of Porto, Portugal. More information at: https://www.facebook.com/metalpointclub/

[8] As part of the international network and community connected to the global conference Keep It Simple, Make It Fast! (KISMIF). Available at: www.kismifconference.com

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PART III

Live Music, Technologies, and Platforms

The Values of Live Music Videos on YouTube: A Montreal Case

Michaël Spanu

Montreal nights have long been a particular attraction of the city. They are featured in the public sphere, in debates about crime, insecurity, and transgression on the one hand, and about public cultural life, spectacles, and more recently, gentrification, on the other (Reia 2019, Straw 2015, Barrette 2014). Montreal has been described as a place where night-time music activities produce specific knowledge and behavior (Straw 2004) and where cultural differences take new shapes, especially those related to class, age, and language (Straw 2019, Della Faille 2005). In this context, live music is crucial in understanding Montreal's distinctive cultural identity, just as in other cities in the Global North (Picaud 2019). The prominence of Montreal live music relates to a historically weak "hard" music infrastructure (due to the city's remoteness from the global music industry) that interacts with a dense and meaningful "soft" infrastructure embodied in the concept of the "bohemian enclave" (Stahl 2010).[1]

As a performing art form that often occurs at night, live music is ephemeral and relatively hidden from traditional spaces of public activity. In this sense, live music is challenging to map and assess empirically (Garcia 2013, Mercado Celis 2017). However, platforms such as YouTube, Twitch, and Facebook now work as digital *venues* and repositories for live music videos produced by both amateurs and professionals. Live music content is part of the abundant catalog that feeds the attention economy on which digital platforms rely. Indeed, audience members now often make and share videos of concerts, creating new forms of live music consumption (Bennett 2015). At the same time, new live performance video formats (including live-streaming) are being produced and broadcast by increasingly professional agents (Holt 2011), despite historical difficulties in monetizing visual content related to popular music (Buxton 2018). These formats rely on a mix of different audio-visual traditions (Holt 2018, Heuguet 2016, Munt 2011, Desrochers 2010) adapted to the "platformized" context of the Internet (Nieborg and Poell 2018, Gillespie 2010). How can we assess and interpret the value of live music videos on these platforms? How do they relate to a sense of place (in this case, Montreal) and other values related to live music?

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Montreal music scenes has been severe, as most shows were canceled. The primary response came in the form of the explosion of

virtual concerts. Nevertheless, these shows mainly benefit top mainstream artists and do not compensate for economic and social losses from brick-and-mortar concerts (Spanu 2020). This gap amplifies the necessity to investigate live music in the platformized media context. This article aims to assess the values of live music on digital platforms through the example of live music videos shot in Montreal and broadcasted on YouTube. It relies on the study of an exploratory sample of videos. The results are discussed in terms of heritage value, here understood as the valuation of artifacts associated with a sense of cultural past (Strong 2018, Heinich 2019).

Live Music and the digital heritage of urban cultural scenes

The most common media content related to live music events is flyers, posters, photos, and videos. However, we want to focus on video, as it has become a select format of live performance in the digital media environment (Holt 2011). Therefore, live music videos on digital platforms can be considered, to some extent, an artifact related to a past musical public event embedded in a digital interface. The artifact corresponds to the audiovisual content produced by different participants that depict live music in a particular place (here in Montreal), ranging from professional film concerts to amateur smartphone videos uploaded on a digital platform. In this sense, our definition of live music events and videos is deliberately broad. We separate the analysis of the "valuation process" (Heinich, 2020) of these videos into three phases: 1) agents producing and sharing videos, 2) the audio-visual content of the videos, and 3) the experience made visible by the affordances of the platform's interface.

The values usually associated with live music are economic, social, cultural, and spatial (van der Hoeven and Hitters 2020; Van der Hoeven and Hitters 2019; Holt 2010). This study observes how these values transfer to the digital environment through the case of live music videos from Montreal, using the following definitions: *Economic value* refers to the commercial dimension of the video producer/broadcaster and the consideration of live music videos as commercial products; public engagement and participation are aspects of *social value*; *spatial value* corresponds to a visual sense of place (e.g., the city); and finally, *cultural value* refers to creativity, diversity, and talent development through the use of videos.

As cultural texts, live music videos relate to broader systems of meaning operating in society (Alper 2014; Ibrahim 2015), mediated by their production conditions, audio-visual qualities, directing choices and contingencies, and pre-existing formats with which they somehow dialogue. Besides, as a broadcasting platform, YouTube entails a series of specificities that require clarification. Contrary to received wisdom regarding their deter-ritorialization tendencies, digital platforms such as YouTube can reinforce the role of

locality in the articulation of music communities (Barna 2017) and shape our understanding of urban spaces (Fazel and Rajendran 2015), which makes them suitable environments to assess how they foster spatial values. Moreover, the very accessible dimension of YouTube understood as social media enhances public participation, which relates to some extent to a form of social value.

Scholars also investigated this platform as a site of heritage practices related to dominant and marginalized cultures, official and non-official sources, and professionals and amateurs (Pietrobruno 2013; Pietrobruno 2018). From an archive studies perspective, YouTube can thus be considered as a sort of database that can transform, under certain conditions, any video content into archival content, especially in comparison with platforms such as Twitch, which is more focused on live streaming and interactivity. However, it is also performative because it is embedded in the present, affecting and mediating contemporary cultural practices and representations (DeCesari and Rigney 2014). This ambivalence represents an essential variable of the following analysis, as it mediates cultural values.

Another critical ambivalence is the functioning of the attention economy on which YouTube relies. Some features such as the comment section and the view number refer simultaneously to social and economic values. For instance, the view count represents a driving feature for the user experience and perception of relevance on the one hand (Feroz Khan and Vong 2014) and a contradictory technical system of valuation that relates to monetary values on the other hand (Heuguet 2020). Further, the functioning of the platform is highly dependent on its curation system. In a certain way, YouTube belongs to the same genealogy as other archive apparatus that store a vast majority of content and only display a minority through the action of a curatorial authority (Prelinger 2009). However, this topic exceeds the purpose of this paper; we will only address it marginally.

Finally, YouTube uses a tool (Content ID) to automatically identify copyrighted content, and better manage official content and remunerate owners (which corresponds to a historical challenge within cultural industries and a vision of content as a product). However, this technology needs to conceptualize music as fixed data (Heuguet 2019). This raises questions, as live music content necessarily differs from the "original" recorded version. Moreover, copyright management is particularly complicated in live video recordings, as the rights are fragmented between the artist, the label, the audiovisual producer, and the show promoter. This complexity profoundly influences the circulation of live music videos on digital platforms, especially in the case of professional video production (Guibert, Spanu and Rudent 2021).

Methods and corpus

Based on previous argumentation and visual methods applied to social media (Hand 2016), my exploration of live music videos' values on YouTube considers three aspects:

1) The conditions and participants involved in the production and broadcasting of live music videos on YouTube (name of the channel, number of followers, other videos hosted by the channel, profile description)

2) the visual content (video title, date, sound, visual elements, composition, and effects)

3) the specific mediations embedded in the platform that affect the experience (comments, number of views, recommendation).

A first exploratory sample of data was collected using the keyword "live music Montreal" and its French equivalent in the YouTube search bar. The results were filtered alternatively by view counts and relevance. A second sample was collected based on two iconic independent venues in Montreal: La Sala Rossa and Casa del Popolo (both owned by the same local company, founded in 2000 by Godspeed You! Black Emperor's band member Mauro Pezzente). The final qualitative sample corresponds to a total of 22 videos. The data collection was not restricted to a specific timeframe. Eventually, the live events broadcasted in the sample ranged from 1979 to 2019. The complete list of videos from the sample and their description can be accessed here: https://figshare.com/articles/dataset/Data_What_the_night_used_to_be_-_Montreal/12410591

Results and discussion

Agents: Music industry, digital DIY archivists, local and global, and promoters/broadcasters

The range of agents involved in producing and broadcasting YouTube videos taken from live music events in Montreal is extensive. On the one hand, the most popular live music content usually refers to one official artist's channel, such as Belgian artist Stromae or American artist Rihanna. The VEVO logo featured in the videos validates the content as a product of the mainstream music industry. Here the channels' value is partly commercial, as the objectives are to expand the artist's notoriety and give fans new material through which to engage with the artist. Therefore, these channels fall to some extent into the commercial category thanks to the economic conversion of their social measurement (number of followers, numbers of views) by which YouTube operates. In a way, these channels work as a digital back catalog that complements other official content related

to the artist on other media. The financial value of these concert movies is relatively low, compared to the gross value of a global tour, for instance (mainly because of YouTube's revenue sharing policy); however, they can be a source of other forms of value. Indeed, this type of official artist's channel usually features many different videos, from interviews to intimate shows and music videos, and ultimately works as artists' personal archives. In this sense, it has a particular cultural value, albeit moderated by the fact that it only concerns one artist.

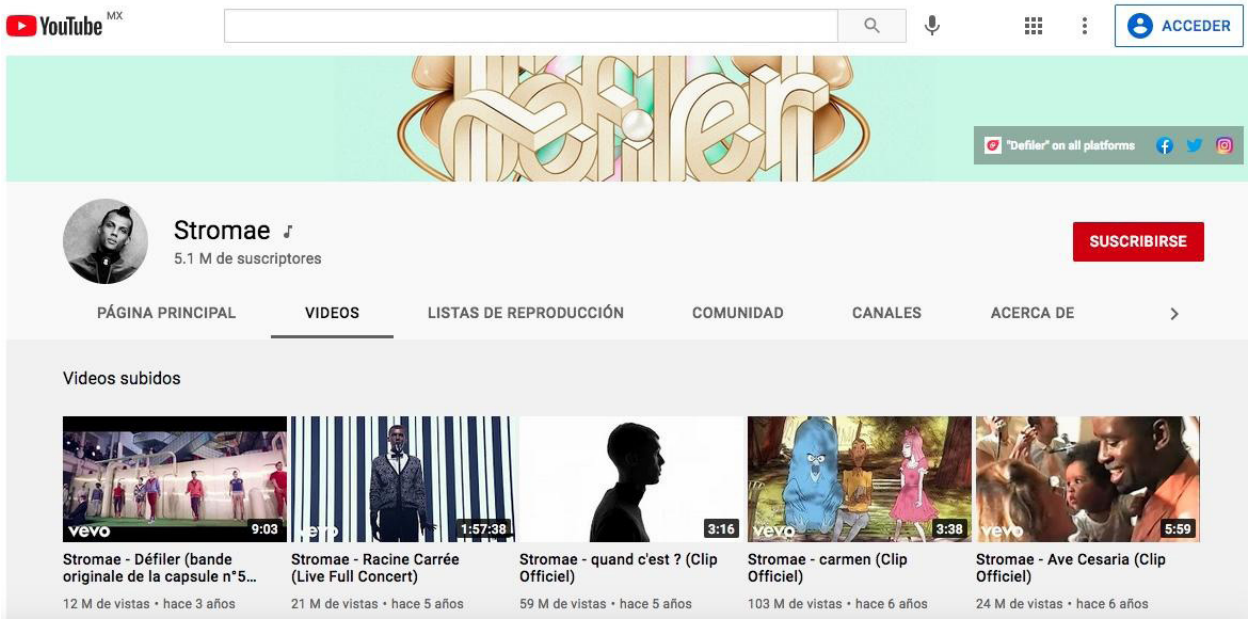

Figure 1. Screenshot of Stromae's YouTube channel. Source: YouTube.[2]

On the other hand, non-official channels can also feature equally praised live music content, which complicates the classification and value of the agents involved. The most viewed video in the sample, Queen's classic 1981 concert at the Forum de Montreal, particularly illustrates this phenomenon. The video was filmed by a professional crew as official content, but it was anonymously posted by a non-official channel (the volunteer-powered French news website AgoraVox).

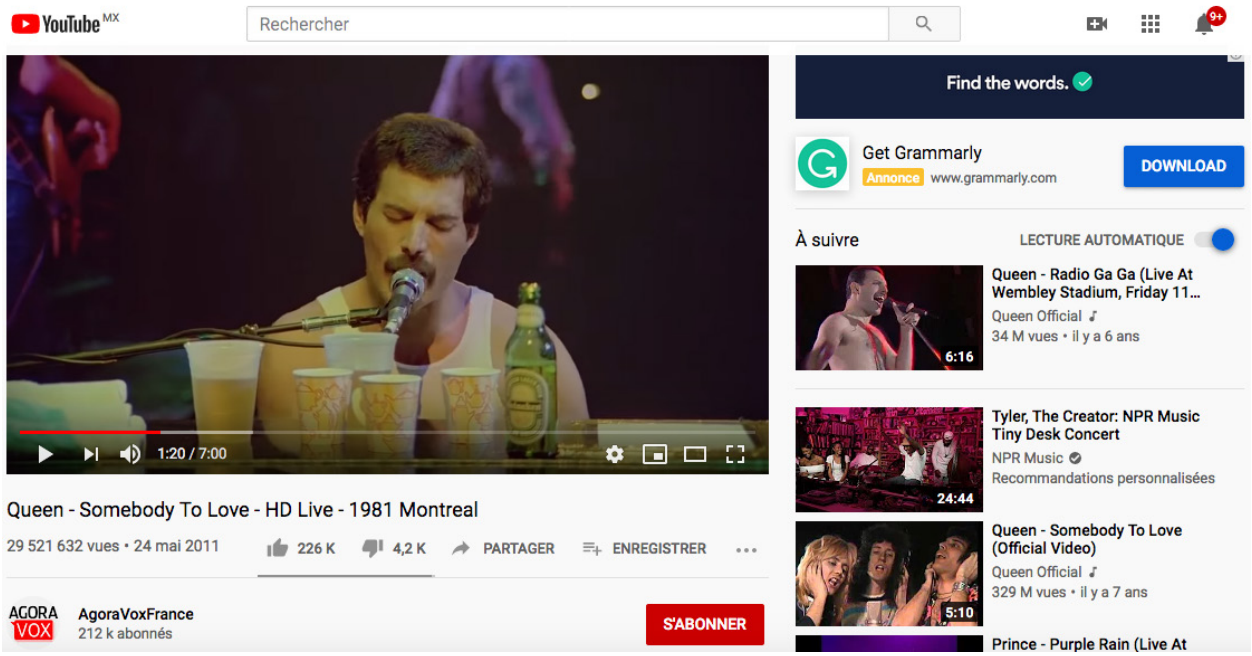

Figure 2. Screenshot of the YouTube video of Queen's show in Montreal (1981).

The user does not own the movie's rights, which means that the video remains on the platform because the right-holders decided not to block it and/or ContentID did not identify it. Interestingly, and despite the band's immense notoriety, this video benefits from two complementary factors: professional audiovisual quality on the one hand and no copyright restriction on the other. It represents a gray area that benefits the circulation of content related to live music in Montreal and where music industry interests are left aside. In this sense, the channel's value is cultural above all, as it brings an archive from an important past event to a larger audience. However, such value remains fragile as the platform or the channel can delete the content at any time.

More generally, most channels in the sample are from broadcasters that are not directly involved in the organization of music events or performances. A significant part of the sample of YouTube channels are run by amateurs specialized in broadcasting mainly local live music. As they are amateurs, their activity confers substantial affective cultural value (Long et al. 2017), related either to an artist or a genre of music. See, for instance, the case of Montreal Hclive (a channel of hardcore shows in Montreal, see Figure 3), tango-trash (which broadcasts indie live music events that occurred between 1997 and 2003 in different venues of Montreal, see Figure 4), MelAuz (which broadcasts mainstream pop shows and the "Mondial des cultures" festival) or nameless6794 (a fan page dedicated to Montreal's singer songwriter Grimes). These agents represent DIY archivists of Montreal live music. As their video production and broadcasting activities mainly relate to shows

in Montreal, they also value a sense of place, sometimes through a mention in the channel name (e.g., Montreal Hclive).

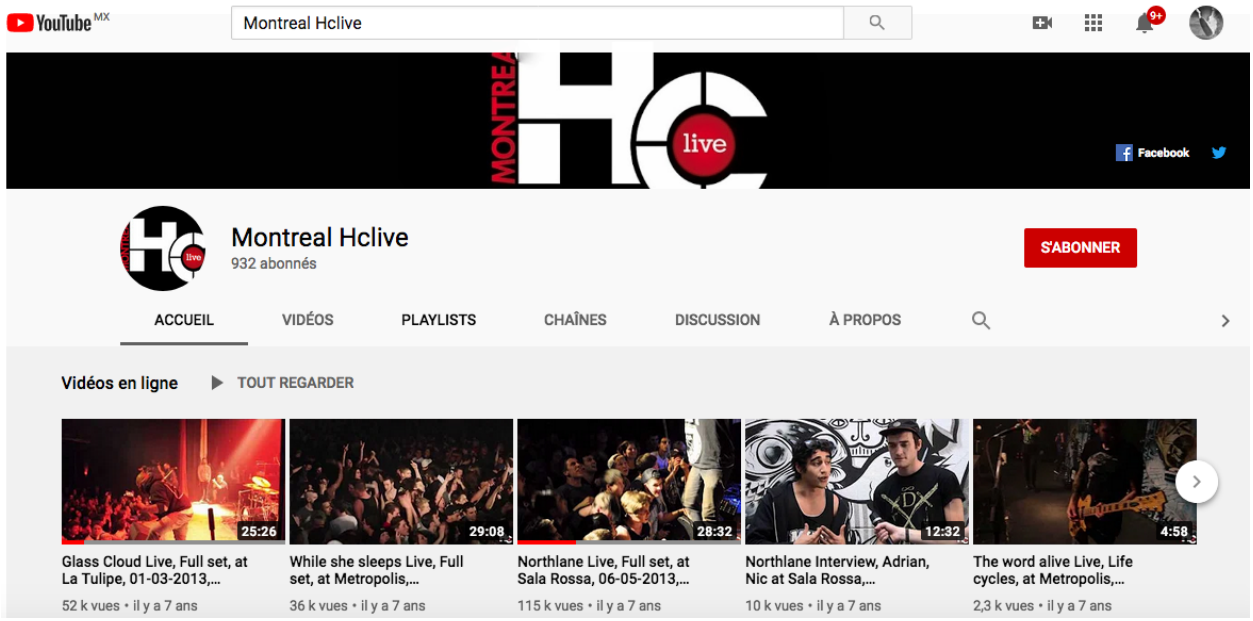

Figure 3. YouTube homepage of the channel Montreal Hclive.

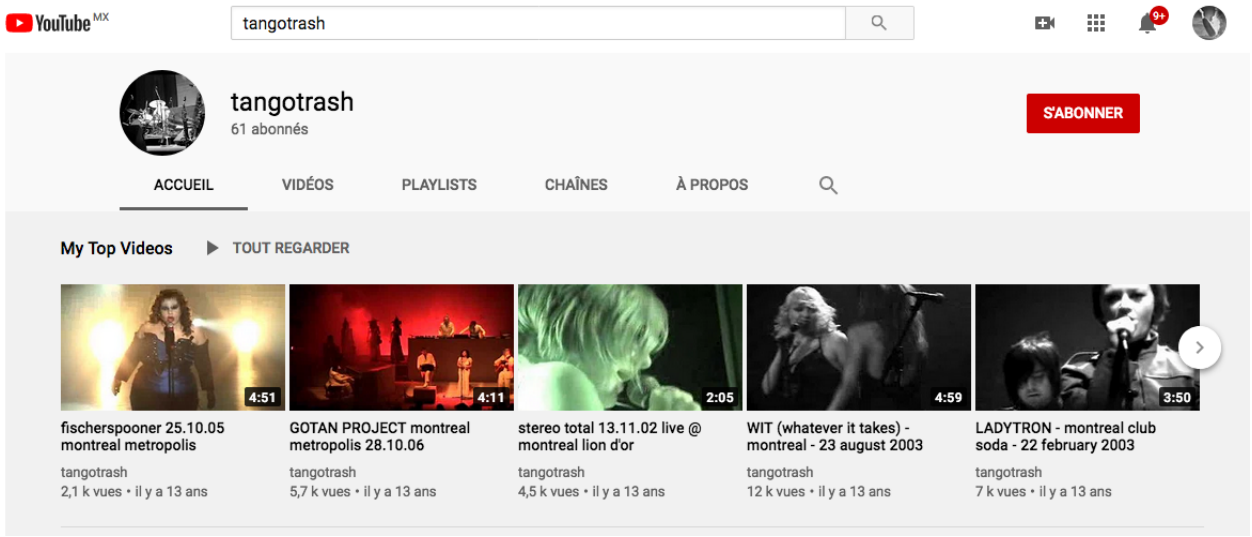

Figure 4. YouTube homepage of the channel tangotrash.

In other cases, YouTube channels are administered by professional entities, companies, or media that develop more activities beyond broadcasting live music videos. These activities can complement each other, in the way that live music video production often

works as a platform for other activities. For instance, the channel *SBKZ Media* covers salsa events and provides digital marketing services; the channel *Mediavision Cinematic Wedding Films + Photography* specializes in both music events and weddings (mainly among the Indian and Pakistani diaspora, see Figure 5). Another relevant example is *Montreality*, a digital media publication specializing in hip hop featuring live video music and interviews with North American rappers (see Figure 6). The value of these channels oscillates between promotional, cultural, and sometimes spatial; thus, they can be categorized as local live music video broadcasters. Their video content is usually more homogenous, well-indexed, and described in comparison with DIY archivists. However, they share the emphasis on the local, sometimes explicitly in their channel name (e.g., Montreality, Montreal Hclive). As such, they simultaneously bring to light the physical-virtual component of many music scenes and perform the role of the city of Montreal in the articulation of these specific scenes (hardcore punk and metal, hip hop, etc.).

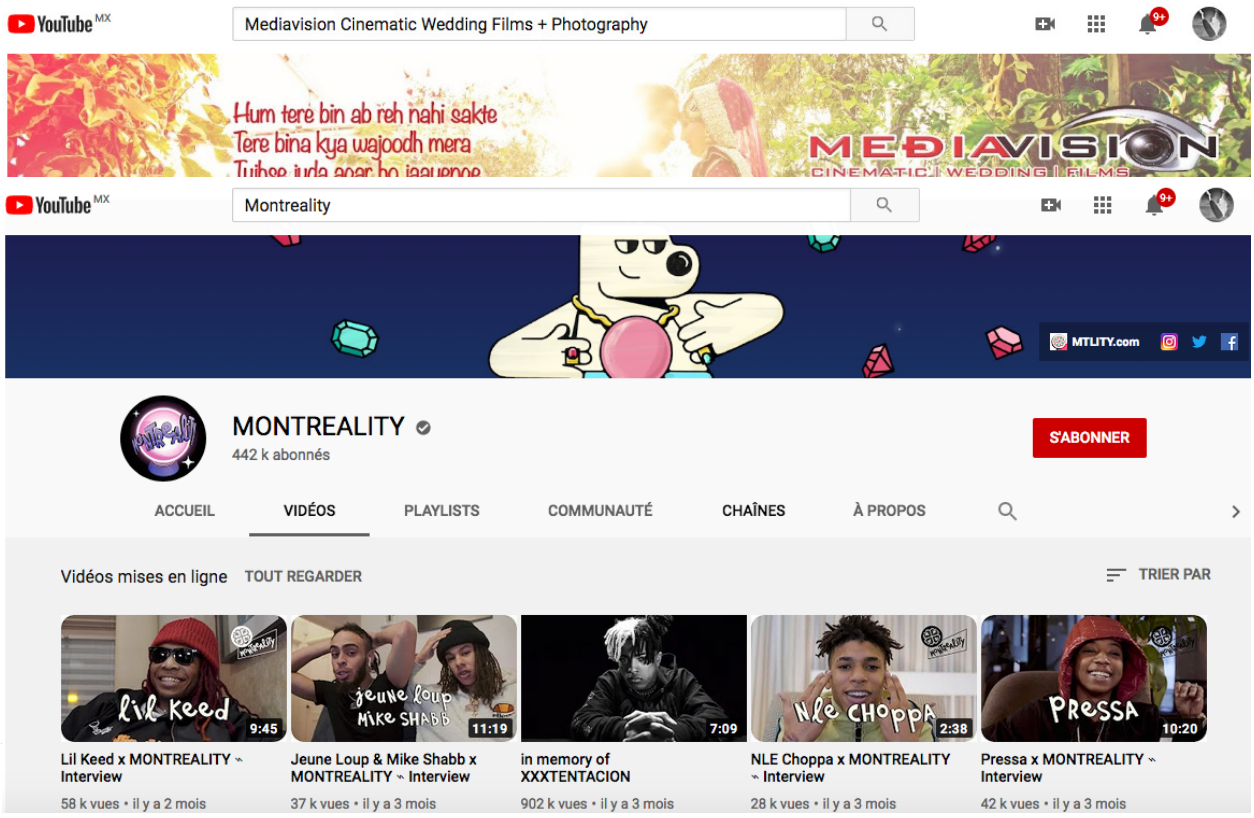

Figure 6. YouTube video list of the channel Montreality.

The last group under consideration is the agents who participate in music events in Montreal and broadcast them, of which we mention three examples. First, Slut Island

is a DIY festival focused on the queer community that broadcasts short videos of the festival (see Figure 6). Their videos have no promotional or aesthetic purpose; they work as a self-engineered archive of the local queer community. The two other examples are the London-based companies Boiler Room and Sofar Sounds (Figures 7 and 8), both specialized in broadcasting music events in different music genres (electronic and indie pop, respectively). They function as both global event promoters and video broadcasters, and their measured social impact far surpasses any of the other broadcaster channels, accounting for, respectively, two million four hundred thousand and one million followers at the time of the study. Interestingly, they rely on a feedback effect between video and the physical event that results in a "digital media event" perspective, meaning that the musical event is specifically designed to be broadcasted. In this sense, their videos differ from most of the other channels, but their broadcasting activity can complement other activities in a similar vein as other channels. This is especially the case for Sofar Sounds, whose business model relies on selling tickets for "secret" shows that they record and use as "advertising" on YouTube. However, YouTube's interface turns these channels into more than advertising tools, as they feature a significant number of videos in the shape of an archive or playlist. As such, their value as channels is as much promotional as cultural. Besides, as global broadcasters, these channels participate in building a certain global symbolic status around Montreal's musical events, as they establish links with other cities in the world where the scene is "happening," as we shall see in the next section.

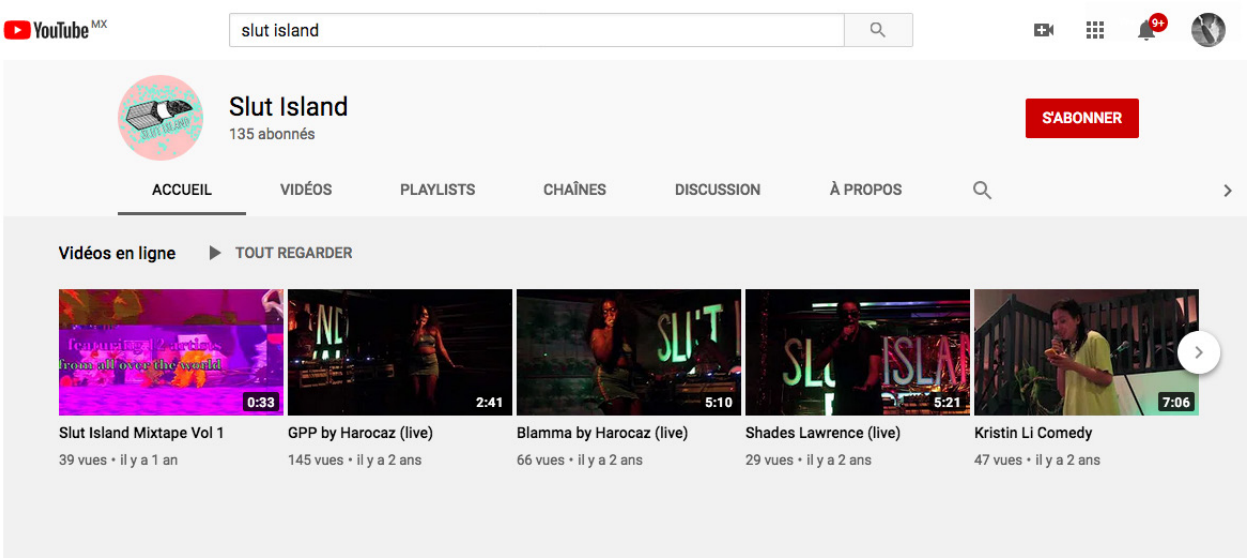

Figure 7. YouTube homepage of the channel Slut Island.

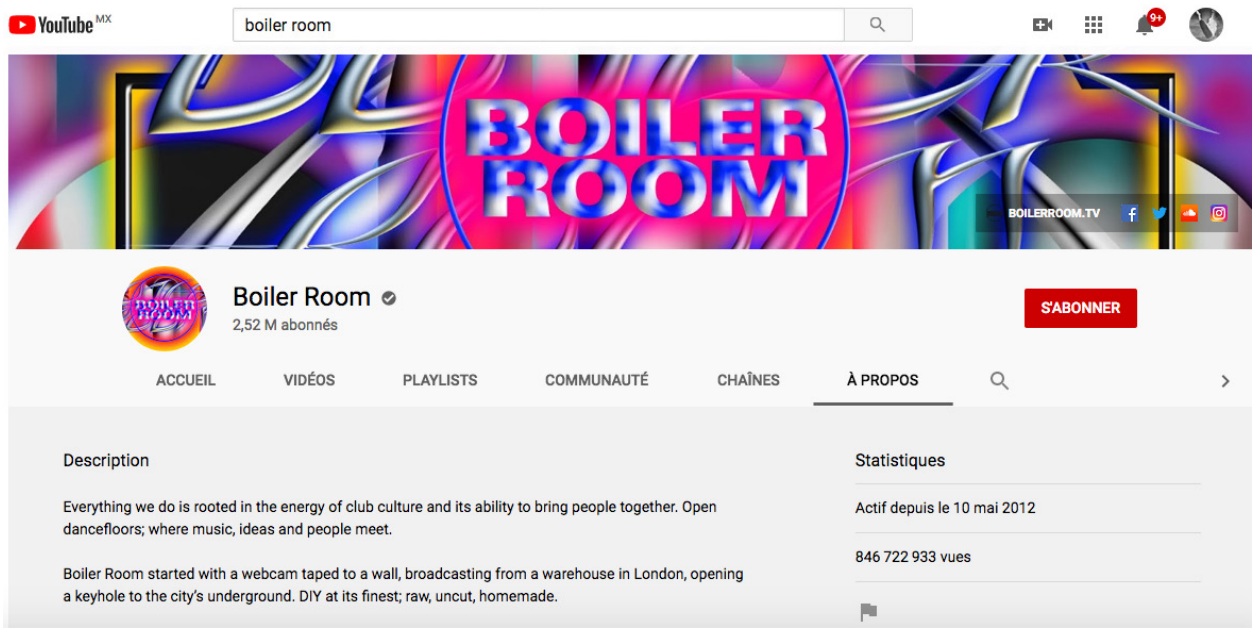

Figure 8. YouTube description page of Boiler Room.

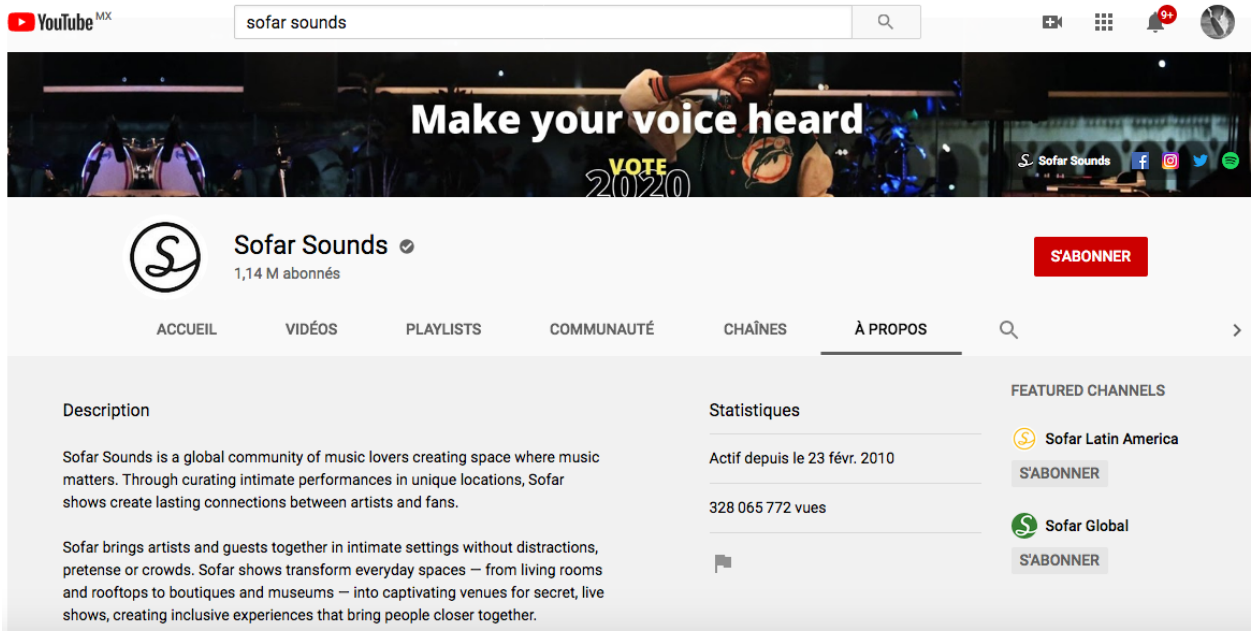

Figure 9. YouTube description page of Sofar Sounds.

Visual content, between document and video performance

In order to assess the different kinds of value of live music video content on YouTube, we have to understand how these formats work. Most videos rely on a traditional format of "concert film," in which the visual attention is on the artist on stage, while the portrayal of the audience remains marginal and anonymous (see Figures 10, 11 and 12). Interestingly, both professional and amateur videos use that format, although professional videos have better production conditions (multicam, edited sounds and images, etc.). They are commercial/promotional products from the music industry to some extent. However, the value of these videos is also cultural. They portray an artist's performance and the entire "stage narrative," reinforcing the opposition between darkness and light, stage and audience. In other words, it reinforces the "exclusive" dimension of the concert and the separation between the artist and the audience, which relies on a particular conception of cultural authenticity (Frith 2007). In the case of amateur videos, it also reinforces a specific type of fan attitude where the attention is on the artist, such as in the case of Grimes' video posted by a fan (see Figure). More generally, despite their differences regarding production techniques, budgets, and direction choices, both professional and amateur videos relying on this format try to preserve the original spirit and narrative of the performance (sometimes the full length of the show, sometimes just one or a couple of songs). These videos thus represent "traces," "testimonies," or "documents" of the actual concert with a specific focus on the cultural performance on stage.

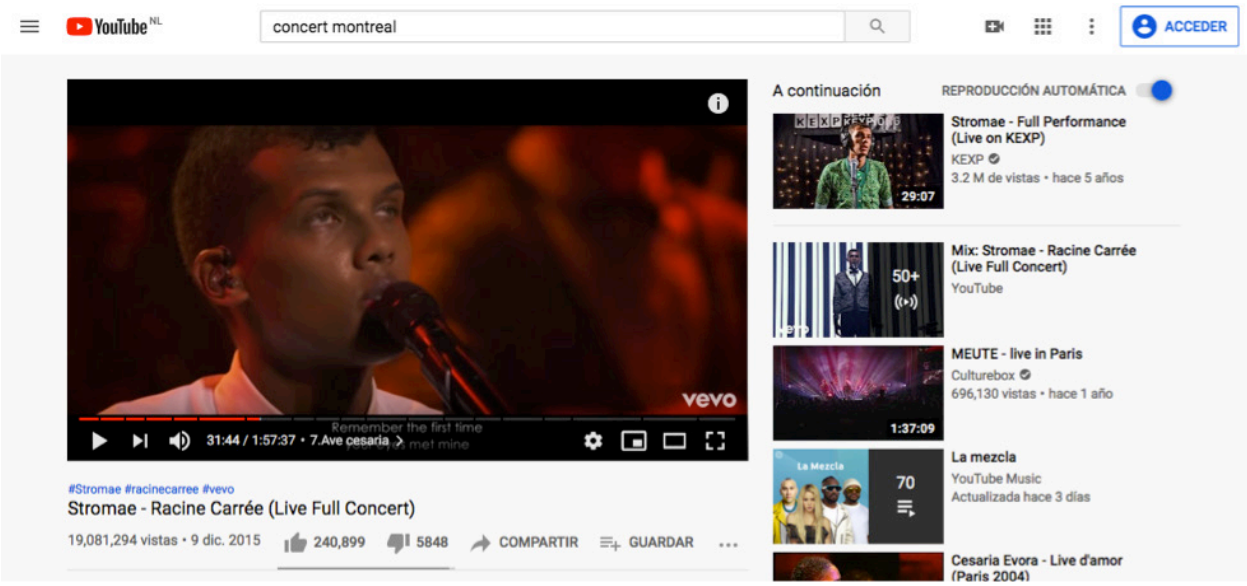

Figure 10. Screenshot of Stromae's professional concert film.

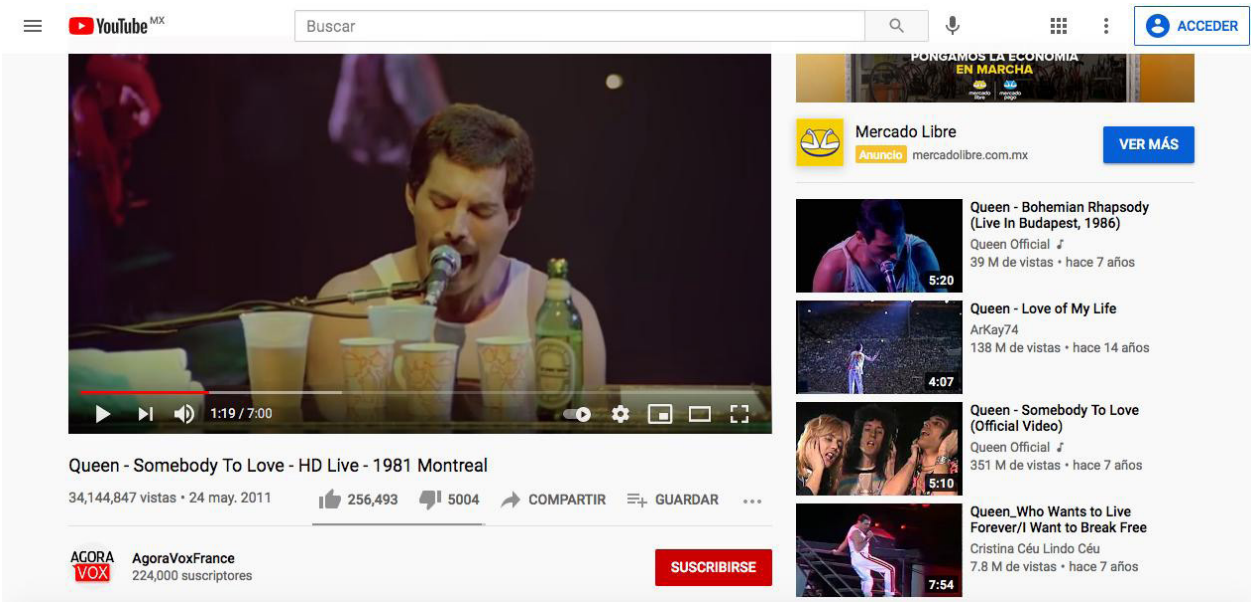

Figure 11. Screenshot of Queen's professional concert video.

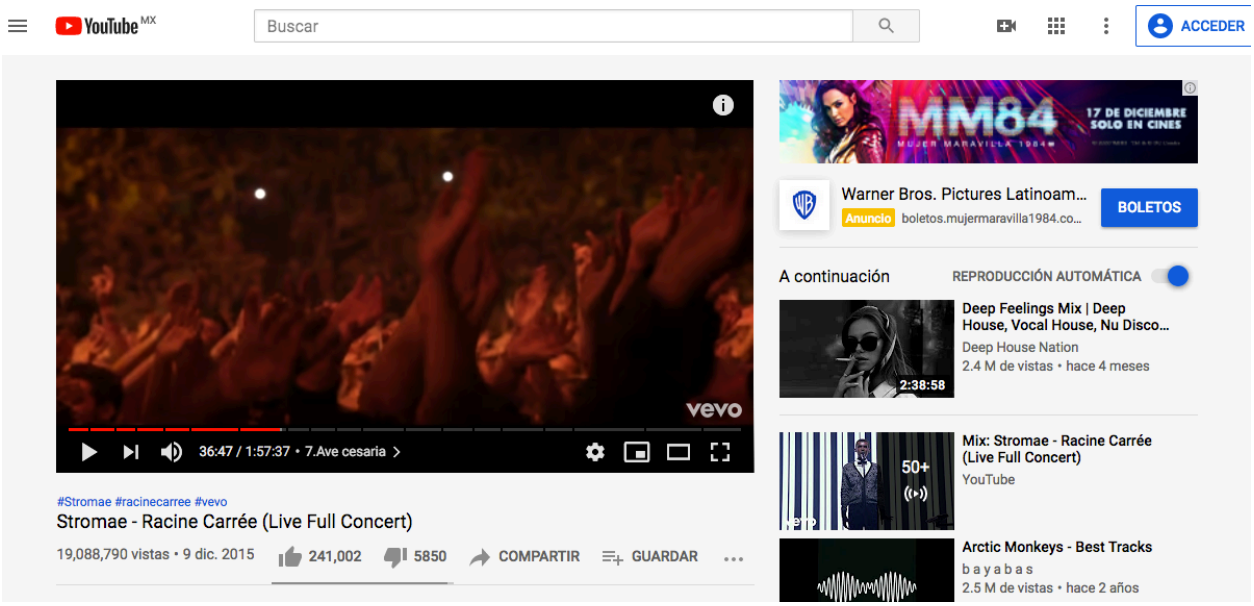

Figure 12. Screenshot of Stromae's professional concert film.

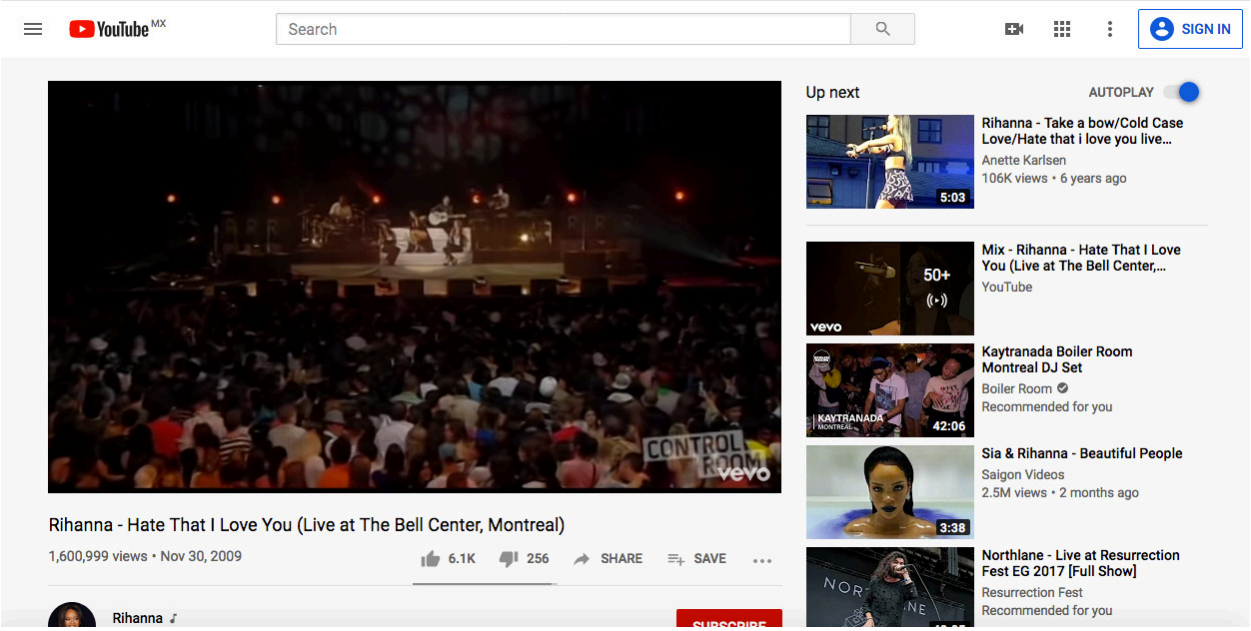

Figure 13. Screenshot of Rihanna's professional concert video.

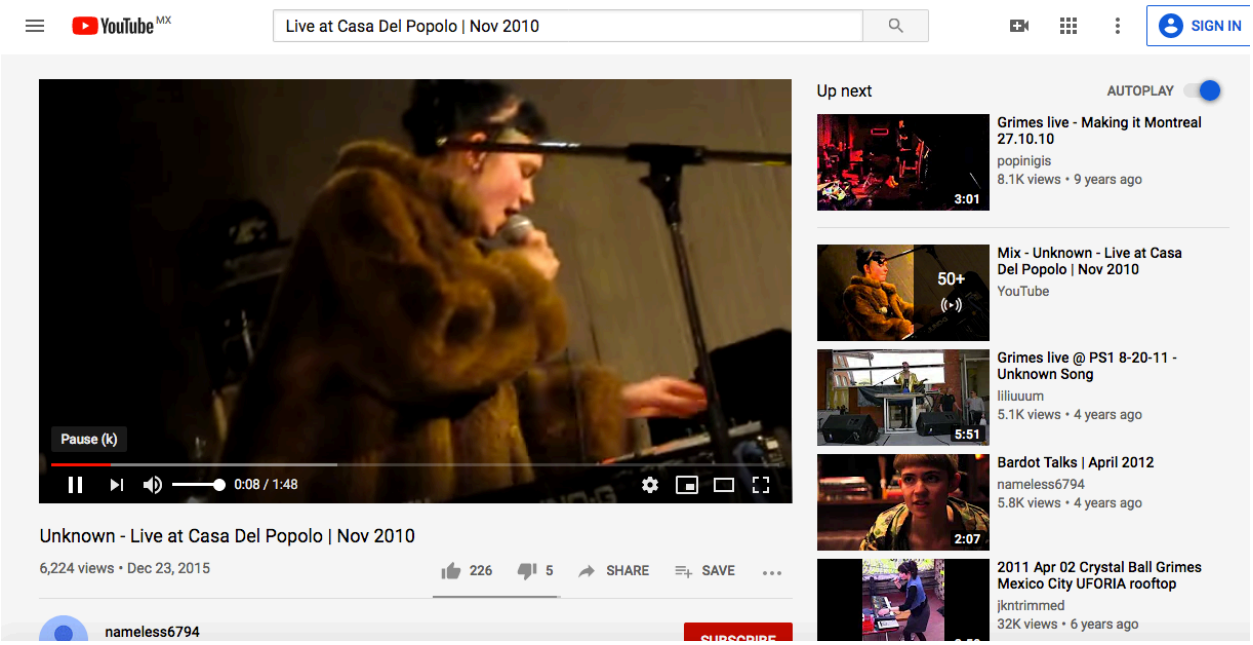

Figure 14. Screenshot of Grimes' amateur concert video.

The spatial value of these videos relies on a mention of the venue or the city in the video title or description, creating a semantic link with the location, but the visual content in itself does not show any spatial element (from the venue or the city, for instance). In the case of professional concerts portraying massive crowds, the sense of place is

only semantic and not visual, contrasting with other popular Canadian visual media that strongly rely on local geography (Laforest 2019). The video content could almost be filmed anywhere. But the semantic valuation of the city is relevant because the placelessness of the video content is being compensated for, creating a narrative around the video and the concert. For instance, in the case of Belgian artist Stromae, who sings in French, filming the performance in Montreal reinforces the sense of a cultural connection through the francophone world; it seems a conscious choice. In the case of foreign mainstream artists such as Queen or Rihanna, the mention of Montreal in the title foregrounds the importance of the city and its venues for the music industry; Montreal represents a mainstream cultural metropolis in the North American region.

Outside the usual format of the concert film, our sample contains a great heterogeneity of formats and values. For instance, some videos only focus on audience participation. This is especially the case for events that were designed to trigger an active and creative response from the audience, for instance through dancing (Figure 15). In this case, the audience becomes the show, and the main value is the social participation of the public.

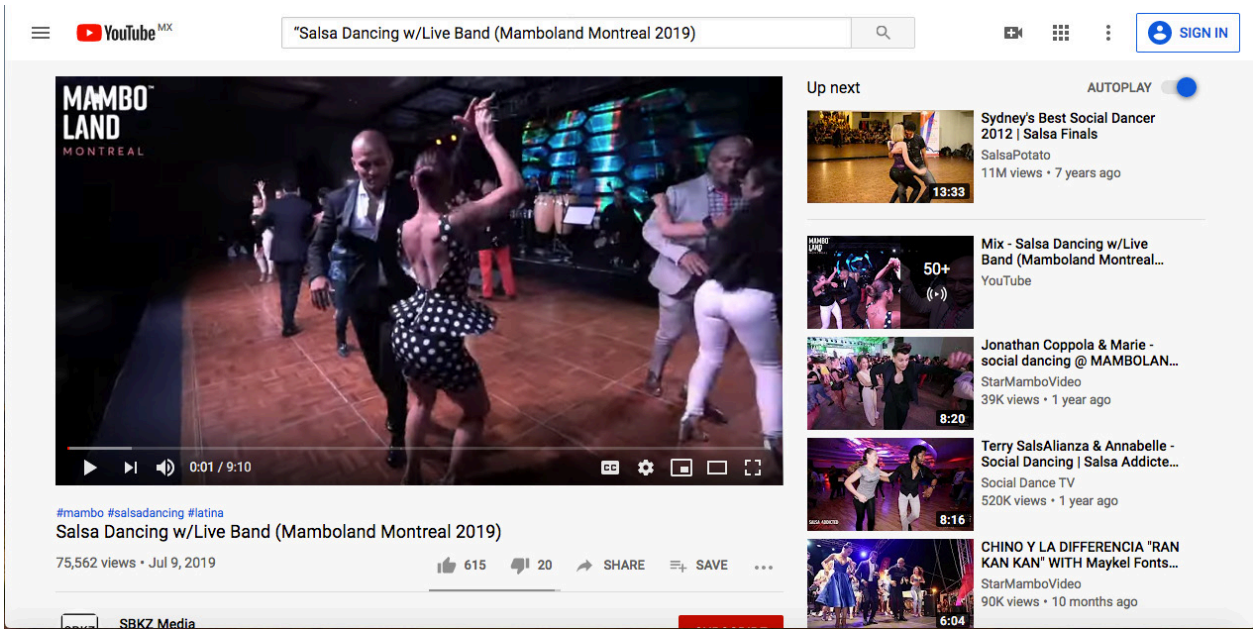

Figure 15. Screenshot of the Mamboland festival video.

Extended audience participation is also present in many DIY videos. Most of them consist of a single shot of the performance from the audience's perspective with direct messy sound, which emphasizes the audience's presence but undermines the artist's performance from a traditional aesthetic perspective. The audience's presence is not always attractive, as it generally accompanies technical deficiencies, but in some cases, it represents an important visual aspect consciously integrated into the video. See, for

instance, hardcore and metal videos (Figures 16 and 17), where participants actively engage in the "mosh pit." Other aspects of audience participation, such as singing along and soft dancing, can be heard and/or seen in other videos (Figure 18). This lo-fi aesthetic accounts for a more desacralized conception of live music and a closer physical and intimate relationship with the performing artist (Rudy and Citton 2014).

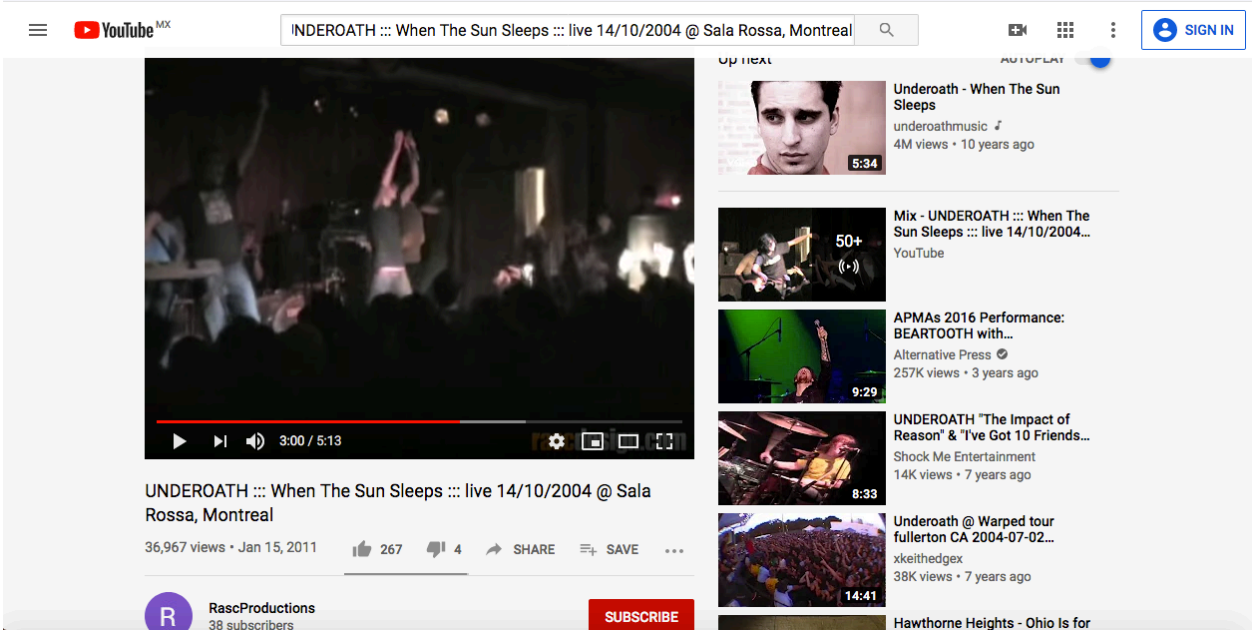

Figure 16. Screenshot of Underoath video.

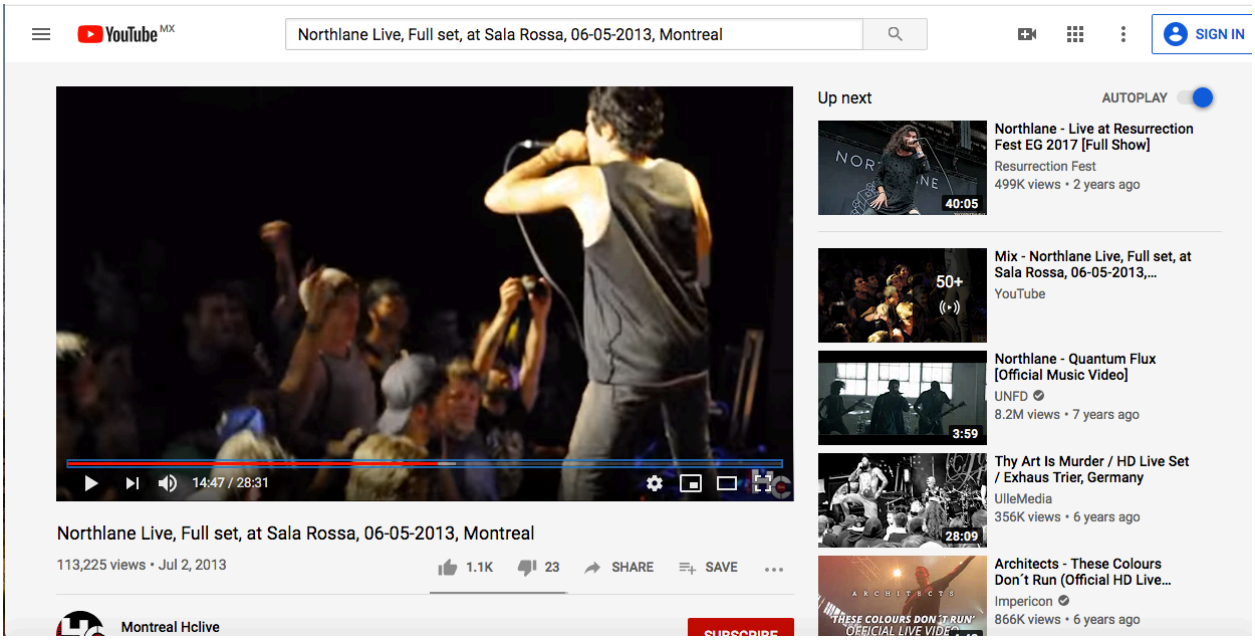

Figure 17. Screenshot of Northlane video.

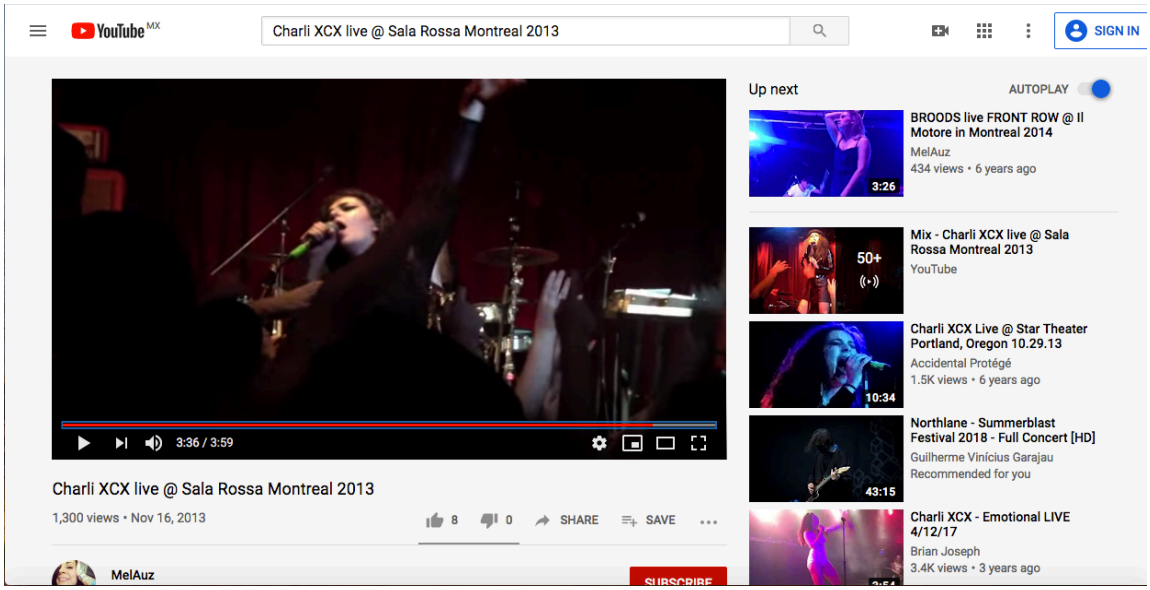

Figure 18. Screenshot of Charli XCX video.

Montreal DJ Kaytranada's video for Boiler Room is unique in highlighting both the artist's performance (cultural value) and the audience's participation (social value). The audience "performs" in front of the camera (alongside and behind the artist), producing an effect of both realism and idealization typical from Boiler Room videos (Heuguet 2016). The faces and bodies of both the artist and the audience are at the center of the video, while Kaytranada's DJ set remains the sound focal point. In this specific case, the audience draws most of the visual attention (Figures 19, 20, 21), as the interactions between participants follow a drama-like pattern or, as someone in the comment section puts it, a documentary on human behavior in a musical context.

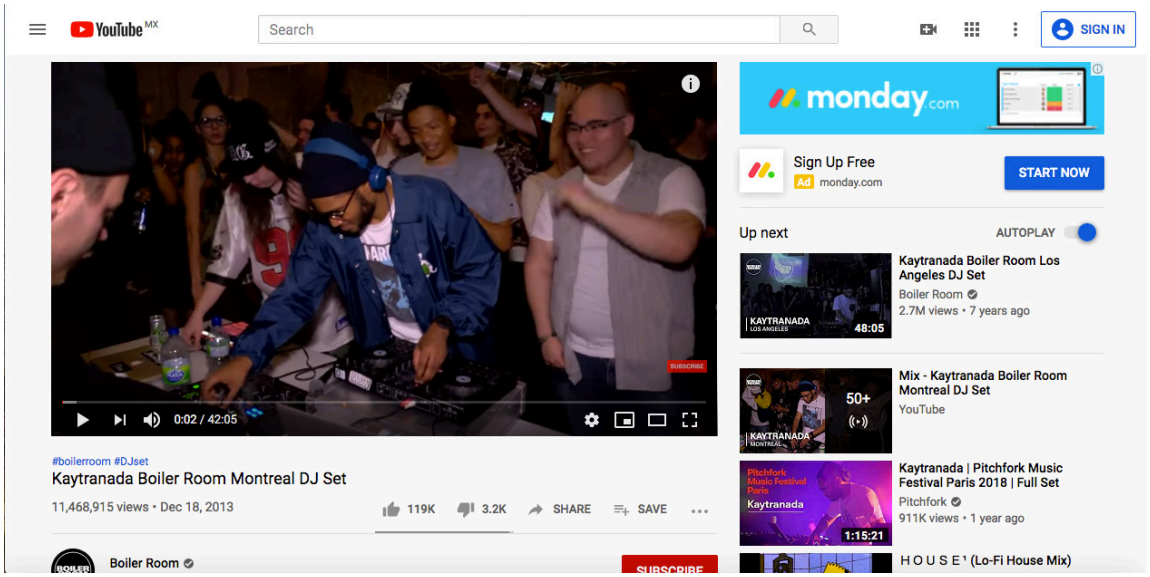

Figure 19. Screenshot of Kaytranada's video for Boiler Room (1).

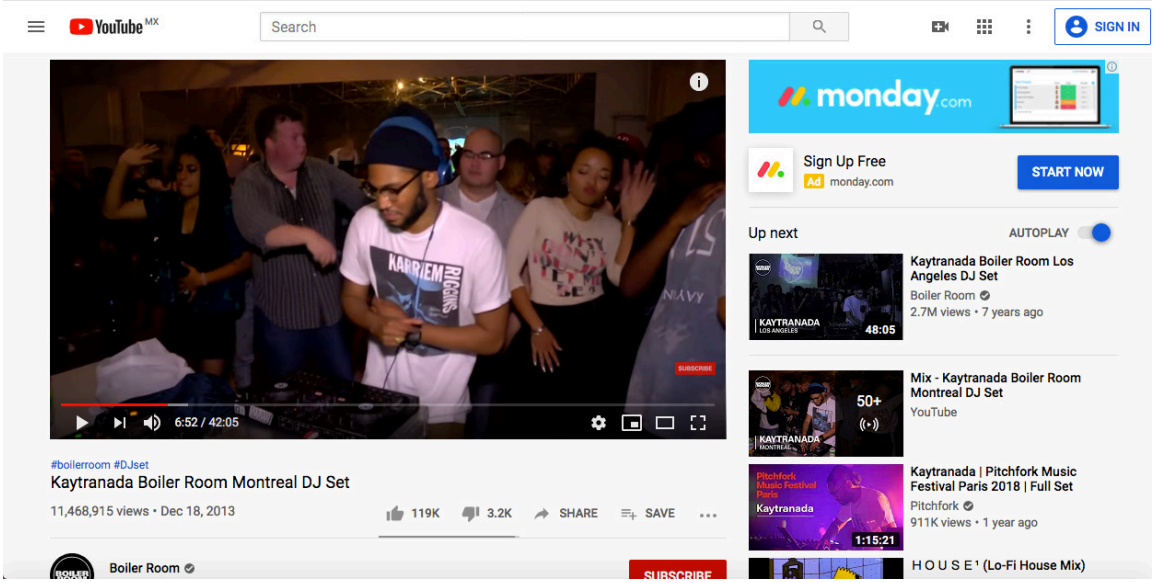

Figure 20. Screenshot of Kaytranada's video for Boiler Room (2).

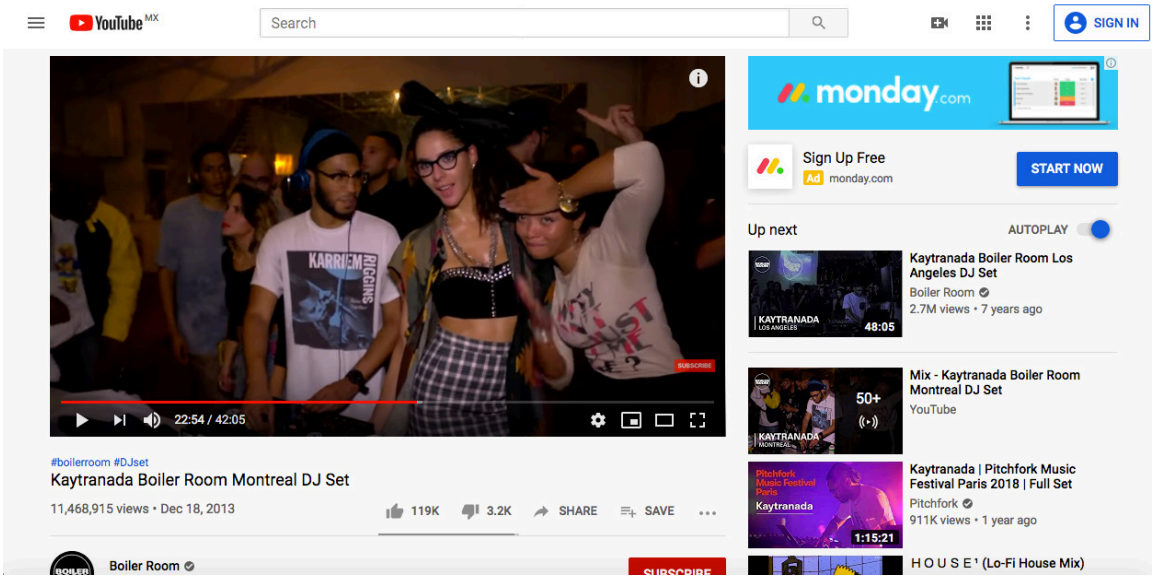

Figure 21. Screenshot of Kaytranada's video for Boiler Room (3).

Most other videos from the promoter/broadcaster group also depict the audience quite extensively, emphasizing their social value, but mainly in an idealized way, through dynamic video edition that alternates short takes of the audience and longer ones for the artist's performance. For instance, the audience seems enthusiastic and chic in Imran Khan's urban pop concert in a nightclub (Figure 22), but it is quieter and focused at Pomme's intimate acoustic performance in a café for Sofar Sounds (Figure 23). In these two cases, the YouTube channels work as a platform for other business activities. The

videos follow the path of the "aftermovie" format that festival promoters use to increase entanglement between the live music industry and the digital attention economy (Holt 2018). In a way, these videos *perform* liveness more than they document or portray it.

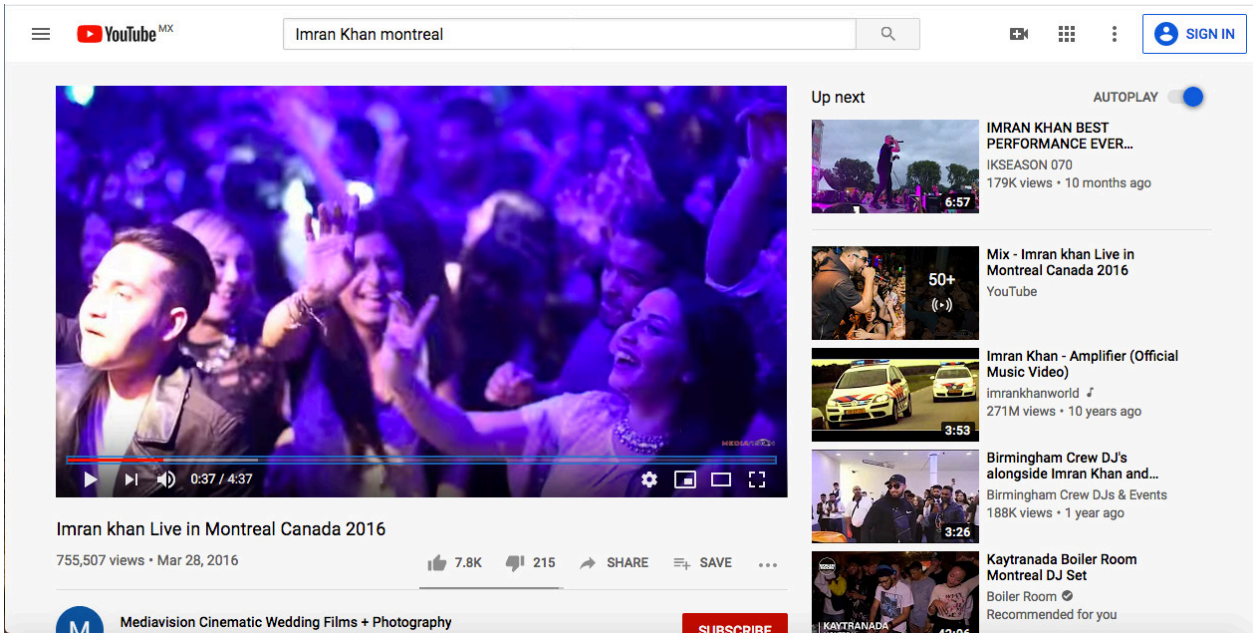

Figure 22. Screenshot of Imran Khan's video.

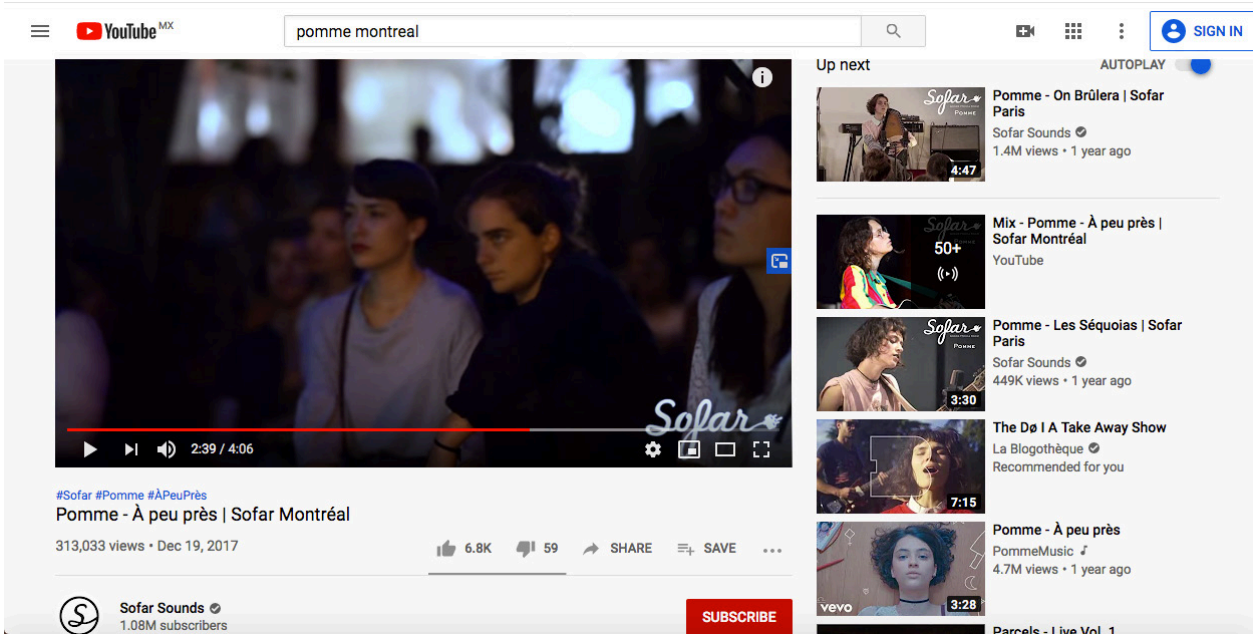

Figure 23. Screenshot of Pomme's video for Sofar Sound.

This specific type of video performance also fosters a more diverse sense of place, as it tends to include more visual elements related to music venues. For instance, DIY videos in small venues are generally shot from the front rows, emphasizing the proximity between the artist and the audience. They also show specific features of the venue: walls, curtains, and tables, which highlight the role and specificity of physical places in the music experience, whereas videos in large venues mainly focus on the performance and/or the immensity of the audience. For instance, small venues such as Casa del Popolo and Sala Rossa constitute, on the one hand, a platform for niche music (hardcore, metal), and on the other hand, an essential step for a future international and successful career, either for foreign artists (Charli XCX) or local ones (Grimes). This aspect is not specific to Montreal, but it contributes to the narrative of the music city through small venues' cultural, social, and spatial value.

Finally, this analysis highlights a specific ideological framework that we will call cosmopolitan, given the diversity of racial and gender representations, from white male and female identities (Charli XCX, Romes, The Lemon Twigs) to the queer community (Pelada) and local diasporas (Imran Khan and Mohammed Rafi).[3] In terms of language, both French and English are represented. As a result, these videos reflect both a global trend within popular music and a dominant narrative about Canada's and Montreal's apparent openness and multiculturalism. They contrast partially with white francophone identities that dominate Québec's audiovisual media, especially cinema (Loiselle 2019).

Platformized reception and use value

As a digital interface, YouTube is known for attributing value to the videos through number of views. In many cases, such measurement corresponds to the cultural recognition of an artist that can translate into economic value. However, this number has to be high enough to be substantial, as in the case of Stromae, Rihanna, or Boiler Room videos, which have more than several million views. In these cases, the financial benefit fits the model of YouTube channels that are integrated into the music or media industry. However, channels with no economic purpose or rights to manage, such as those of AgoraVox or the amateur musician who posted Mohammed Rafi's video, reaching a high number of views (over 2 million) mainly corresponds to cultural, rather than financial, interest.

This view measurement also works as a curation tool. Highly viewed videos are more visible on the platform, but the search engine also has a "most popular" option for hierarchizing content, which explains Mohammed Rafi's presence in the sample, for instance. More generally, the view count is not only a neutral indicator of cultural and economic value; it also carries a particular value as a measurement tool integrated into the interface where content is experienced. In other words, its presence on the screen affects the

experience of the video. For instance, a higher number of views enhances the feeling of sharing an experience with a broader audience. Similarly, a small number of views does not necessarily mean low relevance, but nicheness, in the sense of content only known by a happy few, as in the case of Grimes' video at the beginning of her career. Here, then, the relatively low view count also reflects a social value, specifically within the Montreal local music scene.

The comment sections of the channels also carry value that can be assessed. Here, two elements are particularly relevant: the number of comments (usually proportional to the view count), and the comments' content. This comment section offers viewers a more active form of participation than a simple view; here, commenters tend to express express admiration of the artist or nostalgia about the performance in the video. In other words, audiences from the comment section value these videos as cultural content related to an artist's general "persona" (Auslander 2021) and, especially, the physical encounter during a concert. Other marginal comments include jokes, criticism of the artist or the video, calls for other users who share the same taste (e.g., "who keeps listening to this in 2021?"), reflecting the values of social interaction and shared interests.

The comment section can seem trivial at first, but it participates in constructing the video's meaning and triggers desires and fantasies regarding democratic participation (Carpentier 2014). The most iconic case is Kaytranada's video for Boiler Room, which has over eleven million views and over twelve thousand comments, a higher ratio than any other video in the sample. (Queen's video, by contrast, has twice the views and just under ten thousand comments). The example below demonstrates how comments can be considered not only as separate content but as providing new interpretations of a video:

> 1:20 guy on the right gets rejected, 4:06 he thinks the girl came for him yet the girl came for Kay, 4:29 gets another chance with some other girl, 4:58 he tries to use Kaytranada's mic with no success, 5:28 gets rejected again, 5:54 gets bullied, 6:08 probably asks for something and gets ignored.. poor guy (YouTube comment).

This comment offers an alternative version of the video, with a specific chronology mixed with judgment and humor regarding the crowd's participation. As mentioned in the previous section, Boiler Room videos already emphasize the audience's presence, but this comment stresses audience interaction even more, transforming it into a sort of short drama. The fact that users can comment and indicate that they "like" other comments adds another layer of intertextuality to the video. Some comments are "liked" by thousands of users, making them appear on the top of the comment section. In some rare but relevant cases, comments take the shape of debates and controversies regarding the scene's values:

> Let's clear a few things: -Haters need to stfu [*shut the fuck up*]. Everyone was just having fun. We in Montreal are incredibly proud of Kaytra and it was damn great to just have fun and dance to the homie's killer set. Most Boiler Rooms only has people on their cellphones. Montreal is that city. -Fat Joe look-alike is one of Kaytra's closest friends, they went to HS together, him not being the best dancer ever doesn't mean shit, he belonged as much as anyone. -Guy who combs his fro around the 2 minutes mark is High-Klassified and he also had a set during that BR, a sick producer who's part of Alaiz, the same collective Kaytra is part of. [. . .] -Light-skin girl who dances her ass off is a good friend of Kaytra, and she's not doing it for the camera, she dances like hell whether the cams are there or not. She also sings: https://soundcloud.com/stwosc/virgo [. . .] -There were definitely a few people on molly that night, but not more than half. The other half is just people who support the local talent and enjoy the hell out of the music (YouTube comment).

Here the values debated and articulated are the following: cultural value (the centrality of the music and dance vs. using drugs or "hitting on" other people), social (diversity of people and bodies), and spatial (the uniqueness and openness as characteristics from Montreal). YouTube comments, then, constitute a social form of participation; moreover, they showcase different values concerning the video content. In some instances, the comment section becomes a public sphere that extends other media and physical spaces of cultural, social, and spatial valuation.

Conclusion

After being bought by Google, YouTube moved from a user-generated content platform to a more professional and commercial one that increasingly incorporates traditional media patterns (Kim 2012). In fact, this study has shown that a significant part of live music videos adapts positively to the attention economy and platform capitalism, especially official content that can generate revenue or fuel other commercial activities. However, YouTube remains a versatile tool for the music scene's media exposure, social interaction, and cultural memory. In the case of the Montreal music scene, there is an immensity and diversity of material available, between promotional, expressive, and archival content. YouTube channels also represent ambivalent intermediaries, between local and global broadcasters interested in unique content, DIY archivists' passionate work, and the music industry's commercial goals.

These varying interests should contribute to an alternative understanding of cultural heritage shaped by the specific values fostered by digital platforms such as YouTube (Bennett and Rogers 2016; Malpas 2008). Based on the present work and previous research on the same topic (Pietrobruno 2013; Pietrobruno 2018), such understanding should consider 1) unofficial, commercial, and non-institutional participants, 2) a diversity of formats, including amateur and professional, document and performance paradigms, and 3) social

participation with affordances such as view metrics and comments mediating the content experience. Indeed, as live music videos on YouTube foster a sense of musical past through a complex set of values, they digitally extend ordinary, ephemeral, and heterogeneous practices that were theorized as *heritage as praxis* (Strong and Whiting 2018). They refer to the increasing integration of music in daily life activities through technology (Hagen 2016), especially popular music events from the past that have received very little attention from professional heritage institutions.

The practices and values described here relate to some extent to flexible, participatory, and decentralized practices within intangible heritage projects (Pianezza 2020). Although the academic interest in popular music heritage has dramatically increased over the last decade (Roberts and Cohen 2014; Cohen et al. 2015), contributing to the recognition of a diversity of heritage participants, practices, and objects (Brunow 2019; van der Hoeven 2015), digital platforms remain insufficiently addressed (Nowak 2019). A consideration of the value of YouTube live music videos can enrich our conception of heritage in a context of increasing financial and symbolic investment from public and private entities into cities' music heritage (Baker et al. 2020; Baker et al. 2018; Ross 2017). Indeed, these YouTube videos showcase a great diversity of artists who have participated in Montreal's cultural past. Nevertheless, the fact that some of the content has already disappeared or might disappear at some point makes the discussion of YouTube as a heritage tool all the more urgent (Cambone 2019).

Notes

[1] With the international success of indie acts like Arcade Fire and Grimes in the 2000s and 2010s, the local scene reinforced its ties with the global music industry and found support from local public authorities seeking to take advantage of this new cultural aura (Sutherland 2015, Lussier 2015).

[2] All the screenshots were taken between November and December 2019.

[3] Pelada is a Montreal-based electro-punk duo singing in Spanish. The queer reference comes from expert commentators. See, for instance, their presentation on the Resident Advisor platform mentioning the exploration of "gender politics." Link: https://ra.co/dj/pelada-ca/biography. Imran Khan is a Dutch-Pakistani "urban pop" singer particularly famous within the Indian-Pakistani diaspora worldwide. Mohammed Rafi was an Indian singer internationally known for his songs in many languages and lip-syncing in movies.

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(Un)Playing Music at Sofar Sounds: Some Elements of an Ethno(methodo)musicology of Live Performances

Loïc Riom

Bring back magic to live music[1]

About fifty people are gathered in an office space in eastern Paris, somewhere close to République. There is no stage, no seats, no massive PA system, or stage lighting – all elements that generally characterize music venues. Spectators (or "guests" in Sofar Sounds' vernacular language) are sitting on the floor, waiting for artists to appear. This unusual setting is what Sofar Sounds offers to artists to perform music. Created ten years ago, Sofar Sounds centers around the mission of "bringing back magic to live music." Since then, the company organizes "secret shows" in "unconventional spaces," such as this Parisian office.

I build on Erving Goffman's (1974) question ("What is going on here?") – as addressed in Christopher Small's (1998) analysis of the concert opera – to explore Sofar Sounds' "magic." Here, the term should not be understood in the same sense of magic as conceived through the practice of shamanism. Rather, magic in this case acts as a qualifier that measures the capacity of "performers to leave their audience spellbound" (de Jong and Lebrun 2019:1). Drawing from my doctoral ethnographic research of Sofar Sounds' events (Riom 2021a), this article aims to explore the ways music is played at concerts.

However, returning to the question at hand ("what is going on here?") is not a simple feat. For nearly fifty years, the sociology of music has attempted to distance itself from an approach focused on "'readings' of art works or styles in order to uncover (decode) the ways that they reflect or run parallel to 'Society' (to, that is, ideology or relations of production)" (DeNora 1995:296; Zolberg 1990; Hennion 2015; McCormick 2006). In doing so, sociologists have not only avoided questions about the "meaning" of music, but also the music itself. As Antoine Hennion emphasizes: "While the sociological agenda of the past is quasi-unanimous about revealing the social construction of the aesthetic subject and object, it provides little analysis of the results of artistic production" (1997:416). Therefore, describing what goes on during a musical performance requires taking a step aside from the way sociologists generally approach music.

This article is organized into three parts. The first reviews three approaches to analyze live music that focus, respectively, on collective action (Becker 1982), media and communication (Auslander 1999), and shared experience (Small 1998). These three approaches

emphasize different elements to better understand what is at stake during a Sofar Sounds performance. However, they all have the same flaw: They locate the power of music outside of the situation in which it unfolds. In the second section, I reconsider these lessons from the perspective of Harold Garfinkel and ethnomethodology in order to build an approach that I call *ethno(methodo)musicology*. In the third section, I assess this approach by analyzing the performance of a young Parisian rapper named Transphorme. In conclusion, I attempt to formulate some suggestions for the future study of live performances.

What is going on here? Popular music studies and the problem of performance

By gradually distancing itself from questioning the meaning of music in order to focus on its production or consumption, sociology has mostly left musical analysis to aesthetic philosophy and musicology. The risk of such lack of interest on the part of music sociologists is to create divisions between, on the one hand, an aesthetic or musicological reading of music completely separated from its performance, and on the other hand, a sociological analysis of the concert unable to fully address how music is played.[2] Therefore, how can we study music from its performance and avoid such a division?[3] How can we shift from an approach that considers music as texts and investigate the actions people do to make a performance happen (Finnegan 2007; Hennion 2012)?[4] In this section I review three perspectives that can help to address this issue.

In his programmatic book *Art Worlds*, Howard Becker (1982) argues that art should be approached as collective action. This collective production of art is made possible by conventions, which allow coordination between the different actors. For instance, at Sofar Sounds, spectators remain silent and ready to listen and discover new music (Riom 2020). These conventions not only have practical dimensions, but also aesthetic ones: "Composers can, for instance, take for granted that audiences will understand and respond, as expected, to a minor key as 'sad' or to certain rhythm patterns as 'Latin American'" (Becker 1982:45). The jazz musicians described by Becker and Robert Faulkner (2009) adjust their repertoires to the performance environment. For Becker, breaking from these conventions has a cost: While artists can use such strategies to create surprise, it requires going against a variety of processes, habits, and technical devices that follow an art world's established conventions (Becker and Pessin 2006:173). Therefore, Becker teaches us that playing music is situated and distributed, and is, most importantly, based on collective agreements. However, this suggestion does not satisfactorily answer the question of "what is going on here?" It instead generates other questions: Where do these conventions emerge from? And who imposes them? For example, Marc Perrenoud (2007) argues that musicians affirm the quality of their musicianship from the legitimacy and norms of concert settings, and not from how they play. Perhaps we should follow

Antoine Hennion and "give Becker a micro-aesthetic-political twist by following aesthetic constituencies as they mobilize different mediators in support of espoused versions of musical authenticity and value" (1997:416).

There may be more to consider through evaluating the media system of Sofar Sounds' events. Within this performance space there is no stage or PA system, and the spectators are sitting just a few steps away from the performer. Could this suggest that the magic of Sofar Sounds comes from the immediacy of live performances? This question is central in Philip Auslander's (1999) *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*. As his starting point, the author takes the generally accepted idea that live performances are more real and authentic than mediatized performances, which are considered reproductions of reality. However, Auslander refuses to attribute the "magic" of live performance to a particular ontology that emanates from the co-presence of participants or the communion between them. He instead seeks to deconstruct what we consider "live." In the third chapter of the book, "Tryin' to Make it Real: Live Performance, Simulation, and the Discourse of Authenticity in Rock Culture," he argues that an "authentic" performance is not the same in different subgenres of rock, but is defined by their own ideology of live music. Furthermore, this "ideology" is constructed by a "political economy of media" that gives certain forms more symbolic value than others (ibid.:187). Following Auslander, Jeder Silveira Janotti Jr. and Victor de Almeida Nobre Pires (2018) analyze the success of Sofar Sounds as a consequence of concerts' megalomania and ubiquity of music. Music lovers would therefore be looking for more intimate and authentic performances. I do not completely refute these arguments. However, only viewing Sofar Sounds as a result of a political economy of media makes the "mediations" – a concept Auslander invites us to consider – lose all their agency.[5] Such arguments reduce the "density" of the musical experience more than they allow when unfolding "what is going on here?"[6]

Christopher Small has taken a close interest in the concert experience. In his now-classic book, *Musicking: The Meaning of Musical Experience* (1998), the British ethnomusicologist described in detail what makes an opera concert. Small uses his observations to sketch a general theory of music making, what he calls musicking:

> What is going on in this concert hall is essentially the same as that which goes on during any musical performance. Members of a certain social group at a particular point in its history are using sounds that have been brought into certain kinds of relationships with one another as the focus for a ceremony in which the values – which is to say, the concepts of what constitute right relationships – of that group are explored, affirmed, and celebrated (Small 1998:183).

For Small, performing engages all actors in a collective process, regardless of their position (musician or spectator). This experience is intimately linked with "exploring,"

"affirming" and "celebrating" values. Music allows for the connection of elements beyond what language can express. This is the reason why, according to him, it is so difficult to translate musical meaning into words.

While Small's attempt is both ambitious and stimulating, it is disappointing when it comes to the meaning of music. First, he treats musical scores as the main evidence. While the strength of his book is precisely in resituating music as a performance, Small chooses to turn to texts in order to grasp its meaning. The orchestra, the audience, the concert hall and all the elements Small brings to our attention suddenly disappear. Second, what plays out is already written in the cultural frameworks of a social group. The performance – and the question of "what is going on here?" – is, therefore, only a consequence of something wider (e.g., culture, representations, beliefs).[7] If the idea of musicking greatly contributes to the question I attempt to address here, then Small returns to a vein of commentary that the sociology of music seeks to move beyond.

Toward an ethno(methodo)musicology?

The solution may be to remain modest and resist the method of interpretation Small attempts. Instead, I suggest following actors to understand what Anne-Sophie Haeringer calls "the modalities of composition of the intelligible and the sensible" (2011:28), and therefore sticking to the problem of how musicians actually play music (Cohen 1991; Finnegan 2007; Bennett 2017). Here, Harold Garfinkel (1991) can provide precious help. He developed ethnomethodology precisely as a critique to the social sciences' indifference to what occurs *in situ*. He thus proposed a radical shift: Social order cannot be grasped as a reality external to interaction; it is, on the contrary, always the product of interaction. The aim of this analysis is to follow the "contingent accomplishment of socially organized common practices" (Garfinkel 1991:33). Firstly, the detour through ethnomethodology allows us to reframe issues raised by Becker, Auslander, and Small, respectively.[8] We can understand collective action, music media existence, and shared concert experience as products not of "external" realities – e.g. conventions, ideology, or culture – but of the musical performance itself. Therefore, playing music is more complex than a simple sequence of gestures or notes; it also involves room acoustics, sound processing, and song rehearsing (Atkinson 2006; Bennett 2017; Riom 2021a). A performance is not only a piece of music. It entails the process that makes music come into existence (Hennion 2012). Second, Garfinkel argues that "to recognize what is said means to recognize how a person is speaking" (ibid.:30) – or, in the context of Sofar Sounds, to recognize what is being played means to recognize how musicians are playing. This is a decisive lesson from ethnomethodology: Actors are competent and reflexive. If ethnomethodology aims to study ethnomethods – i.e., the operations by which individuals carry out their actions – then

perhaps it is useful to develop an approach capable of identifying the operations used to make music happen, a sort of ethno(methodo)musicology. Placed between ethnography and musicology, the term "methodo" enables a radical transformation to the projects of these two disciplines. The aim then is to understand music as it is defined by actors, through their own (practical) musicology (Hennion 2002; Hennion 2019).

Let's go back to Sofar Sounds. The company was founded in London in 2009 and organizes concerts in a wide variety of spaces: living rooms, offices, shops, gardens. Its events are designed to put "music at the center." Spectators are asked to leave their phones aside, to avoid talking during the concerts, and to focus on the live performances.[9] Each event features three acts, and spectators do not know in advance the names of the artists who will perform. While the company is now present in eighty countries, it is mainly active in the United Kingdom and the United States. Before the 2020 lockdown, Sofar Sounds organized nearly five hundred events a month. In cities with few events (one to four every two months, named "hat-cities"), shows are run by volunteers and donation-based. In cities where Sofar Sounds events are more active ("full-time cities"), audiences pay between $10 and $30 depending on the city and the day of the week.

Most of my informants agree that playing at Sofar Sounds requires some adjustments. The setting forces artists to pay attention to the "indexicality" of their music, in ethno-methodological terms (Garfinkel 1991), the fact that words or gestures have only meaning regarding the situation in which they occur. This characteristic engages them in a reflexive inquiry on how they play music in this particular setting. Through combining both interviews and observations, I investigated the way musicians make music happen. Between October 2017 and March 2020, I conducted a multi-sited ethnography of Sofar Sounds by attending twenty Sofar Sounds events in Paris, London, Lausanne, and Geneva. I have also interviewed musicians, Sofar Sounds workers (volunteers and paid staff), and spectators based in Switzerland, France, Turkey, Brazil, the United States, and the United Kingdom equaling a total of fifty-nine interviews. In addition to this fieldwork, I carried out an extensive documentary analysis of both Sofar Sounds' documents and sites, as well as press articles. This material was processed in a logic of continuous analysis of my materials (Glaser and Strauss 2017).

My encounter with Sam was an important step in my understanding of what is going on during a Sofar Sounds. Sam is a musician – a veteran of Sofar Sounds – who at that time was in charge of relations with artists at the Sofar Global office in London. Over the years he has developed a clear idea of what it means to play at Sofar Sounds:

> I think an artist has to engage really well with the audience. So he has to be able to get people to clap, sing along or tell the story of the song. He has to be charismatic

> and engaging. No matter what the genre [of music], if you're down and not really engaging, it's not a good Sofar performance, in my opinion. I think it's also interesting like the stripping down. You have to get to the heart of what the song is about. Personally, I didn't like when people bring too much equipment, too much electronic equipment, too much amplification. And maybe that would work in a traditional venue, but there's something about a Sofar space where you have to be a little bit stripped down so that you can see the song. And I think that's a big challenge for some artists. 'Oh my gosh, how are we supposed to take all this stuff off, and what's left?' That's how you tell the difference between a good artist and a great artist. [. . .] If you take away everything that's left and the songs are still as good, the musicianship is still as good, they're charismatic, and they still engage with the crowd as well, then that's kind of the sign of greatness in terms of quality. [. . .] I think the key to being a really good Sofar artist is to take your normal set and make it more simple. So if you have a lot of electronics, a lot of samples, that's cool, but make it work in a smaller, more intimate environment. You have to get back to the essence of the songs. [. . .] I think any genre and anyone can do Sofar. It's easier for a singer-songwriter if it's already just him and a guitar or a piano, but any band can do it. They just have to be creative. They have to think about how it's going to sound when you don't have a big sound system to play it on. [. . .] Artists have to keep it simple and interesting, the more creative the better. (Interview with Sam, Sofar Sounds employee, London, September 2018).

In a few sentences, Sam describes precisely how musicians adjust their way of playing. First, Sam explains that artists "stripped-back" their music. He insists that competent artists know how to underscore the "heart of the song." In other words, Sofar Sounds is based on a very specific idea of what a song is: a "heart" from which one could remove its "production," i.e., any use of amplification and associated sound texture processing (electronic instruments, effects, pre-recorded tracks). In the absence of a large amplification system, musicians cannot rely on the strength of such devices to arrange the different sound tracks before broadcasting it to the room.

Second, Sam explains that "good" performers engage with their audience. For example, they talk between songs, and/or tell anecdotes about themselves or their songs. Moreover, they invite the audience to sing or clap along. The stage, lights, and other elements that artists utilize to embody and express their performance are absent. They perform without relying on the common components of a stage apparatus that typically organizes the relationship between spectators and performer. As a result, they rethink their gestures, expressions, and the ways they address the audience.

Third, Sam insists that artists must make their music interesting – even playful. Here again, the absence of a stage creates a peculiar regime of visibility: On the one hand, the audience can see everything going on (e.g., the artists' gestures, their fingers on the instruments, and

their expressions), and on the other, there is relatively little to see (e.g., no lighting system, video projections, or set design). Here, a musician's playing is the only thing that sparks interest. "You can see the song," as Sam says succintly. Fourth, Sam explains that a good artist can reinterpret their music by adapting songs to the context of the performance. In a way, there is a search for an ephemeral musical form that belongs only to the moment and the relationship that is established with the people present in the room.

Transphorme: Putting rap into songs

Drawing on the performance of Transphorme, a young Parisian rapper, in this section I asses my approach by following how he and his producer play and unplay – in reference to the ethnomusicological idea of doing and undoing (Müller 2011) – their music at a Sofar Sounds show. I examine how the elements emphasized by Sam emerge into certain practices. I start by describing Transphorme's performance. Then, based on interviews with different artists, I try to grasp how rapping techniques and skills are put to the test by Sofar Sounds' setting, as well as how musicians adjust their ways of playing music.

At the limits of (t)rap (Paris, December 2018)

Tonight, the concert takes place in an "event loft" in Paris, and Transphorme is the last artist of the evening. The young rapper is accompanied by his producer, the musician who composes the instrumental pieces on which Transphorme raps. During the performance, the musician is installed on the side with his computer and a beat pad that allows him to manage the diffusion of instrumental tracks. He also plays guitar on some songs. Transphorme is sitting on a barstool facing the audience.

I have rarely seen a performance at Sofar Sounds that sparks this much enthusiasm from the audience. Between each piece, the audience strongly applauds the artist. In my notes, I write that it is a rather "calm" sort of rapping style. The songs are melodic and similar to artists such as Stromae. The music deviates from my expectations, which I assumed would be a rather aggressive and rhythmic sound. Between songs, he provides explanations of his performance. With his producer, they developed a set to perform for this event. James and Marie – two members of the organizing team – tell me after his performance that this is Transphorme's third time playing at Sofar Paris. Moreover, the rapper admits to the audience: "It's nice to be able to sing songs like the last one," in reference to a rather intimate and calm track. I'm surprised that some songs have completely instrumental parts. Transphorme begins improvising by scatting. The guitarist responds by attempting to reproduce the same melody introduced by the rapper. The melodic patterns initiated by Transphorme become more and more complex until the guitarist cannot follow. The two musicians laugh while being applauded by the audience.

At the end of their performance, and with the audience's unanimous enthusiasm, James asks the musicians if they are ready to play another song. The audience asks for more: a possibility that was not considered at all, and with good reason. It is extremely rare that an artist is allowed, let alone asked, to do an encore at a Sofar Sounds events. Transphorme explains that they do not have any quiet songs left: "I warn you it's not going to be the same. It's going to be violent. It's going to be a dog thing," referring to the rest of his repertoire. A person in the room adds: "We want some dump dog!" The rest of the people in the room applaud.

Transphorme then decides to play an unprepared song. The atmosphere changes radically. The instrumental track is no longer calm and still. On the contrary, there is a lot of bass with the rapid staccato rhythmic patterns closely associated with the "trap" subgenre. Transphorme starts to rap, but after only a few lines he stutters and stops. He curses: "Oh no! I stuttered! I need my buddy's help," he says turning back to his producer. "Isn't there a second mic?" asks the musician. The sound technician hands a mic to the producer. He then backs Transphorme; in other words, he helps him finish certain sentences by rapping with him. In doing so, he supports the main rapper and covers the moments when he stumbles on the last words of a punchline. Together, they start the song again. Their gestures are also no longer the same. Transphorme gets up from his chair and jumps in all directions. His arms are waving. With their hands, both the rapper and his producer insist on certain punchlines that punctuate the track. This time they finish the song without further mishaps over the cheers of spectators.

Rearranging a vocal art

What happened on this last track? Transphorme may have suddenly faced the limit of his own flow. The quieter tracks allowed him to present his lyrics without any problem. The slower tempo allowed him time to emote the lyrics of each song. Conversely, the last song imposed a rhythm that he could hardly follow. As such, he needed the help of his "buddy" producer. By finishing the sentences of each line with Transphorme, the "buddy" producer masks possible stammers and allows Transphorme to catch his breath. Thus, moments when he is overtaken by the text are no longer heard. Without the help of another rapper, the song is simply not playable anymore. This mishap helps me to understand how rappers adjust their flow in situ. The quiet style of tracks like the ones performed in the first part of Transphorme's set radically change the way they are rapped. A member of Désossés, a band from Geneva, explains that it's not easy to find a way to rap in this particular format:

> I think we were lucky because we all [the members of Désossés] have this sensibility to be able to come and offer something else and make it accessible. We talked about listening, but I think there's also a lot of honesty in the music that comes from that

> kind of situation. [Playing at Sofar Sounds] has really allowed people to sit and listen for real. This is an audience that expects to hear an acoustic guitar. When they hear synths, a drum machine and dry vocals, the audience is like, "Okay, what's the deal? How do I figure out what's going on?" And if you give them this key, whether it's in the groove or in the honesty, in the listening, or in anything, the audience understands quickly, and they feel that there is something even if they don't understand everything. (Interview with Désossés, musician, August 2018, Geneva).

Marie, who manages several rap groups, emphasizes similar points:

> You're really on the edge. When on stage, when you have smoke, the lights, you are jumping around and you often have other guys on stage with you, jumping, yelling into the microphone too, your buddy coming to back you up. At Sofar Sounds, you don't have all that. So [you] really have to be in tune, you have to be in rhythm, you have to be right. If you stutter at Sofar Sounds, it's more stressful because people are watching you. People's eyes are on you, which is still a little intimidating [laughs]. (Interview with Marie, manager, December 2018, Paris).

Marie illustrates how "on-stage" slipups that would normally be masked by lights, smoke, noise levels, or other musicians are much more audible in a stripped-down setting. The challenge, then, is to re-articulate the text and to find the "nuance," whereas on stage the main challenge is to share energy, jump, or rap "fast." The focal part of the flow moves from the punchline – the striking phrase at the end of the verse – to the entire verse.

Rappers, therefore, have to rethink their flow. And in that case, doing songs becomes more introspective, and perhaps closer to the rhythm and cadence of poetry slams. Transphorme's quieter tracks are good examples of how rappers adapt. In my fieldnotes I wrote that his way of rapping is closer to a form of text-based song. In this context, lyrics are more important, and the message appears more clearly. Additionally, this leaves artists more room to be moved to "honesty," to quote the member of Désossés. Sofar Sounds' setting – especially with the proximity to spectators and the absence of a PA system – challenges their way of rapping. Along with the flow, the whole style of the song is rearranged.

Changing the "Style" of Performance

Following the flow, the whole performance is transformed, starting with the instrumental track. Rappers generally depend on a PA system. In fact, some even change their equipment setup and bring acoustic instruments, as did Transphorme. If the amplification can seem less important than for rock bands, because rap appears mainly voice-centered, this transformation of instrumental tracks also requires adjustments. As the member of Désossés explains:

> Absolutely [the instrumental track] is truly lacking bass in this kind of situation. In fact, it is missing [but] maybe not missing. That's the question. I think it's good that

> in these types of venue, there is little bass, that the instrumental track comes out a little more gimmicky and that there are frequency gaps. Because it forces us to listen to the instrumental track in a different way and to say "okay, here I am rapping, I feel that there is a gap here in the track. Well, I will change my voice or my timbre so that it either fills this gap, or that it accentuates it to give another style effect." [. . .] We have people who follow us a little bit at each concert, and they told us that it was very interesting to see us in a different context. They said "wow, this is really something else. I felt other things going on. I wasn't just there to move my head. There, I really understood part of the text that I didn't understand at previous concerts." (Interview with Désossés, musician, August 2018, Geneva).

Without a PA system, the instrumental track sounds unusual. For instance, the lack of bass reinforces the focus on the voice and the text. It challenges the rapper in a number of ways: How can they perform the text so that it corresponds to the new track? How can they make the performance "appropriate" and find the intonation, rhythm, and flow that matches the situation? Thus, the way to transmit energy cannot be the same. Indeed, this meticulousness is what interests certain artists in playing at Sofar Sounds: It "tests" their ability to rearrange music and perform it live. As the member of Désossés reports, audiences who might be familiar with their music were pleasantly surprised to discover something else and pay more attention to the text and its meaning, rather than just "move their heads" to the music.

Furthermore, being more visible and closer to the audience allows for different music playing. Through exploiting the visibility and proximity, artists are allowed more opportunities to enrich the performance by introducing something different. For example, Transphorme plays with the audience a lot by making fun of himself. During his performance he explains that he is too hot under his jacket, but his manager asks him to keep it for the video because he thinks he looks too thin without it. SubWolf – a London-based beatboxer – describes that this transparency allows him to show his technique. However, the performance does not become any less spectacular; as a matter of fact, it is the opposite. He recounts the pleasure of surprising the audience with his beatboxing skills:

> Everyone has seen someone playing the guitar, everyone has seen someone singing, but not everyone has seen a beatboxer. What I like about it is that you can see everyone's faces. Because what I do is sometimes very technical stuff and people would never see what I do before. I really like to see people's reaction to some of the magic tricks for the first time [he makes one of those sounds to show me], to see their faces is amazing. (Interview with SubWolf, August 2018, interview by phone).

Sofar Sounds' setting offers a particular situation for techniques or skills that are not always visible. In this setting, it is easier to isolate certain gestures and make them more identifiable and remarkable. In sum, rap is organized around flow – namely, the rhythmic articulation of the text (Krims 2000; Pecqueux 2003; Adams 2009). This technique is

deeply affected by the format of Sofar Sounds. The proximity with the audience causes musicians to address them differently. Additionally, the absence of amplification changes the sound on which their flow relies. Thus, musicians cannot rap in the same way. Through these adjustments, rappers unplay their music in order to play it differently by rearranging their songs. They seek another way to present their text. At the same time, the test presented by Sofar Sounds places musicians at more risk of making mistakes – as the example of Transphorme's last song shows. However, it also gives them opportunities to demonstrate their vocal virtuosity. Moreover, it emphasizes the voice and the text, as well as the techniques and skills that bind them together. With the support and the complicity of their audience, some rappers manage to make a singular and ephemeral moment happen.

Conclusion: Does "stripped-back" count as a genre?

In this article, I attempt to grasp what Sofar Sounds' setting does to musical performance. I describe the ways musicians play and adapt their music to consider what ethnomethods actors employ in these situations. By understanding the music through its effects, I argue we can identify four aspects to this way of making music. The first is the connection between the artist and the audience. Contrary to classical music concerts, which set the composer and the composition at the center (Hennion 1991; Small 1998), or large rock concerts, which play on the effervescence of the crowd (Ferrand 2009), what characterizes Sofar Sounds is the absence of a stage. Thus, the performance opens the spectators to a specific form of intimacy and experience of "being together." Second, the artists evolve in a particular regime of visibility: Everything that is played is seen. Moreover, this transparency makes musicians accountable to the audience. And within this regime of visibility, simple instrumentation takes precedence over complex orchestrations. Third, artists do not have a system of amplification at their disposal, an important and taken-for-granted component to live performance. This form of anti-production, or rather of de-amplification, pushes them to strip down their music. To do this, some rely on the idea that there is a "heart" of songs. Finally, these various processes result in the creation of a unique musical artifact. The artists replay their songs in adapted versions as Sofar Sounds challenges them to play and rearrange their music differently to their normal circumstances, either live or recorded. Thus, this new version creates an ephemeral and unique moment shared only by the people present in the room.

Not only does the Sofar Sounds setting "test" music by asking artists to adapt, but it also changes ways of thinking about music and, in some cases, reveals unsuspecting qualities of songs.[10] As Benjamin, a Geneva-based manager, rightly notes, it's a "way of seeing" music, and, we could add, a way of constituting practically what makes it work. Not all music reveals itself in the same way in this setting. Whereas singer-songwriters may feel at home in Sofar Sounds' intimate setting, other artists may feel cramped. Musicians attempt

to adapt and reinvent their way of playing, at the risk, according to some, of denaturing their music. If there is no limit of musical genres at Sofar Sounds, I have described that it is not possible to play in every way. In sum, "what is going on here" needs to be examined not in musicological or aesthetical terms because a live performance and its setting enact particular ways of making music come into existence. Moreover, this can only be acknowledged through close attention to what is going on during a concert, and how actors make this happen. Therefore, it opens a new way to study live music from performances and the worlds that come with them.

Notes

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[2] Fortunately, there are now several significant works focusing on live music (see Frith 2007; Guibert and Sagot-Duvauroux 2013; Holt 2020; Auslander 2021). However, these authors rarely pay very much attention to "what is going on" during a concert.

[3] This dichotomy is striking, for example, in Klett and Gerber (2014), who argue that it is necessary to supplement an analysis of noise amateurs' practices with a hermeneutic of collective structures of meaning.

[4] For a critical review of how musicology considers music as a text see Cook (2001).

[5] For a thorough discussion of the use of the concept in the social sciences and in art history, see Hennion (1993).

[6] Here by density, I refer to radical empiricism (see James 1996; Debaise and Stengers 2018) and the idea of avoiding not taking anything away *for a priori* reasons and rather attempting to grasp experience in all its plurality and density.

[7] Similar elements are found in Lisa McCormick (2006; Eyerman and McCormick 2015) for whom the meaning of music is articulated with a collective system of representation.

[8] Michael Lynch (2022:117) reports that Garfinkel criticizes Becker for speaking "of musicians' work and do so by omitting entirely and exactly the practices that for those engaged in them makes of what they are doing. . .: making music." Here I follow other authors who have mobilized the legacy of ethnomethodology to address musical practices (Sudnow 1993; Gerard and Sidnell 2000; Hennion 2002; Weeks 2002; Pecqueux 2007; DeNora 2017; Müller 2018; Boivin 2020). For instance, Alain Müller and Marion Schulze (2021) examine the ethno-geohistories of hardcore punk, constructed and shared by those who call themselves hardcore kids. In his ethnography of electronic musicians in China, Basile Zimmermann (2015) provides a brilliant description of how music understanding is situated in practices, gestures, and practical theories.

[9] For a more detail description of how Sofar Sounds frames spectators' experience, see Riom (2021b).

[10] One could even speak here of a "trial of strength", in the sense that it participates in establishing what things are (Latour, 2005), not only music, but also Sofar Sounds and the artists.

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Live Performance and Filmed Concerts: Remarks on Music Production and Livestreaming before, during, and after the Public Health Crisis

Gérôme Guibert

I am going to make a few analytical observations on live music in France and especially concerning the distinction between "in-person" and "remote" events, which took on a new meaning during the Covid-19 pandemic. In the first section, I will explore the rise of digital media as a worldwide phenomenon, its impact on the concert production and broadcasting sector, and in particular, the emergence of livestreams as an opportunity for value creation. As I will show in the second section, however, the development of music livestreaming on platforms was initially only of relatively low importance. In terms of how the production sector functions, I consider the conventions in use and the music industry's legal framework of the concert economy and concert broadcasting in France as my field of inquiry. The lockdown periods in 2020 and 2021, brought previously hidden mechanisms to the forefront which can now be assessed.[1] Lived experience has thus forced the various live music stakeholders to set out their positions with respect to the filming of concerts and their broadcasting through audio-visual media and digital platforms (livestreams). They have positioned themselves individually or collectively through unions or federations.

Is a concert viewed on-screen partly a concert, or is it simply an audio-visual program offered to the viewer? Lockdown brought about reorientations in organizational structures, particularly the relations maintained by the companies' directors with the different stakeholders in the concert environment (Fligstein 1996). As I will show here, opinions on the value of livestreams coalesce strongly through isomorphism among companies involved in the same activities within the organizational field of production (Di Maggio and Powell 1983). Divergences in perspectives can be very pronounced between companies, depending on where they sit in the chain of production.

The extent and duration of the shock brought about by the pandemic and the public health crisis have led to a notable change in strategy among various stakeholders since the end of 2020, away from performance sector representatives or the concert filming industry. This change was at first driven by intermediary technical service providers (such as cameramen whose work falls somewhere between production and broadcast) but was also supported by live concert venues. I will explore the various elements in this process in the last section of this chapter.

The growth in the broadcasting of live performance and concerts by audio-visual media and online platforms during the public health crisis

When we look at the musical offering on the supply side and study the way the production sector functions both upstream and downstream, from artists to audiences, we generally talk about two types of consumer offerings: on one hand, the concert (a "performing arts" event or a "live performance") and on the other, recorded music, marketed by the cultural industries (Frith 2007; Laing 2021).[2] For concerts, preoccupations surround the success of an event with a limited audience at a given time, existing within the framework of predefined maximum capacities and with revenue through the sale of tickets at given prices. Recorded music, however, aims to attract audiences through a whole range of formats sold in the form of published products or as flows (Miège 2000). Although the success of recorded music can be uncertain (Adler 1985; Guibert et al. 2016), revenue is not limited by time and space. As a result, concerts, which are high risk, not very lucrative, and do not provide any excess returns for promoters (Baumol and Bowen 1966) were for a long time a neglected part of the music economy (Hirsch 2001). As they didn't generate any potential for profit, they were – at least when it came to festivals – managed by the not-for-profit sector for many years up until the recorded music crisis in the early twenty-first century.

Filmed concerts occupy a hybrid position in terms of their existence as a product and a process. Marketed for a long time on physical formats (live albums, VHS cassettes, DVDs, etc.) or broadcast on mass media (television, VOD platforms), they used a similar economic model to that of documentary films, experimental films, or other audio-visual works.[3] They were, then, in the second half of the twentieth century, akin to other goods and services marketed by cultural industries (Bouquillion 1992; Holt 2020).

Muddying the waters – Livestreaming: a particular situation

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, both our professional and leisure lives have been significantly affected by the democratization of the Internet in everyday life (Martin and Dagiral 2016). The conditions of production and reception of music have been displaced (Bennett 2012), calling the definition of live performance into question (Heuguet 2021). The term "livestreaming" is used to describe the broadcasting of music played live, or at least under live performance conditions, or rather at least reproducing live performance conditions (Bourdon 1997).[4] Live forums or other premium service offerings (virtual backstage access, special artist comments, concert merchandising, goodies, etc.) are very much part of such broadcasts. The processes associated with livestreaming gradually came into being just as live performance and its media representation took on additional importance in the context of the crisis of recorded music sales over the last

twenty years. With larger maximum audience sizes and the distancing of crowds from the stage during performances (Guibert and Eynaud 2014), screens were introduced for those audience members who were furthest from the stage (Leveratto et al. 2014). Moreover, the practice of broadcasting for audiences who were present virtually but not physically developed with or without the agreement of artists and rights holders, particularly through social media.

As the pandemic extended across the world during the first quarter of 2020, this type of televised musical performance was promoted – first in the form of audio-visual "post cards" filmed simply and posted spontaneously – with artists facing the camera from their lofts, bathrooms, kitchens, living rooms, cellars, or gardens and accompanying themselves with pianos, guitars, or other acoustic musical instruments. These performances were seen as promotional tools for artists rather than concerts for which a ticket price was paid. This was prior to the advent of big productions with deliberately designed protocols requiring significant investment and the purchase of tickets by spectators using the "traditional" concert and festival model. Economically speaking, the issue then coalesced around two aspects (Midem 2021:14), the first of which – revenues – concerns formulas in regard to the promotion of artists (to sell recordings and obtain concert bookings) through monetization ("pay-per-view" through video on demand), and the second – costs – related to performances ranging from *do it yourself* shows set up by fans or artists, to productions organized by live performance or audio-visual production professionals.

Is a new balance regarding the economy of audio-visual filming for broadcast (from production to consumption) beginning to see the light of day? Having worked on the issue of concert filming since 2010 (Guibert 2020), I have had the opportunity of gathering together the perspectives of the various professional groups involved in live music. We know that the social sciences are generally characterized by the impossibility of carrying out experiments at a macro-sociological level to test the importance of explanatory variables (Passeron 1991) – such experiments are indeed thought to have an irreversible impact on the social sphere. Throughout the world, however, in the course of the first half of 2020, the pandemic caused an external shock of such magnitude that a number of practices and customs were called into question. Collective gatherings (including live concerts) were controlled or forbidden as a result of public health measures. In France, maximum audience sizes were reduced to five thousand people at the beginning of 2020, then to a thousand and one hundred, and public places were closed entirely at the end of March of the same year. Some businesses saw their revenues fall to zero (the sale of tickets for concerts, for example), while others drastically increased (online sale of goods on Amazon.fr). Divisions thus appeared at the heart of sectors that were previously related. While musicians were prohibited from giving concerts, cameramen have never had such

freedom in terms of the conventions and techniques associated with their profession. They have been given such license to film performing musicians because the only possible onstage performances are those that take place in venues without an audience and with social distancing between the people working there.[5]

Live shows versus livestreams: Two distinct industry postures

I will show here that concert filming and livestreams can't be seen as logical progressions of each other, because they are tools used by two virtually independent production sectors.

Live music promoters and related rights (droits voisins)

Concerts require a complex technical infrastructure in a specific place: where the event takes place, whether this is a concert venue or a festival. Under French law – and in contrast to many other countries – the promoter is the employer booking artists (Guibert and Sagot-Duvauroux 2013). Work is required for the set design, sound, light and artistic performance. So why not film the concert and make a show that could be sold? It could, for example, be broadcast live or sold and released later, especially where fans are strongly attached to the artist. Naturally, the answer to this question is even clearer when concert activity ceases, as was the case in France for part of 2020 and 2021.

In fact, if we examine the official statements of show promoters, we see that they generally aren't interested in tapping into the profits from concert filming. As far as they are concerned, this isn't their core business, and they see it as competition for their main activity, or even as a gadget, one of many "goodies" given to fans to keep them happy. These assertions can be illustrated in several ways. When I was researching live music for the *Département des études, de la prospective et des statistiques* (DEPS – Department of Surveys, Forecasts and Statistics) for the French Ministry of Culture in the early 2010s, I had planned to interview Studio SFR, who at the time was putting on concerts that were broadcast as promotional livestreams for the telephone operator's subscribers. Several promoters had expressed their astonishment to me, reckoning that any work on this studio was irrelevant in terms of research about live music performance because SFR was not part of the music economy (and the live performance economy in particular) but rather involved in the digital sector. Previously, the CEO of Prodiss (a federation of live music performance entrepreneurs), concert promoter Jules Frutos, considered that "gigs from your front room [. . .] are fun the first time and can be a communication tool, but there's no future in them. They may entertain followers a bit [. . .] but they don't represent a real opportunity for the reinvention of the sector. They're just a reaction to a terrible situation. There's no economic model or anything there" (Davet and Vulser 2020).[6] To give another example, Matthieu Drouot, one of France's heavyweight event promoters, stated:

> I don't believe that these solutions resolve the issue. I don't see the future of our profession in artists playing [. . .] through video conferencing apps. I understand why people might want to watch concerts on-screen, to relive memories or as a way of passing time, but I can't see how presenting a live concert as something other than a live concert [. . .]. Getting together with other people is a real human need. I can't see how we can call that into question (Aubin 2020).[7]

The pandemic has thus prompted Prodiss to publicly reaffirm the primacy of concerts at the three levels of the sector (live production and finance, organization and touring, and venues). Prodiss sees the reopening of venues as the only solution:

> Live performance is the heartbeat. It is the source of revenue for many artists, backstage staff and service providers [. . .]. This crisis has brought the interdependence of our four professions to the surface [. . .]. Usually, different jobs have different challenges [. . .] but during systemic crises solidarity comes to the fore. The work of broadcasters of live performance is linked to that of gig promoters, which is itself linked to venues and festivals. It's all the same ecosystem [. . .]. The whole chain needs to be kept in place (Moreau 2020).

In interviews that I have carried out with show promoters, they often reaffirm this argument against the filming of live performance for broadcast. One of them highlighted the fact that film teams often disrupt performances themselves, that the filming of live performances by audio-visual production teams as they try to record live content and the invasiveness of the cameras can take away from the spectacle. More broadly, it can be a source of annoyance to live performance audiences, for example by changing the scheduling of shows so that they correspond to media time slots (a bit like for sport).

Opposition from concert promoters does not primarily lie in a resistance to the modernization of companies or to a reflection on the "economic model" and the "creation of value" but is rather the result of a set of isomorphisms (Di Maggio and Powell 1983). The manner in which the sector is legally regulated is a significant variable, just as it has been during other periods for the music industry (Peterson 1990). Thus, a decisive factor in France is when the promoter of a concert filmed for broadcast, who is nonetheless the event organizer, does not have any intellectual property rights over the content and is therefore not remunerated through any revenues created from such broadcasts. After carrying out interviews with live music promoters and event organizers a few years ago, I noted that in the mid-1980s, at a time when *droits voisins* [neighboring rights] or other rights related to intellectual property were negotiated in France (Bouton 2015), live performances of current music were not very lucrative and were poorly structured in spite of the booming of the cultural industries. Concerts were simply promotional activities used to sell new records (Guibert 2006). Thus, those working in live performance, including representative unions, had no clout and no way of defending their right to a piece of the pie. Beyond

the intellectual property rights due to song writers/composers, related rights were thus instituted for performance artists on one hand and record labels on the other. By the end of the 1990s, promoters thus sought recognition of a specific right over the recording of live performance for broadcast. In spite of public discussion at various times, in particular after the Lescure white paper in 2013 (ordered by the French Ministry of Culture) which recognized the relevance of a distinct sui generis right, they have not yet been successful.[8] We can hypothesize that if they had been, concert promoters would have had a different attitude towards filming for broadcast. For Jules Frutos, CEO of Prodiss, in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century:

> With the arrival of the internet and online TV channels, there was an enormous growth in the broadcasting of live content (live shows and concerts), to the point where they even entirely took over some themed channels [. . .]. There was a real creation of value around the wall-to-wall broadcasting of live music which was accessible pretty much all over the internet and which wouldn't exist without (us) gig promoters. But we don't earn anything from this [. . .]. It's a question of principle and fairness [that needs to be re-established] (Frutos 2014:28). [Thus,] the performing arts are one of the rare products for which there is no return for the party who provides all the finance [. . .]. There is a framework agreement for films of live performance made for broadcast, signed by record labels (independents and the Snep) and Prodiss, but it does not provide for any remuneration for gig promoters who therefore don't have anything to bargain with.[9] The only right we have is that of refusing to allow cameras into venues because we are the people renting them. This is a real injustice. We started calling for related rights nine years ago, but we met with such strong opposition that we had to give up. This is where the idea of a sui generis right came in, still as something that would have to be negotiated on a case-by-case basis but that recognizes our intellectual property rights and gives us some negotiating leverage (ibid.)

For Pierre-Alexandre Vertadier from TS Prod, another promoter and a member of Prodiss:

> When an artist signs with a record label, as a general rule, the label has exclusive rights over the titles recorded, including those performed live. Alongside this they also sign with a gig promoter who paradoxically does not hold any related rights, which is something that we are trying to get the Ministry of Culture to recognize [. . .]. We mustn't forget that there is a contractual and economic framework that means that the significant up-front investment required is provided by the promoter.[10]

In fact, the only way for event companies to get their rights recognized within the context of the increasing importance of images, filming for broadcast, and the use of livestreaming would seem to be (as part of a diversification strategy – 360 contracts) to coproduce recordings that are put on sale (and thus obtain related rights from record labels with respect to live concerts), or indeed, to manage the filming themselves and thus fulfill the roles both of concert promoter and audio-visual producer (because audio-visual producers

necessarily enjoy image rights). For Frutos, however, as a show promoter, this favors companies with a more capitalistic outlook, who are involved in several activities, to the detriment of promoters operating at a lower level, for whom the creation of value ought to be recognized as such in its own right. Becoming a record label or an audio-visual producer in addition to being a concert promoter would, in this respect, amount to moving into:

> something that only multinationals such as Live Nation or AEG truly manage to make a success of because they are big enough to cover the various aspects required. Small independent promoters don't possess the skills, or even the desire, and even less so organizations that are set up to enter a field that isn't our usual terrain. There's no reason why our rights over images, which have become essential in terms of promotion, marketing and broadcast shouldn't be recognized (ibid.).

Audio-visual producers and show promoters

The rise of the importance of concert filming and livestreams is not perceived in the same way by audio-visual producers who, for example, highlight the heritage dimension of filmed concerts and the fact that most concerts aren't filmed. This is because show promoters neglect this aspect, as filming costs too much and either ticket sales or the broadcaster's financial offer don't remunerate them sufficiently. Sébastien Degenne, an audio-visual producer and member of the *Syndicat des Producteurs Indépendants* (SPI – Syndicate of Independent Producers) confirms the legally insignificant role of the show promoter in audio-visual filming of concerts, reducing their function more or less to that of a service provider: "as a general rule, in the current music sector, gig promoters simply play the role of *bookers* who hire out the venue, provide the sound and light equipment and employ the technicians" (Deguenne 2014:25), because, legally speaking, the record label has exclusivity over the sale of rights. This seems to make sense for image producers because "in the current music sector, the show promoter doesn't contribute to the creation of the concert in artistic terms" (ibid.). Thus, according to audio-visual producers, "faced with the withdrawal of record companies in the financing of tours and the development of new talent, the solution lies in co-productions between gig promoters and audio-visual producers" (interview with N. Plommée from Neutra). In other words, "if we want both groups to continue to exist, co-productions are the best solution [. . .]. The filming of concerts for broadcast is a distinct artistic object, which is located midway between two professions" (Deguenne 2014). Where concert promoters feel that the value they create isn't recognized, audio-visual producers consider that their films constitute a work distinct from concerts once they have paid for the right to film them. French producers such as Sourdoreille or La Blogothèque have built their singularity as audio-visual producers on this particularity by conceiving the concert in

terms of how they're filmed and considering the editing and creation of videos as part of the process that they offer (Guibert et al. 2021). Seen through their perspective, the collective live performance of groups is akin to a script element. This tension can be felt between audio-visual producers and concert promoters with respect to the controversy surrounding support from the Centre National du Cinéma et de l'Image Animée (CNC – National Center for Cinema and Animated Image) for the filming of concerts for broadcast, which only audio-visual producers receive.[11]

> Audio-visual producers receive CNC grants for filming performances on the condition that they have obtained the authorization from the representative for the performer rights. We are predisposed to seeing gig promoters receive support too where concerts are filmed, on the condition that this grant comes from a specific sector fund financed by the Centre National de la Chanson, des Variétés et du Jazz (CNV).[12] Where concert filming is used for commercial ends, it must be considered as an extension of performance, but there's no reason why we should be taking from Peter to pay Paul and that this grant should come from the CNC (Degenne 2014).

Naturally, the lockdown and suspension of concerts changed things since the filming of artists playing without audiences was the only activity possible. The number of opportunities to film concerts increased for audio-visual producers, just as audiences (and therefore ticketing revenue) fell to zero for show promoters, with co-productions becoming a staple (after an initial period when acoustic concerts or home concerts were directly negotiated with artists or their record labels for content that was provided to viewers free of charge).

It seems that, as we showed a few years ago, "the performing arts are suffering from the transfer of value towards the Internet" (Guibert and Sagot-Duvauroux 2013b:15). In the absence of intellectual property rights for show promoters associated with concerts that are filmed and then marketed, the sector is focusing on performance activities (the reopening of venues and festivals) and state support. This organizational approach highlights the extent to which concert promoters and audio-visual producers hold opposing positions when it comes both to livestreaming and the filming and broadcasting of concerts more generally. Promoters saw digital broadcasts as a threat and the lack of intellectual property rights as an injustice, because audio-visual producers were capturing the very value of concerts as works. By recording concerts in order to sell them to broadcasters, audio-visual producers saw concert promoters as mere service providers. This belief was strengthened by the CNC, which considered that the financial support provided had to go to audio-visual creators, songwriters, composers and performers, and not simply to those who "filmed flows" (Alexis 2019).[13]

From immersiveness to the "metaverse"

The symbolic struggle between audio-visual producers and concert promoters for legitimacy in the filming of shows, as well as the hegemony of record labels over recording catalogues (including live recordings), have not encouraged the production of livestreaming since the beginning of the twenty-first century.[14] However, demand from broadcasters and potential audiences increased during lockdown (Guibert et al. 2021). An opportunity for value creation arose during the public health crisis thanks to an increase in on-screen consumption. However, the breakdown in prior conventions came from outside or from the margins of the organizational field of live music as it was defined due to reasons both of a legal order and institutional isomorphism.

In the context of transformation of the digital production sector (Sagot-Duvauroux 2013), a branch of activity can be defined according to three components (Vaillant et al. 1984): the product, the dynamics between companies in the field (intensity of relationships, complementarity or competition), and the existence and power of professional institutions which structure the branch. We can therefore say that livestreaming is a significant driver of change because it has had an impact on all three of these parameters.

The opportunity offered by livestreams and the thesis of convergence

For some organizations involved in audio-visual production, which are sometimes producers themselves but may also simply be technical service providers, the future of concert filming (in terms of production) and livestreaming (in terms of broadcast) is wide open.[15] They highlight the fact that the more people go to concerts, the more likely they are to watch broadcast events (Idate 2014). They do not, however, see things from the standpoint of the world of live performance (whether as performance artists or as concert promoters), nor from that of audio-visual producers who seek to give "a certain perspective" to their productions of "live sessions." These organizations rather emphasize the perspective of viewers and the emotion experienced (Déchaux 2015). The idea is that concerts generate emotional reactions, especially when they are made into an event (live or recorded at a specific time that is announced beforehand in the media), and provide the rationale for a study of the reception of broadcast concerts (Pedler 2018).[16] From this point of view, livestreaming may be an answer to offering the emotional response that can only be experienced at concerts (Vandenberg et al. 2020).

The technical case for immersion: The first issue for concert filming companies interested in livestreaming is a technical one. Indeed, the sound needs to be improved (by offering, for example, panoramic sound that changes when you move around in relation to where the stage is on-screen), or potentially adding sound generated by an audience. Questions surrounding the images are then added to this. Multicamera options may be offered,

allowing viewers to choose which angle they watch the concert from, a bit like when you look from the singer to the bass player when watching a concert in-person. Cyril Zajac from Omnilive describes one possibility:

> A process has been invented through which you can change your viewing angle instantaneously. And this didn't exist before [. . .]. There's no interruption in the concert experience when you move from the guitarist to the singer [. . .]. Internet users can put the show together themselves while it's being broadcast [. . .]. As you have access to all the viewing angles at the same time through Omnilive, you really do experience something akin to an in-person concert [. . .]. The experiments we're doing at the moment and the feedback we're getting means we're developing new tools, some of which with impacts we're able to see now, and other technologies will appear that will transform the livestreaming experience (Astor 2020).

With the development of "immersive experiences," a convergence between in-person and broadcast concerts has serious potential (Mama 2018).

The case for sharing events: It is possible to chat on forums and social networks about live experiences with other viewers located elsewhere in space (Bennett 2012). The survey carried out by Vanderberg, Berghman, and Schaap in 2020 shows that such interactions partially recreate the shared experience of live events (through the sharing of emojis, for example, or references to in-person parties), but only partially, because there is no bodily proximity and no immersion in the music. Looking at DJs who mix on Twitch, Warren (2020) notes a similarly lukewarm audience reaction on chats and social network messages.

The processes behind experiential marketing contribute two components that encourage convergence. First is the purchase of material objects in the form of limited-edition merchandising specially created for the event, such as livestream concerts or tour merchandise, or even the ordering of drinks (or other "goodies") delivered to your house during the event via dedicated applications. Other "premium" elements can be added to this as part of a "360 customer" perspective, like accompanying the artist backstage (before or after the concert), having a conversation with them in private or with just a few other privileged VIPs, seeing your face come up live on-screen with a selection of other fans on a wall of screens behind the performer, or even receiving signed autographs through the post.

All these elements obviously have to be differentiated from the material experience provided to the viewer. Some people follow livestreams in a group on giant screens with a hi-fi system in a dance situation, while others watch concerts on their phones with headphones in public transportation; more qualitative studies are needed with regard to reception and types of concerts. Basing their analysis on the movements of people at the Roskilde rock festival in Denmark in 2017 and 2018, Benjamin Flesch and his collaborators have also shown that more than ten percent of the audience never went to stand in

front of stages and rather stayed at the camp site for the whole event, which reflects the nuances of the festival experience and the role of performers in the provision of concerts (Flesch et al. 2018).

In any case, the success of several paid events during lockdowns demonstrated that it was possible to market livestream concerts in almost exactly the same way as in-person concerts.[17] It was not determined, however, whether or not this was simply an alternative associated with the restrictions of the movement of people during the pandemic. More importantly, many entrepreneurs wanted to show the potential for the monetization of broadcast concerts and, in a sense, the legitimization of livestreaming through the market. For Yvan Boudillet, from the strategic consulting firm The Lynk, rather than debating the value of livestreaming, we must first and foremost consider the user experience in order to gauge the economic potential of livestreaming. This led him to carry out a survey among 200 companies in his online professional network. According to him, immersive sound, social interactions (live chat, emoticons, social media walls), multi-angle camera control, and behind-the-scenes access/content are the most "valuable features for a concert livestream."[18]

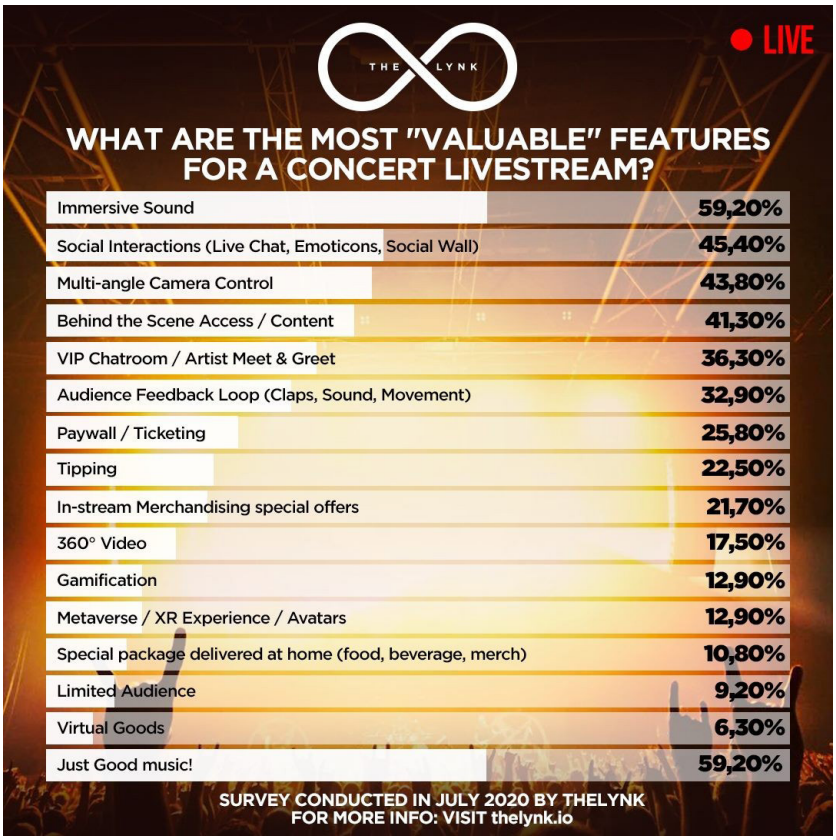

Figure 1. What are the most valuable features for a concert livestream? (Source: Boudillet, 2020).

Once commercial potential has been demonstrated, the question of ticket sales and event organization can be examined. For Bureau Export (an organization subsidized by the French State and the musical sector whose vocation is to help in the export of French-produced artists), "the spontaneous existence of live concerts on social networks and dedicated platforms already seems to be taking shape around proposals for monetization solutions for performers and a growing number of initiatives are meeting with success among consumers" (Bureau Export Berlin 2020). However, the decisive element is that the fee-for-service system through ticket sales means that those who are selling concerts online are able to capture buyer data (Carpentier 2019).[19] This is what will lead to the concentration of sales on pay-per-view for shows that are held several days or several months in advance and not performed live. In any case, concert events made available everywhere at the same time must continue to exist. This includes the provision of forums so that fans can chat with each other and perhaps talk to performers. Paradoxically, the move towards filming of concerts ahead of the exclusive broadcast event opens the way to the reintroduction of concert venues and show promoters into the value chain. Technical professions specific to live performance are called upon so that the live concert feel can be recreated (lighting, sound, way of filming), like at the end of 2020 at venues L'Olympia and La Seine Musicale (Lutaud 2020). Moreover, it is interesting to note that big concerts with ticket sales and audiences over ten thousand people are sometimes covered as if they were concerts with live audiences and not audio-visual forms broadcast by media (ibid.).

Virtual reality and gaming

While some livestream concerts are filmed in concert venues dedicated to the organization of events, others have been filmed in sets specifically designed for livestreaming, such as castles, mountains, and forests. For example, in 2021 at "Hellfest from Home," a festival held entirely through livestreaming (Le Gal 2021), groups played on the festival site itself, where fans had been. Indeed, livestreaming has also moved into relatively unexplored areas, such as virtual worlds. In 2020, the electronic music festival Tomorrowland held its first digital edition on the virtual island of Papilonem, where the big names of electronic music were set in 3D set designs – virtual universes – taken in particular from the world of video games (Rufat and Ter Minassian 2012).[20] During the first lockdown, on April 23rd, American rapper Travis Scott's virtual concert took place in the video game Fortnite (Epic Games), and created a big buzz, attracting several million viewers (Potdevin 2020). Since then, many video game platforms have opened their doors to concerts, and even opened gig venues. On December 15, 2020, Rockstar Games opened a virtual club, The Music Locker, in Grand Theft Auto which hosts performing artists in residence (Singh 2020). Video games are increasingly hosting concerts from real life artists in venues they have opened virtually (Fagot 2020:20). In the same way, as it is possible to buy tools or fashion items on the

Internet to dress video game characters, it is also possible to create an avatar to attend a whole host of shows, some of which have proven to be very good gigs for the artists who played them. These concerts happening in virtual worlds can be monetized. Nevertheless, the financial flows generated are still low, which is why video game producers are trying to merge their worlds to have more of an impact when it comes to big events. This is what is happening with the metaverse set up by Epic Games, which has joined forces with Nintendo, Microsoft, and Sony (ibid.).[21] Even in these examples, those involved are acting experimentally. VR concerts are distinct from concerts filmed for broadcast and immersive experiences using a multi-camera solution. In the case of VrROOM, which produced Jean Michel Jarre's virtual concerts for the Fête de la Musique (funded by the Ministry of Culture) and New Year's Eve in a virtual replica of Notre Dame de Paris cathedral, the concerts were broadcast live, with both Jean Michel Jarre and the audience present in the form of avatars. Regarding the Fête de la Musique concert, VrROOM's founder Louis Cacciuttolo stated:

> The reason why we wanted to do it live was so as not to lose any of the emotion of live performance and to create a true coming together with the audience [. . .]. Jean Michel Jarre, with a VR headset over his eyes, could see his audience in the virtual world that had been specially created for the occasion, as well as the instruments he could play live with his headset [. . .]. The artist could speak with the audience and interact with them just as in any traditional concert set-up [. . .]. As you can imagine, creating this sort of environment is a very complex process (Cacciuttolo 2020).

In regard to interactions among audience members, he added:

> It works exactly like multi-player games. People meet and talk to each other with their mics. With the VR headset, you're in the crowd. You see the people who are beside you and you can enter into contact with them [. . .]. The audience met up in a virtual bar after the show to carry on talking and exchanging their views on the event [. . .]. At the Jean Michel Jarre concert the audience could also take 'virtual drugs' which, once they had been taken, changed the show environment, like hallucinations. It's no doubt less dangerous than real drugs [laughs] (ibid.).

This increase in interest in virtual concerts in which participants can take on avatar profiles and get together in a virtual space, and even talk and dance, is reminiscent of what happens in e-sports, a sector which has found its audience and in which a gamer audience comes together with a sports broadcasting audience to watch virtual sport competitions (Besombes 2015). However, at least in the case of live music, there is still a lot of resistance and opposition to the gaming world of metaverses, avatars, and virtual reality. During a recent discussion on a media pure player, Jean Michel Jarre expressed his outrage over the refusal of the Avignon Festival (to which he had been invited in 2001) to take up his suggestion of investing in a virtual edition in 2020 rather than purely and simply cancelling the festival.[22] This brought the tensions between two different conceptions of

the world, two irreconcilable modalities, into sharp relief (Boltanski and Thevenot 1991). It remains to be seen how livestreaming and, more generally, remote working and digital tools will impact the organizational field and production sector of live music on the margins or, on the contrary, by reconstructing the sector and branch of activity, taking account of streaming platforms, immersive technologies and virtual reality.

Conclusion

With the rise of digital peer-to-peer exchange, the increase in listening to music on streaming platforms, and the triumph of free-to-use sites such as YouTube, there has been a lot of talk about a crisis in the music economy. However, diagnosing a crisis necessitates taking into account all the parameters in play (Grenier 2011; Hesmondhalgh 2013). At the end of this research, the increasing power of live music can be observed in terms of its economic value, even though this may have seemed counter-intuitive for quite a long time, because it was seen as having a low or negligible earning potential (Baumol and Bowen 1966; Hirsch 2001).

Another aspect that we have been able to highlight is that live music has not simply seen its value increase from an economic point of view but also from a cultural one (Holt 2010). The collective and community aspect of concerts, their physical materiality and the time one has to dedicate to them (festivals in particular) has accentuated the perceived authenticity of live music. The event-creating aspects of live shows have made them a source of dramatization related to uncertainty. They are above all part of a system incorporating human beings, musicians and technicians. Concerts are always accompanied by a risk factor, including the uncertainty of natural phenomena such as the weather when concerts or festivals take place outside (Guibert 2011). Concerts, then, are by definition unique events.

The advent of the pandemic has shed light on issues that had not previously been discussed by changing concert modalities and highlighting the heterogeneity of the production sectors. The performance, audio-visual, and digital economies were all nevertheless involved in the concerts, their broadcast, and the creation of value. Thus, although anticipation of a "return to normal" led all parties to engage once again in their pre-lockdown activities, the exceptional duration of lockdowns and curfews led to the development of new practices which will only partly be swept away and which herald new dynamics within the world of live music.

Notes

[1] I am, for example, thinking about the flows associated with the sale of tickets for events between ticketing platforms and event promoters. The procedures for the reimbursement of tickets for cancelled concerts highlighted the logistical failings of intermediaries, in particular certain ticket retailers.

[2] This recorded music can be sold in the form of replicable manufactured products or subscriptions to music streams (Guibert, Rebillard, and Rochelandet 2016).

[3] In other words, mostly generating modest sales and only sometimes, rarely, becoming blockbusters (Anderson 2006).

[4] The crucial variable used to speak about the broadcasting of the ceremony of the concert being pay-per-view (i.e. payment for access to a concert provided simultaneously to all audience members) rather than live (see below).

[5] For me one of the first wake-up calls in this respect was an interview I carried out with an artist I have known for a long time and who, before the crisis, shared his time between concert performance as a musician as part of a band and audio-visual production (filmed concerts for broadcast and music videos). While most of his musician friends saw their opportunities for touring disappear entirely during the public health crisis, it presented him with many more filmed concert opportunities, to such an extent that he wasn't able to respond to all requests for his services. "I have never been so busy," he told me in September 2020. However, even more than this observation, what fascinated him was the gradual transformation of the codes associated with his profession. While, before the crisis, his movements on stage where the group was playing live were marked out and restricted, they became entirely free once the audiences disappeared and this meant he was able to try out a whole new repertoire in terms of his on-camera movements.

[6] All translations of French language interviews (of concert promoters, audio-visual producers etc.) provided by myself.

[7] Managing Director of Drouot Productions

[8] In April 2014 the Inspection Générale des Affaires Culturelles (General Inspectorate of Cultural Affairs) report, *Instauration d'un droit de propriété littéraire et artistique pour les producteurs de spectacle vivant* (the introduction of literary and artistic intellectual property rights for performing arts promoters) (n°2014-02), considered that this was not viable, in particular because such a right would enter into competition with other existing rights (the intellectual property rights and related rights belonging to the live performer and the record label).

[9] Although the SNEP (Syndicats National de l'Edition Phonographique – the inter-professional organisation that protects the interests of the French record industry) recognised that direct negotiation with event producers was necessary, no legal guaranteed has been established.

[10] Remarks by Pierre Alexandre Vertadier, Managing Director of TS Prod, in Philippe-Bert, 2014

[11] Centre National de la Cinématographie - French Ministry of Culture agency responsible for the production and promotion of cinematic and audio-visual arts

[12] French Ministry of Culture agency responsible for the promotion of pop music and current music

[13] Which can nevertheless constitute a document with heritage value.

[14] i.e. filming for simultaneous broadcast on paid platforms or platforms financed by advertising or partnerships

[15] I'm thinking of Omnilive or the Live Music Virtual Experience group.

[16] The social network Facebook, which offers an option for publicizing "in-person" events (which users can respond to by stating that they are either "going" or are "interested") was thus widely reappropriated during periods of lockdown or curfew and used to publicize "online" events, creating ambiguity in terms of users' stated participation preferences.

[17] Such as concerts by M. Pokora, Jenifer, Dua Lipa, the electronic music festival Tomorrowland and the metal group Behemoth (Davet, 2020).

[18] To a lesser extent, audience feedback loops (claps, sound, movement), paywall/ticketing, tipping, in-stream-merchandise special offers, 360° video, gaming, the metaverse, special packages delivered to homes (food, beverage, merch), limited audiences, and virtual goods are also mentioned (in 'Survey conducted in July 2020 by the Lynk', in thelynk.io).

[19] As of 2011, Ticketmaster, the ticketing subsidiary of the events multinational Live Nation set up a Live Analytics department so as to gain a better knowledge of the behaviors of ticket purchasers (from music through to sporting events). It was thus able to state in 'Le mariage du "ticketing" et de la data' (the marriage of ticketing and data), *Proscenium Think Tank*, Prodiss, 9 March 2016, that tennis fans were more likely to go to concerts, or that Jay-Z fans were more likely to go and see a basketball match while Bruce Springsteen fans preferred hockey. See also 'Big data et spectacle vivant, un enjeu industriel' (Big data and the performing arts, an inter-sector challenge), *Proscenium Think Tank*, Prodiss, 29 January 2016.

[20] Anonymous, 'Tommorrowland around the world. De boom à Papilionem', *DJ Mag,* No. 26, July 2020, 64–69.

[21] A metaverse is a parallel digital universe that has generally been taken from the world of video games.

[22] Knowledge Immersif Forum/médiaClub debate, "Le concert se réinvente en immersive" (the reinvention of the concert as an immersive experience) with Jean-Michel Jarre, Louis Cacciuttolo and Gaspard Giroud, 8 June 2021, https://www.mediaclub.fr/evenements/retour-sur-le-grand-debat-kif-mediaclub-le-concert-se-reinvente-en-immersif-avec-jean-michel-jarre-louis-cacciuttolo-et-gaspard-giroud

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PART IV

Live Music and COVID-19

In the Virtual Field: Musical Performance and the New Dynamics of Bombos in Times of COVID-19[1]

Lucas Wink

This article is part of an ethnomusicological study focusing on the Portuguese *Bombos* that I have been conducting for the Doctoral Program in Music at the University of Aveiro in Portugal.[2] As I will specify, Bombos is a term that has many meanings: a percussion instrument, a set of specific musical instruments, and a collective performative practice. Despite constituting one of the "ecosystems" (Schippers and Grant 2016:340) of Portuguese traditional music spread throughout the country, studies in this field are still relatively scarce.

In fact, Bombos inhabits an epistemic space not commonly addressed by "popular music" lines of interests and themes of inquiry. Performers are not superstars, in the strictest sense; they do not record their musical repertoires, nor do they perform in any famous or celebrated Western music concert hall. Although they are paid, there are very few individuals who make their living exclusively from live performances. Such conditions do not impede the dedication these people invest in their annual activities. Especially during summer months, Bombos ensembles travel hundreds of kilometers to play in countless festivities that take place in Portugal, from north to south.

Starting in March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic rendered the situation quite different this year. Due to security restrictions imposed by government authorities, musicians were prevented from meeting in person. Traditional performance spaces were abruptly silenced, and the powerful sound of those instruments that affects bodies and materialities in the open space of the street was limited to the virtual field. Operating from a logic that reflects a do-it-yourself ethos – a concept explored by Bennett and Rogers (2016), Guerra (2018), and Guerra and Quintela (2020), as I will clarify in due course – musicians during this period resorted to digital tools not part of their usual modes of performance in order to mitigate the impossibility of playing face to face. In these circumstances, the relational experience was mediated by sophisticated agents; new and vibrant forms of sociability were fostered by social distancing; and the screen became the performative space par excellence.

The pandemic also had a profound impact on my own activities. I was suddenly prevented from developing my traditional ethnography I started in late 2018. This situation has led to an imminent shift: If resorting to the virtual field seemed like a secondary task in my

former practice, it now became a pressing and essential alternative, not only because it made it possible to keep in touch with my interlocutors, but because a whole new set of complex musical dynamics had started. I could not leave them out of my analysis.

This article, therefore, focuses on Bombos in the time of COVID-19. I seek to examine the new dynamics of preparation and performance, relationalities, and actions musicians undertook. For this task, I used participant observation on YouTube and Facebook groups and pages, systematically maintained a quarantine fieldwork notebook, conducted online surveys, and interviewed musicians via Zoom.

In order to situate the reader, I begin by contextualizing the term Bombos. Next, I illustrate the circumstances of my adaptation from the physical to the virtual. I document recent discussions held by scholars on alternative modalities for fieldwork and also situate specific contributions in the discipline of ethnomusicology. Describing my integration in Facebook groups, I enter the virtual field in order to present data on the impact of the pandemic. Through an ethnography of virtual practices, I then focus on three types of performance: musical videos created by musicians, the live streaming on Facebook, and the virtual sharing of pre-pandemic memories in format of texts, photographs and videos.

Bombos: **typological contextualization and the ensembles' ecological constitution**

By Bombos, I am referring to three interrelated aspects:

- **A percussion instrument.** A *bombo* is a double-headed bass drum made of wood or metal sheet with heads composed of goatskin. Ranging from thirty to eighty cm. in diameter, it is held by the player with a shoulder strap and struck with one or two sticks as the player moves around.
- **A set of musical instruments consisting of bombos and *caixas***, percussion instruments considerably smaller in size, with wire snares held under tension against the bottom head and played with two sticks. One can also find melodic instruments added to this set, such as the fife, the concertina and/or the bagpipe.
- **A predominantly male, intergenerational, and collective performative practice of intense sound production and bodily movement.** It is widely present in a variety of events in Portugal, such as local religious feasts and popular celebrations held in open public spaces, but also in contexts of "presentational performance" (Turino 2008:26). From the 1930s onwards, due to the cultural policies and folklorist activities enacted by the National Propaganda Secretariat during the *Estado Novo*, Bombos ensembles began to appear in folklore festivals.[3]

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Figure 3.

These musical groups are composed of individuals who, in addition to a common musical language, share a set of ideas about the music they make and its uses, functions, and customs. I contend that, in line with John Blacking (1995:232), they constitute "sound groups" spread across the country. According to a survey conducted by *Associação Amigos do Tocá Rufar* (Friends of Tocá Rufar Association), the number of ensembles currently active in Portugal exceeds three hundred.[4] As a basic unit of analysis, the idea of "sound groups" is relevant here not only because it recalls the totalizing nature of human and collectively organized sounds, but also because, as Blacking argues, it admits a greater fluidity regarding the precepts of participation in musical ensembles that transcends

exclusively territorial, community, generational, or class criteria. The observations I have been conducting along with *Grupo de Bombos de São Sebastião de Darque* and *Grupo de Bombos Regional de São Simão Os Completos*, indicate that their members do not necessarily live in the same location. The age group is very diverse, with participation of children, young people and adults (from ten to sixty-five years old). Members have varied professions, working as farmers, bus drivers, mechanics, music teachers, construction workers, bank employees, nurses, lighting technicians, and waterproofing technicians. Some are also engineering and accounting students.

Each ensemble is coordinated by a leader responsible for, among other things:

- summoning members to perform;
- establishing contact with contractors and feast organizers;
- managing performance revenues and applying them to material expenses and payments to musicians;
- buying and storing musical instruments;
- driving to transport the group;
- providing the uniforms members wear; and
- managing performative dynamics and musical repertoires.

In a live performance, the number of participants is not rigidly defined, ranging from as few as seven musicians up to twenty. As a general rule, the number of bombos is never less than that of caixas or melodic instruments. The musical repertoires these ensembles play are fluid; that is, they resort to songs and percussive rhythmic patterns common to each other. As musicians indicate, the ways each group approaches them vary significantly in regards to tempo, intensity, and vigor of playing. Furthermore, repertoires are organized according to the absence or presence of melodic instruments. This circumstance is even expressed in the instrumental articulation itself: when concertinas and/or bagpipes play traditional songs such as *Havemos de ir a Viana, Micas, Ramalhinho, Bareira, 13 de maio, Rosinha,* or *Laurindinha,* bombos and caixas assume an accompaniment role subordinated to those instruments. In the absence of melodic ones, they perform compositions referred to as *Pesadas*.

It is precisely as part of the group when all members develop the skills to play. Collectively, musicians learn the values of participation, codes of conduct, the expressive lexicon, the musical repertoires, techniques to repair instruments, how to hold the sticks, how to tune up bombos and caixas, and the physical and mental skills essential to perform. The knowledge is transmitted orally, from the most to the least experienced players, through auditory and visual imitation processes. Although some ensembles organize rehearsals at the beginning of each year, it is precisely during live performances that specific skills are tested and

improved, leading to a tremendous sense of experimentation by participants. As a matter of fact, this reveals the centrality of the practical dimension and the meaningfulness of the face-to-face shared experiences, as I had been observing through regular ethnographic incursions in the field. But, as the deliberate narrative fracture at this point of the text may suggest, my ethnographic efforts were interrupted.

On February 25th, 2020, I went into the field for the very last time before the pandemic worsened in Portugal. For the following weeks, I was supposed to continue recording in order to develop the sound ethnography project to which I was so committed. In the beginning of March, my interlocutors notified me that all performances previously scheduled were canceled. Cancellation announcements soon began to appear publicly on Facebook. On March 18th, the state of emergency decree by the Portuguese government signaled an unprecedented state of affairs. It was the beginning of quarantine, and all of a sudden everything stopped.

From the physical to the virtual field: Alternative fieldwork modalities in the pandemic and ethnomusicological responses

If it is a fact that the pandemic has violently afflicted musical ecosystems in multiple aspects, it is no less true that researchers' tasks were drastically undermined by its constraints. I speak specifically from my own experience as a second-year doctoral student who, in the midst of an intense process of immersion in the field, abruptly found himself unable to learn from his interlocutors, to follow musical performances, to record and reflect on the sound their instruments produce. To make things worse, as far as I could remember, our classic ethnomusicology textbooks did not contain instructions on how to deal with a pandemic. Challenging more traditional procedures for the study of people making music, the situation demanded quick responses in the face of a scenario that continues to generate uncertainty.

The responses were immediately reflected in coordinated actions through communication networks at a transnational level. In the discipline of anthropology in particular, discussions on alternative methodologies for fieldwork soon started spreading. In May, the colloquium "Fieldwork in an era of Pandemia: digital (and other) alternatives" was first organized by the World Council of Anthropological Associations. Held via Zoom and broadcast on Facebook, it brought together anthropologists Clara Saraiva, Shiaki Kondo, Pamela McGrath, Rosalda Aida Hernandez, and Daniel Miller to debate the discipline's possible responses. Three hundred people filled the virtual room in the first few minutes of the session. Although orally restricted to those speakers, the participation of the audience was nonetheless overwhelming. Typing on the platform chat, hundreds of participants

interacted with each other. Posing numerous questions, students shared their anxieties and waited for answers to their dilemmas.

Though concrete answers are yet to come, scholars continued promoting discussions on tangible alternatives. Deborah Lupton's *Doing Fieldwork in a Pandemic* (2020), for example, consists of an open access document hosted on Google Docs. As a first stage open to collaborative edition, it presents numerous digital modalities for social research and a helpful bibliographic compilation. Geismar and Knox's website anthrocovid.com is another meaningful effort developed at the University College London Center for Digital Anthropology. It presents ethnographic works by researchers and health professionals writing from different contexts and disciplinary fields. One of the latest issues of *Social Anthropology* published by the European Association of Social Anthropologists (2020) also dedicates the *Forum on COVID-19 Pandemic* to dozens of articles about the pandemic. Thematically diverse, these texts are not exclusively restricted to epistemological issues of fieldwork, but reflect a broader inquiry about the political, social, and economic impacts of the virus.

Although current responses of ethnomusicology seem to be more restrained compared to those of anthropology, debates on virtual fieldwork and the use of digital tools have been a component of its intellectual efforts since the beginning of the twenty-first century.[5] Suzel Reily drew attention to the growing use of the Internet and its potential as a tool for communication, teaching, learning, and disseminating research (2003). Recalling the researcher's responsibility in what concerns ethics and usage policy, she listed initiatives and websites previously created as online repositories for music recordings, videos, scores, and ethnographic descriptions. In this piece, however, Reily does not conceptualize the Internet as a field where ethnomusicologists may integrate in order to observe, analyze, and interact with people making music.

By contrast, Abigail Wood demanded that ethnomusicologists engage in what she calls e-fieldwork (2008). Observing text messages as well as interactions in a Jewish Music email list, she argues that if the Internet is the place where people choose to carry out their musical lives, it is there that ethnomusicologists should find them. Wood nonetheless recognizes the complexity of this task due to rapid technological developments giving rise to new virtual modalities. For this reason, she stresses that "there is no one-size-fits-all paradigm for e-fieldwork" (2008:183).

Cooley, Meinze, and Syed's 2008 piece on virtual fieldwork brings yet more reflections. As they put it, the impact of the Internet on fieldwork results from a shift in research methods driven by postcolonial theory in its attempt to investigate objects of study in diffuse time-space. Challenging the binarism expressed in the real-virtual tension, they suggest

understanding communication technologies and their products as human constructions as real as any other type of cultural production. Understood as an organic part of our experience, virtuality is one of the ways in which we, as ethnomusicologists, experience people making music.

More recently, Marco Lutzu's 2017 research on Sardinian Traditional Music groups on Facebook illustrates ethnographic efforts on this platform by analyzing the politics of sharing, the mediatization of music and its transit through multiple spaces, the processes of constructing identities, transformations in musical learning, and its impact outside virtual community. Aware of the complex challenges predicted by this literature, I then started conducting my research, from home.

In the virtual field: participant observation in the *Bombos de Portugal* Facebook group and the online questionnaire *Bombos Pandemia COVID-19*

In March 2020 I started joining discussion groups using my personal profile on Facebook. Created in 2016 and currently with around six hundred fifty members, the Facebook group *Bombos de Portugal* was a determining space for musical activities. By monitoring participants' actions, it was possible to identify:

- performances broadcast "live" to an audience interacting simultaneously;
- music videos in which each member of Bombos recorded himself playing in a different time and space, resulting in a joint performance after editing processes;
- use of unconventional musical instruments due to the inaccessibility of bombos and caixas;
- the circulation of pedagogical and historical material within/between ensembles; and
- the regular sharing of memories in text, photo, audio, and video of performances that took place before the pandemic began.

In May, after noticing this virtual dynamism, I decided to circulate an online questionnaire of twenty-two questions. The *Associação Amigos do Tocá Rufar* provided me with their database of approximately three hundred contacts of Bombos ensembles. Presenting the document as part of my doctoral research, I tried to disseminate the access link by sending text messages to countless pages on Facebook. The message was unexpectedly considered spam, and I was therefore blocked. I then resorted to the email addresses.

Over the course of a month, I got responses from thirty-one groups across the country. I formulated closed and open questions so the musicians themselves could give complete responses. This procedure made it possible to ascertain the repercussions of the pandemic on live performances, demonstrated by the cancelation or postponement of more than seventy festivities scheduled for 2020, from the great pilgrimages of Minho region such as

the *Festa da Nossa Senhora da Agonia*, to the famous festivities of *São João de Braga* and other countless festive events, to ethnographic festivals to medieval fairs, and to private events such as weddings and other social meetings.

The survey indicated that sixty-seven percent of the ensembles were not contacted by local authorities, associations or local entities in order to receive any type of support. Fifty-four percent indicated that their members did not have access to musical instruments. Regarding the use of technology, eighty-three percent listed Facebook as the main means of communication. In another question asking about measures introduced in order to mitigate COVID-19's impact, a single value described two opposite situations: forty-eight point four percent of the groups reported not having been able to conduct any kind of activity, while another forty-eight point four percent said that "dissemination of material on social networks (videos, photos, didactic material)" was the main activity.

This duality was also noted in musicians' words. The quotes below describe a lack of activity:

> With the pandemic, music was the first activity to stop and it will be the last one to resume; I am afraid that it may have demotivated our members; It will be very complicated to resume our cultural activities; Everything has an end . . . but this was not the one we all were waiting for.

Others noted efforts to meet despite the new challenges:

> We have weekly meetings via Zoom to remember some work. [. . .] We have been creating videos so each member can demonstrate their studies and ask questions; In my opinion, this phase has also helped to develop other articulation tools that may, in future, help in a more permanent approach to the group's activities, without the need for physical presence.

Messages with a more hopeful tone were also registered, including the following ones:

> To resist is to win; It will be a year of reflections, with the search for hope and calm that will be given to us after the storm passes.

In point of fact, if this questionnaire tells us a considerable amount, we must also bear in mind the absences that resonate from it. Low survey participation itself could be interpreted as significant analytical data. For one, it suggests that the impact of the pandemic may be much more severe than the collected responses indicate. I nonetheless emphasize that during this period I deliberately attempted to focus on actions musicians undertook. Demonstrating a do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos in these achievements, I want to emphasize the role individuals themselves played in this scenario. A few words are needed to contextualize this concept.

Bennett and Rogers (2016) investigated what they understood as a DIY ethos within the scope of musical production at the music scene of Brisbane. In this scenario, authors portray how the DIY ethos provides infrastructure for the perpetuation of activity in that Australian city. In Portugal, the concept has been explored in the context of the Punk scene and young subcultures emerging in a post-dictatorship period, from 1974 onwards. By analyzing the representations that participants make, Paula Guerra (2018) illustrated how the lack of infrastructure for the production and performance of Punk in the country fostered a local understanding of the DIY ethos. More recently, Guerra and Quintela (2020) have explored the expansion of fanzines and the circumstances by which they became important alternatives to conventional media. The DIY ethos portrayed in such studies reflects a process of transformation of the agents from cultural consumers to effective cultural producers. In my research, however, the idea of DIY is not imbued with the political-ideological nature so evident in Punk, nor does it correspond to the imminent transformation of consumers into producers. Rather, it compelled another transformation. Because they have been dependent on local cultural agents to play for their audiences, musicians were prompted by the pandemic to design musical activities on their own. Using social networks and digital tools, the dynamics of Bombos were outlined precisely by the actions in which musicians autonomously engaged. Such actions might also be understood as a whole set of "resilience strategies" (Titon 2015:179). In order to expose this panorama, I will present a short ethnography of three types of performance on Facebook. I intentionally bring to the text the voices of people who took part in such creations.

Edited videos, live streaming and the like as applause: an ethnography of Bombos' virtual performances

On April 2nd, 2020, I came across a publication of a digital content that astutely put musicians physically separated in time and space into a simultaneous performance. I am referring to the musical video by the Bombos group *Os Figueiras na Rua*. While observing the video, I made some notes in my quarantine fieldwork notebook:

Short field note #3, April 2nd, 2020 – "Os Figueiras na Rua" on the screen: Laurindinha, unconventional percussion instruments and #stayhome

Dressed in casual attire and seated side by side, some outdoors, others indoors, fourteen musicians holding drum sticks and a set of unconventional percussion instruments appeared in a video published on *Bombos de Portugal*. Accompanying the melody of *Laurindinha* played by the concertina, a group of men and women, mostly young people, appeared onscreen with headphones connected to electronic devices they kept strictly to their ears during the two minutes and twenty seconds of performance. The texts #stayhome and "everything will be fine" joined the group's visual identification.

Ten days later, another video was shared. By this time, even the local press reported that a "group of Bombos celebrates Easter with another theme played from home."[6] Via Facebook, I contacted the person responsible for these publications. I then met Carlos Daniel Cerqueira, a twenty-year-old caixa player, son of Carlos Cerqueira, a bombo player in charge of this ensemble founded in 2007 in Paredes de Coura, in the north of Portugal. Carlos Daniel promptly answered my invitation for a virtual conversation. We talked extensively about the group's history and its constitution, musical repertoires, performance contexts, and virtual activities. Speaking directly to him made it possible to understand more deeply the context and the intention of making these videos, the dynamics of preparation and communication within the group, aesthetic choices, the self-reflexivity processes regarding the acquirement of skills for editing audiovisual material, the way in which individual participation is minimized due to social distance, and the use of technology as a tool for teaching repertoires:

> In early March, we started receiving all that news . . . and the very first thing I did was cancel all the rehearsals. We're approximately twenty members here, so there could be a high risk of contagion. At first, we were not aware that in the summer we would not have our feasts to play. . . and this idea came from a video I saw produced by a *rancho folclórico*.[7] I saw them on Facebook and noticed they had done a video dancing from home. And then I thought: I can also implement this here! The first thing I thought was: "we need to find out how to emulate bombos and caixas," because the instruments by that time were all stored [at our headquarters]. And then I thought of those cans, which could sound like a caixa. . . and a bottle, a jerrycan, which has a sound similar to bombo. After that, I spoke to the guy who plays concertina. He recorded his video, and I recorded myself playing "caixa," and later 'bombo'. . . so I put these three videos together. I had to record myself several times before getting things done. . . . It's completely different to be here, listening with headphones, and trying to emulate the same thing we usually do together, face to face. When recording we feel a little bit alone! So, I texted the group explaining I would like them to do those recordings, saying that I would like them to participate so we could virtually interact and spend time together with one another. And then I sent them the video [. . .] showing how it was supposed to be. I explained that they had to record with headphones so as not to keep the music in the background, this type of details. And then I did everything else. . . the video editing. . . I did it on my computer, using software. I went to YouTube to watch videos, to search information about the software. . . and that's how I created that. And because of this, we ended up playing all together! I think this encouraged people to do something they weren't expecting by that time. . . indeed, the song you can hear in the second video was a song they had never played, neither did I. There are many ways to teach them from here. I learned it here, at home. . . and then I taught them. I taught them virtually, didn't I? And they learned that virtually! But of course, there is nothing better than being all together and learning from each other. They only heard my version. If we were in a rehearsal, someone could say "how

> about if we play like this? so this part would get better!" People can never express themselves in the same way they do when in person, face to face. (Interview, June 4th 2020, online).

Uploaded to Facebook and YouTube, these productions have accumulated over thirty-three thousand views to date.[8] The activities of *Os Figueiras na Rua* at *Bombos de Portugal* also illustrate the sharing of live streaming, a type of performance that became a recurring practice in the following weeks:

Figure 4.

I took part as an observer in the above-mentioned event. I wrote down in my notebook about this "live concert:"

Short field note #8, April 24th, 2020 – "I'm here to give you one hour of musical show without stopping"

Friday, late afternoon. Ângelo Reis is playing his diatonic accordion Roland FR 18 accompanied by an electronic drum in a "Live Concert." At the end of the first song, he talks to viewers: "I'm here to give you one hour of music without stopping. Leave in the comments what you want me to play in order to make it more productive. Let's start with *Cana Verde*!" Its red accordion sounds non-stop, with some pauses only to change the rhythm and tempo of the accompanying electronic drums or to read the comments. "Let's go to the last song," announces after approximately one hour. Ângelo recommends, then, the audience "stay at home." Ninety comments are sent to him.

Through Carlos Daniel Cerqueira, I was able to contact Ângelo Reis. Ângelo is a nineteen-year-old man who lives in Ponte de Lima, in the north of Portugal, and plays concertina

and caixa for the Bombos group *Os Figueiras da Rua.* Showing an intimate inclination towards digital tools, he contextualized the several live streams:

> Social networks helped musicians a lot to show themselves, to work from home. Because without feasts, without anything, people get bored of not being able to show what they know. And I needed to do that. I was not playing concertina for anyone. . . so I opted for the Facebook live streaming in order to relieve my desire to play [. . .]. And because I was isolated at home – I was not going out at all, as I work in a nursing home, I was afraid of taking the virus with me – I decided to do the live streaming. As I knew everyone was at home, I knew I would have a lot of people watching. And I don't combine anything! When I want, I take my cell phone, I take my concertina and I start it. Then, people come in and ask for songs. [. . .] Sometimes they even ask for songs when the streaming is over. So I take the songs they asked for, and I play them in the next streaming, so people can see that I played them. That's why I say that, currently, my stage is my room, which is where I do my live streaming! (Interview, June 7th 2020, online).

Ângelo did not forget to stress the technical limitations with which performers must deal. Recalling a joint performance with Miguel Lavoura, he pointed out:

> The sound came out with a very, very bad quality! There it is: I think Facebook was not able to handle the music, the sound of two concertinas playing at the same time. Because it is an instrument that makes a lot of noise, it has a high frequency! When we were talking to each other, the sound was spectacular. But, when playing. . . it failed a lot . . . especially my instrument. From what the audience said in the comments, my concertina was not heard at all. And then the camera was also badly positioned, we saw one thing and it showed another. It was a very strange thing. (Interview, June 7th 2020, online).

Our conversation via Zoom finished after my interlocutor presented his recording scenario, showing the preparatory procedures and putting his concertina to sound virtually.[9] The reader can watch to that by clicking here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xEF474sNdR8

Finally, I must mention another modality of performance: the memories shared on social networks. During the pandemic, I observed the regular sharing of texts, photographs and videos of live performances, informal meetings and other pre-pandemic social gatherings. Why do musicians and participants engage in such activities, and what is the meaning of this sharing? Publishing on *Bombos de Portugal* as well as on their personal page, the *Grupo de Bombos Águias da Lage* was one of those which routinely engaged in this task. "This year our group celebrates nineteen years of many stories, achievements, joys and unity. We would like to be all together to celebrate this very important date, but unfortunately it is not possible. [. . .] We would like, then, to recall one of our traditions, the Feast

of our village, where we were supposed to debut a new musical theme!" could be read in a post presenting a musical video on July 6th, 2020. In a joint interview via Zoom, I was able to chat with Rui Fraguito, the group's coordinator, and Renato Lameirão, a twenty-one year-old caixa player. By learning about my interlocutors' experiences, I noticed that the act of remembering is a driving force for concatenating subjects around musical practice. Physically separated but sharing what has already been lived, the participants get closer to each other. Under the cloak of *saudade* – that is, the Portuguese word describing an intense sense of longing, of missing, of homesickness – sharing recognizes human presence and brings individuals together in the joint desire to resume habitual activities. I will finish by referring to Fraguito's testimony, whose words also provide a deeper understanding of participating in such ensembles:

> For me, I think it's more about *saudade*. [. . .] To see and to review everything again. People publish on Facebook because they like what they do, and they want other people to be witnesses of what they do. Imagine: here, people in their lives will never be so, so . . . how am I going to say that word? . . . as graced in their jobs as they are in what they do in Bombos. Of course, I'm speaking more generally . . . but they will never be as applauded in life as they are in these musical groups. And people are proud of it. On the weekend, people come to Bombos. When they play, it's to go out with friends they can't see during the week, in order to talk a little bit, on Friday and Saturday. . . And then, on Sunday, we go out to the streets, to show our work and to be applauded. In other words: the applause is the justification. People miss that applause. And they like to share so other people can press the like button on their sharing. This "like" is precisely the applause they will not be able to get this year! (Interview, June 10th 2020, online).

Conclusions

In this article, I sought to document the impact of the pandemic and illustrate some dynamics of Bombos in such a scenario. Resorting to the Internet's social networks and through digital tools, musicians engaged in new alternative modalities to perform while social distancing. Likewise, due to the constraints the pandemic has been exerting over researchers' work, I sought to document the circumstance of my adaptation from the physical to the virtual field, the emerging discussions about this topic and to describe the work I conducted in this domain. If it is quite clear that the conditions of integration and purposes are distinct, it is no less true that the virtual, in both cases, opened up a convenient window of possibilities. I would argue that we have never been so connected via the Internet and its social networks, if that did not mean omitting an absolutely pitiful aspect: under the conditioning of economic, technological or generational aspects, the pandemic also highlighted abysmal asymmetries concerning the ability to respond to its constraints. In the

case of Bombos, actions on the Internet are truly minor if we take into account the large number of ensembles in Portugal.

In this text, I tried to bring to light some minute but significant actions that were carried out by musicians. On their own, these are individuals who, in view of the absence of effective public policies which affect the entire cultural sector in Portugal, make an effective move towards keeping Bombos alive. Operating from a logic that reflects a do-it-yourself ethos, they point out their role as agents who self-reflexively search for solutions to adversities of different forms. Autonomously, they developed the necessary skills to perform: They learned how to record and edit videos, to play with unconventional instruments, to play alone in front of a camera for an audience they cannot see, to share musical knowledge virtually, and to deal with the frustrations that technologies impose on them. They also learned that remembering and sharing memories is a way to resist – that in this way the scourges inflicted by distance are at least mitigated by a breath of hope.

Due to the loosening of social distancing measures in July and August in Portugal, I was able to witness attempts by some ensembles to resume traditional performances. In one of these situations, I was invited for the first time to participate by playing the caixa. I confess that the ecstasy I felt of being there, pulsing along with my interlocutors, "feeling what it means to be part of a group of Bombos," as they say, subsided when looking at that social scenario and its new features: masks worn by the audience did not allow for seeing their facial expressions; the safe distance maintained between people reminded all of the risk of social contact; procedures and products available for hand disinfection pointed out that things were quite unusual. At the time of writing this document (October 2020), the new decree enacted by the Portuguese government to avoid the second wave of contagion indicates nonetheless that the resumption in the physical field may take a while. If the circumstance provokes a widespread dismay, the musical dynamics depicted in this article remind us that through the action of the musicians themselves, alternative spaces and vibrant new modes of performance can be created to overcome the infeasibility of playing face to face.

Notes

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[2] I would like to acknowledge the support of professor Dr. Maria do Rosário Pestana, professor Dr. Thomas George Caracas Garcia, David Wright, Vikki Rowland, Luísa Wink and Raquel Melo.

[3] *Estado Novo* refers to the Portuguese authoritarian regime, which lasted from 1933 to 1974. António de Oliveira Salazar (1933-1968) and Marcelo Caetano (1968-1974) were the dictators.

[4] This survey was conducted within the scope of the registration of Bombos in the Portuguese Intangible Cultural Heritage platform, in 2020. The research has also indicated the presence of Bombos within Portuguese immigrant communities in the USA, France, Switzerland, Australia, and Germany.

[5] Under the heading *COVID-19 Resources for Ethnomusicology*, the Society for Ethnomusicology announced on its website the attempt to gather relevant sources for the practice of the discipline during the pandemic. The list is concise and presents compilations organized by the American Folklore Society and the American Anthropological Association. At the time of reviewing my article for publication (05/24/2021), SEM has announced the website *Musicians in America during the COVID-19 Pandemic* (https://semmusicianscovid.com/about), a project with support from the National Endowment for Humanities (NEH) and Indiana University Libraries, Bloomington. Ethnomusicologists Holly Hobbs, Raquel Paraíso, and Tamar Sella conducted 240 online video interviews with a cross-section of American musicians between August and November 2020. Videos are available online along with a co-authored essay.

[6] Article published by Rádio do Minho. Available at: https://www.radiovaledominho.com/p-coura-rubiaes-grupo-bombos-festeja-pascoa-um-tema-tocado-partir-casa/.

[7] According to Castelo-Branco, Neves and Lima (2010:1097), *Rancho Folclórico* is a "formally organized group, consisting of dancers, singers and instrumentalists. Most *Ranchos Folclóricos* exhibit dances, costumes and songs understood as traditional ones, supposedly from the rural world and associated with a circumscribed geographical area: parish, municipality or former province of Portugal. The first groups emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it is from the 1930s that a model became institutionalized."

[8] The link to the two videos hosted on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UC3_9lDucOM; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J5Hh1_ufQnU&feature=emb_logo

[9] In addition to Facebook, Ângelo Reis maintains a YouTube channel. His most recent project, *Concertina pelo Mundo* (Concertina around the World), corroborates musicians' self-reflectivity regarding the learning of the procedures, techniques and handling of editing software. To edit his videos, he explained that he bought Filmora 9 and learned how to use it through tutorials available on YouTube.

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Impact and Hope for the Live Music Industry

Jeff Apruzzese, Paul G. Barretta, and Terrance Tompkins

> I don't know when it will be safe to return to singing arm in arm at the top of our lungs, hearts racing, bodies moving, souls bursting with life. But I do know that we will do it again, because we have to. It's not a choice. We're human. (Dave Grohl, 2020).

Live music, whether at a festival (Carneiro et al. 2011) or an indoor venue (Edwards et al. 2014), contributes to the economic development of its location. The COVID-19 pandemic has severely disrupted the live music industry and therefore the financial contributions of its participants. The present article investigates how the pandemic is affecting – and will affect – live music in the U.S. context. The pertinent elements of the industry and its players will be discussed, followed by the impact of the pandemic. This is followed by a discussion of how the live music industry has adapted, then how those adaptations may affect the future of the industry, including the results of a survey of contemporary music consumers. The article ends with research limitations and opportunities for future research.

Background: The concert industry

Live Music as a Primary Source of Revenue in the Music Industry

The three primary revenue streams in the music industry accounted for nearly $25 billion in revenue in North America in 2019: $3.72 billion in music publishing (Ingham 2020), $11.1 billion in recorded music (Rys 2020), and $9.4 billion in live music (Gensler 2019). The $9.4 billion of live music revenue in North America is up from $1.7 billion in 2000, with an all-time high of $12.2 billion having been projected in 2020 (Pollstar 2020). According to a Nielsen survey, over fifty percent of consumer spending on music is attributed to live events, citing the "live music experience" as a reason for the allocation (Music360 2016). Subsequently, the concert industry has experienced unprecedented growth, having emerged as a vital source of revenue for performing artists as well as consumer-based music experiences.

Growth of the Touring Industry

Three main factors, fueled by technology, led to the growth of the touring industry in North America over the past twenty years: a greater number of artists actively touring, likely related to the number of musicians who have entered the marketplace; the rising cost of concert tickets; and the growth of the festival marketplace in the U.S. The increase

in artists is in part a consequence of technological advances having lowered the barrier to entry. Digital Audio Workstations (DAW), including GarageBand and Pro Tools, are readily available for artists to record music affordably. Digital distributors and streaming platforms allow for more music to be released by recording artists without competing for limited access to retail shelf space. Over thirty-five thousand albums were released in 2000 in North America, rising to nearly 80,000 albums in 2007 and 98,000 in 2009 (Stein 2010). Ten years later in 2019, Spotify founder Daniel Ek stated forty thousand tracks were uploaded to the platform every day, which is the equivalent of fourteen million six hundred thousand tracks, or one million four hundred sixty thousand albums released each year on Spotify alone (Ingham 2019). Technology directly relating to touring has also fueled this growth, allowing musicians and independent promoters to book, market, and execute live shows (Pittman 2019). Subsequently, more artists are releasing music and touring as a primary means to earning a living.

Also fueling growth of the touring industry are music festivals, which have exploded in the United States during the past twenty years. Over 800 music festivals were produced in the United States in 2017 with over thirty-two million people attending music festivals each year. About one-third of festival-goers (ten million two hundred thousand) attend two or more festivals per year and on average travel 900-plus miles to get to their festival destination (Deployed 2018). This growth and expansion of the music festival industry has been referred to by scholars as festivilization (Bennett, Taylor and Woodward 2014; Mulder, Hitters and Rutten 2020). Millennials' spending power is estimated at over $1.3 trillion in the U.S., and three-quarters of them would rather spend money on an experience (Millennials 2017). Nearly seventy percent of millennials feel attending events makes them more connected to other people (Music360 2016), and there is evidence that it is important to individuals' social identity (Packer and Ballantyne 2011).

Finally, in the United States the price of concert tickets has grown exponentially from 2005 to 2019, rising from $42.00 to $94.83 for the top 100 grossing tours, a one hundred twenty-six percent increase. The average gross revenue for a top 100 U.S. tour rose from $652,311 to $958,726 (a forty-five percent increase) from 2015 to 2019 (Gensler 2019). This unprecedented growth has led to intense competition from players in the marketplace, as discussed in the following sections concerning the economics of concert revenue, concert promoters, and booking agencies.

Economics of Concert Revenue

Concert promoters hire artists to perform at concert venues and assume full risk for the concerts, usually offering a guarantee to pay the artist. Concert promoters recoup expenses through revenue earned at the concert largely based on ancillary products including ticket

fees, parking, merchandise, and concessions, with the artist receiving eighty-five to ninety percent of ticket revenue (Resnikoff 2011). A single concert ticket can represent additional spending of $25-50 from transportation, parking, gas, restaurants, and lodging (Pollstar 2020). Live music is a valuable asset to the cultural and economic status of many cities, attracting tourists to stimulate the local economy and help to enhance cultural environments (Hudson 2006; Martin 2017; Wynn 2015). From 2015 to 2019, ancillary revenue experienced eight percent growth, reaching $29.50 per fan in attendance for an event in 2019 (Jurzenski 2020). Festivals are particularly valuable to local economies; for example, the Coachella Music and Arts Festival region lost over $700 million dollars from that event's 2020 cancellation (Perreault 2020).

Concert Promoters

The dominant market leaders in the concert promotion industry in North America are Live Nation and AEG Presents. Annually, Live Nation promotes over twenty-two thousand events (Live Nation n.d.) generating $11.55 billion in 2019 (IBIS 2020). Live Nation, which owns or operates over a hundred venues, including amphitheaters, theaters, clubs, arenas, and festival sites, derives the majority of its income from top 100 spring and summer tours taking place at these venues. Live Nation was originally formed in 1996 as SFX Entertainment, a subsidiary of SFX Broadcasting that was sold to Clear Channel Communications for $4.4 billion; in 2005, Clear Channel spun off its entertainment division and named the new company Live Nation, Inc. (Reference for Business 2019). Live Nation's acquisition of several regional concert promoters and popular music festivals accelerated its growth and dominance in the United States. Live Nation acquired the House of Blues chain in 2006 (Leeds 2006), C3 Presents in 2014 (Faughnder 2015), Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival in 2015, and Founders Entertainment, parent company of Governors Ball Music Festival in 2016 (Sisario 2016). Subsequently, Live Nation has become the market leader in the concert industry, increasing revenue from $3.2 billion to $11.5 billion between 2005 and 2019 and achieving a twenty-four percent market share of the concert industry (Statista 2021a).

Live Nation is a vertically integrated, publicly traded company with several business divisions including concert promotion, ticketing, and artist management which enable them to leverage top tours and maintain market share of the concert industry. Concert promotion is the main driver of revenue for Live Nation, comprising eighty-two percent of revenue in 2019. In 2010, Live Nation merged with ticketing service giant Ticketmaster, which owned a seventy percent share of the concert ticket market in the United States in 2019. Live Nation's artist management division, Artist Nation, represents over five hundred artists and currently has a forty percent market share of top-tier talent (Jurzenski 2020).

Artist Nation's growth has been attributed to acquisition and partnerships with a variety of affiliated companies (Ingham 2017).

Live Nation employs over ten thousand five hundred individuals and is publicly traded on the New York Stock Exchange; its initial IPO was in 2005, and its stock was trading at $74.60 as of December 28, 2020 (Peters 2020). Its stock price took a hit during the coronavirus pandemic, plummeting in the third quarter after losing ninety-five percent of its revenue but recovered and jumped fifteen percent in November 2020, after Pfizer and BioNTech coronavirus vaccines were approved (Peters 2020). There is room for optimism about fans returning to live concerts, as over eighty-five percent of fans opted not to get refunded for concerts that were cancelled during the pandemic (Brooks 2020). In August 2020, Live Nation management told analysts the company believes 2021 and 2022 will be record years, and Barron's reported that Live Nation stock could more than double in the next three years (Jurzenski 2020).

AEG Presents, the live-entertainment division of Los Angeles-based Anschutz Entertainment Group, is the second largest concert promoter in the United States. The Anschutz Corporation is a private company; therefore, financial data is not released to the public. IBIS (2020) projected AEG's industry-relevant revenue to have increased at an annualized rate of nine point four percent from 2015 to 2019, totaling $2.2 billion in 2019. AEG has several subsidiaries in the concert and event promotion industry, including AEG Live and Goldenvoice. AEG produces over ten thousand concerts and twenty-five music festivals a year, and operates three hundred venues (AEG n.d.) including the Staples Center, the Toyota Sports Center, the StubHub Center; it also produces the Grammy Awards, the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, and the Coachella Valley Music and Arts Festival (IBIS 2020).

In 2019, Live Nation sold forty-six million six hundred thousand concert tickets, and AEG sold 14.8 million concert tickets, owning a twenty-three point nine percent and six point nine percent market share of the industry in the U.S., respectively (Promoters 2019). The third- and fourth-largest concert promoters fared well behind the market leaders, selling four million six hundred thousand and three million two hundred fifty thousand tickets, respectively (Statista 2021b). Brennan and Webster (2011:17) point out "[t]he growth of corporate concert promotion, Live-Nation style, is bound to have effects on the ecology of live music. If the live music sector is to be sustained, new talent must develop, and for this to happen, venues are needed for new 'amateur' artists as well as for established professionals." Outside of the two dominant concert promotion leaders, the concert industry is fragmented into thousands of independent promoters participating on regional and local levels. Independent promoters benefit from the opportunity to build strong relationships

with artists and venues, enjoy greater flexibility than large multinational companies, and have a reputation for being more entrepreneurial (Pittman 2019).

Booking Agencies

Booking agents not only play a pivotal role building and maintaining a lasting career for artists, but also serve as a talent pipeline for concert promoters. In the traditional organizational structure of the live music industry, booking agents are the intermediary between the artist and the concert promoter. Promoters invest in up-and-coming artists who have been endorsed by agents at the start of their careers, betting that eventually they will be able to sell out larger rooms (Behr et al. 2016). The relationship between agent and promoter can be a huge advantage for those artists with representation; for artists who do not have an agent, it can be a much harder process to get the attention of a concert promoter. As Rogers (2010:643) points out, "independent touring is a process of negotiation, networking, and trade." An independent artist does not have an intermediary working on their behalf and benefiting from a prior relationship with the concert promoter. Furthermore, most established promoters who are booking larger rooms will only book artists though their agents and will not book artists who lack representation. Webster (2011:132) argues these relationships are essential for venue owners, stating "if they have a good relationship with an agent, they will have access to the agent's roster and most lucrative acts. Consequently, promoters must accumulate social capital with agents in two ways: first, by doing a good job on the tour; and second, by maintaining a personal relationship with the agent."

At the time of this writing, the three largest full-service booking agencies in the U.S. are William Morris Endeavor, Paradigm, and Creative Artists Agency, with Paradigm claiming to be the largest for music acts. Paradigm went through an acquisition strategy in order to expedite growth by acquiring several smaller to mid-sized booking agencies such as Monterey Peninsula Artists, Little Big Man, The Windish Agency, and AM, as well as purchasing a fifty percent stake in the international firm Coda Agency in 2017. These acquisitions allowed Paradigm to diversify and establish a roster of household names and up-and-coming artists in a relatively short time. Having representation from a large roster gives each of these agencies a competitive advantage. If a promoter wants to book a top-tier act from one of these agencies, oftentimes the agent will leverage the deal with the promoter in order to book one of their unknown bands as well, evidence that the existing relationships with intermediaries play a vital role in the success of an artist. These three agencies created almost exclusive relationships with Live Nation and AEG, and in 2010 the festival Lollapalooza (promoted by C3/Live Nation) was the subject of an antitrust investigation (Knopper 2010).

However, the pandemic's effect on the live music industry may adjust the dominance of the three major agencies and change the organization of this side of the music business. Amidst the halt of live shows, Paradigm terminated nearly two hundred agents (Rendon 2020). Many of these agents who were let go then started their own independent booking agencies with high-profile clients, which may have leveled the playing field. While relationships will still play a key role in how an artist gets booked for a show, the pipeline may have been redirected, with the two largest concert promoters no longer exclusively doing business with the three largest booking agencies. This is a phenomenon that will be of great interest to both theory and practice as the U.S. music industry emerges from the pandemic. Independent promoters have said they do not feel they were squeezed out by the size and dominance of the large-scale agencies (Pittman 2019). However, one need only view the lineup for a festival like Coachella to understand the enduring influence of the big three booking agencies.

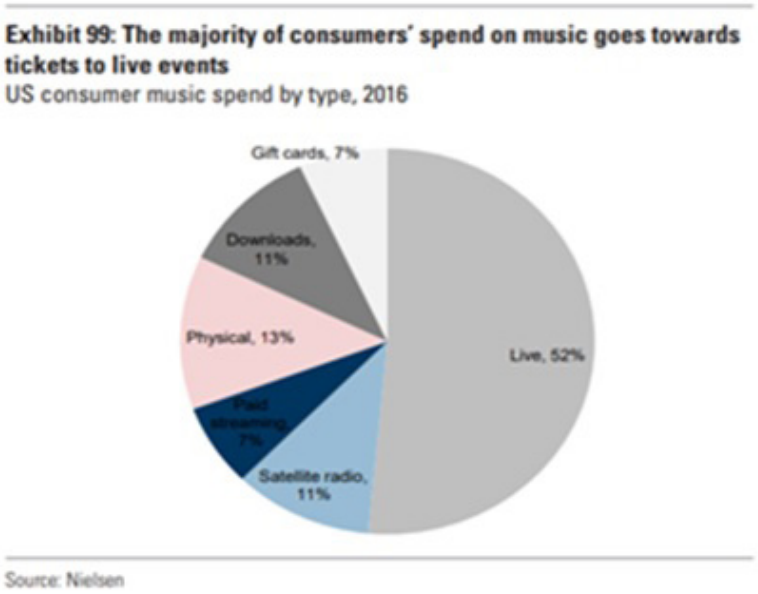

Figure 1. U.S consumer music spend by type.

Impact of COVID-19 on the live music industry

According to the National Independent Venue Association (NIVA), ninety percent of independent music venues expected they would have to close permanently if no federal funding was made available by February 2021 (NIVA 2020). The economic impact has affected many stakeholders of the live music industry, putting at risk not only jobs but entire careers of musicians and other performers who are not in the limelight, in turn leading to a cultural void (Cohen 2020). Of particular interest for the present article is

the impact on booking agencies, live event production crews, and artists and their teams. Goldman Sachs (2020) predicts a seventy-five percent drop in live music revenue only partially offset by an eighteen percent increase in music streaming revenue. Of particular importance to the industry are metropolitan areas relying on live music to help fuel their economy. For example, Nashville, TN which has a prominent live music scene has seen a loss of seventy-two percent in overall revenue and seventy-three point five percent employment (Nashville 2020). This same report warns that the pandemic has so endangered the live music industry that many venues and related businesses face permanent closure. The timing of the Nashville report (2020) is such that it serves as a reflection of what the live music industry in cities throughout the United States may experience and deal with. Groups like the Record Industry Association of America through Music COVID Relief (RIAA 2020) and NIVA have organized relief efforts for the live music industry, and additional relief has been provided by the Save Our Stages act passed by Congress (SOS 2020). Still, there are questions about whether these relief efforts will be enough to get the live music industry back on its feet (Gensler 2020).

The impact on booking and ticketing agencies is apparent, with an eighty-one percent loss in revenue during the first three quarters of 2020 for industry powerhouse Live Nation (Tschmuck 2020). Live Nation set up the "Crew Nation" relief effort, pledging $10 million in support of COVID-19 relief for production crews (Millman 2020). Artists have also gotten in on the act, with plans for post-pandemic policies, even though some have been met with mixed reception from fans (Smith 2020).

Randy Nichols, President of Force Media Management (FMM), indicated during a video conference conversation specifically for this article (Nichols 2020) that artists have experienced their largest financial impact from the live music shutdown. He stated that while the early days of the pandemic brought signs of complete disaster, livestreams created an opportunity to partially offset the impact. For example, one of the acts managed by FMM, Underoath, engaged in livestream concerts that brought in more revenue than would have been expected from a summer tour. Furthermore, other marketing activities surrounding the livestream events such as vinyl reissues related to the livestream content helped keep the band's overall revenue for the year down only about thirty-forty percent, as opposed to a hundred percent reduction, as they initially expected.

Adaptation of the Touring Industry

As discussed in the July 2020 New York Times feature story "Concerts Aren't Back. Livestreams are Ubiquitous. Can They Do the Job?" the pandemic incited an explosion of at-home livestream performances broadcasting via social media portals. The website Bandsintown.com tracked over sixty thousand livestream performances by nearly twenty

thousand artists, growing from a hundred thirty-nine performances per day in March to three hundred nineteen in May. The number of livestream concerts declined in summer 2020 and gradually increased again during October, November, and December of 2020 (Frankenberg 2020).

The Internet has provided plenty of opportunities to see live music during the pandemic through channels from Instagram to Twitch, and by artists from Elton John to Neil Young (D'Omodio 2020; Frank 2020; Frankenberg 2020; Peisner 2020; Peters 2020). In addition, a growing number of livestream music services have begun creating ticketed events to enable artists to monetize virtual performances.

Livestreaming brings both positives and negatives for the consumer and artist. Artist expenses are lower without travel and accommodations, and it is less costly to put on a livestream than an in-person tour. While many artists can instantly stream from their computer or mobile device, it remains a challenge to engage the fan from the comforts of their home when so much of attending a concert is about communal engagement with a crowd. Ben Gibbard, front man for the band Death Cab for Cutie, who livestreamed from his home regularly from mid-March through May stated, "The Pavlovian response for the past twenty-three years is you finish a song and whatever number of people are in the room clap for you . . . I've gotten used to that being the validation" (Peisner 2020).

Livestreaming challenges the notion of what most live music industry scholars argue is the main appeal of attending a concert. Cloonan (2020) points out that the value in attending a concert is the experience the attendees have in a venue, which is what allows artists to command such high ticket prices. For livestreaming concerts to be successful, they may need to feel just as, if not more exciting than their real-life counterparts. If artists are able to take the concept of community a step further and provide levels of proximity to both artists and fellow fans that are not possible in person (Grasmayer 2020), we may see a completely new concert industry. Many fans attend shows because of the community they find within the shared fandom of an artist, as is the case for fans of American musician Bruce Springsteen:

> Springsteen fans form a community; they share a sense of identity, which is reaffirmed by going to the shows, by taking advantage of opportunities to socialize with other members of the tribe, sometimes to meet up with people who are otherwise contacted only online (Cavichi 1998:164–165).

According to industry coverage (Empire 2020; Havens 2020), performer Billie Eilish set a high standard for virtual concert performance with her performance of *Where Do We Go? The Livestream*. This experience established "place" by creating multiple rooms where fans could interact, and virtual shopping experiences for merchandise. Furthermore, Eilish

used technology to interact with her fans and create a community that exceeded what is possible in a traditional venue, and five hundred pre-selected fans were able to interact with her prior to and during the concert. This experience created a sense of space that was intimate and (virtually) interactive. The band Underoath studied other bands' livestreams before designing their own. What in a live show would have been stage management became designing the space being used for the performance, to foster a sense of intimacy – of being in the room with the musicians, as opposed to looking at a concert stage, according to FMM's Nichols. From a more theoretical perspective, we see this as a current and possibly continuing dimension of "place" when it comes to live music consumption.

While elements of a music venue are constructed to contribute to the authenticity of a live show (Carah et al. 2020; Robinson and Spacklen 2019; Moore 2007), the innovations used to create a virtual experience for fans during the pandemic may contribute to what constitutes authenticity of live performance in a virtual world. We find parallels to this in authenticity literature, where some researchers point to the necessity of physical, historical structures for conveying authenticity (Alberts and Hazen 2010; Rössler 2008), while others assert that authenticity in music can be found instead in its intangibles, such as tradition (Knox 2008), symbolism (Shusterman 1999), and lyrics (Cheyne and Binder 2010). Even outside the parameters of livestreaming during the pandemic, there are similar findings by researchers about innovations in technology used to enhance recordings for the benefit of consumers (Zagorski-Thomas 2010) and the changing nature of "place" in music authenticity (Stanton and Schofield 2021).

Future of the Touring Industry

As the live music business enters a post-pandemic world, it will include elements of pre-pandemic days as well as necessary changes. These changes, whether minor (e.g., requiring event attendees to provide proof of vaccination (Smith 2020)) or major, could help the live music industry climb out of the hole it was thrown into. To understand these changes, we can take cues from adaptations made during the pandemic, and from our knowledge of music consumers.

The single most important pivot from the perspectives of the music fan and artist is the reliance on livestream concerts. Livestream music has been around for a long time, even as early as the late 1990s (Carrell 1999), but it was brought to prominence during 2020 due to the shutdown of in-person concerts. FMM's Nichols indicates that he sees Americans' comfort with livestream events as an opportunity to increase the reach of future in-person tours, where only about five percent of an artist's fan base is traditionally reached. With the attention being paid to the technological innovation of livestreaming, and the evolutionary

nature of what constitutes authenticity in music venues as discussed above, post-pandemic music consumption may include a stronger livestream element.

Fully emerging from the pandemic will take some time. Independent music venue operators overseeing small to mid-sized clubs need several months of lead time to re-open and will not be able to operate profitably on a limited capacity basis (Munslow 2020). As a result, artists might have to play more shows and charge a higher ticket price when returning to live concerts (Horan 2020), but how much should performers charge for a complementary livestream when in-person shows return (Willman and Aswd 2021)?

As we re-enter live concert spaces, there will be a massive shift in the ecology of performance, with technology playing a key role. As Behr et al. (2016) note, "one essential difference between listening to live performance and listening to recorded performance is that the former is spatially and temporally specific." As artists continue to experiment with new ways of connecting with their fans in a way to mimic live performance, is a virtual stream capable of evoking the same experience? While we believe consumers will be eager to get back to concerts and festivals, and continue to believe live events is an attractive market with a number of demand- and supply-side tailwinds, we expect the growth of livestreaming to be more complementary than cannibalistic to the industry, as this will likely be the "new normal" for quite some time.

Additionally, artists have begun to partner with gaming platforms such as Fortnight, Minecraft and Twitch. The global gaming industry generated over $150 billion in sales in 2019 (Morgan Stanley 2020) and continues to see growth during the pandemic. Travis Scott reportedly earned over $20 million gross for his performance on Fortnight (Brown 2020). If artists with large followings start thinking about those platforms not just as revenue-generating alternatives to live concerts but as a way to reimagine the very idea of what a concert is, this could be another large source of revenue. A potential way to continue to use livestreaming components once venues re-open is to gamify the virtual experience to further engage with an audience. As Danielsen and Helseth (2016) found, audience experience is enhanced by visuals, as long as they are consistent with the auditory elements.

Technology can help provide a safe experience for artists, fans, and staff, allowing opportunities for additional revenue for the promoter and artist, both virtually and in-person. For AEG, the main focus on the return to live music is to make as much of the experience as "contactless" as possible (Hissong 2020a) through elements such as mobile device tickets and in-venue purchases for concessions and merchandise, a key source of revenue. As we think about what it may look like to hold concerts in venues once again, there are some harsh realities that must be considered. The deal structure

between the artist and promoter may need to change in order to spread some of the risk to the artist. The traditional deals that were standard in the live industry, such as the guarantee versus a percentage deal of having the artist earning eighty percent to ninety-five percent of net income alongside a guarantee or minimum fee, may need to change. Live Nation in particular is attempting to have the artist share in some of the risk of putting on festivals when they return and incorporate livestreaming as a required component of their performance agreement. In a memo that was sent to all the major booking agencies, Live Nation noted that artist guarantees would be adjusted downward by as much as twenty percent; artists would be required to stream their festival performance online; if an artist's performance is cancelled because of an event of force majeure (including a pandemic) the promoter will not pay the artist; and if the artist cancels their agreement and is found in breach of contract, they will be liable to pay the promoter double their agreed-upon fee (Hissong 2020b). Clearly the stakes are higher than they have ever been before for both artists and promoters. Jay Marciana, CEO of AEG, noted the incongruence of concerts with social distancing, as quoted by Hissong:

> The concert business doesn't function well in a socially distanced manner. "We built an industry based upon selling out. . . . The first fifty percent of the tickets pay for expenses like the stagehands and the marketing, the ushers, and the rest and the venue, and the other fifty percent is shared between the artists and the promoter – so, if all you're going to sell is fifty percent of tickets, nobody's making any money. Selling eighty-five percent of tickets is roughly the break-even" (Hissong 2020a).
>
> In venues like arenas, it's simply not cost-effective to go through the expense of producing a show that can only sell fifty percent of the seats; in clubs and smaller theaters, AEG expects a "gradual ease" back into things, with some reduced-capacity shows (ibid.).

Clearly the economics of producing a show at limited capacity significantly reduces the amount of income generated. The lower profit margin would therefore be felt by the consumer as ticket prices are raised to cover expenses. Furthermore, would an artist who regularly sold out arenas before the pandemic want to play to a half-sold room in order to abide by social distancing guidelines? How does attending a concert in a half-empty room affect the experience? Additionally, for the artist and agent, trying to book a tour before the pandemic was already a complicated process of searching for venue availability along a particular route. As venues reopen on different timelines, trying to book a successful tour might not be financially feasible as artists try to patch together shows in cities where they are able to play. This, in combination with the proposed fee reductions for artists, could lead to them having to perform more shows in order to try and achieve their pre-pandemic revenue.

Consumer Perspective

Given the growth of livestreaming and its potential in a post-pandemic U.S., the authors conducted a web-based survey exploring the perception of live music and livestream by contemporary music consumers.

Methodology

Qualtrics software was used to create a brief web-based survey that was distributed using snowball sampling through social media and via email, and analysis was conducted using SPSS Version 22. Respondents were asked to answer basic questions about their perceptions of livestream music, their likelihood to view as well as pay for livestream music, and about their engagement with livestream music before and during the pandemic, as well as their views related to appreciation for live music. Age, gender, and preferred genre were also gathered from respondents. The survey was clicked on by three hundred one respondents, of which thirty-two were removed for having submitted incomplete data, yielding two hundred sixty-nine usable cases. Of these cases, each of the recognized generational categories were represented; forty-five self-reported as being born between 1946 and 1965 (baby boomers); eighty-two between 1965 and 1980 (Generation-X); sixty-nine between 1981 and 1996 (Generation Y/Millennials); sixty-eight after 1996 (Generation Z); two before 1946; and one respondent did not answer this question. Self-reported gender was fairly evenly distributed with a hundred twenty-five males, a hundred thirty-nine females, three non-binary/third gender, and two respondents who selected "prefer not to respond."

Findings

Supporting the opinion of FMM President Randy Nichols, participants in the survey indicated that the pandemic has increased the comfort level of viewing a livestream event. Seventy-four (twenty-eight percent) of two hundred sixty-nine participants self-reported that they had not viewed a livestream event prior to the pandemic; however, a hundred sixty-five (sixty-one percent) reported that they viewed such an event during the pandemic. Accessibility of livestream shows in the future may be aided by industry participants, such as a recently launched subscription service by the website Bandsintown.com (Willman 2021).

The question remains whether American music consumers will be willing to pay for livestream music, even if it is because there are no nearby venues during a tour. When survey respondents were asked whether they were just as likely to view a livestream of their favorite musician as they would be to go to a live show, the results using a six-point Likert-type scale yielded a distribution close to normal, with fifty-five percent agreeing, and forty-seven percent disagreeing (n=269; 3.63 mean / 1.5 standard deviation). However,

when the same respondents were asked whether they would be just as likely to pay for a livestream of their favorite musician as they would to attend a live show, the distribution skewed toward disagree (less likely to pay), with only thirty-five percent agreeing, and sixty-five percent disagreeing (n=269; 2.91 mean / 1.47 standard deviation).

Anecdotally, there has been a general belief that younger generations might be more inclined to view a livestream event, likely because there is a general consensus and some potentially supportive data, that millennials are at the heart of the live music industry (Miles 2018). However, one cannot assume that just because younger music consumers are associated with live music that there is a similar indication of perceptions of live music and livestreams during the pandemic.

Looking at statistically significant differences between baby boomers born before 1965 and younger generations we found some interesting results. First, baby boomers reported they were more likely to view a livestream of their favorite musicians than were millennials (mean of 3.83 vs. 3.28 on a six-point Likert-type scale; $p < .05$). The data also indicate statistically significant differences when answering a question about how much they miss live music, with baby boomers reporting they miss it more than respondents from both Generation X (mean of 4.83 vs. 4.68; $p < .05$) and Generation Z (4.83 vs. 4.4; $p < .05$). Furthermore, a multiple regression analysis, where the dependent variable is "I am just as likely to pay for a livestream of my favorite musician as I am to pay for their live show" revealed only two statistically significant independent variables: *likelihood to view a livestream* and *age group*, where the coefficient of age group indicated that older age groups were more likely to pay for a livestream (Model $R^2 = .49$; $p < .001$) than lower age groups.

We believe our results can be attributed to two basic lines of reasoning. First, older generations may have more disposable income and/or equity and were therefore more likely to pay for a livestream during the pandemic. Second, the increasing accessibility of livestreams may have been a novel experience during the pandemic. Novelty of livestreaming is an area that is ripe for future research, with opportunities for data collection and assessment as the live music industry recovers from the pandemic. It is important to note that just because respondents answered questions about their perceptions during the pandemic doesn't necessarily indicate that these perceptions will carry forward to a post-pandemic environment. It does, however, indicate that there may be an opportunity to target an older audience differently from a younger audience, in particular through re-enchantment of live music.

Two important elements of music consumers will be of great importance to how the live music industry returns: contemporary consumers' engagement with music, and a theory

that consumer behaviorists have borrowed from psychology – psychological reactance. As we consider these two important elements, we find that the post-pandemic live music industry presents an opportunity for encouraging re-enchantment of music for live music attendees.

Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham (2007) explored the ways in which consumers used music, initially indicating that "social use" was a background use of music. However, Barretta (2014) found evidence that social use of music was a primary, not background use, meaning that contemporary society uses music as a tool of social interaction, not just something that exists in the background of our everyday lives. COVID-19 appeared during music's increasing use as a social tool. Live music venues are clearly places where consumers engage in the social use of music, planning outings around a live music event – be it for a one-night symphony concert or a three-day music festival. Before the pandemic, when live music opportunities were all around us, music consumers had freedom of choice to experience live music of many genres in all types of venues. What happens when this freedom of choice is taken away?

According to psychological reactance, threats to a person's freedom, in this case freedom to attend a live music event, will cause a desire to reassert that freedom through action; furthermore, the more the freedom is denied, the greater the overreaction (Clee and Wicklund 1980). In the case of having limited substitutes for in-person live music consumption, which is the state caused by the pandemic, re-opening of venues, and eventually festivals, will empower the live music industry to indulge music consumers' reaction to having lost their freedoms of choice to view live music.

The overall societal state we find ourselves in also gives some direction for how to encourage a return to live music; we can take cues from how researchers have treated music in the contemporary view of consumers living in our postmodern condition. A very important element of understanding contemporary consumers and music is described by Garcia (2011:270) as having "the ability to re-enchant the world again, repeatedly against the threat of mechanization of human life on earth." While Garcia used this description to describe the power of music and poetry to overcome the disenchantment of life as written about by Max Weber, other researchers have focused on the power of music to capture the re-enchantment of human lives, as addressed by Firat and Venkatesh (1995). For example, Leaver and Schmidt (2010:121) write about the power of music to experience a "lasting sense of 'magic' and re-enchantment." Jennings (2010:82) writes of music spaces, "(w)hether they facilitate transformation of the world, or simply open a portal to a temporary escape, these realms are both popular and necessary in modern cultures." Similarly, particular to live music, Holt (2010) argues that the current "restructuring of the

economy of music is to a high degree related to factors beyond the music itself, especially the qualities of live experience, but also the social conditions of media and capitalism and postmodern narratives of self-realization through cultural consumption." Our assertion with this article is that live music can be one of those places provided to a society hungry for re-enchantment of the world as it emerges from the pandemic.

In this same light, using a theoretical foundation of psychological reactance, providing the opportunity for a return to live music experiences can be an opportunity for consumers to regain their freedom to experience live music performances, consistent with how freedom is defined by Clee and Wicklund (1980), while also using music as a source of re-enchantment, consistent with contemporary society.

Limitations and Future Research

Some of what is presented above contains prophetic statements based not only on existing theory, but on a state of society at the time of its writing that is quickly changing as the United States continues to find its way toward a post-pandemic state. The results of the primary research on music consumers is statistically sound, though is a cross-sectional study in a rapidly changing society. This yields a very interesting opportunity for future research to investigate longitudinal differences in public perception.

In addition to the questions raised in the *Future of The Touring Industry* section, other industry questions emerge that are ripe for future research. Will the proliferation of new agencies established by former employees of major agencies level the playing field and give independent artists more leverage? Will these new agencies be more artist-centric, or will they operate with the same ethos as larger organizations? We are beginning to see a potential redistribution of power and influence on the promoter side. Both independent artists and those with representation are dependent on the ecosystem of smaller independent venues and larger rooms. With the prolonged period of no revenue, many smaller venues have feared for their survival. A number of notable independent venues have had to close, including Boot and Saddle in Philadelphia, The Satellite in Los Angeles, and Great Scott in Boston, to name a few. With a diminishing environment for independent artists to cultivate a fan base, agents and promoters will find it difficult to groom artists into performers that can potentially sell out an arena. Marc Geiger, former William Morris Endeavor head of music and co-founder of Lollapalooza, started SaveLive in an attempt to bail out the struggling independent venues (Sisario 2020). This would seem like a positive step for independent artists and venues; however, will this consolidation of power in independent venues simply create another behemoth concert promoter that will limit the potential growth and scale of up-and-coming artists? These are the types of questions that will loom large as the post-pandemic music industry takes off.

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Afterword: Moving forward with Live Music Studies

Will Straw

If you had told me fifteen years ago that, by 2022, "live music studies" would have become one of the liveliest and fastest growing fields in the broader domain of popular music studies, I might have been skeptical. Students in the early 2000s came into our graduate programs wanting to write about the challenges and opportunities posed by downloading, or the survival struggles of small record labels, or the ways in which a Deleuzian cultural theory might help us understand the formal and affective dimensions of electronic dance music. While "live music" was cherished, it figured within academic writing principally as one among many components of the scenes or genre communities which were often the real focus of scholarly interest. The economics of live concerts, the logistics of touring, and the social relations shaping careers in live performance had come, by this point perhaps, to seem a little bit old-fashioned, even "rockist" as phenomena meriting study. It had become common, as well, to read regular diagnoses claiming that live performance was dying – stifled at the high end by the corporatization of live music within festivals and mega-events, and blocked at the low end by all those forces (like gentrification, touristification and changing leisure patterns) which had rendered the life of the small-scale live music venue precarious.[1]

This volume is one among many welcome signs of the vitality of research on live music. It would be a mistake to see this as a "continuing vitality," as if an interest in live music were somehow persisting against all the forces which might threaten to render it out of date. In fact, "live music" has only recently been constituted as a rich and coherent object of study, in ways which the collection of articles offered here make clear. As the piece by Paul Barretta, Jeff Apruzzese and Terry Tompkins shows, any sense that "live music" is somehow a residual phenomena in decline may be quickly discarded. Their contribution shows how revenues for the live music industries (like those for music publishing and recording) have increased quite remarkably in recent years. Although we might attribute the economic growth of live music to inflationary pressures pushing ticket prices higher, to a "spectacularization" of live music in enormous festivals, or to a "post-pandemic" bump in entertainment outside the home, we must acknowledge that live music is hardly just "lingering."

At the same time, live music has become a rich terrain of application for several of the most productive theoretical models to be found in contemporary cultural analysis. At least

four of these, I would suggest, have become part of the theoretical tool kit of live music studies, contributing in important ways to the ferment which marks the field. In what follows, I will sketch out these four models or sets of concerns, as a way of drawing out what I see as some of the most interesting and useful contributions of the articles brought together in this volume.

From a first conceptual field, that of performance studies, work on live music has taken conceptual models for interrogating the ways in which "liveness" functions within a variety of media forms. In the invocation of performance studies work here, we see a welcome clearing of well-entrenched debates. Old, simplistic distinctions between the live and the recorded have been overthrown; the need to deconstruct ideas of "liveness" as grounded in ideologies of authenticity and presence no longer feels so urgent or appropriate. These movements forward have given the study of live music a firm theoretical grounding from which to consider all the ways in which technological mediation functions in relation to live performance.

A second set of theoretical models and methodological orientations has come from studies of space and place. This has encouraged live music studies to study musical venues, not simply in relation to histories of musical style, but in terms of their positioning within processes of urban change. Samuel Lamontagne's article in this issue offers clear evidence of the ways in which music has been caught up in transformations bringing about (or challenging) the gentrification, reclamation, repurposing and decay of spaces within cities. His analysis of the recent history of electronic dance music events in Paris invites us to see such spaces in terms of those features which they share with the spaces of live, performed music – most notably, their vulnerability to gentrification and disappearance. One effect of the recent turn towards a spatial, city-focused analysis of music is that an older distinction between the spaces of live music and those of DJ-based performance has withered. Both are now recognized as spaces of "live music" – not simply in the ways their performativity is structured as events, involving human bodies in a single setting, but in their common struggle to survive in the face of economic and social forces.

Live music studies engage with space in ways which zoom outward, to consider the distribution of performance spaces across cities, or move inward, to look at the ways in which the restricted space of the small-scale concert is incorporated within the very substance of live performance. Loïc Riom's study of Sofar Sounds examines, at a level of micro detail, the ways in which artists adjust their performances to the characteristics of the atypical spaces (like offices) in which the company's concerts are held. In this adjustment, he suggests, musical performance refers to space in ways he calls "indexical," adapting to spatial environments through gestures which reveal a reflective engagement with their character.

While an attention to the spatiality of performance marks several of the articles in this volume, two pieces engage with notions of temporality in highly suggestive ways. Georgina Hughes invites us to see the live music tour as a kind of spatiality in motion over time. Its spatiality is akin to that of a laboratory, but it is over the course of a tour that new modes and relations of music-making are invented, tested, and incorporated (or rejected). In Ana Oliveira's study of independent music in Portugal, the temporality examined is not that of the tour but of the career as a whole. A lifetime in music is seen as a series of actions and experiences marked by the "adjustment and reduction of expectations" in relation to opportunities, broader contextual conditions and phases in a life cycle. The sustainability of a life in live musical performance, more than the viability of a given scene or style, here becomes the focus. (It is worth noting that Oliveira is alone in offering information on the actual earnings of live musicians. Despite its many advances, this collection mostly leaves intact the mystery which has long surrounded wages and income).

A fourth set of ideas and models invigorating live music studies comes from the study of media. It has long been a truism of live music studies that the performance of human bodies and analog instruments is inseparable from the technologies of sonic amplification and illumination (and electricity) which have provided some of the historical conditions of their possibility. To this sense of the inevitable *mediality* of live music, recent work, like that gathered here, engages with the *intermediality* of music's embeddedness within – or passage between – other expressive forms and platforms. Paula Guerra's insistence that live music is a "a multimodal experience," in which sounds, images, words and elements of the built environment collaborate in the elaboration of atmospheres, involves more than the opening up of music to consideration of its adornments. It invites us, as well, to think of musical performances, distributed through the spaces of cities, as gathering up particular configurations of the sensory and sensible, of images, forms and infrastructures – configurations whose comfortable unity or conflictual tension form a part of the affective economies of urban life.

In this engagement with the intermediality of live performance, unexpected new relationships are shown to have emerged. As Michael Spanu's comprehensive study of musical performance in Montreal shows, the past histories of such performance find their fullest archival accumulation on *YouTube*, in which the past is heavy and varied. Here, fan recordings made on phones sit alongside excerpts from professionally produced television programs, promotional concert footage supplied by artists or labels, and direct-to-YouTube performances supported by advertising or direct payment. Rather than simply gathering up the "after-lives" of live performance, YouTube serves as a repository in which we may encounter the various levels of intimacy, distance, professionalism and direct address which render live musical performance so varied and fragmentary.

I have sometimes felt that those who study live music should more actively seek out analogies and comparisons outside of music. In what ways is the organization of a concert tour like the administration of a sports team's season? In what ways is the mounting of a music festival like the planning of an academic conference or a political rally? What skills and experiences are transferable across these different categories of event, and what theoretical concepts are useful in providing an account of all of them? Gérôme Guibert's article here is particularly welcome for the ways in which it asks how participation in an on-line music event might be comparable to involvement in various kinds of on-line gaming? In what common ways does each propose a mediated sociability? Are the protocols by which participants hide behind avatars or pseudonymous identities in each case converging?

A variety of cases and examples are examined in the articles collected here, but the greatest strength of this collection, I suggest, is its demonstration of the many different ways in which live music may be studied. These ways include theoretical frameworks and disciplinary protocols, but they involve, as well, the contingencies of situations, both personal and world-historical. One of the most interesting methodological questions, raised in the contribution of Lucas Wink, has to do with the relationship between performing music and conducting ethnography during a pandemic. When both musical performance and its ethnographic observation are relegated to the Zoom session, this brings with it a "convenient window of possibilities." This convenience, Wink notes, must be balanced by recognition of what he calls the "abysmal asymmetries" of access to the technological and other resources required to sustain life during the COVID-19 crisis.

As I began writing this brief afterward, *Billboard* tantalized me with a headline – "Concert Industry Scrambles to Hire Skilled Workers Amid Labor Shortage."[2] Like most people, I suspect, I had not considered labor shortages in any scenario for the return of live music following the pandemic, though the shrinking availability of bar staff figured early in prognoses concerning the return of the night-club industries. The article's report laid bare the infrastructures on which the live music industry depended – the transportation companies, equipment supply firms, food provisioning services and others whose key role in live performance is only beginning to receive academic recognition.[3] My failure to anticipate such shortages was rooted in a long-term prejudice which presumed that there were always more people attempting to make money from live music than any market could handle. And, indeed, no one has spoken yet of a post-pandemic shortage of musicians – or of novelists or visual artists or actors. This moment, perhaps, is like any moment in the history of live music, marked by an abundance of people seeking to make it and an array of social forces standing in their way.

Notes

[1] See, for different versions of the "live music is dead" argument, J. G. C. Wise, "The Death of Live Music," *The Curator*, April 20, 2012, https://www.curatormagazine.com/joshcacopardo/10739/ and Jackson Weaver, "The middle-class musician may be a thing of the past, thanks to the pandemic," *CBC News*, May 11, 2021 https://www.cbc.ca/news/entertainment/middle-class-musician-1.5941796

[2] Steve Knopper, "Concert Industry Scrambles to Hire Skilled Workers Amid Labor Shortage," *Billboard*, March 7, 2022, https://www.billboard.com/pro/concerts-tours-labor-shortage-hiring-training-workers/

[3] See, for one recent example, Gabrielle Kielich. "Road Crews and the Everyday Life of Live Music" PhD Thesis, Department of Art History and Communications Studies, McGill University, May 25, 2021.

Book Reviews

Holt, Fabian. 2020. *Everyone Loves Live Music:* A Theory of Performance Institutions. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Sergio Pisfil

There is a reason why Fabian Holt's book cover doesn't include a photo of a stage taken from the audience, with cellphone screens in the air or hands forming a heart shape. These images are not only common in festivals and arena concerts, but they have become part of the live music mass-market consumer culture the book carefully examines. With a bit of a sarcastic title, *Everyone Loves Live Music* takes a step back from the excitement about the live music boom in recent years, to investigate the social and economic structures that have promoted and sustained it.

One of the main goals of the book is to show how the recent growth of live music practices can be better understood through the lens of Modernity and the commercial institutionalization of culture. While it is true that many scholars have previously identified the economic forces that operate behind the live music industries, Holt takes a broader perspective that allows him to describe a Global North phenomenon in which corporate power and anglophone pop music culture dominate the market. To trace and analyze this phenomenon, the author targets two domains of music cultures: the everyday urban life and the summer season. More precisely, he focuses on specific performance institutions within these two domains: the rock club and the music festival, respectively. Although the table of contents suggests a division of the book that puts an emphasis on these institutions, the book's content can be read in a different manner. On one hand – as discussed in the introductory chapters and the final one – the reader is confronted with theoretical reflections on the concept of "live music." Holt's interest in this topic is also explicitly foregrounded in the subtitle of the book: *A Theory of Performance Institutions.* On the other hand, one can find the application of those considerations through historical and ethnographic analyses on the two performance institutions mentioned above. In this review, I'll start by briefly commenting on these empirical chapters, and later, shift to the theoretical arguments the author makes to problematize how live music has been studied thus far. It should be noted that the book was written before the COVID-19 pandemic, so it does not engage with the consequences of the global health crisis on both the live music industries and the academic writing that resulted from it.

The empirical chapters on festivals and rock clubs stand as acute analysis of live performance institutions and should be considered essential reading for anyone interested in

live music research. Case studies in New York, Amsterdam, Brussels, and Copenhagen form the core of the club institution section. Clubs in New York are examined through the lens of gentrification, and clubs in Europe through the influence of public policies. Overall, these chapters show that the political and economic institutionalization of rock clubs in modern cities respond to market logics that have considerably homogenized live performance cultures. The goal is quite similar in the section about the festival institution. However, the focus is no longer on the parallel international development of live music cultures but on its symbolic significance in society. Drawing from anthropology and the sociology of events, this section engages with topics ranging from the historical revisionism of music festivals to the ways social media encourages (and effectively replicates) certain narratives of festival culture. It argues that corporate capitalism has played a substantial role in altering the historical significance of festivals in western societies. More precisely, it provides evidence demonstrating that these performance institutions are increasingly governed by big corporations that foreground monolithic views of culture represented by white middle-class audiences often designed for male consumption.

Overall, these empirical chapters illustrate the benefits of examining live music cultures outside anglophone countries to measure the impacts of global capitalism. They also show the great potential of multidisciplinarity in advancing more comprehensive understandings of performance institutions, even when some fields such as organizational sociology provide the main frame of reference to the study. The strength of the book, however, is not only about unveiling common traits of corporate ownership of rock clubs and festivals in the U.S. and Europe. It also provides insightful reflections on the live music discourse in both the industry and in academia. Let me now turn to these more carefully.

The starting point of Holt's analysis adopts the form of a psychological enquiry. He reminds the reader that the term "live music" was adopted by the media in the twenty-first century, seeking to overemphasize its positive connotations. The author shows this uncritical enthusiasm by drawing attention to how "the mere appearance of the term is believed to make a sentence meaningful" (Holt 2020:15). But, as he demonstrates, the term conceals specific market-related meanings narrowing the seemingly general scope of the term, notably excluding performance practices not grounded in processes of commercial institutionalization. In Holt's view, the "live music" discourse in academia has so far reproduced the same uncritical fascination and, as such, has only demonstrated its shortcomings as an analytical concept. In the context of cultural and social changes in Modernity, he argues, live music ought to be theorized within the conceptual frame of performance institutions.

Holt's reflections are helpful to understand certain trends in live music research in the late 2000s and early 2010s. However, I believe Holt's reservation about the possibility to

revise and improve the live music discourse within its own operational narratives (ibid.:21) needs to be complemented with a number of publications that critically engage with the same terminology. These include reflections on the new interest in live music research (Pisfil 2020), the lack of theoretical and methodological rigor in the field (van der Hoeven et al. 2021), and sexual violence at live music events (Hill, Hesmondhalgh and Megson 2020), to name a few. Additionally, various live music industry reports (many written by academics) have appeared across the world, some of which – utilizing the same live music discursive operations – draw similar conclusions in regard to the structural problems that live music institutions face in contemporary capitalist societies.

Live music is certainly not a neutral term, but it is not a static one either. To discard it as a conceptual tool would be denying the realities of a changing research field. This, however, does not mean that this culturally and economically loaded term should be always favored to study gigs and festivals. In Latin America, for instance, such a conceptual framework (the study of "música en vivo") has not gained academic visibility, and this has not undermined analysis of concert practices. Moreover, a focus on "performance institutions" may allow broader understandings of international developments than the ones encouraged by the hegemonic discourse of live music. A focus on institutionalized forms of culture, however, while explicating certain dimensions of music cultures, may also overlook certain dynamics of performance onstage, including live improvisation or other creative aspects of music performance. All in all, the new interest in live music may be considered, as the author suggests, as a late development in the longer history of performance culture (ibid.:21). Conversely, the focus on performance institutions could also be regarded as one of various approaches to examine live music.

At the end of the concluding chapter, the author asks whether the book is a product of its time. The question is raised within the framework of knowledge production in contemporary societies, and allows him to reflect on how the uncritical and uncontextualized live music discourse he deconstructs is tied to what he calls the "corporate institutionalization of the humanities" (ibid.). This is an important and necessary remark in a time when university policies favor productivity and publications in certain (indexed) journals, instead of encouraging projects critically engaging in theoretical and cultural production. It also allows Holt to expand his critique of live music theory to broader dynamics in modern societies and to thereby call attention to the ways research topics are constructed, as well as the very nature of academic institutions.

But there is another reason why this book can be understood as a product of its time. It appears in a moment that Chris Anderton and myself regard as the "consolidation of live music research" (Anderton and Pisfil 2022). Holt's interest in what is central and what is

peripheral in the study of live music (or, as he would probably frame it, his willingness to dissociate himself from that discourse altogether) is therefore a timely reflection at a moment when live music research needs more solid theoretical and methodological grounds. The number of fields (not all of which have been mentioned in this review) that adequately contribute to his analysis is already a valuable glimpse into the various approaches that still need further exploration. I think it is still difficult to determine what live music studies will look like in the future or what the main outcomes of this interdisciplinary field have been. It is not clear, for instance, if the study of music festivals and associated practices has more benefited from live music research than from festival studies, or what are the main points of interaction between these two fields. Live music is still a changing and evolving concept within music and cultural studies, and I suspect that, similarly to other wide-ranging terms such as "rock," its loose boundaries and uneasy associations with culture will need to be constantly revised. In any case, Fabian Holt has made a very important contribution to its refinement.

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Paula Guerra

Edited by Chris Anderton and Sergio Pisfil, this book appears at a crucial time in music studies: during a global pandemic that shook the music industry and its professionals, as well as its audiences (Gloor 2020). *Researching Live Music: Gigs, Tours, Concerts and Festivals* (Anderton and Pisfil 2022), is divided into four parts, with a total of seventeen thought-provoking chapters, in this emerging research field of live music. It is a book that has a multifaceted approach towards the music industry, covering various axes and current issues within multidimensional sectors, such as production, promotion, consumption, policies, ecologies, audiences, and financial and symbolic economies, among others. This book might well be an obligatory starting point for those who want to focus on live music research.

In the introduction, the authors reveal the long history of the study of live music as an object of interest. However, to this day, there are few researchers that consider live music as a disciplinary field of study of its own. Both from a theoretical and empirical perspective, the book attempts to critique and move away from this assessment, as evidenced in the following excerpt:

> In this growing list of publications, we can perhaps recognize the emergence of a new type of scholar–the "live music researcher" (…)– and the development of an interdisciplinary field of study, complete with dedicated research units such as POPLIVE (Netherlands), the Birmingham Live Music Project (UK), and the Live Music Exchange (UK) (each of which is represented in this book).[1] Live music is also increasingly the object of financial support and state intervention from both policy-makers and academia, focused initially on local and regional economic development. (Anderton and Pisfil 2022:3–4).

The projects listed in the above excerpt center the two geographical contexts where live music research is emphasized. Presenting and enunciating those contexts is determinant to understand the lack of attention given to live music in other European countries. In Portugal, for example, there is no project of this scale. Nevertheless, we can note the intention of the authors to go beyond the historical association, in which Howard Becker (1951) analyzed live music at the intersectional point of music scenes (Bennett and Peterson 2004) and youth subcultures (Bennett and Guerra 2021). This book is excellent in recognizing the major works that were done in the 1990s and early 2000s on live music

and the music scenes that gravitate around live music (Thornton 1996; Bennett 1997). It also resituates the emerging study of live music, which started in the mid-2000s and has strongly contributed to the consolidation of this topic as an area of research and study. This body of work includes that of Gina Arnold (2018), Chris Anderton (2019), Fabian Holt (2020), and others.

Indeed, the concept of "live music researcher" (Cloonan 2020), introduced by the authors, almost appears as an omnipresent entity in the book, to the extent that this "live music researcher" is portrayed as being a point of connection between public policies, policy-makers, events, territories, and other academic fields. Besides being a researcher who navigates a disciplinary area that combines several elements – from practical processes of creation to urban intervention, planning, and development (Cohen 2012) – we are facing a type of researcher who works on an ambiguous and transdisciplinary empirical object. Thus, another aspect to highlight in this book relates to the fact that the authors stay away from a romanticized vision of the relevance of studies on live music. On the contrary, Anderton and Pisfil (2022) present the difficulties involved in studies on this issue, namely from the point of view of its definition, empirical circumscription, and theoretical-methodological delineation. Additionally, they still manage to question modes of consumption and other social dynamics that surround live music, such as experiences, meanings (Frith 2007), modes and forms of resistance (Bennett and Guerra 2019), or music as an individual and collective identity expression (Guerra 2020a).

On another level, the COVID-19 pandemic has become a recurrent subject in almost every academic study that has been conducted in the last two years.[2] With regard to live music, perhaps, the main change concerns the central role that new technologies now play (Howard *et al.,* 2021; Guerra *et al.*, 2021). As Anderton and Pisfil (2022) argue, technologies have always imposed a pressure on live music events, on consumption and on the forms of music production and promotion, leading authors such as Auslander (1999) to state that new technologies have emerged to undermine the authenticity of live music. Although we understand Auslander's point of view – and keeping in mind the temporal context in which it was framed – we cannot fail to have some reservations, especially because after all, what does it mean to be authentic? (Anderton and Pisfil 2022:4–5). We should read that:

> Nevertheless, what becomes clear in the literature on authenticity is that definitions and understandings vary from genre to genre, and from audience to audience, so notions of liveness need to be contextualized rather than generalized (ibid.).

At the same time, Chris Anderton and Sergio Pisfil (2022) are very incisive in their approach, without ever closing or narrowing it down, stating that the very concept of

authenticity is also malleable and adaptable to each musical genre, the audiences, and the forms of consumption. Moreover, when we read the book, we cannot help but question to what extent the new technologies did not exacerbate the authenticity or the "symbolic role" (Anderton and Pisfil 2022:4) of live music during the pandemic. Perhaps this is a question yet to be explored. From a conceptual point of view, this is a very complete book because it deals with concepts that are usually discarded in the social sciences, namely in sociology, such as "musicking," "ecology," "performance," "staging," and "mediation" (Anderton and Pisfil 2022:5–6): concepts that are central to the foundation of the live music researcher, and determinant for the articulation between the four parts and the seventeen chapters that make up this book.

The first part of the book focuses on promotion and is made up of five chapters. Three of them are dedicated to the conceptualization and theoretical-empirical reflection around live music festivals. These include Steve Waksman chapter, "Festivals, Free and Unfree: Alex Cooley and the American Rock Festival"; Danny Hagan's chapter, "As Long as They Go Home Safe: The Voice of the Independent Music Festival Promoter"; and Patryk Galuszka's chapter, "Showcase Festivals as a Gateway to Foreign Markets." There is also a chapter on concerts and live music ecologies by Pat O'Grady, "Under the Cover of Darkness: Situating 'Covers Gigs' within Live Music Ecologies," and a final chapter titled "Disruption and Continuity: COVID-19, Live Music, and Cyclic Sociality" by Chris Anderton.

In the chapters on festivals, two axes seem to be highlighted: profit and economic power, and audiences. Considering this specific case, we can explicitly find in all of them what Cluley (2009) wrote about the centering of the figure of the music producer, because they are seen as enhancing features of live music and as elements of relevance within musical communities. When talking about music festivals, first of all, one tends to think about the audiences, ways of consumption (Guerra 2020b) or even environmental impacts (Luoma 2018), while often excluding modes of organization and productive cooperation between producers and other entities. Then, the status of music producer can be seen as a personal brand, something transversal to mainstream, underground or independent festivals. Furthermore, the economic sustainability of festivals, the impacts of festivals on the mental health of consumers and audiences or their democratization, are in line with what Hesmondhalgh (2008) wrote, regarding the fact that (live) music is a positive resource in the processes of identity construction and self-fabrication of the individual and collective self, themes that are evident in these works. These chapters focusing on live music festivals and their relationship with music promotion processes are – in our understanding – aligned with the factors that were behind the live music boom, emerging as a satellite theme to the economic importance of music at the heart of the creative and

artistic industries, an aspect that had a profound impact on the ways in which live music is (and was) experienced. The control of crowds becomes a constant (Ambrose 2001), as did corporate sponsorship (Haring 2005). The last two chapters of the first part of this book both relate to live music ecologies. As van der Hoeven and Hitters (2019) showed, both cover bands and the COVID-19 challenge meet the social and cultural values attributed to music ecologies. From the point of view of social values, both authors establish arguments that intersect with the feelings of belonging between social groups, an aspect that has a direct impact on the creation of networks, as well as on the fostering and dissemination of processes of production/promotion – and subsequent consumption – of music. In parallel, the involvement with the public is another hinge element in this book and in the approaches enunciated, especially because it extends beyond musical programming. In the case of cultural values, the creative processes carried out as a means of signifying identity are those that deserve greater emphasis, in the sense that they provide us with new forms of resistance and performance within the spectrum of live music (Klamer 2004).

Made up of four chapters, the second part of the book is dedicated to empirical and theoretical contributions about production processes. The first chapter is "Live Sound Matters" by Christopher James Dahlie, Jos Mulder, Sergio Pisfil and Nick Reeder; the second chapter, written by Glyn Davis, is titled "Mobile Spectacle: Es Devlin's *Pandemonium* Tour Design"; the third chapter, by Gabrielle Kielich, is called "Fulfilling the Hospitality Rider: Working Practices and Issues in a Tour's Supply Chain"; and the last chapter "Vocaloid Liveness? Hatsune Miku and the Live Production of Japanese Virtual Idol Concerts" is authored by Kimi Kärki. In a transversal way, it became possible to identify the preponderance of live music production, from a technical point of view, through technological advances, and because of the growing importance of live music within the music industry. Therefore, this framing of the importance of live sound is allied to the performance of live music.

In the first chapter on this second part of the book, "Live Sound Matters," the paradigmatic example of the Beatles and their live performances is provided, demonstrating the importance of the processes of assembling the infrastructures responsible for the transmission of sound that will consequently impact audiences from a symbolic and sentimental point of view. Indeed, this second part can be seen as an extension of the previous one, as it will be the case with the following ones, with a circular logic and interconnection of key points and empirical examples central to the understanding of live music as a disciplinary field.

It is relevant to mention the concept of "performance" and the plurality of approaches based on it throughout the chapters that make up the book, taking as a starting point Fabian Holt's research (2010). Holt states that although performance is something that

has been studied for decades, it has only recently begun to be the center of interest, as with live music, and perhaps this is why both fields are similar and twice as influential. This question of performance defines the focus of the third part of the book, aimed at consumption. Here, the central angle comes from social sciences, as topics such as the sociology of music, new technologies, authenticity, archives, and nostalgia are addressed. For Holt (2010), live music is a product of the broad social and cultural transformations of modernity (Witkowski 2015). We add that live music is also an enabler of transformations and changes in contemporary societies, and this is an idea that is strongly evident in this third part, as well as in the fourth and final part of the book. Thus, this third part has as its first chapter the contribution of Loïc Riom titled "Making Music Public: What Would a Sociology of Live Music Promotion Look Like?" which goes hand in hand with the second chapter, titled "Dead Stars Live: Exploring Holograms, Liveness, and Authenticity" written by Kenny Forbes. Still within the spectrum of issues that question authenticity are the third chapter by Andy Bennett titled "Live ... as You've Always Heard it Before: Classic Rock, Technology, and the Re-positioning of Authenticity in Live Music Performance" and the fourth chapter by Stephen Loy, titled "Approaching the Live from a Distance: The Unofficial Led Zeppelin Archive." For several decades, there have been numerous works that set out to study and understand the contexts in which live music is produced and consumed (Hoeven et al. 2020). All of these have directed us to a unique trajectory: understanding the future of live music. In this sense, the chapters from the third part bring us a little closer to that goal, as they present research works situated between the production and consumption of live music, in its most diverse aspects: vocals, research, archives, memory, technologies, and many others. In short, they give a sense of other typologies of live music ecologies (Hoeven et al. 2020).

Finally, the last part of the book focuses on the field of politics and decision-making. In this last part, we can find calls and reflections around music cities, tensions around live music, the connection between social movements such as feminism, festivals, and the live music video economy. This includes the contributions of Christina Ballico and Dave Carter ("Music Cities, or Cities of Music?") and Adam Behr ("State of Play: Tensions and Interventions in Live Music Policy)". In the spectrum of feminist movements, we find the input of Sarah Lahasky with her chapter "Por Más Músicas Mujeres en Vivo!: The Live Music Female Quota Law and its Implications for Argentine Music Festivals." The section concludes with the contribution of Gérôme Guibert, Michaël Spanu, and Catherine Rudent, "Beyond Live Shows: Regulation and Innovation in the French Live Music Video Economy." These chapters demonstrate the links between the live music industry and advanced economic systems, focusing on the industry at the heart of popular policy development. What was once considered a political challenge is now seen as a weapon, an asset, and a means of promoting change. In this last section, the power of music as a resource

and as a form of discourse becomes clear, as it gives rise to distinct social experiences (Turino 2008). Indeed, this section demonstrates the many connections between the city, social actors, and music, something that materializes in a logic of relationship and mutual influence. Nevertheless, what became possible to ascertain through the reading of the chapters in this section is that live music is a catalyst of connections, and the social transformative role of music in society is even more evident.

In short, we emphasize that this book asserts itself as a decisive contribution to live music studies, as it brings together perspectives and approaches that are also important in contemporary societies. Moreover, it is a book that profoundly encourages a process of self-reflection, something all the more evident when we think of the multitude of countries – and scientific areas – that still fail to acknowledge the pertinence of live music and "live music researchers" from a political, economic, cultural, social, historical, and symbolic point of view.

Notes

[1] POPLIVE is a large-scale research project on live music at the Erasmus University and the Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, in collaboration with the VNPF and MOJO Concerts. The project is funded by the NWO as part of the Topsector Creative Industries. Available at: https://www.poplive.nl/. The result of a collaboration between Aston University, Birmingham City University, and Newcastle University that is exploring the live music industry in Birmingham. The main goal is to inform the public, policymakers, and the different stakeholders involved with live music in the city about the impact of changes that are occurring at national and global levels, while promoting live music. Available at: https://livemusicresearch.org/birmingham-live-music-project/. The genesis of the Live Music Exchange was a comprehensive three-year study of the live music sector in the UK, undertaken by the University of Edinburgh and the University of Glasgow and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). Available at: http://livemusicexchange.org/about/.

[2] The fact that this book addresses other topics is like a breath of fresh air to scientific knowledge.

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Biographies

Jeff Apruzzese has over a decade of experience in the music industry and is a graduate of Berklee College of Music. Upon receiving his diploma, he became the bassist of Passion Pit (signed to Columbia Records) and was a member of the band for 8 years. During his time in Passion Pit, he toured the world extensively, performed at some of the largest festivals (Lollapalooza, Coachella, Summer Sonic, Austin City Limits, Glastonbury, Made in America), and played on some of the highest profile late night shows (Saturday Night Live, David Letterman, Kimmy Kimmel). He is the current Program Director/Assistant Professor in the Music Industry Program at Drexel University.

Paul G. Barretta received his Ph.D. in 2013 from University of Texas – Pan American (now UTRGV) with a specialization in Marketing. Prior to entering academia he spent 25 years in industry, primarily in the Music/Media/Entertainment Industry after having gained his BBA in Finance & Investements, and MBA in International Business from Baruch College - CUNY. He was a full-time faculty member at St. Bonaventure University for six years, five of which he was Marketing Department Chair. He moved to Wagner College in Fall 2019 and was recently named 2020-21 Robinson Family Fellow for Research.

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la Culture (2006). He co-founded *Volume! The French Journal of Popular Music Studies* and has published widely on the subjects of live music, French music scenes, music press and heavy metal music and culture. He has organized several scientific meetings including the 2019 fourth world biennial ISMMS (International Society for Metal Music Studies) conference in Nantes (France).

Fabian Holt (Ph.D. and Dr Phil Habil) is associate professor in the Department of Communication and Arts at Roskilde University, Denmark. He has published widely on the history and sociology of music and music festivals and is currently working on a book on the politics of community among teenagers and young adults, with a focus on the urban eco-socialist movement. Holt has held temporary positions at the University of Chicago and Humboldt University of Berlin, and he was a visiting scholar in the Department of Sociology and the Institute for Public Knowledge at New York University in spring 2022.

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