

Everyday Life and Energy Demand during UK Greenfield and Urban Music Festivals

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Abstract

Environmental sustainability at music festivals has been a focus of both academic and industry concern in recent years. However, work to improve sustainability, and address carbon emissions arising from energy demand at festivals, has predominantly focused upon the quantification of energy use at greenfield festivals and designing behaviour change interventions for festival organisers to implement. Rather than seeking to quantify the outcomes (energy use and carbon emissions) of what people do, I adopt a practice theory approach in order to open up new areas for consideration and ask questions about the composition of music festivals and the dynamics of their energy demand that have been under-addressed or overlooked in existing work. I adopt a multi-methods approach, comprising interviews with people involved in organising and running music festivals, observations of two greenfield and three urban music festivals and research into secondary sources on the history of greenfield music festivals.

I argue that everyday life at greenfield festivals is made up of varied, interconnected and dynamic social practices that have evolved through repeated performances both at and outside of festivals. I also demonstrate that materiality is central to the performance of these practices, arguing that it is crucial to understand the provisioning of materials as it sequences and recursively shapes the performance of everyday life practices. I also consider how the various material settings in which everyday life is enacted during music festivals also affects everyday life. Exploring how everyday life is lived during both UK greenfield and urban music festivals generates insights into how festival organisers attend to the energy demanding practices of festival-goers, resulting in disproportionate attention to the (un)sustainability of greenfield festivals. By investigating how energy use arises from the performance of everyday life practices, my research takes a step towards understanding the social embeddedness of the energy demand of music festivals. This indicates possible directions of change in the provision for and performances of practices at greenfield music festivals and points to the recursive relationships between different aspects of festival-goer and festival organiser provisioning and marketplace competition that are driving this change.

Declarations

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

I confirm that the word count does not exceed the maximum limit for a PhD thesis.

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Dedication

For my wife Niki and our children, Ewan, Robin and Brodie.

Also, for my brother-in-law Adam who was warm-hearted, kind-natured and a gentleman.

And for Elsie who was extraordinary.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Introduction

This thesis describes a study of the energy demand and sustainability of live music festivals from a practice theory perspective. The study is oriented around the everyday life practices that are performed during music festivals held in rural and urban areas in the UK. It considers the roles of festival-goers, festival organisers and their agents, materiality, temporality and spatiality in the making of energy demand at historical and contemporary festivals.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, I justify the focus of my study. Second, I define the terms and concepts central to my thesis. Third, I review the existing literature on music festivals, sustainability and energy demand. Fourth, I give a brief overview of what practice theory is and expound upon some of the concepts used in this thesis. Fifth, I lay out my approach to the study of music festivals and energy demand. Sixth, I present the thesis structure and summaries of the chapters in order to orient the reader to what follows. I conclude that a practice theory approach to the study of music festivals, sustainability and energy demand opens up areas of study that are largely unexplored in the literature on energy use and carbon emissions reduction at music festivals, and highlights the social embeddedness of music festivals and their energy demand.

2. Reasons for undertaking the study

Section 2 puts forward the case for studying energy demand, music festivals and everyday life. It situates the thesis in relation to broader challenges posed by climate change and provides a justification for the narrower focus of the thesis on music festivals and everyday life.

2.1 Energy demand

Anthropogenic climate change has a wide range of negative impacts on ecological systems across the globe, upon which human beings depend (Pörtner et al. 2022) and urgent action is being demanded to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The UK government is committed to reducing CO₂ emissions by at least 100 percent compared to 1990 levels by 2050 (Climate

Change Act 2008). If this is to be achieved, there need to be major shifts in three areas: how energy is produced (using sustainable methods of power generation, such as solar, wind and hydroelectric), in the energy intensity of technologies used to support human activity, and in the overall amount of energy that is demanded.

Researching energy demand is important because meeting the UK's emissions reduction targets through increased renewable energy production and energy efficiency improvements alone poses significant challenges (see e.g. Walker 2014: 53; Eyre et al 2018: 4; Shove 2018). At current levels, sustainable energy production cannot meet demand for energy services in the UK (National Grid; UK Government 2022: 1) and a reliance on variable sources of renewable energy, such as solar and wind, would pose challenges to meeting peak demands if current patterns, levels and expectations of use remain the same (Rinkinen et al. 2020: 49; Eyre et al. 2018: 4). This is not to suggest that renewable energy production is anything other than vital to meeting the UK government's carbon reduction goals. Rather, it is to argue that a renewable energy infrastructure, with large amounts of variable supply, requires some attention to be paid to issues of energy demand if it is to operate successfully (Eyre et al 2018: 2-3).

Technological innovations in the field of energy efficiency play a part in shaping the make-up of energy demand. However, a number of current concerns indicate that energy efficiency is only one of a raft of strategies necessary to ensure a long-term match-up between energy supply and energy demand. These concerns include the role of energy efficiency in embedding current norms of energy consumption (Shove 2018), the rebound effect (Rinkinen et al. 2020: 4), uneven access to and affordability of the most energy efficient technologies and uncertainties around future technological developments.

A focus on energy demand and energy demand reduction means situating carbon emissions in their social context. Energy is not simply used because it is supplied, it is also supplied because it is used. In other words, energy demand is co-produced. As social practices evolve to require more energy (such as using a hairdryer rather than letting hair dry naturally), they increase the demand for energy supply. As energy supply is increased, people are able to use more energy in their practices. As seen throughout this thesis, the doing of things can be shaped by the possibilities for enrolling energy in their performance and the energy intensity of the technologies that are used. However, without inquiring into the things that are being done, attention becomes focussed on instrumental solutions to problems that are inherently social.

Understanding what energy is used for is, therefore, a crucial step in learning how energy demand may be reduced (Shove and Walker 2014: 56).

In this thesis, I adopt a practice theoretical approach to explore the relationship between energy demand and everyday life practices performed during both greenfield (rural) and urban-based UK music festivals. My research considers a range of actors, including festival-goers, festival organisers and the agents of festival organisers. I do this by investigating: a) everyday life practices at historical greenfield music festivals, b) how materials come to be part of festival-goers' everyday life practices at greenfield festivals, c) how the materiality of practices affects how practices are performed and how practices enrol energy at greenfield festivals, and d) how the settings in which practices are performed help to (re)configure practice performances and the implications of this for the consideration of energy demand at greenfield and urban festivals. The focus on music festivals and energy demand and the adoption of specific concepts from practice theory allow me to make an original contribution to the wider literature on organised events and sustainability.

2.2 Music festivals

Why study energy demand in relation to music festivals in particular? The number of festivals and festival-goers has increased markedly in recent years. In 1974 it was estimated that, in the UK, 2 million people had attended a festival at some point in their life (Sandford and Reid 1974: 10) while Clarke (1980: 1) identified that 'at least 24' festivals took place in Britain in 1979. The early part of the 21st century saw rapid growth in the number of British music festivals (Webster and MacKay 2016: 4). Estimates for 2015, 2016 and 2017 are that 4 million people attended a music festival in each of these years (UK Music 2018 no pagination) and an estimated 500 festivals took place in 2007 (Bottrill et al. 2010: 6). An activity engaged in by millions of people each year in the UK seems worthy of study.

Research into the sustainability of organised events has burgeoned over the past two decades, as concern for environmental issues grows and governments and the events industry seek ways to mitigate the effects of anthropogenic climate change. As Mair and Laing (2012: 683) note, writing in relation to music festivals, there is 'increasing pressure on all sectors of society to be cognisant of the need for sustainability and, in particular, to encourage greater

environmental sustainability'. The music industry has taken up this concern, with initiatives such as Julie's Bicycle,¹ A Greener Festival² and Powerful Thinking³ advocating for change in music festivals and the music industry more generally. Sustainability at organised events is also receiving academic attention (see below). It is my hope to contribute a new perspective to the literature.

My thesis is concerned specifically with the energy demand of everyday life practices at music festivals. Studying energy demand related to music festivals is important because greenfield music festivals, in particular, are sometimes perceived as high energy demanding events (see Chapter 6) and research conducted by Julie's Bicycle indicates that UK music festivals emit approximately 84,000 t CO₂e per annum (Bottrill et al. 2007: 49). In the context of greenhouse gas emissions from various industrial sectors, these emissions levels are low. Nonetheless, the scale of the climate change problem requires action from all sectors of the economy:

The 60–80% reduction in emissions required by mid-century assumes that all parts of the economy take equal responsibility to lessen their emissions to this order of magnitude. The music industry's relatively low direct emissions must be counter-balanced by an arguably greater obligation on account of its greater societal influence and its higher public profile.

(Bottrill et al. 2007: 62)

As seen below, there are a number of approaches to reducing carbon emissions at greenfield music festivals, including making energy efficiency improvements, inducing behaviour change, greening the energy supply and reducing energy demand. My research has implications most directly for the last of these categories.

2.3 Everyday life practices and energy use

Of the 84,000 t CO₂e per annum that can be attributed to music festivals, an estimated 20,000 t CO₂e comes from festival generators (Bottrill et al. 2007: 49). However, there is no breakdown of what the energy produced by these generators is being used for. Generators are used to power stages, glamping areas, food providers and showers, among other things. Part of

¹ www.juliesbicycle.com

² www.agreenerfestival.com

³ www.powerful-thinking.org.uk

what I aim to do in this thesis is to shed light on at least some of the practices that this 20,000 t CO₂e is supporting and enabling. It is important, however, to look beyond this figure and consider how many everyday life practices (discussed conceptually in section 3.2 of this chapter) at both greenfield and urban music festivals are carried on without the enrolment of organiser provisioned energy.

The largest single source of carbon emissions associated with everyday life practices at greenfield music festivals is audience travel, which accounts for an estimated 57,000 t CO₂e or more than two-thirds of emissions (Bottrill et al. 2007: 49). Travel is also evidently a major part of everyday life outside festivals and contributes significantly to the UK's carbon emissions (Department for Transport 2021). Considering the relationship between audience travel and everyday life on greenfield festival sites reveals that transport, for festival-goers, is not just a means to get from home to festival and back again. Rather, transport is integral to facilitating the performance of everyday life practices in ways which both draw upon and are independent of festival generators. This issue is further explored in Chapter 4, while Chapter 6 considers how robust urban transport infrastructure and services interact with other robust urban infrastructures and places, influencing the performance of everyday life practices during urban festivals.

As is seen throughout this thesis, it is not simply the number of festivals and the number of festival-goers that is changing. Greenfield music festivals now offer a variety of experiences and services, many of which relate to everyday life, such as gourmet food, showers, 'posh' toilets with personal grooming facilities, and glamping (glamorous camping) (see Chapter 5). As Chapter 3 highlights, this is rather different from festivals that took place before the early-1990s. Investigating the emergence and persistence of greater levels of provision for everyday life at festivals offers an opportunity to better understand how energy demand is made differently in temporarily configured spaces.

During urban festivals, discussed in Chapter 6, everyday life practices are more likely to take place in more obdurately configured spaces, such as in festival-goers' own homes or the homes of friends, hotels, Airbnbs, pubs and restaurants. The differences between everyday life practice performances in temporarily configured greenfield festival spaces and the more permanent settings that often host everyday life practices at urban festivals opens up questions around what studying music festivals can tell us about the variety of ways in which everyday

life practices are performed in different settings, and even in the same setting with different materialities, and what impact these trends have on the energy demand of practice performances.

While urban music festivals utilise existing venues and facilities within cities, greenfield music festivals take place in spaces without permanent infrastructure. Each year, a festival site is constructed not only for the purposes of listening to music but also as a space in which to eat, drink, sleep, wash, socialise and more (during my research it became apparent that much that is interesting about energy demand at music festivals relates to such everyday life activities). These sites are then dismantled and the spaces are returned to their former state and use. It has been suggested that sites such as these might be used as places to experiment with more sustainable forms of living (Hitchings et al. 2018, discussed below). Taking this suggestion seriously, we need to know what happens in these settings in the first place. This raises a number of questions: How are festival-goers living at these festivals? What are they doing? What are they not doing? What might looking closely at these activities tell us about how life on makeshift sites compares to life in more permanent surroundings? And what can all of this tell us about how practices demand energy when performed in different settings?

3. Terminology

In order to proceed, it is necessary to be more precise in what I mean by the three terms, music festivals, everyday life and energy demand. In this section: first, I give definitions of festivals and music festivals from the academic literature and provide the definitions of greenfield and urban festivals adopted in this thesis; second, I present my understanding of everyday life practices and their role in this thesis; finally, I define energy demand and consider how it has been explored by practice theorists.

3.1 Defining music festivals

The term music festival is easily comprehended by most people, but definitions and typologies vary in the literature. The broader category of a festival may be understood variously as:

- (a) a sacred or profane time of celebration, marked by special observances; (b) the annual celebration of a notable person or event, or the harvest of an important product;

(c) a cultural event consisting of a series of performances of works in the fine arts, often devoted to a single artist or genre; (d) a fair; (e) generic gaiety, conviviality, cheerfulness’.

(Falassi 1987: 2)

Following Getz, a music festival is seen here as a form of planned (Getz 2005: 16) or organised event, distinguished by its focus on music (Getz 2005: 21). It is important to emphasise that music festivals have a music theme because, while this statement is tautological, it makes clear that a focus on music festivals does not include other types of festival, such as literary or food festivals, which may feature music as part of their programme but do not have music as a primary theme. Music festivals are ‘cultural events’ (Bowdin et al. 2012: 22-3) and ‘communal celebrations’ (Pegg and Patterson 2011: 86) that feature ‘a collection of live performances by individual artists or bands’ (Paleo and Wijnberg 2006: 51). A music festival features a larger number of acts than other music events, such as gigs or concerts, takes place ‘over one or more days and at recurring periods, [and] is packaged as a coherent whole’ (After Mintel International Group Limited quoted in Stone 2009: 205).

The definition of a music festival, noted above, subsumes considerable internal variation. Music festivals vary from single day, single venue events held in a pub or a village hall to so-called ‘mega-events’ (Bowdin 2012: 21-22), such as Glastonbury Festival. Music festivals may be distinguished by genre (e.g. pop, folk, jazz, choral), size (e.g. small, medium, large), location (e.g. urban, rural), venue (e.g. green fields, pubs, urban parks), duration (e.g. day-long, weekend-long, week-long, multi-week), level of artist professionalism (e.g. amateur, professional, mixed), economic model (e.g. commercial, free, charitable), reach (e.g. local, regional, international), target audience (e.g. teen, family, older festival-goers) and ethos (e.g. green/sustainable, grassroots, boutique) (Stone 2009: 220; Morey et al. 2014: 152; and Paleo and Wijnberg 2006: 55-58).

Within this thesis, two primary categories of festival are identified, greenfield and urban. This is similar to categories used by Webster and McKay, who identify three broad types of music festival: ‘greenfield events which predominantly programme music, often involving camping, open-air consumption and amplification; venue-based series of live music events linked by theme or genre, usually urban; and street-based urban carnival’ (Webster and McKay 2016: 4).

Similarly, one of the many ways Stone (2009) advances for identifying types of music festivals is between indoor and outdoor festivals. These distinctions are close to the one I make here. I distinguish between festivals that take place in rural environments (greenfield festivals) and urban environments (urban festivals)⁴. What, then, are the differences between greenfield and urban festivals?

Greenfield music festivals, as understood in this thesis, take place in rural settings, last for several days over a weekend in summer and provide spaces for the on-site accommodation of festival-goers on a consolidated festival site. They feature music as their primary form of entertainment, usually recur annually and exhibit a large degree of infrastructural impermanence, with greenfield festival sites being created in areas with no existing provision for music or everyday life. Examples of greenfield festivals in the UK include Glastonbury Festival, V-Festival and WOMAD. Greenfield festivals are the focus of Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Urban festivals, by contrast, take place in towns, cities and villages. They exhibit great variation in their duration, from a single day to several weeks, and tend not to accommodate festival-goers on the festival site. They too feature music as their primary form of entertainment and often recur annually, but exhibit a greater variety than greenfield festivals in terms of the composition of the festival site. Like greenfield festivals, some take place on consolidated sites and feature outdoor stages and temporary infrastructures. However, many are formed of discrete indoor venues spread across urban areas, connected by public spaces, and rely on the fixed infrastructures of the urban environment. Examples of urban festivals in the UK include Cheltenham Music Festival, London Jazz Festival and Parklife in Manchester. Chapter 6 considers further the distinction between greenfield and urban festivals and the importance of such a distinction for the study of music festivals and energy demand.

3.2 What is everyday life?

Everyday life and everyday life practices are central categories in this thesis. I not only study everyday life practices empirically but also explore practice theory concepts that contribute to deeper understanding of everyday life dynamics. As Warde (2016: 3) states in his book, *The*

⁴ Unlike, Webster and McKay, I exclude street-based carnivals from my research since such events usually have foci more central than music (see Section 5.1, above).

Practice of Eating, ‘practice theories have considerable affinity with sociological understandings of everyday life’.

In an attempt to understand dynamics of social interaction and shared cultural rituals, sociologists have looked at everyday life in dialogue with multiple theoretical traditions. De Certeau (1988 [1984]), for example, has studied the relationship between spatiality and practices, such as walking in the city, in an attempt to arrive at ‘a theory of everyday practices, of lived space, of the disquieting familiarity of the city’ (de Certeau 1988 [1984]: 96). Another example is Stebbins (2009), who has provided insight into leisure activities, conceptualising three types of leisure (serious, casual and project-based leisure) as a means of bringing theoretical and empirical rigour to bear on the performance of leisure activities performed with different degrees of commitment, reward and perceived value (Stebbins 1997). Deepening understandings of how everyday life proceeds has thus been a long-standing focus for some sociologists.

This is equally true for those engaging with practice theory. Reckwitz (2002) argues that the practice turn in the social sciences is linked to an interest in the everyday. Indeed, as Hui (2014) highlights, empirical work in practice theory has largely been concerned with everyday life. For example, the work of Shove and colleagues (2012) on the dynamics of social practices addresses the question of how everyday life changes, making use of multiple examples of everyday life throughout their book, including driving, skateboarding and storing food, to theorise how practices change over time.

Southerton (2012: 337) is not interested in change but in the routines and coordination of everyday life, considering for example how ‘the terms “habit” and “routine” capture the performance of everyday forms of action that appear to exhibit, in various combinations, shared cultural conventions and recurrent and non-reflexive behaviour.’ Spurling (2018) also explores the temporality of everyday life practices, but specifically in relation to materiality and the timing of energy demand. Technologies and infrastructures, she argues, play important roles in shaping social practice performances and structuring energy demand within the home. Technological and infrastructural changes are influential in shifting the timings of practice performances and energy demand, with implications for total energy consumption and the incorporation of renewable energy resources into practices. Doing laundry is another quintessentially everyday practice, which Mylan and Southerton (2017) look at another

quintessentially everyday life practice, doing laundry, alongside other chores such as cooking, in order to explore the relationship between practices and consumption.

Everyday life in such research is seen to be composed of social practices and is thus a shorthand for directing attention towards certain sites and activities. Following Strengers (2010: 7), everyday life practices are considered here as ‘a loosely bundled group of practices which are seemingly inconsequential, inconspicuous and mundane, but nonetheless essential to our day-to-day lives’. Accordingly, I see everyday life as synonymous with everyday life practices. Many of these practices are associated with biological necessities, such as the need for sleep, food and drink; others are performed as part of social and work routines. Examples of everyday life practices include sleeping, cooking, eating, drinking, washing, playing, shopping, socialising, exercising, telephoning, photocopying, surfing the internet and watching television.

This understanding is not a definitive statement on the composition of everyday life. Rather, it is my understanding of everyday life in the context of my analysis of music festivals. In different circumstances, other researchers would need to decide upon an appropriate understanding of everyday life for their research. Blue and colleagues explain why this might be so, in terms of social practice research.

There are different ways of delimiting “a” practice ... For example, some might consider smoking as part of other more encompassing practices such as “working”, or “going out” or “taking a break”. Others might treat each of the actions of which smoking is made (for example, rolling, lighting and inhaling) as separate practices, consequently viewing smoking as a complex or bundle of practices. Different routes make sense depending on the purpose of the enquiry and the analytic strategy that follows.

(Blue et al. 2014: 39)

My use of the term everyday life practices is more encompassing than rolling a cigarette, however, the level at which I consider something to be a practice is necessarily somewhat variable. If we are explicit about whether an action is a practice or a bundle of practices, then we can usefully compare practices in different settings. Where it makes analytical sense to use one term rather than the other, I do so. It is also important to note that a practice can take

different forms; for example, showering can be understood as a form of washing. Where everyday life practices show a degree of variability, such as cooking on a hob or cooking on an open fire, I discuss such examples as variants of the more encompassing cooking practice. This allows me to understand how material variability affects practice performances and energy demand. I have tried to remain consistent in my use of the terms grouped here as everyday life practices.

The category of everyday life practices allows me to use practice theory as an approach to studying music festivals and opens up for discussion what festival-goers are actually doing, something which has proven insightful in previous studies (see, for example, Hitchings et al. 2018). This approach also allows me to analyse the differences between those practice performances that are most relevant in terms of energy demand. In Chapter 4, for example, I consider how washing practices are reconfigured at greenfield festivals by looking at how different variants of the practice, such as showering or washing with wet wipes, enrol different materials into their performances. The differences between the performances of these two variants of washing, as well as between washing practices at and outside of greenfield festivals, provide insights into how different settings and materialities affect practice performances and shape the energy demand of music festivals, as discussed further in Chapter 6.

3.3 Defining energy demand

Energy demand is defined here as energy consumption derived from the carrying on of human activity (Anable et al. 2014: 3). I mean by that, energy derived from the burning of fossil fuels (e.g. gas, coal, oil, fire wood) either in and as of themselves or in the form of the electricity they generate, and renewable forms of electricity generation, such as hydroelectric, solar and wind power, either used in and as of themselves or as a means of electricity generation. Saying that energy demand is consumption of energy derived from the carrying on of human activity, is slightly misleading, however, since not all demands for energy are met. When demand outstrips supply, such as during a power cut, energy demand is still there, but it goes unfulfilled and is not, therefore, associated with the carrying out of human activity. In this sense, energy demand is both quantifiable (that which is consumed in human activity) and abstract (that which could be used in human activity). When quantified, energy demand can be seen as a measurable outcome of human activity. However, in the abstract, energy demand can be seen

in terms of the potential, possible, likely or probable consumption of energy by particular activities. It is in this abstract sense that the term is used most often in this thesis.

In recent years, practice theorists have taken up the challenge of understanding the dynamics of energy demand (e.g. Shove and Walker 2014; Walker 2014; Shove et al. 2015; Spurling 2018; Hui et al. 2018). Practice theorists focus on social practices, which puts the question of what energy is for at the heart of research into energy demand. According to Walker (2014: 50), energy demand is ‘a secondary outcome of demands for energy services, which are in turn a consequence of how everyday practices are constituted and performed.’

A practice approach considers energy demand to be part of social practices, rather than external to them. As Shove and Walker (2014: 55, my emphasis) state, ‘energy is used not for its own sake but *as part of*, and in the course of, accomplishing social practices.’ For example, when a band plays at a music festival, they use amplifiers, P.A. systems, fold back speakers, instruments, lighting, mixing desks and so on, which all require energy to be functional. It is not that musicians want to demand a certain amount of energy but that the energy demanded by the devices they use cannot be separated from the performance of social practices. In other words, without (amplified) music being played, energy would not be used. It follows that if we want to understand the dynamics of energy demand at music festivals we need to better understand music festivals in terms of social practices.

4. Research into environmental sustainability at music festivals

Section 4 provides a summary of the literature on music festivals and sustainability, and music festivals and energy, before reflecting on and critiquing this literature and the role that my research can play in relation to it.

4.1 Music festivals and sustainability

Environmental sustainability at music festivals has also been the focus of recent academic research in, for example, events management, tourism studies and human geography. This research has been concerned with issues such as the impact of festivals on the local environment (e.g. Gibson and Wong 2011), reducing waste associated with music festivals (e.g. Henderson and Musgrave 2014) and their wider environmental impacts (e.g. Andersson

et al. 2013; Jones 2017; Bowdin et al. 2012). The aim of this research is to make festivals more sustainable, for example, by creating ways of assessing their environmental impacts, making sustainable events more popular and helping to increase environmental awareness among festival-goers (e.g. Bowdin 2012; Laing and Frost 2010; Mair and Laing 2012; O'Rourke et al. 2011).

Considerations of music festivals and sustainability are part of a broader literature on sustainable or green events. Laing and Frost (2010: 262) note that 'The term "green event" can be defined as an event that has a sustainability policy or incorporates sustainable practices into its management and operations.' As late as 2012, Mair and Laing pointed out that there was little research on environmental sustainability and organised events, even though the events industry has shown considerable levels of engagement with sustainability issues (Laing and Frost 2010). Despite subsequent research in this area (see below), more work is still needed into environmental sustainability and music festivals.

Much of the literature seeks to improve the sustainability credentials of green events or to encourage and find ways to increase the number of events that take sustainability issues seriously in their planning. Bowdin et al. (2012: 177) seek 'to provide an overview of those forces that have acted to push the industry down the pathway of Sustainable Development and the growth in sustainable events.' Such forces include government regulations on waste management, consumer pressure for more sustainable events and cost savings. The authors provide a case study of Glastonbury's 2008 environmental policy (Bowdin 2012: 178-81). This example includes policies on litter, sewage and wastewater management, managing the ecology of the festival site and communicating environmental messages to festival-goers. These are some of the diverse issues dealt with in practice by festival organisers as part of their environmental sustainability agenda.

Other research has been concerned with measuring the environmental impact of festivals in order to determine the success of festival sustainability policies, minimise the impact of festivals on the environment and identify areas in which specific festivals need to improve. Gibson and Wong (2011), for example, consider the environmental impact of rural festivals in Australia. The scope of their concern extends beyond music festivals to encompass rural festivals of any theme. Their research seeks to find standardised ways of measuring the environmental impact of festivals in order to mitigate their negative effects on local ecosystems

and the wider environment. As no standardised method exists for measuring the environmental impact of rural festivals, they suggest that a method of ecological footprinting could be used. Ecological footprinting:

measures the “load” imposed by a given population on the environment. The ecological footprint documents how much of the annual regenerative capacity of the biospheres (expressed in mutually exclusive hectares of biologically productive land) is required to renew the resource throughput of a defined population in a given year, with the prevailing technology and resource management of that year.

(Gibson and Wong 2011: 94)

This method, they argue, would allow ‘the various demands on the environment to be examined (e.g. food consumption, resource use, waste disposal and carbon dioxide emissions)’ (Gibson and Wong 2011: 94). They conclude that environmental impacts are an inevitable result of festivals but that much more could be done by organisers to minimise these impacts, while maintaining the popular appeal of their events.

Measuring the ecological footprint of festivals has also been applied to catering. Andersson et al. (2013) examine the impact of a vegetarian catering strategy on the ecological footprint of the Way Out West festival in Gothenburg, Sweden. The authors also explore how the strategy affected how much food was consumed at the festival and people’s perceptions of the festival’s environmental credentials. They found that offering exclusively vegetarian food improved perceptions of the festival, garnered positive media attention and reduced the festival’s ecological footprint by 40 percent. The ecological footprint per capita was, therefore, reduced to just over 10 percent higher than the Swedish average (Andersson et al. 2013: 233).⁵

The role of organisers has also been the focus of research that investigates the potential impacts of other initiatives designed to improve the sustainability of festivals. Henderson and Musgrave (2014), for example, consider how audience members can be encouraged to engage in more sustainable on-site behaviours. Their research focusses on the widespread practice of

⁵ It should be reiterated that ecological footprinting takes into account more than carbon emissions, as indicated in the above quote from Gibson and Wong. Additionally, ecological footprinting is not concerned with total energy demand since it is concerned with measuring the impact of energy use on the environment, making the source of energy just as important as the amount of energy used.

discarding tents at greenfield festivals. Their aim was to develop a framework based in social marketing that would allow festival organisers to design interventions to reduce the prevalence of the practice. They proposed that this framework might be used to inform festival-goers of alternative behaviours, such as hiring tents or camper vans, or encouraging festival-goers to take their tent home so that they can use it again or to donate tents so that they may be used by others, though they argue that more research is needed to determine the efficacy of such interventions.

The above-mentioned research focuses on what festival organisers can do to make their events more sustainable, be it through changing their own behaviour or that of festival-goers. Some authors, however, suggest that music festivals can play a role regarding sustainability that produces effects beyond the festival site. Hitchings et al. (2018) see music festivals as potential sites of experimentation at which to explore less resource-intensive ways of living.⁶ They seek to understand how festival-goers adapt to disruptions in their usual cleanliness routines and call for closer examination of the ‘lived festival experience’ (Hitchings et al. 2018: 497), in line with the aims of this thesis. The authors argue that festivals have increased the number of showering facilities based on assumptions about the preferences of younger festival-goers, who consume more water in their everyday lives outside festivals than other demographics (Hitchings et al. 2018: footnote 2, 511). These assumptions, it is said, ignore the influence of the cultural and physical surroundings on festival-goers’ practices. Where cleanliness infrastructure was lacking at festivals, Hitchings et al. found that many festival-goers easily and happily changed their washing habits for the duration of the festival they attended. Festival-goers chose different ways of washing based on the perceived norms of, and the fact that they were attending, a music festival. In the light of their data analysis, the authors conclude that:

a central focus for those wanting to encourage less resource consumptive cultures of cleanliness in everyday life should be on how social and infrastructural cues shape perceptions of social acceptability.

(Hitchings et al. 2018: 510)

⁶ That greenfield festivals are less resource intensive is highlighted by the stark difference in per capita per day water consumption at Glastonbury Festival (13.69 litres) compared to outside festivals (150 litres) (Hitchings et al. 2018: footnote 1, 511).

This quote highlights both the social embeddedness of sustainability and the role of infrastructure and material settings in shaping water consumption.

Other researchers posit that festivals can be used as hubs from which to disseminate information and promote positive environmental messages in order to engender change in environmental behaviours in wider society (e.g. O'Rourke et al. 2011; and Laing and Frost 2010). Mair and Laing (2012) argue that organisers' motivations are a key aspect in the communications of these messages. In their exploration of what motivates festival organisers to make their events more sustainable, they identify four key motivations: 1) the values of festival organisers and the ethos of festivals, 2) consumer demand for sustainable festivals, 3) a desire for competitive advantage, and 4) a desire to educate and inform festival-goers. The authors argue that the logical outcome of this last motivation, the adoption of an educational role, is a key function of any sustainable festival.

Education is also central to Jones's (2017) work on sustainable events management. Jones argues that, 'Events have the potential to be model examples of harmonious balance, human activity, resource use and environmental impact' (Jones 2017: 2). Her wide-ranging book covers many of the practical aspects of producing sustainable events, including such environment-related topics as energy use, transport, greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, waste and water. Jones promotes the principle of environmental stewardship:

At the heart of the concept of environmental stewardship is the idea that we are temporary custodians of the land on which our activities take place, and we are responsible for the resources consumed and waste streams created ... If an event occurs in a natural setting, you should ensure that no negative impacts arise from event activities. Take a conservative and responsible approach to managing resource consumption. To embrace environmental stewardship as a principle, ensure that waste creation is minimised and that there is responsible management of waste resources.

(Jones 2017: 9)

As the above passage suggests, Jones sees education and best practice as tools with which to improve the environmental sustainability of events.

Jones does not see sustainability solely in environmental terms. She adopts a three-part understanding of sustainability as environmental, economic and social, and takes a positive view of the concept's application to music festivals. However, Zifkos argues that sustainability at music festivals is more usually understood exclusively in environmental terms. He has sought to problematise the idea of sustainable festivals, calling for 'creative thinking on the nature of sustainability – when [it] is applied to a socially and culturally complex entity such as the festival' (Zifkos 2014: 7). Equating sustainability with environmental sustainability alone, he argues, privileges certain types of interventions, such as the introduction of new technologies that fail to address the economic and social dimensions of sustainability.

4.2 Music festivals and energy

The academic literature on energy use and music festivals is sparse (Fleming et al. 2014) and I found only one article that included reference to urban music festivals and energy use (Fleming et al. 2014). Most of the literature pertaining to greenfield festivals adopts a quantitative approach to energy use, seeking to measure and reduce carbon emissions associated with the operation of music festivals (e.g. Bottrill et al. 2007; Bottrill et al. 2010; Laing and Frost 2010; Fleming et al. 2014; and Marchini 2013). Work in this area is often instrumental, focussing on the practicalities of reducing carbon emissions resulting from energy use.

Industry-led initiatives, such as Julie's Bicycle, A Greener Festival and Powerful Thinking, have also provided good quality research into carbon emissions associated with music festivals and ways that energy consumption can be reduced. These include such approaches as inducing behaviour change by, for example, encouraging and incentivising the use of less carbon-intensive transport modes, and increasing energy efficiency by sourcing appropriately sized generators. The industry literature is well funded and has privileged access to data from a number of associated and member festivals. The main goal of this research is to contribute towards the reduction of GHG emissions, in order to meet internationally set and legally binding targets on CO₂ emissions reductions, intended to prevent anthropogenic climate change (Bottrill et al. 2007; Bottrill et al. 2010; Fleming et al. 2014).

Other work discusses techniques for calculating carbon emissions, such as online carbon calculators and hiring specialist consultants to produce tailored CO₂ estimates. Gibson and

Wong (2011) point out that it is difficult to make comparisons across festivals because of the multiplicity of methods used to assess emissions. They conclude that, in order to minimise the impact of carbon emissions, festivals need to do more than engage in initiatives such as carbon off-setting. However, their focus is broader than just music festivals, encompassing several different types of rural festivals.

A number of other papers that focus on carbon emissions reduction (e.g. Bottrill et al. 2007; and Bottrill et al. 2010) also have wider concerns than energy. These papers explore the carbon emissions from the whole music industry and not only on-site resource use at music festivals. This means that the most significant emitter of GHGs associated with music festivals, audience travel, is included within their purview. However, because the focus is on the music industry as a whole, less attention is dedicated to music festivals.

Approaching the subject from the perspective of event management, Jones (2017) is unique in looking at both GHG emissions and energy use in their specificity. Regarding energy, Jones is concerned with the temporariness–permanence continuum of power supplies and lists many renewable energy sources, such as:

- mobile solar
- wind power
- Hybrid Power Generators that store unused energy from an array of sources, ranging from diesel generators to solar power, in batteries to prevent energy waste
- hydrogen fuel cells, which ‘convert hydrogen and oxygen into water and create electricity in the process’ (Jones 2017: 133)
- kinetic energy from human powered sources, such as bicycle power; and
- biodiesel.

As with Jones’s treatment of sustainability issues, much of the focus is on the practicalities of providing energy at organised events, though energy efficiency is also a concern.

Jones also, briefly, broaches the distinction between temporary and mains-provided sources of energy, arguing that:

Running your event on mains power supply will probably be more cost-effective than using temporary generators. The GHGs from mains power will very likely be less than

from typical mobile generators running on diesel, but it may depend on the energy source of mains power in your country.

(Jones 2017: 129)

The relative environmental sustainability of mains power, then, is dependent upon the make-up of the energy supply network compared with the make-up of generators. Norway is given as an example of where it is most environmentally friendly to ensure that events, even greenfield events, have a connection to mains power supplies, because the mains energy supply is almost 100 percent hydroelectric and wind power. Mains power, it is pointed out, is so efficient that Øye Festival in Oslo managed to increase energy efficiency by 80 percent by moving to mains power (Jones 2017: 129). However, it is recognised that for most events this will not be possible. This illustrates the dominant focus on greenfield festivals, when music festivals become a focus of attention, to the exclusion of urban events.

Quantitative approaches have also been employed specifically to investigate electricity use, as opposed to carbon emissions, at music festivals. Fleming et al., for example, explore energy usage in terms of the draw on the electricity generators provided by festival organisers; that is, the electricity drawn on-site from the festival's own power supply. They describe energy use in three categories: that used by 'stages, traders and site infrastructure' (Fleming et al. 2014: 56). They propose three solutions for reducing electricity consumption, and thereby GHG emissions, at music festivals:

- energy efficiency improvements in the form of new technologies, particularly the replacement of incandescent with LED light bulbs, and appropriately sizing generators for particular events
- using forms of energy supply that are less carbon intensive, such as photovoltaic panels (PV) and batteries for smaller, more predictable systems, such as car park lighting, and biodiesel for larger systems, such as stages at large festivals; and
- reducing demand by, for example, switching off equipment that is not in use.

These three solutions promote energy efficiency, greening of the energy supply and demand management as the three pillars upon which carbon emissions reduction should be based. Fleming et al. (2014), then, acknowledge the importance of energy demand reduction for reducing carbon emissions at festivals, since energy efficiency improvements alone cannot

achieve the level of emissions reduction being sought. They also argue that the scale of energy demand at large festivals makes the greenest energy sources unsuitable. Energy demand is, therefore, a pivotal part of the carbon reduction equation.

Fleming et al. (2014) produced the only article that looks at energy use at urban festivals. The article drew upon 18 data sets encompassing energy consumption data gathered from six iterations of two outdoor urban festivals. These data sets were analysed together with 61 data sets gathered from 12 iterations of five greenfield festivals and no distinction was made in the analysis between data collected from greenfield and urban festivals (Fleming et al. 2014). The fact that data from urban festivals came exclusively from outdoor festivals highlights that the literature focusses on outdoor rather than indoor events.

4.3 Reflections on the literature

I now turn to reflect upon and critique the literature on greenfield festivals, sustainability and energy. This is because, as seen above, greenfield festivals predominate in the literature to the exclusion of urban events. In this section, I first I consider how instrumental and quantitative approaches to the subject leave room for qualitative research to shine light on how energy demand is made. Second, I look at how, among the multiplicity of approaches represented in the literature, much of the research engages with models of behaviour change that have a poor record in securing sustainable outcomes.

4.3.1 Instrumental and quantitative approaches

Existing approaches to studying energy usage at musical festivals provide valuable data and contribute to understanding patterns of energy use, CO₂ emissions and energy demand at music festivals. Such approaches are particularly useful to festival organisers wishing to hold sustainable events as they provide clear, actionable recommendations, often backed up by large quantities of data (for example, Jones 2017, Gibson and Wong 2011, Fleming et al. 2014). As seen above, recommendations include the use of sustainable energy supply technologies and energy efficiency improvements both of which, I argue, need to be supplemented by energy demand reduction in order to be of lasting utility.

Fleming et al. (2014) also consider demand management a necessary way of reducing the energy consumption of festival generators. However, because energy demand is only seen from the point of view of the draw on festival generators, the only demand management solution offered is to turn off equipment when not in use.

The adoption of quantitative approaches to studying energy demand, outlined above, point to what Jones (2017: 118) calls, ‘The old mantra of “without measurement you can’t manage”’. This highlights the link between quantitative methods and the management of events. Such approaches are concerned with energy supply systems and the specification of the technologies that organisers and their agents are providing and using. These approaches ‘have tended to treat demand as the almost inexorable result of ambitious engineers and their political and business allies’ (Trentmann and Carlsson-Hyslop 2017: 809).

Where qualitative data is sought by researchers investigating energy demand and music festivals, it is often secondary to quantitative analysis. Consequently, research into music festivals seems less concerned with what festival organisers and their agents do than with how they can be instrumental in the distribution and spread of sustainable technologies. Researchers are seemingly unconcerned with how energy consumption arises from festival-goers’ activities. Since what festival-goers are doing in sustaining everyday life activities is not within the researchers’ purview, this is appropriate to the goals of these studies. My research, meanwhile, reflects precisely this interest in what people do (and do not do) during music festivals.

The fact that the approaches adopted to studying energy use, CO₂ emissions and energy demand, in the literature review above, are focussed on statistical data related to carbon emissions and energy use from generators, highlights a gap in the literature on energy demand at music festivals. Such approaches provide an important but necessarily partial picture of the composition and making of this demand, stripping out much of the social context in which energy demand at music festivals is situated. This leaves space for research with a sociological focus to contribute its own, also necessarily partial, picture to the existing evidence base.

The existing literature does not investigate the underlying processes which create much of the demand for energy that they are measuring as consumption. Generators at festivals power not only musical performances but also, as we will see, a range of everyday life activities engaged in by festival-goers. Attempts to identify how festival organisers might change festival-goers’

behaviours shows recognition of the important role played by festival-goers in making events more sustainable. Considering how festival-goers' everyday lives demand energy during music festivals, and how this differs from their lives outside festivals and at other types of festival, provides a more complex picture of how energy demand is made than can be derived from quantitative measures alone.

4.3.2 The behaviour change model

The literature has something to tell us about how music festivals are sites at which everyday life transpires. For example, Jones's (2017) book is underscored by the premise that festivals can serve as examples of how everyday life can be more sustainable. Anderson et al. (2013) look at how festival organisers might provision differently, not in terms of energy generation but in terms of food, a staple material of festival-goers' everyday lives. Hitchings et al. (2018) discuss festivals as sites of experimentation due to the differences in how certain everyday life activities are carried on at festivals compared to the home. My thesis follows in the line of this literature in seeing festival sites as settings for more than just music. They are sites where everyday life transpires and can help us learn about and better understand not only life during festivals, but also life outside festivals and how this can be made more sustainable. My research seeks to do this in terms of energy demand.

Despite the variety of approaches identified in the literature, in relation to considerations of change in sustainability, a number of studies were found to engage with models of behaviour change. This type of approach, which focusses on change as a process within the individual, contrasts in important ways with the approach used in this thesis. Shove's (2010) work criticises theories of behaviour change, arguing that such approaches are conceptually limited and practically ineffective. She identifies three components of existing approaches to understanding societal change, which, she argues, are the basis for interventions that attempt to make society more sustainable: attitudes (A), beliefs (B) and choice (C), which she terms the ABC model. This model is recognisable in the approaches, outlined above, to understanding change, sustainability and energy use/carbon emissions reduction at music festivals. Several of the goals of behaviour change approaches identified by Shove are present in similar forms in the literature discussed above:

encouraging certain styles of purchasing (in which ‘green’ is the brand of choice); avoiding waste (turning off the tap when brushing teeth, switching off lights that are not required, recycling rubbish); promoting efficiency by adopting green technology (for instance, installing insulation, acquiring more efficient appliances); and occasional restraint (taking fewer nonbusiness flights, consuming a lower impact diet).

(Shove 2010: 1277)

The above strategies appear in Mair and Laing (2012), O’Rourke et al. (2011), Henderson and Musgrave (2014), Fleming et al. (2014), Jones et al. (2017) and Andersson et al. (2013), for example.

In addition to monitoring real-time electricity consumption at multiple festivals from 2009 to 2012, Fleming et al. (2014) conducted semi-structured interviews ‘with festival organizers, power providers and traders’ (Fleming et al. 2014: 56). Questions were put to interviewees regarding,

the size of the electricity supply requested; an inventory of what type of equipment was being used and its power rating; details of how long it was being used for; willingness to consider using more efficient equipment; willingness to use renewable energy with battery storage; and willingness to allow power providers to remotely manage their electrical load.

(Fleming et al. 2014: 56)

The goals of these questions are twofold: 1) to find out more about the technical aspects of electrical systems and equipment used by the interviewees in order to identify possible points of intervention in the technologies used at festivals and 2) to canvas the attitudes of festival organisers and assess their willingness to change their behaviour.

Bottrill et al. (2007: 64) also conducted an attitudinal survey in order to capture the attitudes of those in the music industry towards carbon emissions and climate change, what motivates their behaviours on these issues and how they think companies and the industry more generally should go about tackling the problem. As with Fleming et al., this data was then used to produce recommendations that festival organisers can follow in order to reduce the carbon footprint of

their event. One such recommendation is to find ‘incentive options for motivating ... change’ in audience travel modes (Bottrill et al. 2007: 65).

However, changing people’s behaviours is notoriously difficult and has had limited success (cf. Thaler and Sunstein 2008; Ariely 2009; and Southerton 2012, among others). Southerton (2012: 336) summarises the problem: ‘changing attitudes and values does not necessarily lead to a change in what people consume or, more importantly with respect to sustainability, the resource-intensity of their consumption.’ In the literature on behavioural approaches, the apparent disconnect between a person’s beliefs and the things they do is called ‘the value-action gap.’ Overcoming this gap is presented as a challenge for behaviour change initiatives.

However, preferences, beliefs and values are not the only factors that influence what people do and how they act (Shove 2010). As Spurling et al. (2013: 47) put it, ‘behaviour is just the tip of the iceberg and the effects of intervening in behaviour are correspondingly limited.’ We might instead consider that behaviour is not ‘the expression of an individual’s values and attitudes’, but rather ‘the observable expression of social phenomenon [sic] (socially shared tastes, meanings, knowledge and skills, and materials and infrastructure)’ (Spurling et al. 2013: 47). The solution to creating more sustainable behaviours, Spurling et al. suggest, is to replace the ABC model of behaviour change with one that examines ‘the socially embedded underpinning of behaviour’ (Spurling et al. 2013: 47). That is to say, to study social practices.

It seems, then, that pursuing sustainability at music festivals by trying to effect behaviour change among audiences, as suggest in the literature (particularly, Gibson and Wong 2011; O’Rourke et al. 2011; Laing and Frost 2010; and Mair and Laing 2012), is likely to have limited impacts without consideration of the social phenomena that underpin behaviour. I concede that working closely with enthusiastic and receptive festival organisers, using existing models of behaviour change, might well induce some changes in their behaviours. However, when festival organisers attempt to induce behaviour change among festival-goers by appealing principally to values and beliefs, the effect is potentially limited. This problem is magnified when appealing to festival-goers who see themselves as taking a holiday from their responsibilities, as is often the case at music festivals (Connelly et al. 2015). The complexities of what people do at dynamic, social events, such as music festivals, are unaccounted for in simplistic models of behaviour change, and are explored here in Chapters 4 and 5.

5. Social practice theory

I have made clear already that the key theoretical orientation for the thesis is social practice. In this section, I lay out some fundamentals of social practice theory and the concepts that I draw on in this thesis.

5.1 A focus on practices

Some elements of practice theory can be found in the works of Friedrich Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Judith Butler and Bruno Latour (Reckwitz 2002). Theorists who have explicitly worked to develop social practice theory include Theodore Schatzki, Andreas Reckwitz and Elizabeth Shove. Theories of practice share in common:

[the] belief that such phenomena as knowledge, meaning, human activity, science, power, language, social institutions, and historical transformation occur within and are aspects or components of the *field of practices*. The field of practices is the total nexus of interconnected human practices.

(Schatzki 2001: 2)

Subsuming phenomena that are traditional foci of the social sciences, such as knowledge, meaning and social institutions, into the realm of practices means that practice theorists do not see the social world primarily in terms of human agents or systemic structures. Indeed, according to Giddens' theory of structuration (1984), neither powerful systemic structures nor autonomous human agency are supreme in the conduct of social life. Rather, it is through the recursive relationship between structure and agency that social life is said to be constantly constructed and reproduced.

Since practice theorists are not concerned with understanding how systemic structures or individual agency affect the social world, they do not take these as their primary unit of analysis. As Giddens states:

The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time.

(Giddens 1984: 2)

In fact, all theories of practice take practices as the basic unit of analysis (Sedlačko 2017: 48). Following in this tradition, practices are my central concern in this thesis. This raises the question of how practices are to be conceptualised.

Reckwitz highlights that work in social practice theory equates practices with the German word *praktik*, meaning ‘a routinised type of behaviour,’ rather than *praxis*, meaning ‘the whole of human action (in contrast to theory and mere thinking)’ (Reckwitz 2002: 250). This understanding linked to *praktik* is the sense in which I am using the term. However, this is quite a general understanding of a practice and further specification of the concept is required. Since there are multiple definitions of the term practice, I now outline two sets of concepts that are central to my understanding of what a practice is: Shove’s (2012) three elements of practice and Schatzki’s distinction between practice-as-performance and practice-as-entity.

5.2 Three elements of practice

There are different understandings of what comprises a practice. Reckwitz (2002: 249), for example, sees practices as being composed of, ‘forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, “things” and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge’. Schatzki, meanwhile, sees practices as ‘the products of human activities, which can be individually analysed as an ontological site’ (Schatzki 2002: Preface). He describes practices variously as ‘collection[s]’, ‘array[s]’ or ‘bundle[s]’ (Schatzki 2002: xii; 71) of, ‘embodied, materially mediated’ (Schatzki 2002: 2), ‘doings/sayings, tasks and projects’ (Schatzki 2002: 73).

I have chosen to follow Shove et al. (2012) in considering practices to be comprised of three elements: meanings, materials and competences. These elements are integrated in the moment of doing by practitioners who act as carriers or hosts of the practice. Meaning is understood as ‘the social and symbolic significance of participation [in a practice] at any one moment’ (Shove 2012: 23). Of particular concern to this thesis are materials and, to a lesser extent, competences.

For Shove et al. (2012: 23), materials include ‘objects, infrastructures, tools, hardware and the body itself’. This contrasts with some other understandings of practice. For Schatzki (2002: 73), material arrangements are separate from practices, which are composed of ‘doings/sayings, tasks and projects’ (Schatzki 2002: 74). Schatzki considers that ‘social life ... inherently transpires as part of nexuses of practices and material arrangements’ (Schatzki 2010: 129). Practices and materiality, therefore, cannot help but exist in relation to each other – something that both Schatzki and Shove et al. take to be true. In Shove’s (2012) conceptual schema, however, materials are considered to be integral parts of social practices.

The third element, competence, is defined as ‘multiple forms of understanding and practical knowledgeability’ (Shove et al 2012: 23). This definition incorporates several of Reckwitz’s (2002: 249) elements of practices (‘forms of mental activities ... background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how ... and motivational knowledge’) into one category. Competences must be learned, and knowledge gained, by practitioners in order for them to successfully perform a social practice.

These three elements exist in relation to each other but, more than that, ‘they are mutually shaping’ (Shove et al. 2012: 32). This is key to understanding the dynamics of how practices change over time. Practices exist and evolve through the repeated combining of practice elements in moments of performance. The combining of the three elements is a complex process, as each element comprises multiple things. Shove and Pantzar (2005) use the example of Nordic walking to highlight the multiplicity of elements. In order to ‘do’ Nordic walking, they argue, materials, such as walking poles, hiking boots and paths, competences, such as using walking poles and negotiating trails, and meanings, such as the notions of walking for pleasure, having free time and enjoying nature, combine in different ways during different performances and in different contexts.

As combinations of elements change and are integrated in different ways by the carriers of the practice, so each performance is different from others. If enough performances change in a significant way, so the practice evolves. This points to a distinction between a performance of a practice and something else that changes, which is also a practice but is in some way more than a particular performance. This distinction, taken up below, is important in clarifying how I am conceiving of the practices under consideration in this thesis and in pinpointing exactly how I focus on each type of practice.

5.3 Practice-as-performance and practice-as-entity

According to Schatzki (1996), practices exist as both performances and entities. This understanding is also shared by Shove⁷ (2012), despite the above-mentioned difference in their conceptualisation of a practice. As Walker (2013: 186) states, ‘practice-as-performance refers to the recurrent enactment and reproduction of a practice by practitioners who sustain and carry it over space and time’. Practices exist as performances in the moment of doing, such as when a specific game of football is being played, with a set of meanings, materials and competences that make up football combining in particular ways at one moment in time and space.

Practices, however, exist not only in specific moments of performance but also as more than these individual moments. A practice-as-entity is ‘a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings’ (Schatzki 1996: 89). That is to say, practice entities persist not in but across space and time; not as performances but as something related to and derived from all moments of practice performance. As Hui (2013: 91) states, practice entities ‘consist of the performances of many people in diverse time-spaces ... The total set of these reproductions [of performances] makes up the practice-as-entity’. For example, football exists as an entity as a result of all performances of football, and cannot be understood solely in terms of one such performance.

In this thesis, I am concerned with both practice performances and practice entities. I do not, however, analyse individual performances of everyday life practices. Rather, I explore how the materiality of music festival settings, and other places where everyday life practices are performed during music festivals, affects and is affected by performances of those practices. I also consider the evolution of everyday life practice entities over time.

5.4 Other concepts drawn upon in this thesis

The 11 concepts introduced here (provisioning, self-provisioning, learning, infrastructure, devices, resources, prefiguration, settings, doing-places, doing-paths and anchors) are

⁷ The close relationship between Schatzki and Shove’s work means that the concepts they use are often compatible. This is evidenced later in my thesis when I draw upon Schatzki’s understanding of prefiguration and place, despite adopting Shove’s understanding of a practice.

discussed in more depth in the other chapters of the thesis. Each of them offers an alternative perspective to the findings of previous studies and, hence, contributes to a deeper understanding of the issues of energy demand and supply.

5.4.1 Provisioning and self-provisioning

Provisioning is used here to mean the act of making provision for a practice or a range of practices. While this can be done by anyone, here it is used to refer to an individual, a group of individuals or an organisation making material provision for practices performed by other people. Where a practitioner provides for their own practice performances, the term self-provisioning is used.

The everyday life practices discussed in my thesis are examples of integrative practices. Integrative practices ‘have their own organisation of rules, of non-rule types of normativity, and of goals and emotions and bodily involvements’ (May 2001: 16-7). Provisioning and self-provisioning are dispersed practices (Schatzki 2002: 88), which rely on integrative practices for their meanings, ends, rules and purposes. For example, an integrative everyday life practice specifies the sorts of provisioning that is done by the provisioning practice. The elements of the dispersed practice of provisioning cannot be established without the integrative practice to which they are linked.

The application of these concepts to the study of energy demand and supply allows us to study provisioning and self-provisioning as aspects of everyday life at music festival rather than as distinct integrative practices. This work seeks to build upon existing research by authors such as Warde, who argues that consumption bears some of the characteristics of a dispersed practice (2005: 150), Harries and Rettie (2016: 879-80), who regard certain types of walking as dispersed practices and Hui, who considers travelling as dispersed practice (2012: 198-99).

5.4.2 Learning

Learning is a necessary part of practices because practices cannot be performed successfully without some degree of knowledge of what the practice is and the acquisition of the skills necessary to perform it. Schatzki (2017: 26) defines learning as, ‘the transformation of people that accompanies their participation in practices ... the progression of any person’s learning

over time is the history of his or her participation in different practices.’ Acquiring the knowledge and skills to perform practices can happen as part of the performance of the practice or independently (Schatzki 2017), since many practices share a degree of commonality in the ways they are performed (Shove et al. 2012). Learning is, therefore, an integral part of how practices are performed and will figure in particular in how I examine how festival-goers provision for practices at greenfield festivals, in Chapter 4.

Applying the concept of learning to the performance of everyday life practices at music festivals highlights how these practices have changed and can change through repeated iterations of such events or interaction with others who possess such skills. Browne et al. (2019: 22) discuss this in relation to how festival-goers learn to adapt their washing practices through repeated performances at greenfield music festivals.

5.4.3 Infrastructure, devices and resources

Shove (2016) identifies three roles that materials play in the performance of practices: infrastructures, devices and resources. Infrastructures are things found in the background of practices. They are not directly engaged by practitioners but are nonetheless enrolled in practice performances. Examples include electricity networks, water pipes and gas mains. Unlike infrastructure, devices are directly engaged by practitioners. According to Shove (2016: 159), devices are ‘things in action ... that are visibly and actively used in the process of doing.’ Examples of devices include coffee cups, kettles and teaspoons. Resources are things that are ‘used up’ in the performance of practices or otherwise ‘consumed’ or ‘reconfigured’ (Shove 2016: 159-160), such as coffee, water, electricity or sugar. When a person makes and drinks a cup of coffee, the materials given in the above examples (alongside others), adopt the roles necessary to facilitate a successful performance of making and drinking coffee. Understanding these roles is useful in tracing how different configurations of infrastructures, devices and resources affect the performance of various social practices.

Using Shove’s conceptualisation of materials, as playing three roles in the performance of practices, contributes to a deeper understanding of how everyday life practices at music festivals are changed by the availability of all three: infrastructure, devices and resources. We can see that changing any one of these types of material will affect what practices are performed and how they are performed. Exploration of the recursive relationship between infrastructures

and practices has been taken up by Watson and Shove (2022) in their work on the introduction of central heating and by Wiig (2018) in his consideration of smartphone devices, communications infrastructures and the practices they both enable and support.

5.4.4 Prefiguration

Schatzki (2010: 140) describes prefiguration as ‘a qualification of possible paths of action on such registers as easy and hard, obvious and obscure, tiresome and invigorating, short and long, and so on.’ These qualifications arise from the state of the state of the social site at which an action is occurring (Schatzki 2002: 225), which for practice theorists is social practices. In practice terms, prefiguration is how practices shape the future without determining what that future may be, as the ‘social present shape[s] /influenc[es]/affect[s] the social future, above all, the nascent social future’ (Schatzki 2010: 140). Contemporary practices are prefigured in multifarious ways by past performances of those practices and the complex relations of practices to one another. Practices are also prefigured by the availability and characteristics of materials that are directly or indirectly enrolled in their performance and therefore prefiguration is important in how I engage with materiality in the thesis.

This concept is useful in helping us to understand how the performance of practices can be influenced by changing various factors in the environment, thus switching the focus of attention away from individual behaviour and towards the contexts in which practices are performed. The focus on prefiguration connects my research to the wealth of practice theory literature on materiality via the exploration of how everyday life practices are influenced by the materiality of festival and non-festival environments.

5.4.5 Settings, doing-places, doing-paths, anchors

Space may be thought of as an objective container in which things happen, but space is also social. ‘Doing-places’ (Hui and Walker 2018: 23) are defined by the activities that transpire within them; for example, one space might be a place to wash and another a place to sleep. These doing-places contain material *anchors* that support the performances that take place there, for example, a shower in a bathroom or a bed in a bedroom. A setting is formed when a number of doing-places and anchors exist in a defined proximity, such as a café, with doing-places for making coffee, drinking coffee, socialising and washing dishes, which are anchored

by coffee machines, tables and chairs and dishwashers (Hui and Walker 2018: 23). Settings do not stay the same. Since settings are given meaning by what goes on within them, when the practices performed within them change, so the doing-places and their materiality, and the settings are changed accordingly.

Like the concept of prefiguration, these four concepts move the unit of analysis in the study of everyday life at music festivals from the individual to the contexts of practice performances. An example of recent work that uses these concepts is Holmes' (2021) exploration of the constitution of space and geometries of power in urban energy demand.

I now consider how the theory and concepts outlined above might be applied to the study of music festivals.

6. A practice theory approach to the study of everyday life at music festivals

6.1 Studying music festivals using practice theory

The approaches used in the study of music festivals, and the focus of such studies, are linked to the disciplines of the researchers. For example, researchers in the field of event planning focus on issues of event planning at music festivals, because that is what their discipline prioritises. Hence, research into energy demand at music festivals, carried by the music industry and researchers in the field of sustainable development and energy, is concerned with planning, regulations, operational efficiency, economics and energy infrastructures and resources, without much concern for how the activities that they provision for, and which demand the energy used at festivals, are being done.

How, then, does a practice-based approach to the study of music festivals and energy demand, drawing on its foundational ideas and set of specific terms and concepts, differ from those adopted in the existing literature?

Practice theory analyses planning, regulations, economics, materials and so on as parts of the doing of activities. This focus shifts analysis away from designing interventions to induce behaviour change, or technical questions such as how generators might be made more efficient,

to questions such as: how might we better understand what the energy provided by generators is being used for? – how are materials involved in what people do? – and, how does the involvement of different materials affect what people do? This allows practice-oriented researchers, by investigating organiser practices, to examine how and for what existing infrastructure at music festivals is used, how interventions affect what is going on at music festivals and even how the process of making interventions itself is carried on.

To illustrate what a practice-based approach to studying music festivals looks like I have prepared a vignette (see Box 1), drawn from my field notes and experiences of two greenfield festivals, that helps to show what activities such an approach might find relevant to study and question. Further specific details about my methodology will follow in Chapter 2.

I wake up with the morning sun warming my tent after a cold night. The music, which continued until 4am for festival-goers who didn't want to sleep, started up again at 6am. I quickly rub a wet wipe under my arm pits, put on some deodorant and grab a handful of dry fruit and nuts for breakfast. When I leave my tent at 8am, I see dishevelled festival-goers huddled in duvets around fires that are alarmingly close to their tents. Some people are cooking breakfast on the fires, others are drinking cans of beer and cider and listening to music on portable stereos. Presumably, they haven't slept. Nothing seems to be stirring in the glamping⁸ area behind the fence next to my tent except for the diesel generator, which has been whirring away all night. I wonder what they do in their big wooden glamping units and why they need the generator.

As I head to the water point to brush my teeth, I see others, heads protruding from tent door flaps, brushing their teeth without the aid of the water points. Someone is sat on a camping chair under a gazebo reading a book. I could never have carried a gazebo with me on the buses I used to get here. I pass food vendors soaking up the breakfast trade and stalls with signs offering mobile phone charging and hair straightening. An early morning bin lorry, one of the few vehicles that roam the site, chugs past on one of the main thoroughfares as it heads towards the festival

⁸ Glamping is a portmanteau of glamorous and camping (OED n.d.). The term is used to distinguish camping experiences that are more luxurious than those ordinarily associated with camping.

Village, where the supermarket, posh toilets and showers are. The queues are small at this time of day.

The water point is a large metal platform with a metal trough and several taps hanging down. It is open to the elements and several people are brushing their teeth, occasionally glancing at the darkening sky. The entrance to the water point has been turned to mud. If it rains later it will turn into a mire. The same goes for the entrances to the Portaloos blocks. On the way back to my tent I stop and buy a coffee, made using a professional espresso machine of the sort you would find in a high street coffee shop. I pay with the £10 note I got from the mobile cash machine in the arena last night and ask the barista what time he opened this morning. He laughs, 'we're open 24 hours; for the whole festival'.

When I arrive back at my tent in the quiet camping area on the hill farthest from the arena, I turn and survey the panorama. The festival site is huge. I can see a city of tents and streets marked out by tall wooden poles hung with multicoloured lights. I notice that the floodlights that punctuate the boundary of the site are still on despite the sunshine. That reminds me, my torch, so useful last night in the gloomy light provided by the floodlights, is still in my pocket. In the distance, around two miles away, I can just about see the big top tents in the arena where the night before tens of thousands of people had gathered, smartphones and tablets held aloft, to record the headline act. Soon (perhaps not too soon in some cases) people will be waking up and going about their day; wash, breakfast, coffee, toilet, down to the supermarket for some beer and ready to face another day at the festival.

Box 1: Account of Leeds Festival 2016

This vignette highlights details and experiences that might be obvious to anyone who has attended a greenfield festival, but that are less commonly foregrounded in much of the literature on the sustainability of music festivals (although, as noted above, there are exceptions). The value of adopting a practice theory-based approach to the study of music festivals is that it leaves space to critically examine such experiences and focus upon what festival-goers are doing. It also highlights the extent to which festival life is about the continuing performance of

practices of everyday life. Festival-goers are, for example, sleeping, brushing teeth and eating breakfast at the festivals. The ordinariness of what happens on the morning of greenfield festivals (wake, wash, breakfast, brush teeth, read a book, listen to music with friends, go to the toilet, get a cup of coffee, shop, etc.), illustrates everyday life being carried on, in many ways, much as it would be outside the festival, though it may take different spatio-temporal forms. The mention of espresso machines, mobile phone charging and hair straightening points to the extent to which contemporary everyday life can be carried on in ways that are similar to life outside festivals.

The vignette in Box 1 also brings into focus how different the materiality of everyday life can be at greenfield festivals, as in the case of my washing with wet wipes, something that I do not routinely do outside festivals. Other practices see similar degrees of material reconfiguration. Cooking breakfast at home would rarely be performed using an open fire but being at a festival reconfigures the practice in significant ways, while still being recognisable. Such differences are tied to the extent to which everyday life at festivals relies on temporary infrastructures, such as water points, shower and toilet blocks and generators, that become part of festival-goers' practices. They also highlight the effects of separation from the materiality of the home that configure everyday life practices in what might be regarded as more mundane ways: in showering, water points are replaced by bathrooms; in cooking, fires are replaced by cookers, and in a range of practices, generators are replaced by mains electricity. These issues are taken up in Chapters 4 and 5.

The vignette, then, paints a picture of everyday life at greenfield festivals that cannot be understood solely in terms of how organisers manage the events nor deduced from calculations of carbon emissions. I suggest that attempts to understand the energy demand of music festivals should start from what people are doing rather than from the outcomes of those doings (i.e. energy use) or how events are managed. Practice theory lends itself to such a task by focussing on the practices from which energy demand results.

While conceptual and theoretical development were not included in the aims of my thesis (see Chapter 2), some findings may be relevant to the wider discipline of practice theory. For example, the temporariness of greenfield festival sites opens up the possibility to further develop spatial concepts from practice theory, such as settings and doing-places, which have as yet been applied to a narrow range of contexts. While concepts, such as the three elements

of practice have received much attention from practice theorists, my research demonstrates the value of working closely with these more spatial concepts. Temporary festival sites might also provide a backdrop against which to further understandings of how infrastructures prefigure practice performances. More is said on this in Chapter 7. I now turn to consider how a comparison of everyday life greenfield and urban music festivals can provide insight into the relationships between practice performances, materiality and energy demand.

6.2 Comparing everyday life at greenfield and urban music festivals

Studying everyday life at different types of music festivals provides opportunities to compare performances of social practices during events that are ostensibly similar but which incorporate different levels of temporary and permanent provision for practice performances. The different temporal and spatial features of different types of music festivals mean that everyday life practices are not part of urban festivals in the same way as they are part of greenfield festivals. The on-site performance of everyday life practices makes it intuitive that such practices are part of greenfield festivals. However, since urban festivals tend not to accommodate festival-goers overnight, and many practices are performed off site during and after the festival's hours of operation, everyday life during urban festivals is less visible. As such, it becomes less intuitive that these practices should be thought of as part of the festivals.

Examining the different infrastructures and provision that support performances of everyday life practices at greenfield and urban festivals highlights the role of organisers, materials and festival settings in shaping the energy demand of everyday life practices. As everyday life practices at greenfield festivals exhibit a greater degree of reconfiguration than during urban festivals (see particularly Chapters 4, 5 and 6), studying such festivals can also provide insight into flexibility and variability in particular practice performances. This contributes not only to our understanding of everyday life practices performed during music festivals but also their day-to-day performance in wider society. It also helps to contextualise the energy demand of everyday life practices of greenfield festivals and suggests the need to re-evaluate our understandings of the environmental impact of greenfield festivals.

7. Thesis structure and chapter contents

I now turn to outline the structure of the thesis and the content of each chapter.

Chapter 2: Aims, Research Questions and Methods

Chapter 2 presents the aim of the thesis along with the research questions, the methodological approach taken and the research design of the study. It outlines the data collection methods used; interviews, autoethnographic observations and the use of secondary sources. It also considers the merits and limitations of using these methods to study social practices. Additionally, the chapter reflects on the research process and identifies problems encountered with their application.

Chapter 3: The Evolution of Everyday Life at UK Greenfield Music Festivals

Chapter 3 considers how everyday life at greenfield music festivals has evolved over the course of festival history. It looks at how some aspects of everyday life have changed and how others retain a greater degree of similarity. I argue that exploring the history of everyday life practices at greenfield festival helps us to better understand everyday life at today's greenfield festivals. The chapter illustrates how performances of everyday life practices have evolved over the course of greenfield music festival history and provides the foundation for consideration of the materiality of everyday life practices that follows in Chapters 4 and 5. It also sets up the distinction between self-provisioning and organiser provisioning that structures those chapters.

Chapter 4: Self-provisioning: Devices, Resources and the Reconfiguration of Everyday Life Practices at Greenfield Music Festivals

Chapter 4 draws primarily upon autoethnographic research to begin considering how empty fields end up filled with materials that then make possible a wide range of everyday life practices. Self-provisioning materials affect the make-up of everyday life and performances of everyday life practices at greenfield festivals. The implications of this for energy demand are also explored. I investigate the role of devices and resources (Shove 2016) in shaping everyday life performances when practices are separated from routinely used infrastructures. I argue that separation from these infrastructures and the provision of devices and resources by festival-goers reconfigures the everyday life practices performed at greenfield festivals. This reconfiguration affects the patterns of energy demand of everyday life practices in various ways, depending on the particular configuration of devices and resources provisioned by festival-goers.

Chapter 5: Organiser Provisioning: Infrastructure and the Changing Role of Materials at Greenfield Music Festivals

Chapter 5 develops the ideas expounded in Chapter 4 by considering how organiser provisioning of infrastructure and resources affects the make-up of everyday life and the performance of everyday life practices at greenfield festivals. The chapter examines the role of organiser provisioned infrastructure (see Shove 2016) in shaping practice performances and how the spatial layout of this infrastructure affects festival-goers' practice performances. It also explores the relationship between festival organiser and festival-goer provisioning and how everyday life practice performances are prefigured by the shifting role of materials between provision practices and everyday life practices. The chapter begins the work of Chapter 6 by showing how organiser provisioning and the temporariness of greenfield music festival infrastructure contribute to the patterning of energy demand in time and space. Glamping and food are used as cases through which to explore how organisers and their agents provision for everyday life practices and the impact this has on energy demand.

Chapter 6: Everyday Life During Urban Music Festivals: Settings, Doing-Places and Doing-Paths

Chapter 6 explores everyday life practice performances during music festivals in urban environments and how they differ from those at greenfield festivals. The chapter focusses on the relationship between the spatial characteristics of urban areas and the materiality of festival-goers' everyday life practice performances. It explores how the incorporation of different settings, doing-places and doing-paths into everyday life practices (see Hui and Walker 2018) impacts how they are performed and the implications of this for energy demand. In addition, I argue that the enrolment of multiple urban settings, doing-places and doing paths in everyday life practice performances during urban music festivals, affects whether or not practices are considered to be part of the festivals. This, in turn, affects how festival organisers, the music industry and the popular media perceive energy demand at urban festivals. These perceptions influence the types and focus of interventions to reduce energy demand and, perhaps unfairly, single out greenfield festivals as high energy using events.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The concluding chapter draws together what has been established by the thesis, what I have added to the discussion of sustainability and energy demand at music festivals and the materiality of practices, thereby bringing out the overall contribution of the thesis. I also speculate on the future of music festivals and venture possible avenues for future research.

8. Conclusion

In this opening chapter, I have examined the literature on music festivals, sustainability and energy and presented the conceptual approach adopted in this thesis. My chosen theoretical approach makes social practices the focus of analysis, in contrast with other studies (e.g. Bottrill et al. 2007; and Fleming et al. 2014) that adopt approaches focussing on the quantifiable outcomes of demand for energy services (such as volume of carbon emissions or units of electricity used), and the connection between energy use and individual action.

In this chapter, I have argued that research into music festivals and energy needs to pay more attention to how people are doing what they are doing during festivals. To this end, I outlined conceptualisations of music festivals, everyday life and energy demand based in social practice theory. For researchers working with practice theory, energy demand is inseparable from the performance of social practices. Studying energy demand, therefore, necessitates examining practice performances before drawing out the implications for energy demand (e.g. Mylan and Southerton 2017; Shove et al. 2015; Blue 2018). Conceptualising music festivals as collections of social practices, and seeing energy demand as an outcome of the performance of those practices, has implications for how we study practices. In the next chapter, I present my research design and detail the aims and research questions of the thesis. I also consider ways of researching practices, describe the methods I use and give an account of the conduct of my research.

Chapter 2: Aims, Research Questions and Methods

1. Introduction

Having positioned my thesis in relation to the literature on music festivals and sustainability and outlined my conceptual approach to studying music festivals and energy demand, I now consider the aim of my thesis and the research questions, methodology and methods used to achieve this aim.

The chapter is structured in eight parts, as follows. First, I explain the aims, research questions and research design that frame the study. Second, I lay out a practice-based methodological approach to studying music festivals. Third, I give an overview of the origins of my research. Fourth, I outline the methods of data collection used in this thesis (research into past practices, interviewing and observation/autoethnography). Fifth, I present my data sample. Sixth, I set out how my research was conducted. Seventh, I describe how I analysed my data. Eighth, I discuss the strengths and limitations of each of the methods and my application of those methods. I conclude that my research design is appropriate to achieving the aim of my thesis in that it allows me to attend to the situated and potentially relevant dynamics of energy demand, as is consistent with existing small-scale practice theory research.

2. Aim and research questions

2.1 Aim

The aim of my study is to generate new insights into the study of music festivals and the energy demand arising from the carrying on of everyday life activities during festivals. I do this by adopting a social practice theory approach. Drawing on empirical research focused on music festivals in both greenfield and urban settings, I seek to demonstrate how social practice theory can support a situated and comparative analysis of social activities that are consequential for energy demand. It is not my intention to produce objective answers to the research questions outlined below. Rather, I seek to deliver situated answers that attend to the inherent variability and potential dynamics of social practices.

2.2 Research questions

The following research questions define the scope of the thesis and fill out the overall aim:

1. How has everyday life at greenfield music festivals changed over time and how does this inform our understanding of the practices and dynamics of everyday life at contemporary festivals?
2. How is the energy demand of music festivals shaped by the variety of ways in which everyday life practices are performed, and in particular by how the material provisioning of everyday life practices is enacted?
3. How do the different material settings of greenfield and urban festivals affect the performance of everyday life practices and what impact does this have on the energy demand of music festivals?

2.3 Research design

My study is a qualitative investigation of factors influencing everyday life and energy demand at different types of music festival. A qualitative methodology was chosen because, as Quinn Patton says:

Qualitative methods permit the evaluator to study selected issues, cases, or events in depth and detail; the fact that data collection is not constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to the depth and detail of qualitative data.

(Quinn Patton 1987: 9)

A qualitative research design was particularly appropriate for my study because, a) as seen in Chapter 1, most work on energy demand and festivals has a strongly quantitative feel, my research contributes to smaller body of qualitative work in the field, b) unlike the quantitative studies that gathered enormous amounts of data from a wide variety of sources, a qualitative study does not require that scale of data collection, which would require privileged access to a great number of festivals, and c) qualitative methods are adopted in many studies that investigate social practices (see section 3).

My research design is an example of emergent design flexibility (Quinn Patton 2015). Emergent design evolves through each stage of the research process:

There's the enquiry idea you begin with, the newborn idea. Then the inquiry design emerges and evolves as you think about it and discuss it with others ... Then you start data collection and the fieldwork unfolds and new opportunities emerge and you pursue those opportunities, so the design further evolves. That becomes the actual design you have implemented by the time you cease data collection. Then as you immerse yourself in analysis, review the data you've collected and how you collected it, the design you actually implemented will become clearer ... Only retrospectively will you actually know what your design was.

(Halcolm, quoted in Quinn Patton 2015: 50)

The final details of my research design were not present at the outset. Rather, the specificities of the design changed and adapted in response to developing thought processes and continued analysis. This advanced the project as unproductive aspects of the study fell away and new aspects came to the fore. A more detailed account of this process is given below.

3. A practice-based approach to studying music festivals

3.1 A practice ontology

As mentioned in Chapter 1, practice theoretical approaches take practices as their central unit of analysis. This assertion arises from the ontology underpinning practice theory. Schatzki points out that practice theory presents a flat ontology that sees the social world and social phenomena as being composed of social practices. Flat ontologies contrast with hierarchical ontologies that see the world as composed of 'two or more levels [of] social reality' (Schatzki 2016: 34). For example, Arts et al. point out that approaches to the study of the governance of global forests adopt a hierarchical ontology. Such approaches 'implicitly share the assumption of a hierarchical ontology that offers a "top down" representation of the dynamics at play in international politics' (Arts et al. 2016: 210-11), with international regimes and domestic politics forming the different levels of social reality discussed by Schatzki.

With a flat (or horizontal) practice ontology, all social phenomena are considered on a single level (or perhaps ‘no level,’ as Schatzki (2016: 28) would contend). This is what enables practice theorists to study the world of practices. As Schatzki states:

Bundles of practices and material arrangements make up the site of the social ... What I mean is that social life, i.e. human coexistence – which I construe as the hanging-together of human lives – inherently transpires as part of such bundles. The sum of such bundles thus marks out a plenum in which all social affairs transpire.

(Schatzki 2016: 31)

I adopt Schatzki’s ontological position that social life transpires amid social practices. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, I follow Shove in seeing practices as inclusive of rather than bundled with materiality. I therefore see music festivals as social phenomena that ‘arise from’ and are ‘constituted by’ (Schatzki 2011: 18) the performances of social practices (inclusive of materiality). In this study, then, I conceptualise music festivals as collections of social practices; the totality of performances of which make up a performance of a music festival.

3.2 Methods to investigate practices

This understanding of music festivals has implications for the methods used in my research. According to Nicolini (2017: 26), ‘to study practices, one needs to employ an internally coherent approach, where ontological assumptions (the basic assumption about how the world is) and methodological choices (how to study things so that a particular ontology materialises) work together’. How, then, do we go about researching social practices?

Within practice theory there is dispute over which methods are best for looking at practices. Some researchers argue that participant observation is the best way to understand social practices. Such researchers contend that people are unable to adequately reflect upon their practice performances and that researchers are best placed to understand social practices when they are immersed in the experiences of performing practices (e.g. Bourdieu 1990; Schmidt 2017; Nicolini 2017; Sedlačko 2017). Others argue that interviews can also be an important part of researching and understanding practices (e.g. Hitchings 2012; Halkier 2017).

3.3 Multiple methods

One final consideration is the use of a multi-methods approach to research practices. Using multiple methods is not uncommon in practice theory research. Shove and Pantzar (2007), for example, use the same combination of methods in their work on the practice careers of digital photographers and floorball players as I do here (participant observation, interviewing and analysis of secondary data), though they also conduct action research. Their aims are to investigate the relationship between practice performances and practice entities. It is speculated that the data derived from these methods might be ‘necessarily unsatisfactory’ (Shove and Pantzar 2007: 16) since each method illuminates some aspects of practices while obscuring others. For example, data on the experiences of individual floorball players, they argue, obscures the collective experiences of floorball players from different eras. However, I would argue that combining multiple methods can, to a degree, off-set the drawbacks of each method if it was used alone.

Similarly, Halkier argues that single method approaches are only suitable for capturing certain types of data. It might be appropriate, she argues, to research embodied performances of practices using the sole method of participant observation. However, she says that her research often requires working with discursive as well as embodied dynamics of practice. As Halkier points out:

Complementary use of multiple methods for data production and analysis seems to be one way of trying to address the issue of balancing embodied tacit dimensions and explicit discursive dimensions of everyday practices.’

(Halkier 2017: 19)

Since discursive dynamics cannot be captured through participant observation, it is appropriate, even necessary, to use a combination of methods to achieve the aims of such studies.

3.4 Researching past practices

Nicolini argues that past performances of practices are fundamental to the way practices are performed in the present. He states that, ‘To say that saying and doing must have a history to become a practice means that practices have inherently a *durée*, that is, they last in time by

virtue of being re-performed' (Nicolini 2017: 21). Consequently, one way to understand contemporary practices is to investigate how these practices evolved from past performances of those practices.

Shove et al. (2012) highlight the importance of understanding past practices in their work on the dynamics of social practice. They seek to understand how social practices evolve through successive performances of the same practice. While interviewing may be an effective method for gathering data on fairly recent practice performances, other methods might be needed when conducting research into performances of practices that took place several decades ago. Since it was not possible for Shove et al. to experience past performances of driving or interview people who drove cars in the 1920s, they needed to piece together information from secondary sources in order to chart the evolution of driving and theorise about how this evolution occurred. They were able to use this data to analyse how meanings, materials and competences change over the course of the history of driving and how the links between them change in line with successive performances of the practice.

Another such example of research into past practices is Trentmann and Carlsson-Hyslop's (2017) work on the evolution of energy demand in British social housing from the 1920s to the 1970s. In order to get at practices, they analysed present-day and contemporary scholarly inquiry and contemporary sources including survey data, Acts of Parliament, Hansard, the minutes of parliamentary committee meetings, and council and energy company records. From these resources, they were able to piece together elements of what people were doing, particularly, I would argue, in terms of the materials drawn into the performance of practices. Their analysis highlighted how drivers of energy demand shifted over this period. Whereas energy demand was initially driven by a search for ways to increase demand on the part of purveyors of fuels and energy, it came to be driven by domestic performances of unanticipated and more energy hungry social practices. Change in energy demand had shifted to become 'the result of what tenants actually did' (Trentmann and Carlsson-Hyslop 2017: 623). Analyses such as these highlight the value of studying past practices as well as some of the methods that can be employed in order to do so.

3.5 Participating in and observing practices

Participant observation is another well-represented method in practice theory research (e.g. Shove and Pantzar 2007; Wiig 2018; and Blue 2016). Autoethnographic methods are often seen as ways to get at information that cannot be gleaned from interviews. As Nicolini (2017: 27) says, ‘studying a new or unfamiliar practice without familiarising ourselves with it would be logically impossible.’ By adopting the method of participant observation, ‘the inquirer has the opportunity to see things that may routinely escape awareness among the people in the setting’ (Patton 2002: 262). This enables the researcher to ‘see the very things which might not be reported in an interview’ (Becker and Geer 1957: 248), yielding data in addition to the ‘selective perceptions’ of interviewees. By participating in and observing practices, the researcher produces a different account of those practices, as many aspects of practices are not ordinarily apprehended by practitioners. Practitioners are not looking at practices in the same way as the researcher, who is trained to look for aspects of practices that remain hidden through familiarity with the practice (Nicolini 2017).

Some practice researchers even go as far as to suggest that participating in practices is the only way to understand them. According to Rantala:

In ethnographic research, the presence of the researcher in the field, concentration on some particular socio-cultural setting, observation of the participants, and a thick description of the research subject are seen [as] central ... The ethnographic approach and participation in practices are the only ways for the researcher to gain embodied, situational, and practice-related knowledge.

(Rantala 2010: 250-51)

I would argue that participant-observation and the other methods discussed here are compatible rather than competing methods to research social practices. Using one method, such as participant observation, to the exclusion of all others, while appropriate for some studies, may not be appropriate for others. Following Halkier (2017: 202), I argue that the question of what methods are best for researching practices depends on the specificities of the research and the data being sought.

Becker’s (1958) understanding of the ‘participant-as-observer’ (Gold 1958, quoted in Becker 1958, footnote 1: 652) involves more than being a passive on-looker. Rather, the observer follows and engages with the subjects of the study, asking questions about the activities in

which subjects are engaged in order to achieve greater understanding. Engaging with people while they perform a social practice is one way to gather data on those practices.

Patton argues that the researcher can opportunistically move along a spectrum between observer at the one end and participant at the other depending on from which position the best data might be sought:

The extent of participation is a continuum that varies from complete immersion in the setting as full participant to complete separation from the setting as spectator, with a great deal of variation along the continuum between these two end points ... Typically, anthropological fieldworkers combine in their fieldnotes data from personal, eyewitness observations with information gained from informal, natural interviews and informal descriptions. Thus, the participant observer employs multiple and overlapping data collection strategies: being fully engaged in experiencing the setting (participation) while at the same time observing and talking with other participants about whatever is happening.

(Patton 2002: 265-266)

If the researcher occupies multiple roles during participant observation then a variety of data can be accumulated about practice performances by this method.

A final benefit of participant observation is that it can help to inform interview questions and allows the researcher to probe into areas that would not necessarily be obvious to one who had not observed, as it provides a means of discovery for a researcher who may not be fully acquainted with the subject or situation being observed (Patton 2002). Participant observation can also help in the latter stages of research as ‘firsthand experience permits the inquirer to draw on personal knowledge during the formal interpretation stage of analysis’ (Patton 2002: 264).

3.6 Interviewing and practices

Interviews are well-represented in practice theory research (e.g. Hitchings and Day 2011; Mylan and Southerton 2017; and Hui 2012). Despite such research, Hitchings (2012) points out that interviewing might not, *prima facie*, seem like a suitable method for understanding practices because practice theory is focussed on practices and not on the people performing

those practices. Since practice theory does not grant individuals the same degree of priority as some other social theories, it might be thought that interviewing individuals runs counter to the theoretical underpinnings of practice theory. Schmidt takes such a position, arguing that interviewing is not an appropriate method for studying practices:

Procedures such as interviewing seem to be inept because they are geared to make interviewees look retrospectively at social practices and tend to address them as if they were the authors or theoreticians of practices they were participating in.

(Schmidt 2017: 15)

Halkier (2017: 197) also points to concerns that interviewing leads to practices being represented more discursively than is appropriate to the study of an ontological site that is heavily associated with unconscious habits, bodily doings and relationships to materiality.

However, Hitchings argues that this is not so. Interviewing, he says, is not ‘logically inconsistent with the arguments made by the proponents of social practice theory’ (Hitchings 2012: 65). This is because:

Whilst one clear aim of [practice theory] is to fight against an implicit “hyperationalism” in much previous social theory ... there remains, at least some, scope for individual will. We may not always be entirely subordinate to our practices, as evidenced by other studies highlighting how people manage to amend the contextual rules through improvisation (Shove and Pantzar 2007) ... Like the tennis player, respondents may be preoccupied at the time, but still able to discuss how things went afterwards.

(Hitchings 2012: 63)

Acknowledging the ability of practitioners to talk about their practices is important since it addresses a concern about the perceived superiority of knowledge gained from observations compared to interviews. Halkier (2017) argues that observational methods are subject to the same criticisms as interviews, since researchers are not capable of observing every aspect of what practitioners do in the same way that practitioners are not capable of expounding on many of the unconscious aspects of their practice performances. Pointing to work by Atkinson and Coffey (2003), Halkier argues that knowledge gained from interviews is no less valid than observational data since ‘what research participants do is not so easily observed and is in need

of several layers of interpretation, like what participants say in, for example, interviews' (Halkier 2017: 198). Rather than invalidating participant observation as a method, such insights serve to validate knowledge gained from interviews, legitimising interviewing as a method for studying practices.

4. Origins and evolution of the study

4.1 Initial focus of the study

From the outset, the study was designed with practice theory at its core. My PhD studentship at Lancaster saw me surrounded by a wealth of knowledge about social practice theory. While I was afforded the opportunity to adopt any appropriate theoretical approach I wished, I chose to make use of the repository of knowledge I had around me and chose to frame my area of research using concepts drawn from social practice theory. As my research progressed, I became confirmed in the idea that practice theory was a good fit for my project. For a discussion of the merits of a practice theory approach, see Chapter 1.

The brief of my studentship called for me to investigate the energy demand of an aspect of leisure. While practice theory was always the central set of theoretical resources that oriented my thesis, I did not set out to contribute directly to the theoretical or conceptual development of practice theory. Instead, I sought to contribute to understandings of how approaching questions of energy demand in particular contexts (i.e. leisure contexts) can highlight qualitative characteristics and dynamics of importance for ongoing considerations of energy demand.

Having originally outlined a proposal to do a comparative study of three music events at different scales, I was confronted with the question, 'so what?' There did not appear to be a compelling reason to pursue this line of research from an energy demand standpoint. The chosen cases (a classical concert, a pub folk session and a large music festival) varied too much in size and character to make meaningful comparisons between the three and there were no clear energy demand issues that marked classical concerts and pub folk sessions out as problematic or particularly useful examples from which to learn. I decided that focussing on a single category of event and investigating in greater depth would provide the best way forward.

I chose to study greenfield music festivals for three reasons: 1) there is a perception in a part of the public discourse that greenfield festivals are high energy using, hedonistic and unnecessary (see Chapter 6); 2) the presence of diesel generators, thousands of cars and stages with powerful P.A. systems in the middle of rural fields where they would not ordinarily be, brings energy into sharp focus; and 3) the existence of initiatives, such as Julie's Bicycle, A Greener Festival and Powerful Thinking, demonstrates a concern within the music industry for the sustainability of festivals, including energy and carbon emissions, indicating a recognition of a problem that needs to be understood.

4.2 The evolution of the study

Once I had chosen greenfield music festivals as my site of study, I began looking not for practices but for energy demand in order to identify potential areas of study, with a view to working backwards to investigate the practices from which that energy demand arose. I identified several aspects of greenfield music festivals that broadly covered the energy demand I thought to be associated with festivals: 1) everyday life, 2) music making, 3) listening to music, 4) sound engineering, 5) other forms of entertainment, 6) transport, 7) organising festivals and 8) making and striking the festival site. These areas were later streamlined to three categories: a) music making/listening, b) organising and provisioning, and c) everyday life. These categories were to form the structure of the thesis in three parts with multiple chapters.

The decision to include urban festivals in the project came once the data gathering process was quite well advanced. Their inclusion arose from reading around the subjects of temporality and spatiality, as well as infrastructure, and the simple observation that the organisation of urban festivals, how musical performances are facilitated and how everyday life is carried on differs at greenfield festivals and urban festivals. As my research at urban festivals progressed, I was struck, in particular, by how the performances of everyday life practices at greenfield festivals and urban festivals are affected by their performance in different material settings.

As time pressures led me to stop my data collection and concentrate solely on data analysis and writing up, I realised that despite having included music and multiple aspects of the organisation and provisioning of both greenfield and urban festivals, I did not have sufficient data to reach decisive conclusions. I was, therefore, forced to take the decision to produce a thesis of more limited ambition, oriented towards everyday life because it represented the most

as well as the richest source of data I had collected. However, because the final form of the thesis did not distil until after data collection had taken place, no more data could be gathered to support my analysis. Consequently, the analytic depth of the thesis and the authority with which I am able to speak on the issues herein is limited by the volume of data I was able to collect. As befits an emergent research design, data analysis was ongoing during the data collection period, though analysis was taking place throughout the writing up period.

5. Methods of data collection

5.1 Positioning the researcher

‘Any credible research strategy requires that the investigator adopt a stance of *neutrality* with regard to the phenomenon under study’ (Quinn Patton 2002: 51, *original emphasis*). Neutrality is a laudable aim, but no researcher can ever stand outside their personal experience. It is therefore incumbent upon the researcher to be honest about anything that might bias their view of the object under inquiry. ‘Qualitative inquiry, because the human being is the instrument of data collection, requires that the investigator carefully reflect on, deal with, and report potential sources of bias and error’ (Ibid.). To that end, I now position myself in relation to the research expounded on in this thesis.

Despite formerly being a gigging musician, I was unfamiliar with greenfield music festivals, having not attended one since the 1999 V Festival. My abiding memory of that festival is having brought far more stuff with us than we could easily carry (see Chapter 4). However, this experience was 16 years prior to my fieldwork at greenfield festivals. As a musician, I have played at innumerable gigs, including at urban festivals, as well as organising, running and attending gigs. These experiences have familiarised me with the operation and experience of urban festivals and doubtless informed and coloured my observations, something that I was mindful of during my research. However, the focus on energy demanding practices was something I had rarely considered before beginning my studentship and required keener observational skill and self-reflection than I had previously employed at any festival.

Practice theory concepts, such as practices being the ontological site of study (see above), practices being composed of three elements and forming bundles and complexes (see Chapter

1), influenced how I looked at the festivals I attended, even though my conceptual framework was not fully developed at the time. I also had pre-formed ideas about energy demand and how it arises from practices. When I visited urban music festivals, I carried with me more concepts from practice theory and more developed ideas about what I thought my thesis would be about, though concepts drawn on in Chapter 6, such as doing-places and doing-paths, came to my attention during analysis of my observations. My studying practice theory, my time at greenfield festivals and the interviews I had conducted to that point, undoubtedly coloured my observations, the formulation of my interview questions and the conduct of my interviews.

One, perhaps strange, thing to note is that I do not like attending music festivals, particularly greenfield festivals. I enjoy camping and listening to live music, but I do not like large crowds of people who appear firm in their resolve to have a loud and raucous good time. My preference for smaller gigs with fewer people was more suited to urban festivals, but the indoor venues provided their own issues with jostling for position and direct contact with exuberant festival-goers. My feelings were, perhaps, exacerbated by my relatively advanced age compared to many at, for example, Leeds Festival (I was 33 years old, at the time), though other festivals had more mature audiences. As a sober researcher, notebook in hand, I certainly felt I was on a different wavelength from the majority of festival-goers at these, as one festival organiser described them to me, ‘boozy affair[s]’. Perhaps, this helped with observation but hindered participation, but it is potentially a modifying factor in both.

I was as mindful as I was able of these influences during my research, but certain prejudices and biases will doubtless have crept through and will express themselves in these pages.

5.2 Researching past practices in the literature

In order to understand the evolution of practices at greenfield music festivals, I researched greenfield festivals from the 1950s to the present. I sought to understand which practices have been continuously enrolled at festivals and which have not, and how these practices have evolved. My research into past festivals focuses solely on greenfield festivals because, a) the literature that discusses past urban festivals does not give accounts of how everyday life was lived during the festivals, and b) as becomes apparent in Chapter 6, everyday life during urban festivals exhibits much commonality with everyday life at times when such festivals are not

taking place. To produce a general history of everyday life, such as would be required for researching everyday life during urban festivals, is beyond the scope of this study.

Research was conducted using secondary sources, such as academic and non-academic texts, biographies, government reports, newspaper archives and online articles. An initial search was made using the library catalogue and broad search terms such as ‘music festivals,’ ‘music festivals and energy’ and ‘Glastonbury Festival’. This turned up items such as, *Pop Festivals; Report and Code of Practice* (Department of the Environment 1973), a government report also known as the Stevenson Report, and *Glastonbury: A Very English Fair*, by McKay (2000). This began a process of using Google and Google Scholar to search for citations and information on individuals, festivals and events that were mentioned in these texts. This yielded online resources, such as ukrockfestivals.com and internationaltimes.it, as well as books that were not available in the university library, such as *Tomorrow’s People*, by Sandford and Reid (1974) and ‘*Unsafe Things Like Youth and Jazz*’: *Beaulieu Jazz Festivals (1956-1961) and the Origins of Pop Festival Culture in Britain*, by McKay (2004).

In addition, online searches were made for broader terms, such as, ‘UK music festivals’ and ‘the history of music festivals.’ Newspaper archives available from the university library were searched using keywords to find contemporary accounts of older festivals that did not feature much in the literature. Videos were also sought online to provide visual data on past festivals, though this was useful more in informing thought processes on everyday life at past festivals than contributing additional data for the thesis. Notes were made from these sources and the data was written up into an early draft chapter on everyday life for an annual review panel, at which point it became clear that enough information had been gathered to help understand the types of everyday life practices that are part of greenfield festivals, how they are performed and how they are provisioned.

5.3 Participant observation

During the case study selection process, I felt that the size of a festival might affect the performance of the practices that I was interested in and their energy demand, particularly at greenfield music festivals. For this reason, one large and one small greenfield festival were chosen for the study. The number of festivals visited was limited by the availability of research

funds, though I do not think that this negatively affected my research. The difference in ethos of the two greenfield festivals was also a consideration during the sampling process. Leeds Festival is a broadly commercial festival, showcasing big-name acts and appealing to a broad demographic. Alchemy Festival is anti-corporate, with a more niche appeal, hosting many of the acts and festival-goers from free festivals. I wanted to see how these differences in ethos might affect practices and their energy demand.

Urban festivals were selected on the basis of my knowledge of and ability to easily and cheaply attend the events. This was especially important since accommodation is potentially a major cost at urban festivals. Beverley Folk Festival and Highest Point Festival were considered to be good choices due to the temporal and spatial features of the festivals, which have similarities with greenfield festivals that might have been significant in terms of how everyday life was lived. Cottingham Springboard, meanwhile, provided an opportunity to observe a typical multi-venue urban event. This built upon my experiences of attending other such festivals that were not specifically part of my research, such as Lancaster Jazz Festival, Lancaster Music Festival and the Humber Street Sesh, which are discussed in Chapter 6.

5.4 Interviews

Securing interviewees from a diverse range of roles within festivals was important in order to provide a variety of insights into the processes of organising, provisioning and running music festivals. I also aimed to recruit participants from a range of festivals (with a roughly even distribution between greenfield and urban) in order to understand the similarities and differences in provisioning for everyday life at different festivals, rather than focussing on specific cases. Such people were able to provide clarification of things that I observed at festivals and provide data on aspects of festivals that I had missed in my observations or had no way of directly observing in my role as festival-goer. Early on in the research, the focus was broader, encompassing many aspects of music festivals in addition to everyday life. This necessitated the recruitment of sound engineers and stage managers, both of which are represented in this study.

Participants were sampled using a mix of convenience and snowball sampling. It was never my intention to orient this thesis around case studies of specific events, therefore there was no

attempt to sample interviewees exclusively from the festivals I visited. Some of the participants were people I already knew, and a few of them put me in touch with other suitable interviewees. This snowball sampling method garnered the majority of interviewees, though three interviewees (festival volunteer and support work manager, Billy, food provider, John and glamping provider, James) responded to purposive sampling. Their participation was invaluable to the study because they could provide insights into the provision of services relating to everyday life at greenfield festivals that would otherwise be missing from the study due to the relatively low number of interviewees. These interviewees were chosen based on their roles being of particular interest in the study.

It was not appropriate to aim for saturation in terms of understanding specific examples of organisational performances, though there are ways that this coverage could have been improved (see below). Rather, I was looking for a sense of saturation around specific elements, connections and activities that I experienced or observed or heard people speak about. It was, therefore, qualities of practice that I was looking for rather than the details of individual enactments. This is one of the reasons that I did not interview festival-goers, since I was not looking to gather data on, for example, what festival-goers brought to festivals or the details of individual performances. Rather, I sought data on more observable elements of practice, and therefore sought interviewees who undertook roles in organising and working at festivals. I used participant observation and research into secondary sources to get at the festival-going experience.

6. Data sources

6.1 Festivals attended

As part of my research, I attended five festivals (two greenfield and three urban). In addition, I drew on experiences of attending and playing at other festivals, both before and during my PhD fellowship, that were not specifically related to my research. To provide an overview for readers unfamiliar with specific music festivals, details are provided below of the festivals I attended. For the sake of parsimony, this is limited to the five festivals I attended specifically as part of my research.

6.1.1 Leeds Festival (Greenfield Festival 1)

Leeds Festival is a greenfield music festival that takes place every year over the August Bank Holiday weekend. It has been running as a companion festival to the Reading Festival since 1999. The two festivals share acts over the course of the August Bank Holiday weekend, as well as similarities in their layout, infrastructure and provisioning, since they are run by parent company, Festival Republic, as essentially the same festival but in different locations. Leeds Festival has a capacity of around 75,000 and is therefore an example of a relatively large festival. It is also a highly commercial event run by the same company that runs festivals such as T in the Park and Shambala.

6.1.2 Alchemy Festival (Greenfield Festival 2)

Alchemy Festival was a greenfield festival in Lincolnshire that ran for six years over the autumn equinox. The festival ceased in 2016 but another festival called Equinox has been created in its place. The festival's capacity was 4,000, making it an example of a relatively small festival. Alchemy was self-consciously non-commercial and anti-corporate. However, it was still run for profit, maintaining a paid ticketing system, though without corporate sponsorship. The festival evolved from the free festival tradition of the early 1970s to mid 1990s. Such festivals have been placed on an official footing due to legal changes put in place in the 1990s to stop illegal raves (see Chapter 3).

6.1.3 Cottingham Springboard Festival (Urban Festival 1)

Cottingham Springboard is an annually recurring urban festival in a town-sized suburban village outside Hull in East Yorkshire. It has been running since 2006. The festival attracts several thousand people each year and hosts over 200 acts over the course of the weekend. The festival takes place in a diverse set of 10 venues including pubs, cafes, restaurant gardens and the Civic Hall.

6.1.4 Beverley Folk Festival (Urban Festival 2)

Beverley Folk Festival was an urban festival that ran for 36 years in the market town of Beverley in East Yorkshire. The festival's attendance is estimated to have been around 6,000 and it took place each year over a weekend in mid-June until 2018, when the festival ceased. In 2013, the festival moved to Beverley Racecourse, a mile or so outside the town. Prior to this,

the event had been held in the leisure centre in the town centre and had a much larger fringe event at which local musicians played in pubs during, but not as an official part of, the festival. After moving to the racecourse, the festival had three main outdoor stages set up in marquees, with smaller stages in a café and a function room in the racecourse building. Mobile caterers provided food rather than the racecourse's own, *in situ* catering facilities.

6.1.5 Highest Point Festival (Urban Festival 3)

Highest Point Festival is an urban festival that began in 2017 in Williamson's Park in Lancaster. Upwards of 10,000 people attend the event each year. The festival comprises two events, one of which takes place during the day and is oriented towards families while the other takes place in the evening and is oriented towards adults. All stages are outdoors and large sections of the park were closed to the public for its three-day duration, forming a homogenous festival site. The festival is located within the city limits of Lancaster and has a largely local appeal. A small number of festival-goers were able to camp at the 2019 event, though the camp site was at the cricket ground on the other side of the city centre.

6.2 Interviewees

I conducted 15 interviews over the course of 12 months (November 2015 to November 2016): seven with participants from greenfield festivals, five from urban festivals and three who worked at both greenfield and urban festivals. Participants consisted of:

Greenfield festivals

- two greenfield festival stage managers
- one greenfield festival organiser
- one greenfield festival support worker
- one greenfield festival worker who fulfilled multiple roles at greenfield festivals
- one greenfield festival food provider
- one operations manager for a glamping provider.

Urban festivals

- four urban festival organisers

- one urban festival sound engineer who was also an urban festival venue manager

Both greenfield and urban festivals

- two greenfield and urban festival sound engineers.
- one greenfield festival organiser who was also a sound engineer at greenfield and urban festivals

7. Conducting my research

7.1 Participating in and conducting observations during festivals

I attended Leeds Festival and Alchemy Festival in the summer of 2015, Cottingham Springboard and Beverley Folk Festival in the summer of 2016 and Highest Point Festival in the summer of 2018. I attended Leeds, Alchemy and Cottingham Springboard from Friday to Monday, Beverley Folk Festival on Saturday and Sunday, and the Saturday daytime and evening events at Highest Point. My wife and three children accompanied me to the daytime event at Highest Point. During all festivals, I performed a range of everyday activities, such as eating, sleeping, drinking, washing and socialising, watched music and comedy performances and observed the infrastructures and operations of the festivals. The experiences of attending these festivals were important when formulating interview questions. The experiences also helped to create a good rapport with interviewees, as I had experienced life at festivals and so could relate, at least to an extent, to many of their experiences.

Field notes were taken at each festival. Notes were initially made in small notepads as I moved around. These comprised both short *aide-mémoires* and more detailed notes, which were periodically written up into a large notebook in my tent, on tables in pubs or in my place of residence during the festivals. They were immediately typed up upon my return from the festival. At Leeds Festival, the notebooks totalled over 20,000 words, with word counts diminishing for other festivals as many of the aspects became more familiar and had already been described in detail. I was then able to search these digitised notes for keywords when writing up my chapters. Having written up the notes myself, I was better able to remember and draw out key points from my notes. This was especially useful when writing Chapter 4, which draws heavily on these observations.

When I attended the festivals, my research focused on all types of energy demand. As such, I observed practices related to music and entertainment as well as everyday life, and paid particular attention to energy infrastructures and provisioning for those practices. This meant a concern with how those practices that related to music, entertainment and everyday life at festivals enrolled or did not enrol energy. This ties in with the related concern of understanding the roles of festival-goers and festival organisers in provisioning for everyday life practices at music festivals (see Chapters 4 and 5). The following excerpt from my Leeds Festival field notes serves to illustrate how this focus informed my observations:

Once again, a large number of people seem to be up and about and engaged in a morning routine of breakfast, toothbrushing, coffee and showers, although far more men than women were using the showers. The men's side was quite busy, but there was no one on the women's side ... I did, however, notice a woman walking around with towels around her body and her hair, wearing a pair of wellies. I should also note that I didn't get a shower, I used wet wipes. I would have tried the shower, but using public transport and walking meant that I didn't want to overload my bag with a big towel. I brought a small one in case of rain.

(Leeds Festival Notes)

Once urban festivals became part of my research, I became concerned with the similarities and differences between greenfield and urban music festivals. I sought to observe how practices, provisioning, infrastructural arrangements and energy demand were shaped by the temporal and spatial features of greenfield and urban settings. Again, these observations took into consideration music and entertainment practices. The following notes provide examples of how my concerns with time, space, infrastructure and provisioning informed my observations of everyday life during urban festivals:

As a festival-goer, my experience is very different from a greenfield music festival as I am staying in a house in a city, thus I am connected to the National Grid and in easy reach of anything I should want over the weekend. I also have a bed for the night.

(Cottingham Springboard Notes)

When I arrived home, I took a shower so that I would feel clean when I went to bed. This is not something that I would have done had I been staying at a festival. Nor is showering in the evening something that I do regularly.

(Highest Point Festival Notes)

As well as participating in and observing festivals, my research also included informal conversations. Conversations were always informal, and no notes were taken at the time out of concern for social etiquette, though my status as a researcher was made known. These conversations included but were not limited to: what people spent their time doing at the festival; how they lived while they were at the festival; what they liked and disliked about living at festivals; what preparations they had made for the festival; their experiences of past festivals; and their experience of being at the current festival. Some of these conversations resulted in my being taken to people's living areas and accommodations. There, I was able to observe more closely how people other than myself lived at and provisioned themselves for the festivals.

7.2 Conducting interviews

Interviews were semi-structured and ranged in length from 45 minutes to two hours. A typical interview lasted around one hour and 30 minutes. Interviews took place after the observations at greenfield music festivals but both before and after observations at urban festivals, in places of interviewees' choosing.

All interviews were audio recorded. Biographical data was collected about each interviewee, including the history of their participation at music festivals and their current roles. Interview schedules were designed to elicit data on interviewees' experiences and knowledge of living at festivals; planning for festivals; setting up and taking down festivals; working at festivals; important technological aspects of the interviewees work; regulations and laws that affected their work; changes they experienced over the course of their careers in festivals and the energy demand aspects of their work, framed in terms of energy use. Consequently, the interviews provided data not only on working practices but also on how interviewees, artists and other employees live during the festivals.

Immediately following the interviews, I listened to the recordings and created summaries. Key points and themes were drawn out of the interviews and time stamps made of important points and potential quotes. This proved to be a key part of both the continuing development of the interview schedules and of the data analysis. I subsequently transcribed the interviews in order to ensure that I was fully immersed in and familiar with the data. I was then able to search for keywords within the digitised transcripts, which was highly beneficial when searching for particular aspects of conversations and quotes.

8. Data analysis

8.1 Analysing the literature on past music festivals

My data analysis on historical greenfield music festivals looked for material pertaining to everyday life, music making and listening, and organising and provisioning at festivals. Relevant data on these three categories was extracted by pulling out all quotes that I thought relevant and attaching stream of consciousness notes to aid my thinking later in the writing process. These would be added to in bullet pointed notes as I revisited them during the course of my writing. The most useful data drawn from these quotes and notes were spun into short thematic narratives akin to sections of a chapter. The process was iterative and as I read more widely, additional material went through the same process with some of it becoming part of the narratives. Some sources proved to be more useful than others and were referred to multiple times during the writing process, with older data being rethought in the light of new material. Consequently, these sources were more heavily relied upon and quoted from in Chapter 3.

The literature revealed that much of greenfield festival organisation and the festival-going experience is entwined with everyday life and its materiality. I noted that this became particularly visible during times of crisis. Such times seemed commonplace in the late-1960s and 1970s (see Chapter 3). This, in part, informed the switch in focus to everyday life since the literature had comparatively little to say about the minutia of fairground rides, erecting stages, foldback speakers, sound systems and power supplies, beyond the occasional amusing anecdote⁹.

⁹ See Sandford and Reid (1974: 104) for a brief recounting of how rock band Hawkwind's set at the 1972 Windsor Free Festival ended up being powered by an ice cream van.

Once everyday life became the common theme of the thesis, notes on music making and listening and the organising and provisioning of stages, such as they were, were set aside. Analysis continued in the same way but with a more focussed objective. A chapter structure was formed based on the material I had. An iterative process of revisions, edits, restructuring and the generation of new written material began, with reference back to notes and sources as needed, until the final narrative structure of Chapter 3 was complete. Some data did, however, find its way into other chapters.

8.2 Analysing observation and participation data

My data analysis began with the copying of my handwritten research diaries into a word processing programme. The diaries were copied verbatim. Each paragraph was numbered in consecutive order. The date was added where notes from a new day began, but the number sequence was not interrupted. The notes were read and re-read and a list was created of paragraphs with particularly interesting and relevant themes. Summaries of the contents of each diary were also made. These documents were searchable using the word processor's find feature. This enabled key terms to be easily found during my analysis. Going through this process helped to cement the contents of the diaries in my thinking and helped me to identify themes I thought important to the thesis.

Photographs were taken of the drawings in the diaries and placed into a folder on my computer and/or the digitised diaries. The original diaries were retained, but not consulted again.

The digitised diaries and summaries were used as part of an iterative process to make extended writings on particular themes drawn from them. The writing process aided my thinking and developed ideas, many of which would make it into the final thesis. It structured discussions with my supervisors and helped guide the process of writing the relevant chapters of the thesis. The diaries and various writings on them were repeatedly referred to throughout the writing process. The diaries from each festival were compared when a particular theme was being explored to see if I had made notes on the topic at each festival and whether those notes were similar or contrasting.

Photographs and videos were stored in a folder on my computer in chronological order. No attempt was made to organise or thematise them beyond this. The media files were visible as thumb nails in their folders and were consulted at various points during the writing process. No attempt was made to systematically analyse the photos nor were they much consulted in the final analysis, serving instead as *aides-mémoires*.

8.3 Analysing interview data

My analysis of interviews began with listening back to the interview recordings and making a summary of the most relevant content. This consisted of a heading and a description of what was said about that topic. This was followed by producing verbatim digital transcripts of the interviews. Time stamps were added to provide a means to quickly find key passages in the transcripts. These transcripts were also searchable via word processor's find feature.

As with my analysis of my observation and participation data, I went through the interviews, both as audio and text, several times to become familiar with the data. This aided the identification of themes that were cross-referenced with data obtained through other methods. The process of analysing the interviews enabled me to become immersed in the data and to make connections between interviews.

9. Strengths and limitations of the research design and methods

9.1 Strengths and limitations of the research design

By researching the performance of everyday life practices at music festivals, I am studying an area that have received little academic attention. The flexibility of emergent research design allowed me to modify my focus as my understanding of the field increased. In turn, this meant that my data analysis informed the composition of my aim and my research questions. As the direction of the research and writing changed, my aim and questions evolved until the final direction of the thesis and of each chapter became clear and the research questions crystallised into their final forms. If I had decided on clear questions at the start of the study, I may have collected more in-depth data. However, I would perhaps not have reached the same breadth of understanding of the material and temporal aspects that influence energy demand at music festivals. This is a trade-off that stems from my choice of research design.

The small scale of my research design supported the creation of situated knowledge, grounded in the particularities of my research focus. I was not seeking to create objective knowledge and did not seek the types of data that would have supported an attempt to speak authoritatively. Such an endeavour would have favoured a more structured approach from the outset and require more data and of a different sort than I have generated. Applied practice theory research, however, has highlighted that even small-scale studies can contribute considerable insights into how to approach questions of complexities of situated social practices. This fits with my research design, which frames a study that seeks to explore what can be learned from looking at the specificities of cases and aspects of those cases that have received relatively little attention in the academic literature.

Adopting a multi-method approach to my research helped to compensate for my limited experience and knowledge of greenfield music festivals. My research into past practices gave me a greater understanding of what to expect when I arrived at greenfield festivals and informed the sorts of things I observed when there. However, it could not provide me with the lived experience of being at a festival. Similarly, my experiences and observations of music festivals left me with questions about how organisational processes were affecting the everyday life practices of myself and other festival-goers. In order to fulfil the aims of my study, I needed to capture multiple types of data; from what I could observe and participate in, from what I could not observe but that other people could tell me about, and that which was most accessible through written records.

A single method research design would likely have produced a quite different thesis. As outlined above, using a single method would have made certain lines of inquiry difficult to follow by, for example, doing literature-based research on past festivals. However, it would be interesting to see the depth of analysis that could be achieved by a study based on in-depth interviews with a large sample of agents of festival organisers or even greenfield festival organisers themselves. If I were to design another research project on everyday life at music festivals, this would be my favoured direction of study.

9.2 Strengths and limitations of researching past practices

When researching past practices, it is often necessary to use secondary sources in the absence of other appropriate data sources (Nicolini 2017). While secondary sources do not necessarily provide information that is as rich as data from observational and participatory methods or interviews, they offer the best opportunity to access data when considering practices over a long period of time (e.g. from the 1950s to the present day). Observation and participation at past festivals is not possible. Interviewing people who can give first-hand accounts of everyday life at past music festivals, particularly at early ones, is itself problematic because of the difficulty in finding people to interview, the amount of time that has elapsed since the events and the uncertainty of memory.

There are a number of drawbacks to using secondary sources to research past festivals. The information from secondary sources was not written with the particular focus of my research in mind. At the beginning of a study, this issue is not so problematic as one of the reasons to read about historical festivals is to get an idea of what they were like. However, once the focus of the research has crystallised, it becomes harder to find relevant historical data. In my study, this issue was mitigated to an extent because everyday life was often a major concern for people involved with past greenfield festivals, as seen in Chapter 3. It was therefore possible to find much relevant information from the available resources.

However, there is a general paucity of material on what life was like at early music festivals and free festivals in particular. Historical festivals have been the subject of limited academic concern and none, so far as I have found, that focuses specifically on everyday life. The same appears to be true for the non-academic literature, where the focus seems to be more on modern festivals. Since I observed contemporary festivals, this lack of information on historical festivals was a major gap in my data. My search for literature turned up several useful and interesting sources (see Chapter 3), but to provide an example of the lack of information regarding early festivals, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, organiser of the Beaulieu Jazz Festivals, which hold the distinction of being the first UK greenfield music festivals, makes substantive comment on the festival on only eight pages of his 307-page autobiography. Trying to find information within this literature about features of everyday life at early festivals can be frustrating but is sometimes rewarding.

Another limitation of historical accounts is that, unlike interviews conducted by the researcher, there are no opportunities to seek clarification or expansion of particular points. In my

literature-based research, I found myself wanting to ask questions of the authors, interviewees or report compilers about the sorts of things that went on at these festivals and the materiality they enrolled.

In hindsight, had the focus on everyday life been distilled earlier, it may have been possible to supplement the historical material with interviews with festival-goers from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. This would have presented a challenge but would have supplemented my literature-based research with primary data with a focus more closely matched to the final thesis. There are issues with such an approach, for example, the long period of time that has elapsed since those early festivals might have dulled memories somewhat, which is why I was grateful for the contemporary and near contemporary written accounts used in this thesis. The data they provide, especially when it can be compared across multiple sources, such as autobiographies, biographies, academic and non-academic monographs, newspaper reports and government reports, provides a vivid enough picture of what everyday life was like at early greenfield festivals.

A related issue is that I do not have lived experience of the time periods I was investigating. Had I attended festivals in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, I would have been able to put this information into context and cross-reference it with my own experience. Since I was born in 1982, I had to take the information from these sources at face value where multiple sources were not available to corroborate (or contradict) each other.

Finally, and relatedly, it is hard to verify the quality of data from historical sources; after all, data is only as reliable as the people that recorded it. I remained conscious of this during my research and, where possible, drew upon academic analyses of these texts to contextualise the source material.

9.3 Strengths and limitations of participation observation

I did not feel that simply observing others would be the best way to gather data on everyday life practices. Rather than just observing and asking questions, I fulfilled the role of both observer and participant in everyday life practices at the festivals I attended. I felt that I could glean more data from spending 72 hours living at a music festival than I could through 20 hours of interviewing other people about their experiences of music festivals. This enabled me to get

a sense of these practices by performing them rather than merely closely observing other festival-goers' practice performances. While I could not observe all aspects of festival-goers' everyday lives while at the festival, I was able to experience many of these aspects through my own practice performances. During the course of my fieldwork, I opportunistically moved along a continuum ranging from sometimes observing and reflecting upon my own practice performances to sometimes observing performances of others' practices. This, I see as inevitable when immersing oneself within a social setting for a prolonged period of time.

There were limitations to the participation and observation methods, some of which were important reasons for conducting interviews, discussed below. For example, at most festivals, I lacked access to certain areas, such as backstage and glamping areas. This meant I could not observe some of the details of the materiality of the festivals. Consequently, I was unable to gain data from on-site conversations that could have answered specific questions. This was particularly frustrating in relation to music practices, one of the original foci of the thesis.

Given the length of time taken to sharpen the focus of the thesis, part of the purpose of my observations was to find the most relevant and interesting areas to study. While there is nothing wrong with using participant observation to discover interesting and relevant foci for research, the range of topics I necessarily observed meant that a lot of time and considerable effort (being awake and working from 7 a.m. to 2 a.m. everyday traversing the festival site and taking notes can be exhausting) was spent seeking out and observing things that would not be relevant to the final thesis.

The mutability of my aims also meant that my observations were not as sharply focussed as they would have been had the aims been established at the start of the study; and so I had less of a plan about what to do while at the festivals. This is similar to the problem encountered with selecting interviewees: I included questions relating to music technology and noise abatement regulations that would become irrelevant to the final thesis. A preconceived idea about the narrower focus on everyday life would have yielded more data and allowed for greater preparation as to the things that I was looking for and how I would go about finding them.

To an experienced researcher, the lack of a predetermined focus need not have been the impediment that it proved to be to my research. A keen observer can spot things that others

may miss, and knowledge and experience will enable them to document data that might prove useful later on. My experience while researching music festivals highlights my limitations as a participant observer. While my efforts yielded some interesting findings, if I had been a more experienced researcher, I would perhaps have had more tools at my disposal to help me find new things to observe or new ways to look at the things I was exploring. Rather, after a while observing festivals, I found that I could not see past the similarities in what I was observing. While the similarities between greenfield festivals was a useful observation, it potentially led to lost opportunities to gather data that could have better informed the thesis.

While I had a degree of privileged access to personnel and spaces via personal contacts at two of the festivals, it may have benefited the study to have had such access at all festivals. This would have provided greater detail to my on-site observations and more opportunities to inform the subsequent creation of interview schedules. However, the observations I was able to make served as a good source of questions, highlighting both the value of my multi-method approach and of conducting research on site at the festivals. In addition, many of the observations I was able to make, by taking advantage of these opportunities to observe usually restricted areas, were related to aspects of music, sound engineering and stage management, none of which feature in the completed thesis.

A possible way to overcome this, garnering greater access while remaining oriented to everyday life, would have been to volunteer at a festival. Unfortunately, because greenfield festivals are by and large summer events, by the time I realised that greater access might have been improved the quality of my observations, it was not possible for me to do so for another nine months. By that time, I would need to have finished my data collection and begun my data analysis.

While volunteering would have given me access to some areas of the festival site and certain processes involved in running the festival, the kinds of jobs that are given to volunteers, such as litter picking and stewarding, would have offered me limited access to areas of the festival site closed to the paying public and afforded me little opportunity to make notes. So, while it would have been of some benefit, perhaps by informal conversations with more experienced volunteers, I feel that there were more worthwhile uses of my time at that stage in my research.

One limitation of conducting solo observations is that the researcher cannot be in more than one place at a time. I would often have liked to be in two places at once (or have another researcher) in order to more closely observe things like the flows of people between different areas of a festival site at different times and to see what festival-goers were doing in areas where I was not. I was able to mitigate the effects of this somewhat by continually moving around the festival site during the day, but this was a great effort that could have been diminished had I been part of a larger research team. Of course, such a strategy would not be without its issues.

A final, minor limitation of the method was my inability to adequately capture conversations with other people whilst at the festival without making them uncomfortable by digitally recording the conversations or taking notes whilst speaking to them. Festival-goers are, after all, at festivals in order to enjoy themselves, while sound engineers, stage managers and police officers are there to work. I felt that recording such conversations was inappropriate, would limit the possibilities for casual interactions at the festivals and raise ethical concerns. Consequently, the information was remembered, a summary of the conversation jotted down in a notebook immediately after the conversation and written up in the main research diary as soon as possible after the conversation had taken place. I do not believe that any significant data was lost because of this method of recording conversations.

During the data analysis, I did not use computer software preferring instead to analyse my data personally so that I could become immersed in it. Working with information in this way, spending hours copying up the research notes, re-reading them, identifying useful passages, marking them, writing about them and finding links to other parts of the diary allows you to become very familiar with the data. Eventually, new connections can be easily established between different parts of the data. For some, however, computer coding software allows for more efficient processing of the data with no effect on their analytical faculties.

9.4 Strengths and limitations of interviews

The thesis would have been strengthened by a greater number and broader range of interviewees. One group of participants that I would have liked to interview is organisers of large greenfield festivals. I made attempts to secure interviews with this group, but most did not respond to my enquiries, while others were either too busy to be interviewed or explained

that they did not consent to any interviews from students, given the large volume of requests they received each year. This excerpt from an email I received from Glastonbury Festival is illustrative of the problems I faced in securing interviews with organisers of large festivals:

Dear Michael

We're sorry, but we don't have the staffing capacity to be able to answer so many questions. Much of this information you will be able to find on the Festival's website or online through your own research.

(Email response from Glastonbury Festival)

Members of other large festival organisations from which suitable interviewees were sought (Leeds Festival, Festival Republic, Equinox Festival, Beatherder, Kendal Calling, Isle of Wight Festival, Download) were similarly unwilling to participate in the study, with emails submitted via website enquiry forms (often the only means of contact available to members of the public) going unanswered or else receiving polite refusals.

Interviews were secured with two organisers of small greenfield festivals, so this area was covered in the interviews, even if not to the extent that I had hoped. Not securing interviews with organisers of large festivals meant that I had to rely more heavily on my observational data and interviews with people who work or provide services at greenfield festivals. This influenced the shape of Chapter 5 in which glamping and food provision are used as points of entry to explore temporary infrastructures at festivals.

My reading on time and space led to my thinking in more detail about the difference in practice performances in greenfield festival spaces compared to outside the festivals. This, in turn, led to my considering the differences between everyday life practices at greenfield and urban festivals and whether this could become a viable part of the thesis. In terms of sampling, this change allowed me to successfully implement convenience and snowball sampling, to quickly secure six additional interviewees involved in the organising and running of urban music festivals. This highlights the difficulty I had sampling from greenfield compared to urban festivals. The scope was now there for interview data to be a more significant part of thesis.

Despite the abovementioned issues with my interview sampling process, I was able to collect sufficient data from interviews to supplement that collected by other methods.

My interviews took place over the course of 12 months which had advantages and disadvantages. The advantages were that my interview questions could evolve in response to my observations and reading about festivals. It also provided time for my project to evolve which allowed later interviews to be more focussed on areas that became most relevant to the final thesis. The disadvantages were that the data had to be analysed in small chunks that I then had to refamiliarise myself with when I wanted to make connections across the interviews. Had I conducted the interviews over a three-month period, for example, each interview would have been fresher in my mind and the information more readily accessed for use in my writing and improving interview schedules. Having interviews closer together would also have afforded me an opportunity to improve my interviewing technique.

If I were to conduct this research again, I would not try to secure interviews with festival organisers because the process would likely be just as frustrating and fruitless. Instead, I would focus on providers of services such as food and glamping. This would have yielded more data directly related to festival infrastructures that such people provide, rely on and have first-hand experience of. This interview data would have allowed me to speak with more authority about the role of festival infrastructure in the everyday life practices of those at greenfield festivals.

The shift in focus of the thesis from a broader concern with music festivals to a narrower focus on everyday life at music festivals meant that some interview material, particularly that related to music practices, was not relevant to the final thesis. However, the available data relating to everyday life during festivals that prompted this change in emphasis made the shift in focus worthwhile, especially given that consideration of everyday life is often missing from the existing literature.

During my research, I found that interviewees were able to describe the processes, activities and materialities involved in organising or working at festivals. Indeed, because many of the questions related to systematic processes that interviewees had reflected on multiple times, such as setting up glamping areas or estimating energy requirements, interviewees were not only able to answer questions with ease but often without hesitation and in surprising detail. Without the ability of these people to talk about what they do, this study would lack data on

important aspects of everyday life practices that result from the interaction between what festival-goers and festival organisers do.

Finally, as with my analysis of observation and participation data, I adopted a manual approach to processing of interviews. This approach is perhaps more cumbersome than the use of coding software but I believe it offered me a degree of mental latitude when finding connections in and drawing things out of the data.

10. Conclusion

Studying practices presents particular methodological challenges. My research design employs a number of established methods used in practice research. Each method enabled me to gather data on particular aspects of everyday life at historical and contemporary music festivals. For example, researching past practices using secondary sources was an efficient (and perhaps the only) way to gather data on everyday life at past festivals. My observations allowed me to garner data on how everyday life is lived during greenfield and urban festivals, which would have been difficult to gather from interviewing festival-goers or reading about festival-going. Finally, interviews provided an efficient way of gathering data on aspects of organising and running music festivals that would otherwise have required shadowing festival organisers for extended periods.

My research design and methods informed the content of my thesis and the extent of what I am able to say about everyday life during music festivals. The adoption of a single method would likely have narrowed the scope of the study and limited the aspects of everyday life to which I am able to speak while increasing the depth and authority with which I could speak on that topic. As it is, my methodological choices and emergent research design led me to attend to a broader range of issues than I could have achieved using a single method, but the depth of my analysis and the authority with which I am able to speak in the thesis is limited by the data I was able to collect. However, my intention is to produce situated knowledge, grounded in the particularities of the phenomena I investigate, not to seek to create objective, universalisable knowledge. In that sense, I feel the application of method, while imperfect (see above), was successful.

Chapter 3: The Evolution of Everyday Life at UK Greenfield Music Festivals

1. Introduction

Rachel¹⁰ arrives at the 1960 Beaulieu Jazz Festival on Sunday evening. Many other teenaged 'beats' and 'pseudo-beats' had arrived the night before. Late in the evening, Rachel goes to the campsite where she sits around a campfire listening to the strains of the amateur musicians there. The majority of festival-goers, she notices, sleep in tents with sleeping bags as a bulwark against the cold. Others are sleeping in the communal sleeping marquee. Some of the older, more well-turned out festival-goers, who she had earlier seen sitting politely on chairs in front of the stage while she and her friends danced with abandon on the grass, even have caravans. Those who can't afford the 5 shillings for the campsite live like vagrants, sleeping and toileting in the woods, seemingly without need of the paraphernalia of modern everyday life, such as beds, soap, toilets and spare clothes.

Earlier that day, Rachel, along with many young festival-goers who had left the festival site, were drinking in the village pubs and eating in the café at the Abbey, since the musical program only runs in the evening. There, she mingled with thousands of people who have turned up but can't get a ticket for the festival. According to the locals, they are an unwashed mass of people tramping through the village, unshaven, with greasy, unkempt hair and dirty clothes. They lay sprawl on the ground in the village, much to the disapproval of local residents, and defecate in garages, urinate in gutters and fornicate in people's gardens. Back at the festival site, a roaring trade is done at the beer tents with over 30 tons of beer sold in two days, along with 5000 hotdogs cooked over open fires. There are long queues for the toilets. In the morning, some festival-goers drive, though Rachel and her friend hitch-hike, back to their 'other lives', so different from those they have been living at the festival.

Box 2: Beaulieu Jazz Festival 1960/1961

¹⁰ This is a semi-fictionalised account of life during the Beaulieu Jazz Festival. It is based primarily on a 1960 article written for the *Observer* newspaper by 17-year-old, Rachel Anderson. However, it contains elements drawn from other contemporary newspaper accounts, especially of the 1961 iteration of the festival.

Phil¹¹ and his 16-year-old son arrive at the 2007 Latitude Festival on Friday evening. Upon arrival they drop their bags at a pre-erected tent they have hired for the weekend from a glamping company. The tent includes airbeds, inflatable pillows and brand-new sleeping bags. Other people in the glamping area, accessible only by means of the appropriate wristband, are staying in yurts, campervans and little wooden huts. On the way to the area, there is a range of stalls, all with queues, selling food from around the globe as well as clothes, handicrafts and novelty items. Queues are a prominent feature of the weekend. There are queues 'for everything — toothbrushing, water, cashpoint, supermarket, head massages.' There are multiple bars, made from an assortment of planks of reclaimed wood and other detritus. Reusable plastic glasses incur a £2 deposit. The festival site is huge and they navigate by means of the map they buy from one of the sellers near the arena. By nightfall, the site is illuminated by artificial lights as they return to their tent to sleep. In the morning, a bin lorry roams the festival site as stewards collect rubbish. People sit in folding chairs, under gazebos, making fresh ground coffee over gas stoves and organic fried breakfasts in their frying pans. Others buy breakfasts at the stalls, complete with fresh ground Americano coffee. Entertainment, accommodation, food, drink, showers and shops have all been provided so there is no need to leave the festival site. This is a full-service experience.

Box 3: Latitude Festival 2007

The above vignettes provide semi-fictionalised accounts of life at two greenfield music festivals nearly 50 years apart. It is apparent that much of the greenfield festival-going experience is wrapped up with everyday life. The accounts reveal that several everyday life practices were performed in both 1960 and 2007, such as camping, sleeping, cooking, eating and drinking. However, they also highlight differences within the practices, such as how Rachel and Phil slept, where they ate, and the extent of organisation and improvisation found at the festivals. The latter account also reveals additional practices that are now part of festivals, such as glamping and showering, and serves to highlight that practices such as washing are not part of the earlier story. This chapter is concerned with such changes: the types of practices that are

¹¹ This is a semi-fictionalised account of journalist Phil Hogan's 2007 visit to the Latitude Festival. Some of the details have been altered and the vignette is supplemented by details from other accounts of modern festivals. The original article can be found at: <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2007/jul/22/festivals.parentspages>

part of festivals in different periods, how they are performed and how, thereby, everyday life at greenfield festivals has evolved.

In this chapter, I explore this evolution from the earliest UK music festivals at Beaulieu through to the plethora of festivals that are held today. To do this, I draw upon historical and contemporary academic and non-academic literature, government reports, legislation, industry codes of practice, newspaper archives and online resources. Gaining insight into the evolution of everyday life practices provides a foundation for understanding how changes in these practices affect today's greenfield music festivals and their energy demand.

In order to do this, I divide greenfield music festivals into three periods. These are: the early festivals of the late 1950s to the early 1970s; the free festivals of the 1970s through to the early 1990s; and the modern commercial festivals that arose in the mid 1990s. This periodisation was chosen for analytical purposes and is not intended to provide an objective trifurcation of festival history. Two documents, which had important implications for everyday life practices at greenfield festivals, are the basis of this division; the 1973 *Pop Festivals: Report and Code of Practice*, and the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (Criminal Justice Act). Before looking more closely at everyday life, however, a brief overview of UK greenfield festival history is given to orient the reader to the three periods under consideration.

2. Greenfield festivals from Beaulieu to today

The Beaulieu Jazz Festival, which ran from 1956 to 1961, was the progenitor of greenfield music festivals in the UK (Clarke 1982; McKay 2005). The festival, organised by Lord Montagu and taking place on his country estate in the New Forest, was inspired by Newport Jazz Festival in America (Montagu 2000). The 1956 and 1957 events were held on a single summer evening and were more like open-air concerts than greenfield music festivals. However, the 1958 festival has been described as the first 'proper' UK greenfield music festival (Sandford and Reid 1974: 10). It was the first open-air, multi-day, live music event in the UK to feature the on-site, outdoor accommodation of festival-goers and it became a template for the greenfield festivals that followed. Indeed, there is some substance to the claim that the Beaulieu Jazz festivals were 'primitive mini-Woodstocks' (Farren and Barker 1972: no pagination). Beaulieu Jazz Festival, therefore, occupies a significant place in UK festival history and serves as the starting point for my analysis.

By 1962, *Melody Maker* magazine asserted that Britain had gone ‘festival crazy’ (McKay 2005: 69). Jazz critic Benny Green opined that ‘an unprecedented rash of festivals has broken out right across the country’ (Green 1962). By searching contemporary newspaper reports and the literature on early greenfield music festivals, I found evidence of 11 Beaulieu-style jazz festivals, some recurring annually, having taken place by 1963 (Our Correspondent 1961, Green 1962, Anant 1963, Green 1963, McKay 2005).

By the mid-1960s, however, shifting musical tastes saw jazz festivals give way to pop and rhythm and blues festivals. This change in music further increased the popularity of greenfield music festivals. The National Jazz Federation (NJF) festival that took place in Richmond Park in London from 1960 to 1965,

encapsulate[d] the musical and social transformation of the time; in the space of a few years in the early 1960s, musical tastes shifted from the retro jazz and blues of Acker Bilk, Ken Colyer, and Alex Welsh toward the new popular music—and audience—of the blues-oriented bands such as the Rolling Stones, the Yardbirds, and Manfred Mann.

(McKay 2004: 94).

The shift away from jazz to towards pop music led to changes in the demographic makeup of festival audiences. Whereas the early festivals at Richmond and Beaulieu saw a mixture of ages, classes and income groups (Our Correspondent 1959), festival audiences increasingly came to be made up of teenagers. The 1965 National Jazz and Blues Festival at Richmond Park in London described itself as ‘something of a teenagers’ Ascot’ (NJF flier quoted in Sandford and Reid 1974: 20). In 1971, researchers calculated that, at one Dutch festival, only 13 percent of the audience were over 24 years of age. Sources on UK festivals (e.g. DOE 1973; Sandford and Reid 1974) indicate that this was also likely have been the case in the UK.

New pop festivals proliferated throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Just as Beaulieu Jazz Festival was inspired by Newport Jazz, so these new festivals were, in part, inspired by the release of concert films of American festivals, such as Monterrey International Pop Music Festival (1967 [film 1968]) and Woodstock (1969 [film 1970]) (McKay 1996). Several single-day outdoor music events took place in this period, such as the free concerts in Hyde Park in London (1968-

1971). Multi-day festivals were held at, among other places, the Isle of Wight (1968-1970), Bath (1970), Krumlin (1970) Glastonbury (1971), Weeley (1971) Bickershaw (1972), Bardney (1972) and Buxton (1973) (Clarke 1982).

Attendances at greenfield festivals grew enormously between 1958 and 1970. Attendances at Beaulieu rose from 400 in its inaugural year to around 10,000 in 1960 (McKay 2005). In 1964, the National Jazz and Blues Festival¹² at Richmond (1960-1965) offered camping for the first time for an audience of 27,000 people (Sandford and Reid 1974: 20). Attendance at the 1969 Isle of Wight Festival was 80,000, with attendance at the 1970 festival conservatively estimated at 200,000 (Clarke 1982: vi). Hinton (Hinton 1995: 111), however, suggests that 500,000 people attended, citing a statement by British Rail that 600,000 people used the Ferry to the Isle of Wight on that weekend.

The rise of free festivals in the early 1970s brought a new way of organising greenfield festivals. Free festivals were born out of the ideals of the hippy culture of the late 1960s. Following the model of free concerts in San Francisco (1967-9) and London's Hyde Park (1968-1971), free festivals were an expression of the desire of some within society to live an alternative lifestyle. Free festivals were largely spontaneous, self-organising, free to attend events of unspecified duration that mostly took place on common land. Many people spent their lives travelling from festival to festival during the summer, essentially living a nomadic existence (McKay 1996).

Woodstock (1969) in America and the Isle of Wight Festival (1970) in the UK were precursors to free festivals. Both became *de facto* free festivals, though the Isle of Wight Festival made it to the Sunday before capitulating to the efforts of the huge crowd of festival-goers who were originally denied entry and broke down the perimeter fences (McKay 1996). Early examples of free festivals include another inadvertently free festival, Phun City (1970) – which although originally intended to be a not for profit festival was declared free following poor management (Farren and Barker 1972) – Glastonbury Fayre (1971) and the Windsor Free Festivals (1972-1974).

¹² Known as the National Jazz Festival from 1960-1963.

The peak period of free festivals came during the sub-cultural shift from the hippie generation to punk, which spanned the late 1970s and early 1980s (McKay 1996). The most iconic symbol of the free festival movement at this time was the so-called peace convoy. The convoy consisted of '140 rumbling, wheezing buses, vans, ambulances and cars' (Nick Davies quoted in McKay 1996: 31) with over 600 travellers (Thompson 2005). Though the movement was largely extinguished at the Battle of the Beanfield, as the police sought to prevent it reaching the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival (see below), many in the movement subsequently became known as New Age Travellers and continued to live a peripatetic lifestyle until the brief resurgence of free festivals in the early 1990s (Partridge 2006).

Today's festivals owe much to the development of free festival culture. Forced to abandon Stonehenge, festival-goers turned instead to Glastonbury, which would subsequently become the largest and most iconic UK music festival (McKay 2000). The late 1980s and early 1990s saw encounters between the New Age Traveller movement, with their tradition of free festivals, and the emerging rave culture and its illegal raves known as free parties. The coming together of these two countercultures revived free festivals. This movement reached its zenith at the Castlemorton Common free party in 1992 (Anderton 2011). The week-long gathering attracted an estimated 20,000 people to Castlemorton Common in Worcestershire (Katz 1992) and provoked outrage among local residents, garnering much media attention. This was instrumental in the creation of the 1994 Criminal Justice Act, which inadvertently led to the resurgence of festival culture in the UK (Partridge 2006).

The years that followed the Criminal Justice Act saw a marked upturn in the number of professionally organised commercial events. The number of festivals increased year on year from 1997 to 2008 (Stone 2009). In 2007, there were in the region of 500 music festivals of all types, sizes and duration (Bottrill et al. 2007). Whereas in 1974 it was estimated that around 2 million people had attended a pop festival at some time in their life (Sandford and Reid 1974: 10), it was estimated that 5 million attended music festivals in 2007 alone (Bottrill et al. 2007). In recent years, this may have declined somewhat, with attendances estimated at around 4 million in each of 2015, 2016 and 2017 (UK Music 2018 no pagination).

Anderton (2008) argues that high-profile incidents, such as drug taking at the Stonehenge free festivals, the events at Castlemorton Common, the tearing down of perimeter fences at

Glastonbury in 1995 and the passing of the Criminal Justice Act, meant that greenfield festivals needed to meet much higher standards than previous festivals. He states that:

To launch a major new festival at this time [the mid 1990s], especially one that needed to attract major sponsorship deals in order to be staged at all, required the event to be organized in a highly professional and security-conscious manner. This professionalization of the music festival experience was also aimed at attracting a wider range of potential festival-goers, including those who might not otherwise have considered themselves to be “festival people.”

(Anderton 2008: 46).

Much of the focus of this professionalisation relates to everyday life (see Chapter 5). Competition in the festival sector and a focus on festival-going as an experience (see Anderton 2008 and 2011) has led to an increase in the types and standard of provision made for everyday life by festival organisers, with many festivals now offering glamping, posh toilets, showers, gourmet food and drink, and a host of other things not previously available at music festivals. Having provided an overview of key moments in the history of UK greenfield music festivals, I turn to consider the evolution of everyday life over the course of this history.

3. Early greenfield festivals (1958 to 1973)

3.1 Learning to provide for everyday life at early festivals

As noted above, the on-site accommodation of festival-goers at the 1958 Beaulieu Jazz Festival was a key point in the history of festivals. This gave prominence to particular everyday life practices. Many everyday life practices were not part of live music events until the advent of greenfield festivals – for example, sleeping, making fires and cooking – though others were, such as toileting, eating and drinking. The performance of these practices on greenfield festival sites called for new forms of preparation for music events by both festival-goers and festival organisers, though the specificity of these preparations differed in a number of ways from those at today’s festivals.

Some of the earliest greenfield festivals made use of a combination of temporary provision provided by festival organisers and more permanent facilities, either on festival sites or in the surrounding areas. Accounts of Beaulieu Jazz Festival mention festival-goers eating at the cafeteria in nearby Beaulieu Abbey (Anderson 1960) and drinking in the village pubs (A

Special Correspondent 1961), as well as using the organiser-provided camping area, communal sleeping marquee, beer tents and food. Despite the combination of temporary and existing facilities, the festival was criticised in the *New Statesman* for not providing enough toilets (Montagu 2000) and, as the above vignette highlights (Box 1, above), existing provision in the village was inadequate for the number of people who turned up but were denied access to the festival.

At the 1964 Richmond Jazz Festival, festival-goers were provided with space to camp and a communal sleeping marquee for those who did not bring tents. The festival organisers, however, also relied on the park's existing facilities, including toilets. The following year, the park's authorities banned camping and the park's facilities were shut at 10pm. However, many festival-goers turned up expecting arrangements to be the same as the previous year. Consequently, many slept in the woods as they had no way of returning home and were, instead, required to improvise in order to go to the toilet, keep warm and create places to sleep. Problems stemming from the lack of provision for everyday practices, and the ramifications of festival-goers' improvisations, led to the festival being moved to Windsor in 1966 (Sandford and Reid 1974).

Though it was less common, some later festivals in this period also incorporated existing provision for everyday life. The 1970 Bath Festival of Blues and Progressive Music, for example, took place at an agricultural showground. Contemporary accounts point to the incorporation of existing infrastructures:

I think the site [of Bath Festival] was a sort of fairground and there were permanent types of toilets there. There were semi-permanent or permanent fences already around the area which didn't require much security.

(Sandford and Reid 1974: 32).

Most festivals, however, took place on sites with few or no pre-existing facilities. Where this was the case, more extensive temporary provision was required for everyday life practices, for example, campsites, communal sleeping marquees, food vans, beer tents and water supplies for drinking and washing. Many festival organisers in this period failed to adequately provide such provision, either because they underestimated what was required or were otherwise

unprepared for the levels of demand from festival-goers. Poor organisation was a feature of many festivals during this period. Harold Pendleton, the organiser of the NJF festivals said:

One of the mistakes so far has been that it's [the pop festival] been organised either by amateurs or by rip off artists ... The amateurs ... say that my festivals are "too well organised, man; not enough soul." And I say, where's the soul at a festival as you shit in the mud?

(Pendleton quoted in Sandford and Reid 1974: 9)

Indeed, there are bleak descriptions of conditions at some events. The 1970 Isle of Wight Festival was described as, 'a very big concentration camp [in which] the facilities were very primitive' (Sandford and Reid 1974: 36). The sanitary facilities at many festivals came in for much criticism:

At one recent festival the ladies' toilet was just a large tent containing twenty or thirty buckets scattered at random round the floor. You should have seen the faces of some of the girls as they came out of the tent.

(unattributed quote, Sandford and Reid 1974: 9)

The toilets at Weeley were in fact primitive. Here is the rather insensitive way that Page describes them: "A trench, 100 yards long, 8 feet deep, already beginning to smell and unhygienic in a wind. Seats as such were not available, and those who made a call had to sit with their posteriors between two parallel bars or scaffolding, with a wooden plank to lean on at the back."

(Sandford and Reid 1974: 51).

Sanitary conditions at some festivals were such that medical researchers raised concerns about potential impacts on festival-goers' health. An article in the *British Medical Journal* (1971) made recommendations on how best to deal with these issues, based on the authors' work at Hollywood Festival of Music, near Stoke on Trent. Regarding toilet facilities, they said:

At this event lavatory accommodation was not adequate, particularly near the dressing station, where it would have been better to have some type of flush toilet. Lavatories should not only be adequate but should be kept emptied. Probably a minimum of one

lavatory per 250 people would be enough for a three-day event in closed accommodation. This is based on the figure of three minutes per occupant and each person using the lavatory four times a day.

(Levens and Durham 1971: 219)

The authors also had concerns about hygiene, particularly in relation to the water supply:

We have four main recommendations about water supply. Firstly, running water should be piped into the dressing station and connected to basins fitted with taps. Secondly, at least two taps should be available throughout the accommodation field. Thirdly, washing facilities should be available in the food marquees and travelling vans selling food. Lastly, a water supply should be capable of delivering at least 2 gallons (9 l.) of water per person per day.

(Levens and Durham 1971: 219)

Perhaps the most serious example of poor organisation and ill-preparedness at a greenfield festival in this period is the case of Krumlin Festival (1970). *International Times* said of the festival:

It was the worst organised festival ever ... It belonged to those days when they said: "We'll get some bands up, and we'll put some ads in the paper and we'll get some amplifiers and we'll have a festival, and all the people will come, and you know, man, we'll make a lot of money and we'll go and live well, somewhere else."

(*International Times* quoted in Sandford and Reid 1974: 32)

The festival, which began on the Friday, was shut down by the police on the Sunday, following bad weather that led to hundreds of festival-goers suffering from exposure.

Some marvelled at the spirit of festival-goers who suffered such privations with good humour:

Thousands of youngsters are prepared to endure tremendous hardship just to be there [at a pop festival] ... The hardships undergone by the "pilgrims" [festival-goers] are almost indescribable ... They faced cheerfully a half mile walk for cold water in which they wash, another half mile walk to the inadequate sanitary facilities and in most cases further long walks to buy food at the shops about the site which charged inflated prices.

(Chief Constable of Hampshire Constabulary quoted in DOE 1973: 3 and 15, original emphasis)

It is remarkable that since 1968, hundreds of thousands of people, mainly between the ages of 12 and 30 have elected to spend four or five nights at a time, under most uncomfortable conditions and sometimes even worse, away from home, tightly packed listening to music often produced with low quality amplification.

(DOE 1973: 8)

It was not only festival organisers that were unprepared for the performance of everyday life practices. Many festival-goers during this period turned up at festivals without consideration for how they were going to sleep, eat, drink or stay warm. The Chief Constable of Hampshire Constabulary commented that '*[Festival-goers] are ill-equipped and badly trained for such excursions ... Ill equipped as they were, they found the nights cold but in the morning their high spirits quickly reasserted themselves*' (quoted in DOE 1973: 3 and 15, original emphasis).

There are, however, examples of festival-goers learning new skills. For example, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, camping in tents and marquees was supplemented by making shelters from wood, polythene and bales of hay provided by some festival organisers. Although this demonstrates festival-goer' learning and improvisation, the practice of building temporary accommodations was not without its problems. As Hinton (1995) reports:

A week after the [Isle of White] festival, [a clerk of Freshwater Parish Council] records "many complaints regarding litter from the site blowing under high winds onto the main highway causing danger to drivers; large sheets of polythene plastic a particular hazard."

(Hinton 1995: 168)

The example of building shelters highlights how preparations for everyday life at festivals stem from a dynamic relationship between festival-goers and festival organisers where each have expectations about what the other will provide. In the early days of festival-going, it was not clear exactly where lines of responsibility would be drawn at any given festival.

Understandings of who was responsible for what evolved through a process of trial and error that affected how everyday life practices were performed.

3.2 Everyday life and the increasing number of festival-goers

The relatively large, and sometimes unexpected, scale of some festivals also contributed to poor on-site conditions. As festival attendances rose, organisational skills failed to keep pace. Many festival organisers found it difficult to organise and co-ordinate the volume of temporary provision that was required to adequately meet the demands placed on this provision by increasingly large numbers of festival-goers. These problems were compounded by festival organisers failing to anticipate the number of festival-goers their events would attract.

Following trouble at the 1960 Beaulieu Jazz Festival, the 1961 festival was limited to 6,000 tickets per performance (Montagu 2000), down from 10,000 the previous year (Our Correspondent 1960). Such was the popularity of the festival, however, that an estimated 20,000 people showed up, causing trouble in the nearby village of Beaulieu. This led Lord Montagu to put an end to the festivals (Montagu 2000). An even more extreme example is that of the 1972 Weeley Festival. Organisers had gained a licence for a festival with a capacity of 10,000. However, they were faced with an estimated 80-140,000 festival-goers (DOE 1973; Sandford and Reid 1974).

The most infamous example from this period, however, is that of the 1970 Isle of Wight Festival. The (at that time) rare spectacle of Bob Dylan as a headline performer contributed to the festival's popularity (Hinton 1995). Consequently, the festival was over-subscribed and on-site provision was inadequate. Food was expensive and the festival experienced food shortages, with many going hungry (McKay 1996). Tens-of-thousands of people who could not gain access to the festival camped outside the festival site on what became known as Desolation Hill. According to Sandford and Reid:

It was called Desolation Hill because the people sitting up there went through such privations ... There was quite a lot of hunger because there was not much food organised and there were a lot of hungry kids, many of them were destitute when they left the festival ... One row of huts and tents and polythene homes was called Poverty Row.

(Sandford and Reid: 1974: 36 and 40)

Many of the group of excluded would-be festival-goers, led by the so-called White Panthers, demanded that the festival be declared free, following the example of Woodstock a year earlier. The festival was finally declared free on the final day after a protracted battle between festival security, who were trying to erect bigger, more secure fencing, and would-be festival goers, who would repeatedly tear the fences down (McKay 1996).

The undeniable problems at the festival, amplified by sensationalist press coverage (DOE 1973) and the objections of residents (Hinton 1995), brought an end to the Isle of Wight Festival. It was effectively banned by the 1971 Isle of Wight County Council Act. The Act gave the County Council 'certain powers of control of large overnight assemblies in the open' (Isle of Wight Act 1990), including the ability to prevent events from taking place. According to the Advisory Committee on Pop Festivals:

The Isle of Wight County Council Act 1971 contained a clause by which the County Council could control and regulate such events and, in the event of non-co-operation by the promoters or dissatisfaction with the site or festival arrangements, could prevent the festival from being held at all; penalties were considerable.

(DOE 1973: 18)

The Isle of Wight Festivals only re-emerged again in the more accepting climate of 2002.

The Isle of Wight County Council Act provided the basis for the Night Assemblies Bill (1972), which would attempt, but ultimately fail, to give local councils across the country similar powers to effectively stop any festival from taking place without any legal recourse on the part of festival organisers (Clarke 1982). The private member's Bill met with considerable opposition in the House of Commons, lost government backing and failed to pass into law. Had the Bill passed, it would have effectively put an end to greenfield music festivals in the UK (DOE 1973).

Many, though by no means all, local community objections to music festivals stem from the multi-day and pastoral features of greenfield festivals, which bring everyday practices, such as

sleeping or drinking, into public scrutiny. Lord Montagu, organiser of the Beaulieu Jazz festivals, in part credited the smooth running of an all-night jazz festival in Bridlington, East Yorkshire, to the fact that the attendees ‘could not camp in the streets of Bridlington’ (Lord Montagu quoted in *Our Correspondent* 1961). The understanding that overnight accommodation of festival-goers brought about problems was also embedded in the Isle of Wight Act, which had a provision that open-air events ‘at which during any period exceeding three hours during the six hours following midnight there are not less than 5,000 people present’ must be licensed (Clarke 1982: 51). Large daytime events, however, would not be affected.

3.3 The Stevenson Report

The poor conditions at many greenfield festivals during this period were highly publicised (Clarke 1982). The accompanying moral panic led to the convening of the Department of the Environment Advisory Committee on Pop Festivals. The Committee’s report, *Pop Festivals: Report and Code of Practice* (DOE 1973), otherwise known as the Stevenson Report, acknowledged that many of the problems encountered by festival organisers and festival-goers related to the carrying on of, and provisioning for, everyday life at greenfield festivals. Much of the report was concerned with the temporary provision that would enable people to live on site, given the lack of pre-existing infrastructure and facilities at the majority of greenfield festival sites. The report made recommendations as to standards of provision for sanitation, camping facilities, car parking, levels of lighting, medical care and water supplies (DOE 1973).

Regarding sleeping arrangements, the report noted that many festival-goers turned up without tents. It called upon festival organisers to make provision for festival-goers who did not bring tents. The report states:

Some people will have brought with them neither sleeping bag nor tent and promoters should provide some *dormitory accommodation* at a nominal charge; we would suggest that they estimate provision on the basis of 10 per cent of the expected audience. Such accommodation will most likely be provided in large marquees.

(DOE 1973: 92, original emphasis)

It is unclear how common the practice of supplying marquees was in the 1970s, but this is not something that endures today.

In terms of water supply, the report recommended that, ‘an adequate and wholesome supply of water must be provided either from the mains or from water tankers’ (DOE 1973: 44). Recommendations were made regarding the amount of water required per festival-goer (one gallon) and the distance that any festival-goer should be from a tap at any time (200 yards). In addition, ‘Separate taps need only be provided on the camp site and in the service area where water for drinking, cleaning, etc, will be needed in addition to the supply for washing purposes’ (DOE 1973: 54). To give an indication of the scale of water provision, the Isle of Wight Festival in 1970s was reported as having used over 330,000 gallons of water (DOE 1973: 54). Washing is mentioned only tangentially in literature and news reports addressing festivals of the late 1950s and early 1960s, by those who comment on festival-goers being unkempt and unwashed.

Regarding sanitation, some recommendations were so obvious as to be hardly worth stating. For example, ‘Suitable and sufficient toilets must be provided throughout the whole of the site and so sited that they are reasonably accessible in proportionate numbers to the numbers on campsites and arenas at any given time’ (DOE 1973: 135). However, more specific recommendations were made in terms of how trench-style toilets were to be made (they should be ‘adequately supported against collapse and with suitable bars and back rests or purpose made seats’), how they were to be maintained, the number of toilets per head of festival-goers (‘one closet per 75 female and one closet per 150 males with an additional one foot of urinal standing per 100 males’), that toilets should be covered, and that disposable sanitary towels should be provided in the female toilets (DOE 1973: 42).

The Committee also produced recommendations on what festival-goers should take to greenfield festivals. Appendix H (‘What to wear and what to take to a pop festival’) suggests taking warm clothes, advising that ‘the nights can be cold even in mid-summer,’ and waterproof clothing, which it calls, ‘essential’ (DOE 1973: 138). Additional recommendations include: suitable footwear for poor ground conditions; a spare change of clothes; toilet paper and sanitary towels, in acknowledgement of the fact that many festival organisers did not provide these, though the report states that they should; gas stoves, since food can be expensive and open fires were considered dangerous, and a torch (DOE 1973: 138-139). Section 2 states,

‘ideally, it would be wise to take a tent as well. If you have not got a tent or a sleeping bag check beforehand on the availability and cost of dormitory accommodation’ (DOE 1973: 138). Today, the idea that someone would turn up at a festival without a tent or sleeping bag, without having made prior arrangements for sleeping, is difficult to conceive, though this highlights the degree to which learning has been a part of festival-going.

Other recommendations in the report included the provision of 24-hour food and drink (DOE 1973: 74), adequate and well-sited car parks with reasonably sized entrances and exits to limit congestion and working in combination with rail and bus companies to offer discounted travel to festivals so as to discourage car use (DOE 1973: 56). Many of the above recommendations are familiar features of today’s festivals. Such recommendations, however, were difficult to apply to the free festivals that had already begun to take place by the time of the report. The lack of any organisational structure and minimal funding meant that everyday life was catered for in a different way at free festivals, as I discuss below.

4. Everyday life at free festivals (1970-1994)

4.1 Free festivals and self-organisation

Free festivals lacked the hierarchical organisational structures of festivals that went before them and those we see today. Indeed, free festivals were a reaction to the top-down organisational structures of festivals such as the Isle of Wight and Reading Festival (Nita and Gemie 2019). Free festivals had no tickets, no fences, no designated car parks or camping areas, no formal security, no designated end point and no (or minimal) centrally organised infrastructures and facilities, such as lighting, water points and sanitary facilities. The lack of central organisation meant that, if festival-goers wished to incorporate such facilities into the festival, they had to do so themselves.

However, the degree of centralisation at free festivals varied. Some festivals, such as the Windsor Free Festivals (1972-1974) and Glastonbury Fayre (1971), were instigated and promoted by particular individuals, who, while retaining a certain degree of control over the events, did not seek to manage the events in the way that, for example, Lord Montagu or Harold Pendleton managed earlier festivals. Anarchist and promoter Bill ‘Ubi’ Dwyer instigated the

Windsor Free Festival and advertised the 1974 festival internationally, but he had a limited role in providing for festival-goers' everyday life.

The limited extent of Dwyer's involvement can be seen in an excerpt from a newspaper distributed at the 1973 festival, which called on anyone who was willing and able to help dig a trench, as there were no toilet facilities available. The announcement read: 'In case you have not noticed there are NO BOGS and NO WATER on this site. Is there anyone to dig a trench? Otherwise use the woodland, or walk to Virginia Water' (Sandford and Reid 1974: 114, original emphasis). This was an improvement on the 1972 festival, at which the Chief Constable of Thames Valley Police stated there were 'a total lack of sanitary facilities' for the nine-day event (Holdsworth 1977: 183).

The 1974 iteration of the festival was violently broken up by the police after five days, as it was 'by now deemed too illegal' (McKay 1996: 15). In response, the Labour government provided funding and a disused airfield in Berkshire with basic on-site facilities for a People's Free Festival at Watchfield in 1975 (UK Rock Festivals n.d.). The return to a strong top-down organisational style undermined the countercultural ethos of free festivals. Dwyer condemned the festival, asserting the right to hold another free festival at Windsor (Nita and Gemie 2019). Watchfield was discontinued after only one iteration and the informal title of People's Free Festival was thereafter bestowed on the Stonehenge Free Festival, which was established in 1974 (McKay 1996).

Consideration of one of the earliest free festivals, Phun City (1970), illustrates the ethos of free festivals and the differences between the top-down and bottom-up organisation of festivals. A combination of circumstance and poor management led to the festival being declared free and much of the responsibility for the organisation of the festival being ceded to festival-goers. Erstwhile Phun City organiser, Mick Farren, observed:

Hippies had already begun to move onto the site and camp in the woods, and as fast as we put things up, they would be taken down if the freaks [i.e. festival-goers] thought they were irrelevant, and the materials incorporated in shacks and teepees in the wood. By the time the event was due to start we had ... a thriving shady town in the forest ... We were no longer in control and the kids, the audience (although the word was now meaningless), had taken over the event, they were getting down, making it happen, and having the time of their lives.

(Farren and Barker 1972: no pagination)

The lack of defined roles at free festivals was emphasised to me by former free festival-goer-cum-festival worker, George. He told me that the people who attended 'were the festival'. They fulfilled all the roles that organisers and their agents do at centrally organised festivals. At free festivals, he said, 'you're everything'. As the quote from Farren and Barker highlights, this way of doing things could lead to different priorities to those at centrally organised festivals, if festival-goers believed them to be irrelevant. This could affect the sorts of things that were done to prepare for and run the festivals.

The financial resources available for festivals such as Phun City, which received funding from a film deal (Farren and Barker 1972), Watchfield, which was funded by the government, and the 1971 Glastonbury Fayre, which was backed by benefactors Arabella Spencer-Churchill and Andrew Kerr (McKay 2000), supported buying materials to build stages and things used in the carrying on of everyday life, such as toilets. However, many other free festivals had limited financial resources, affecting the sorts of materials that were incorporated into everyday life practice performances and how everyday life was lived.

At many free festivals, festival-goers simply turned up and provided for themselves. A free festival circuit evolved, with festival-goers moving from festival to festival throughout the summer.

By the end of the 1970s a regular summer circuit had been established. From May Hill at the beginning of May via the Horseshoe Pass, Stonehenge, Ashton Court, Ingleston Common, Cantlin Stone, Deeply Vale, Meigan Fair, and various sites in East Anglia, to the Psilocybin Fair in mid-Wales in September, it was possible to find a free festival or a cheap community festival almost every weekend.

(Aitken, quoted in Partridge 2006)

The 1978 Glastonbury Festival provides insight into how free festivals were performed without centralised organisation. According to Michael Eavis, owner of Worthy Farm where the 1971 Glastonbury Fayre took place and organiser of today's Glastonbury Festival, a group of festival-goers arrived at his farm following the Stonehenge Free Festival. Since he felt he had

no option, he agreed to host a free festival. Andrew Kerr, co-instigator of the 1971 Glastonbury Fayre and future Glastonbury Festival organiser, said ‘Word got around that something was happening and there were maybe a couple of thousand people in the end. I did all the lavatories and litter picking afterwards’ (Kerr, quoted in Aubrey and Shearlaw 2005: 45).

The festival’s stage was provided by Nick Turner, designer of the original pyramid stage at Glastonbury Fayre and stage designer for the Rolling Stones, who was asked to bring his scale model of the original pyramid stage to the farm. Power was provided by ‘a 13 amp cable out of Andrew [Kerr]’s caravan to the stage and there was someone there with a whole bag of coins feeding a meter. So whenever they got spaced out or forgot, the music would stop’ (Crimble quoted in Aubrey and Shearlaw 2005: 45).

The impromptu and improvised organisational style of the festival was summed up by Thomas Crimble of the band Hawkwind, ‘the whole point was it wasn’t organised, it just organically came together’ (Crimble quoted in Aubrey and Shearlaw 2005: 45). While this organisational style shares much in common with earlier festivals, such as the Windsor Free Festival and Phun City, it differs in terms of its spontaneity and its even looser form of ‘non-organisation’ (Marchant 2018: 417). Such a comprehensive ‘DIY’ (McKay, 1996: 38) organisational spirit is typical of free festivals from the mid-1970s onwards.

4.2 Free festivals and alternative ways of living

Free festivals were experiments in alternative ways of living. The ethos that inspired and sustained free festivals arose from the hippy culture of the late 1960s. According to Stone:

The nature of a free festival is just that: freedom. You can do what you like, it doesn’t matter how bizarre, as long as it doesn’t impinge upon other people. No moralism. No prohibitions. Only the limits of common humanity, aware of our responsibility to each other and to the earth we all share.

(Stone, quoted in Partridge 2006: 42-43)

Free festivals were ideologically associated with simpler ways of living, getting back to nature and rekindling the spiritual connection that human beings supposedly have to the land. The festivals were ‘a utopian model of an alternative society’ (Partridge 2006: 42). These ideas

were not solely associated with free festivals but were very clearly embedded in their performance. A dissatisfaction with the commercial ethos of many festivals caused some festival-goers to seek alternative ways of producing events that were more compatible with their philosophical outlook.

Indeed, the announcement of the 1973 Trentishoe Whole Earth Fayre read:

The idea of the fayre is to bring together as many people as possible that are involved in living alternative life-styles, in one place to do their thing. To build an alternative camp-site that, as far as possible, is ecologically sound, existing in harmony with the environment.

(quoted in Sandford and Reid 1974: 96)

This environmental message is echoed by one festival-goer at the 1971 Glastonbury Fayre, who said, 'the Glastonbury ethic [involves] caring for ourselves in conjunction with the environment; a consciousness of your effect on the environment while you're living in it, and of the environment on you' (unattributed quote, Sandford and Reid 1974: 70). Another unattributed quote regarding Glastonbury Fayre reads, '[Young people] want to get out into the country, where they can return to a more real form of living. The festival enables them to do this' (Sandford and Reid 1974: 62). Such views are inextricably tied to ways of living everyday life at festivals.

The announcement of the 1973 Trentishoe Fayre in Devon gives an indication of how this idealism relates to and impacts how everyday life was carried on at free festivals. The aims of the festival were:

(1) To *utilise* natural sources of energy, e.g. Windmills, waterwheels, Solar stills, methane gas from recycled sewerage. (2) To *recycle* waste products where practical, e.g. sewerage, paper, grease, glass, etc. (3) To provide cheap alternative structures for shelter, living and working, etc., e.g. domes, teepees and other tent forms, paper or card houses, earth shelters, etc. thatching. (4) To *make* whole food available in free food kitchens, and for personal preparation, e.g. organically grown vegetables for the event, local market garden produce, bulk wholegrains and flour, untreated local milk, scrumpy, spring water (on site) etc.

(Sandford and Reid 1974: 105, original emphasis)

Many of these aims were not brought to fruition, but the above passage provides insight into the ethos that undergirds free festivals; one of living close to the land, in harmony with nature and (as the above aims suggest) for a prolonged period of time. Despite not accomplishing all of these aims, the following description shows how the intent to live an alternative lifestyle affected everyday life at the festival:

For bogs they hired a trench digger and I think there were four trenches around the site, and they just put poles along above the trenches and a canvas cover up. A lot of people who came built their own shelters out of wood and out of polythene. Other people were baking free bread in some ovens which were old gas stoves surrounded by earth to keep the heat in, with small chimneys, fired by wood ... They were even giving away free beds.

(Sandford and Reid 1974: 108)

The above passage highlights the labour-intensive and improvisatory processes that went into providing for everyday life at free festivals. The making of labour-intensive forms of accommodation out of wood and polythene, often known as benders, was common throughout the free festival period (McKay 1996). While the practice predates free festivals, as can be seen from the above descriptions of the Isle of Wight festivals, it was not maintained at commercial festivals after the early 1970s. The baking of bread in earth ovens and giving away of free bread also speaks to the differences that can occur in the materiality and arrangements made for cooking and eating at long-duration, anti-commercial festivals.

Since free festivals were sites of experimentation for alternative ways of living, they had a longer duration than commercial festivals. Trentishoe Fayre, for example, lasted for three weeks, while the Stonehenge Free Festival eventually came to last for the whole of the month of June. The longer duration and relative lack of funds led festival-goers to think about longer-term solutions to many of the challenges faced by living in the countryside for extended periods of time. Earth ovens and the building of wood and plastic shelters were only two expressions of this longer-terms thinking. One important innovation that became emblematic of the freedom associated with free festival movement was the live-in vehicle.

4.3 Live-in vehicles

The alternative lifestyle of many free festival-goers was sustained by a nomadic existence that was facilitated by live-in vehicles. For many who travelled the free festival circuit throughout the summer, vehicles were more than simply a means of shelter, they were homes and provided transport, accommodation and a place and the means to perform everyday life practices. Live-in vehicles might take the form of camper vans, double decker buses, minibuses or any other large vehicle that could be modified to create spaces for sleeping, eating, cooking, keeping warm, socialising and other everyday life practices. An indication of what these vehicles were like can be gleaned from two descriptions given in McKay's (1996) book, *Senseless Acts of Beauty*.

It's got tongue-and-groove wooden floors and cupboards, and I found all my furniture in skips. I've got a low antique pine chest with a sheepskin rug in front of the wood-burner. I've got these two bits of 1920s furniture I cut up, one I put the sink into, the other, I put the cooker in and I used the rest of it for a cupboard.

(Lubi, quoted in McKay 1996: 67)

I ripped all the seats out, put in a bed, put a cooker in, put wood around the side, tongue-and-groove panels – a bit of a cliché, a real stereotypical traveller truck thing to do, but it's really good insulation.

(Vic, quoted in McKay 1996: 68)

McKay attributes the conversion of these vehicles to the erasure of the old function of the vehicle and its replacement with 'the necessities and some luxuries of domestic life' (McKay 1996: 68). This highlights the relationship between live-vehicles and everyday life. Beds, cupboards, sinks, wood-burners, chests, panelling and insulation are all materials that can become part of everyday life practices, not only at festivals but as part of sustained nomadic lifestyles. Such paraphernalia provide the opportunity for people to live everyday life in quite different ways from those who slept in tents or benders. The vehicles provided warmth, access to electricity and storage capacity that enabled festival-goers to take more food, clothing, equipment and means of entertainment than would otherwise have been possible. Since many people at free festivals stayed in their live-in vehicle all year round, the way in which they performed their everyday life practices did not diverge from their non-festival performances as

much as those who lived in houses and stayed in tents or benders during festivals. Live-in vehicles in contemporary settings are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

While many free festival-goers did not own live-in vehicles or travel around the country, the act of doing so became synonymous with the free festival movement, as demonstrated by the self-styled Peace Convoy. The Convoy was a loose-knit group of vehicles that moved from free festival to free festival over the course of the summer (McKay 1996). Live-in vehicles were vital to the maintenance of a way of life associated with utopian freedom, as described above, since they were a means to sustain a life outside of mainstream society for extended periods, or even indefinitely.

However, in 1985 the Peace Convoy was stopped by the police as it made its way to the aborted 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival. The ensuing Battle of the Beanfield, which according to McKay (1996: 30) could be described ‘more accurately [as], a cowardly attack by armed men on family groups including many women and children’, saw men, women and children brutalised by the police and over 500 arrests made. The Convoy was effectively broken. As one member of the Convoy said, ‘After the Beanfield ... it wasn’t that great mass movement again’ (Jay, quoted in McKay 1996: 33).

The legacy of free festivals and their associated ways of living was, however, carried on into the late 1980s and early 1990s in the form of the New Age Traveller movement, ‘a countercultural community that established “a neo-medieval economy based around crafts, alternative medicine and entertainment: jugglers, acrobats, healers, food vendors, candle makers, clothes sellers, tattooists, piercers, jewellers, and drug peddlers”’ (Reynolds, quoted in Partridge 2006: 43). This movement arose out of the remnants of the Peace Convoy following its destruction at the Battle of the Beanfield.

The late 1980s and early 1990s also saw the emergence of another hypermobile counterculture centred on rave music and free parties. Griffin et al. describe free parties as:

mostly illegal events held in fairly isolated rural areas (e.g. disused quarries, forestry commission or private farm land) or in unlicensed urban settings, such as empty warehouses. Party crews set up mobile sound systems to play amplified electronic

dance music with repetitive beats, usually during a weekend, with an emphasis on dancing, hedonism and the use of recreational drugs.

(Griffin et al. 2018: 483)

A more mobile youth took advantage of their ability to move quickly and easily into the countryside surrounding major urban areas to hold raves, the locations of which were often secret, and could move several times in one night to avoid police detection. Common points of connection between free festival and free party culture occasionally saw these movements come together, most notably at Castlemorton Common in Worcestershire. As Partridge states:

Not only do free festivals and raves share many countercultural ideological and alternative spiritual resources, but, more directly, in the late 1980s and early 1990s the bohemian free festival gatherings of like-minded, free-thinkers, inspired by utopian ideals, Easternised psychedelia, and eco-activism, crossed over into rave culture. We have seen, for example, that Spiral Tribe, which was at the centre of many alternative raves in the United Kingdom and Europe in the early 1990s, had strong and formative connections with the New Age traveller community, free festival culture, and psychedelic spirituality. Indeed, many such raves (e.g. Castlemorton Common in 1992) were essentially free festivals in a rave style.

(Partridge 2006: 55).

Castlemorton Common was a watershed moment in greenfield festival history, in that it partly precipitated the 1994 Criminal Justice Act. The scale of the festival, and the squalid conditions on the Common during the festival, led to a moral panic similar to that which led to the Isle of Wight Act and the Stevenson Report.

Many of those involved in rave culture were primarily used to urban living and did not share the hippie ethos of the New Age Travellers. Just as festival-goers in the late 1960s and early 1970s often lacked the experience and skills to successfully perform everyday life practices, so too did rave-goers lack the experience and skills necessary to live in the countryside for an extended period. Regarding sanitation, for example, a New Age Traveller at the Castlemorton Common free party said of newer, city dwelling festival-goers: 'I was going round yesterday at four in the morning burying their shit ... They don't seem to know how to use a shovel' (Katz 1992). This quote highlights that free festival attendees had learned particular ways of

attending to everyday life practices throughout the 1970s and 1980s, developing skills and using particular materials that enabled them to live successfully and (in certain ways) unobtrusively in the countryside for extended periods.

4.4 The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994)

Many of the problems that arose from Castlemorton Common were problems of the carrying on of everyday life. Much like the Isle of Wight County Council Act and the Night Assemblies Bill, The Criminal Justice Act aimed at preventing overnight gatherings of people. Part 5 of Chapter 33 of the Act deals with collective trespass and nuisance. It states that where two or more people are gathered on private land with the intent of staying for any length of time and have been asked to leave by the occupier and have a) used threatening language or behaviour to the occupier, the occupier's family or employees, and/or b) 'those persons have between them six or more vehicles on the land' (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, Chapter 33, Part 5, 61:1 (b)), they will be in violation of law if they do not leave.

This provision also applies to common land, that is, land which is individually or collectively owned, to which the public has traditional rights of access. The Act gave rights to so-called 'commoners.' The above-mentioned provisions of the Act would come into force if complaints were made by one or more commoner (Chapter 33, Part 5, 61:7 and 8). Where common land is privately owned, a commoner is understood as the owner or owners of land. Where the land is owned by the County Council, a commoner is understood to be anyone who has a right of access to the land, that is to say, any member of the general public. Such provisions would make it practically impossible for gatherings involving even small numbers of vehicles to take place on common land.

The Act also contained more specific provisions to prevent overnight gatherings featuring music. Section 63 of the Act states:

This section applies to a gathering on land in the open air of 100 or more persons (whether or not trespassers) at which amplified music is played during the night (with or without intermissions) and is such as, by reason of its loudness and duration and the time at which it is played, is likely to cause serious distress to the inhabitants of the locality; and for this purpose—(a) such a gathering continues during intermissions in the music and, where the gathering extends over several days, throughout the period

during which amplified music is played at night (with or without intermissions); and (b) “music” includes sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats.

(Chapter 33, Part 5, 63:1, Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994)

Such provisions meant that the Act effectively spelled the end of major unlicensed festivals, leading the ‘Free Festival/Free Party scene [to] dwindle to occasional and small-scale late-night raves typically of a few hundred attendees or less’ (Anderton 2011: 149). Henceforth, music festivals required the co-operation and consent of local government authorities if they were to take place legally. This led to the advent of greater control over greenfield festivals, meaning that festivals would need to abide by council rules, which inevitably meant hierarchical organisational structures, with individuals or companies being responsible for the running of festivals and for the consequences of any transgressions relating to legislation or licences. The music industry has become more professionalised since 1994 and, as mentioned above, greenfield festivals have proliferated in the UK. With this professionalisation came not only enforceable minimum standards, to which festivals were required to adhere, but also competition, both of which had consequences for how festival-goers lived at festivals.

5. Everyday life at modern festivals (1994-present)

5.1 Industry guidelines and recommendations: The Event Safety Guide (1993 and 1999)

In the wake of the Castlemorton Common Party, the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) produced the Event Safety Guide, also known as the Purple Guide. The Guide, first published in 1993, provides recommendations for those putting on live music events on best practice and how to comply with legislation. The aim of the Guide is,

to help those who organise [music] events so that they run safely [and] to bring together into one document all the information needed by organisers and their contractors and employees to help them satisfy the requirements of law.

(HSE 1993: 9)

Although the Guide relates to all live music (and similar) events, it offers guidance specific to greenfield music festivals. It has four parts that deal with the role of festival organisers, crowd safety and venue standards, fire safety and emergency procedures and venue facilities. Although other parts of the Guide deal with aspects of festival organisation relevant to the carrying on of everyday life, such as lighting, Part 4 (Venue Facilities) is the most relevant. It covers areas such as transport and transport arrangements, the provision of food, refreshments and drinking water, sanitary facilities and waste disposal.

Chapter 17 (Traffic and Transport Arrangements) enjoins organisers of outdoor events to encourage audiences to use public transport where available and to consider using shuttle buses to transfer people to the event. This is commensurate with industry strategies aimed at changing festival-goers' behaviour, discussed in Chapter 1. Parking is also dealt with in the Guide, including recommendations on adequate levels of signage and locating car parks away from areas of soft ground. References to the provision of adequate food and water are also made in Chapter 20 (Information & Welfare) (e.g. one water outlet per 3,000 festival-goers). The guidance also directs organisers to liaise with local authorities and ensure compliance with current health and safety legislation.

The Guide also has parallels with the earlier Stevenson Report. Chapter 19 (Information and Welfare Services) contains reference to the provision of public telephones (this provision also exists in the 1999 Guide (HSE 1999: 138). This recommendation is interesting, as it is similar to this extract from the Stevenson Report that deals with the provision of public telephones and post offices:

[A]t most festivals in the past no public telephone facilities have been available on the site with the result that local public kiosks have been brought near to breakdown point ... Other post office facilities, particularly stamp selling and posting, have not been available at past festivals. Judging from the work done in this respect by the Churches and voluntary organisations there is a demand.

(DOE 1973: 56-57).

Another similarity between the 1993 Guide and the Stevenson Report is the suggestion that organisers should include a marquee as 'emergency accommodation for members of the audience who are left without transport home or for those who arrive in advance of the event'

(HSE 1993: 119). This points to concerns with festival-goers' knowledge and ability to 'do' festival-going.

Recommendations regarding sanitary facilities in Chapter 18 (Sanitation) are also comparable to those in the Stevenson Report, such as adequate numbers of toilets and adequate lighting in areas with toilet facilities (DOE 1974: 135-136). The Guide even contains reference to the provision of trenches for toileting (HSE 1993: 124; HSE 1999: 89).

In terms of washing facilities, the 1993 Guide recommends that 'Consideration should ... be given to washing troughs' (HSE 1993: 125). This recommendation is softer than that in the Stevenson Report, which states that 'A supply *must* be available to the site in sufficient quantities for washing, drinking, cooking and for general cleaning purposes' (DOE 1973: 54, my emphasis), with specific recommendations made as to the amount and type of facilities (DOE 1973: 44). The 1999 Guide also recommends that festival organisers consider the provision of washing facilities, urging festival organisers for the first time to consider the installation of showers at events where audiences stay overnight (HSE 1999: 91).

It is, perhaps, surprising that the recommendations found in the 1993 and 1999 Purple Guides, pertaining to how everyday life is provided for, do not differ starkly from the Stevenson Report, written decades earlier. This may relate to the Guides repeatedly directing festival organisers to existing health and safety legislation, which demands compliance with higher standards than equivalent legislation of the 1970s. It might also be due to the similarities in the issues that arise when several thousand people come to live in a field in the countryside for a number of days.

5.2 The Purple Guide to Health Safety and Welfare at Music Festivals and Other Events (Current)

The most recent iteration of the Purple Guide is published online and continuously updated by The Events Industry Forum (EIF), 'an informal "organisation" that brings together trade bodies and institutions from across the events industry to discuss and collaborate on issues of common interest' (EIF n.d.). A statement on the home page of the website by the HSE, former publishers of the Guide, reads:

The Health and Safety Executive was consulted in the production of the workplace health and safety parts of this publication. Following this guidance is not compulsory, unless specifically stated, as some elements go further than the minimum you need to do to comply with workplace health and safety law.

(EIF n.d.)

This highlights the degree of industry involvement in the production of guidelines on festival organisation and alludes to the desire in EIF and the industry more widely to produce events of a higher standard than those required by law. Some of the similarities and differences between the current and past Guides are expanded upon below.

Mobile phone charging is a new addition to the Guide. It is spoken of primarily in relation to staff (EIF n.d.: Staff Welfare: section 29) and those festival-goers who are in distress and have no way to contact friends and family (EIF n.d.: paragraph 19.30; and EIF n.d.: Welfare Handbook: section 12). However, the Guide recommends considering ‘the provision of mobile phone charging points’ for the general public (EIF n.d.: paragraph 19.33), along with public telephones. This relates to problems that might occur when using mobile phones at greenfield festivals:

Whilst mobile phones are commonplace/widespread, their use is not always possible at times at events. Consider providing public telephones, especially if the site is isolated and if pass outs or re-admissions are restricted. It is essential that there is an operator connection to enable reverse-charge calls. Public telephones need to be accessible and operate during an emergency. If public phones cannot be provided, the audience should always have access to a phone at the welfare/information point for distress/humanitarian communications.

(EIF n.d.: paragraph 20.23)

This paragraph anticipates the problems I encountered using my mobile phone at Leeds Festival. I was unable to satisfactorily contact my friends and family for the duration of the festival. Text messages arrived in the early hours of the morning, the day after they were sent, while making phone calls was a laborious task that involved repeatedly turning the phone off and on again until a connection could be established. This procedure would only occasionally yield a brief connection before dropping out. While phone charging is still recommended, it is

interesting to see that the proposed solutions to potential problems with achieving a mobile phone signal (i.e. the provision of public telephones) are the same as those that were recommended in the Stevenson Report, over 45 years ago. However, I was not aware of there being any payphones at Leeds Festival, while my observations revealed that mobile phone use and charging were prevalent.

Car parking is dealt with more extensively than in previous guides. Sections 7.28 to 7.33 estimate, among other things: probable levels of car occupancy (2.2-3.5 festival-goers per car), the number of vehicles that should be expected to arrive every minute (12-20), and the number of cars that should be parked per hectare (320-440). Advice is also given on the optimal layout of car parks and the recommendation made that car parks should be lit after dark. There is also a link to the HSE's website, which provides further information about health and safety issues relating to car parking (HSE n.d.).

Interestingly, reference to encouraging audiences to arrive and depart by more sustainable modes of transport has been removed. It is unclear why this should be. It is recommended that public transport be part of transport management plans, and that festival organisers should consider requesting that public transport providers put on additional services during the festival, but public transport is ultimately considered to be 'the responsibility of other agencies' (EIF n.d.: 7.3). However, an acknowledgement of the environmental impact of audience travel to and from festivals is included alongside a new reference to bicycle parking. Festival organisers are encouraged to:

Include parking for motorcycles and bicycles in the [festival's] traffic management plan. This can be positive, not only ecologically but also because they tend to take up less space. If parking is on a grassed area, can any hard standing be provided for motorcycles to park without falling over? If not, consider having a supply of wood blocks.

(EIF n.d.: paragraph 7.56)

Regarding sanitation, the ambiguous language of previous Guides remains. Organisers are informed that 'Responsible organisers will provide appropriate sanitary and welfare facilities for the audience' (EIF n.d.: section 18 Sanitation, key points). The Guide points to legislation that governs the provision of sanitary and washing facilities for employees, in the form of the

Workplace (Health, Safety, and Welfare) Regulations (1992) (EIF n.d.: paragraph 18.2). However, it also points out that there is no provision in the Health and Safety at Work Act (1974) that necessitates the provision of such facilities for audiences. In camping areas, organisers are entreated to provide one toilet per 75 female attendees and per 150 male attendees and one urinal per 250 male attendees (EIF n.d.: paragraph 18.20). Attendance should be assumed to be 50 percent female and 50 percent male (EIF n.d.: paragraph 18.17). There is no equivalent recommendation for level of sanitary provision in camping areas in the 1999 Guide, but comparison between the number of toilets recommended per festival-goer in other areas, for events lasting over six hours, reveals an increase in the number of toilets recommended per person for both females and males¹³.

Perhaps surprisingly, trench toilets are still mentioned as being appropriate for some events (EIF n.d.: paragraph 18.15), though it is unclear what sorts of events or how widespread the provision of these facilities is. A link is provided to further guidance regarding the provision of sanitary facilities in the form of the *Code of practice for the design of sanitary facilities and scales of provision of sanitary and associated appliances*, from BSI Group (BSI n.d.).

The advice pertaining to hand-washing facilities and showers is similar to the 1999 Guide, in that it recommends ‘adequate provision’ and the provision of showers at events of durations longer than one day (EIF n.d.: paragraph 18.24). However, the Guide now advises that, ‘In some instances, it may be appropriate to provide hand washing and/or showers even if the event is short in duration’ (EIF n.d.: paragraph 18.24). The language has also been modified in relation to hand washing facilities. Whereas the 1999 Guide refers to the provision of warm water only as a possible consideration (HSE 1999: 90), the current Guide states that, ‘Preference should *always* be given to providing warm-water hand-washing facilities’ (EIF n.d.: paragraph 18.23, my emphasis). These seemingly minor alteration suggests that provision of warm water and showers is increasingly seen as appropriate, even at relatively short events. This hints at the normalisation of such provision and the extra energy demand that provision entails.

¹³ 1999: 1 toilet per 100 female and 1 per 500 male festival-goers, with 1 urinal per 150 males. 2020: 1 toilet per 75 female and 400 male festival-goers, with 1 urinal per 100 males.

More extensive revisions have been made to the recommendations on food, drink and water provision (EIF n.d.: section 21). Extensive reference is made to ensuring that caterers and festival organisers comply with legislation. Paragraph 21.6 points organisers to the differences in regional legislation in this area, as such powers have been devolved to the various legislative bodies in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. Of particular interest here, given the overnight accommodation of festival-goers, is that under the terms of the Licensing Act (2003) a licence is required to serve hot food and beverages between the hours of 11pm and 5am (EIF n.d.: paragraph 21.3). Such regulations would not affect daytime-only events. References to, among other things, health and safety record keeping (EIF n.d.: paragraph 21.11), structures (EIF n.d.: paragraphs 21.12-21.18), cleaning (EIF n.d.: paragraph 21.21), surfaces (EIF n.d.: paragraph 21.22), storage areas (EIF n.d.: paragraph 21.26), food contamination (paragraph 21.65), and the storage and transportation of water and food (EIF n.d.: paragraphs 21.72-21.77), suggest an increased concern within the events industry for standards in terms of food provision.

As is seen in Chapters 4 and 5, many of today's festival organisers provide extensively for the everyday lives of festival-goers. While the advice given in the various iterations of the Purple Guide are only recommendations, the extent of these recommendations compared to, for example, the Stevenson Report, speaks to the professionalisation of greenfield festival organisation. The recommendations in the Purple Guide often exceed what is expected as a minimum from festival organiser provision. However, the level of provision found at today's greenfield festival, for at least some festival-goers, often far exceeds these recommendations. This suggests that the increased concern on the part of festival organisers with providing for everyday life is driven by competition between festivals rather than by legislation and regulations that produce minimum standards for events. The role of legislation and regulation in the creation of today's professionalised music festival industry should not, however, be understated.

6. Conclusion

The overnight accommodation of audiences at greenfield music festivals brought with it many practices that were not previously part of live music events. Many of these practices are still performed at greenfield festivals today, though performances of these practices may differ somewhat from past performances. These practices have been affected by the various ways

that everyday life has been materially supported by festival-goers and festival organisers at different points in festival history. How and what is provided has been affected by organisers' assumptions about what is expected of them, the extent to which festival-goers can and will provide for themselves, the levels of festival-going experience and knowledge of festival-goers, regulations, legislation, industry codes of practice, and the style of organisation that facilitates the performance of particular festivals.

The history of greenfield festivals has seen the demise of communal sleeping marquees and benders, and a decline in the prevalence of practices such as hitching. It has also seen the rise of alternatives, such as glamping accommodation and online self-organised ridesharing. However, many accounts of early greenfield festivals would be familiar to today's festival-goers. This is, in part, due to constraints placed on performances of everyday life practices by rural festival settings. The similarities between practice performances also relates to connections between past and present practices. Current practices are informed by the particular ways they were performed at past festivals, since festival-goers and festival organisers learn how to do festivals by increments. The story of everyday life at greenfield music festivals is one of evolution, not radical change.

This evolution has been influenced by learning processes on the part of festival organisers, festival-goers, legislators and the music industry. Organisers of early festivals had little to go by in the way of standards and recommendations for providing for everyday life at their events. Problems caused by poor conditions for everyday life led to existential threats to greenfield festivals and an increased focus on regulations. The festival-goers who braved such conditions also had to learn how to 'do' festivals. This often meant learning seemingly simple things, such as what to expect at festivals and what to bring to support the carrying on of everyday life.

In some ways, free festivals were the pinnacle of festival-goer learning. For many free festival festival-goers, the alternative lifestyle they lived while at free festivals was not a temporary escape from another, more conventional life, but one that was sustained over the long-term. They learned how to cook in different ways, construct various types of accommodation, make arrangements for the sanitary performance of toileting, provide water and warmth, and clean up festival sites; much of which had, up until then, officially at least, been the realm of festival organisers. For some, this meant living in modified live-in vehicles outfitted with beds,

cupboards, sinks and wood burning stoves, creating lives for themselves at free festivals that were indistinguishable from their lives outside of festivals.

Some aspects of the free festival tradition have carried over into modern times and influenced the ways that everyday life is carried on at today's festivals. Anderton argues that today's festivals are a commercialisation of the carnivalesque that is associated with the romanticism of earlier periods in festival history; of temporarily being free from responsibilities and the norms of everyday society. He argues that today's greenfield festivals can be seen as:

key elements of the tourism and leisure industries [and that] This has important consequences, as these events are then deemed to play an important role in local, regional, and national economies, rather than operating as a countercultural critique of them.

(Anderton 2008: 42)

This countercultural critique is exemplified by the free festival tradition, but a sanitised version of the free festival lifestyle is now available to all to purchase for a weekend. Festival worker George, who attended many free festivals, told me that festival-goers wishing to buy an 'authentic' festival-going experience can now hire double-decker buses, previously associated with New Age Travellers, that have been luxuriously outfitted with bars, lighting and luxury seating, for use at festivals. This highlights that with commercialisation and professionalisation come different ways of doing things and different levels of festival organiser provision.

Early in greenfield festival history, the older, middle class festival-goers who attended jazz festivals, 'conventionally dressed ... women in clean cotton frocks [and] men in pressed grey flannels [trousers]' (Anderson 1960), ceased to attend greenfield festivals. This shaped the character and development of greenfield festivals, since younger festival-goers were more likely to tolerate the poorer conditions that prevailed at many festivals in the late 1960s and 1970s. This tolerance of poor condition allowed greenfield festivals to thrive despite the numerous hardships that audience members faced. The professionalisation of modern festivals has seen the return of older, middle class festival-goers, who may be helping to drive changes in what is provided for everyday life at greenfield festivals, such as glamping (Anderton 2008; also see Cvelić-Bonifačić et al. 2017).

Having opened up some key relations between festival-going and festival organising in this chapter, it is to today's professionally organised, commercial festivals that I now turn. The following chapters explore where the evolution of everyday life at greenfield festivals has led us. In Chapters 5 and 6, I consider how everyday life is lived and provided for by festival-goers and festival organisers, and consider some of the impacts this has for energy demand at greenfield festivals.

Chapter 4: Self-provisioning: Devices, Resources and the Reconfiguration of Everyday Life Practices at Greenfield Music Festivals

‘Since I’ve been back at home: someone has asked me how to get rid of pop ups on a computer screen that interfere with the performance of the computer; I have used my lap top; bought something to go in the freezer; used the kettle and the microwave; got a shower (cold water only, but that’s just me; most people would’ve used hot); used the grill to crisp up a jacket potato for my wife; used the lights in the house; used Wi-Fi; and no doubt more, including charging devices, using baby monitors, playing mp3s for the boys through the night, etc.’

(Leeds Festival fieldnotes)

1. Introduction

The above extract from my Leeds Festival fieldnotes, written upon my return home from the festival, gives an impression of what my life ordinarily entails. Everyday life at the greenfield festivals I attended as part of my research was quite different, both for myself and for other festival-goers. Much of the paraphernalia of everyday life remained at home while we carried on our lives in a field.

Attending festivals changed the variants of practices I performed, the materials these practices enrolled and the way I performed them. For example, rather than cooking with food that had been stored in a fridge or freezer, I ate dried fruit, nuts and flapjacks, which could be stored at room temperature and did not need to be cooked or reheated. Indeed, I did not cook at either festival I attended, so I did not use ovens, microwaves, toasters, kettles or other devices found in my kitchen and regularly employed at mealtimes.

The non-performance of cooking practices, in turn, influenced practices that are normally tied to eating in my home. For example, I did not wash up for the duration of the festivals, so I did not use a sink, hot water, a sponge or washing-up liquid. My eating patterns also changed.

Rather than eating breakfast, lunch and dinner, I grazed throughout the course of the day and had a hot meal in the evening. While I observed other festival-goers cooking, cleaning pots, cutlery and plates, and possibly consuming three meals a day, one can assume that their practices also exhibited changes compared to how they are performed within the home; it is unlikely that these people regularly cooked on open fires and ate off plastic plates, for example.

My everyday life, then, was different at Leeds Festival compared to outside the festival. The everyday life practices I performed at the festivals showed a marked variance from their most recent iterations prior to the festivals. This chapter explores this comparative difference in the reconfiguration of everyday life practices at greenfield music festivals. It focuses on the materiality of everyday life practices at greenfield festivals because it is both readily apparent and provides a fruitful means to explore practice reconfigurations. I draw primarily upon autoethnographic data to provide a rich picture of everyday life at greenfield festivals and highlight the importance of festival-goer provisioning in the reconfiguration of practices. Provisioning done by festival organisers and their agents is dealt with in Chapter 5.

I do not address the role of product designers, marketers, organisations or industry, all of whom help to shape the products that form part of festival-goers' provision and become part of their everyday life practices at festivals. While such influences have important effects on the materiality and evolution of practices (see, e.g., Shove, 2007; Shove, Trentmann and Wilk, 2009; Shove, Pantzar and Watson, 2012), they are not dealt with here because my focus is on understanding variations in how objects that are already produced become enrolled in practice performances.

The remainder of the chapter is structured as follows. I begin by considering how attending greenfield festivals leads to changes in everyday life practice performances, by examining the reconfiguration of devices and resources that are part of cooking and washing at greenfield festivals. I then define what is meant by provisioning, provision and self-provision. Next, I consider how self-provisioning is not innate but rather informed by a process of learning. Third, I explore the relationship between self-provisioning and transport practices. I then consider how everyday life practices are affected by disconnection from national and regional infrastructures that support those practices outside festivals. I conclude that the relocation of everyday life practices to greenfield festival sites recalibrates the materiality of their

performances. Furthermore, the relationship between everyday life practices and self-provisioning is important to understanding energy demand at festivals.

2. Everyday life practice performances

2.1 Reconfiguring everyday life practices

Everyday life practices are dependent upon various materials for their performance. Whilst the materiality involved in any performance remains open to many possibilities until the moment of performance, a number of comparative differences can be observed. Attendance at greenfield festivals can prompt a greater degree of material variation between two successive performances of the same practice, that is, a practice performed outside the festival and its subsequent performance at the festival, than might ordinarily be expected from one day to the next. For example, when I washed at home on the morning of Leeds Festival, that performance exhibited greater similarity to my performances over the previous months than it did with my performance at the festival the following morning. This raises questions about how everyday life practices are reconfigured by their being performed at greenfield festivals. Exploring the material configurations of practice performances provides an opportunity to see more clearly how particular material dependencies, and their related energy resources, are shifted at festivals.

2.2 Provisioning for practices: devices and resources

What kind of material dependencies and reconfigurations matter for practices? Shove (2016) outlines some of the different roles that materials play in practice. Of particular interest here are the roles of what she calls devices and resources. Devices are directly engaged by practitioners. They are ‘things in action ... that are visibly and actively used in the process of doing’ (Shove 2016: 159). Examples of devices used in cooking in the home include cookers, microwaves, blenders and mixing bowls. At festivals, devices used in cooking include camping stoves, pans and plastic plates. Resources are things that are ‘consumed, used and reconfigured’ (Shove 2016: 160) during practice performances. Examples of resources used in cooking include food, water, gas and electricity.

Understanding materials in terms of their roles and the relationships between them is useful for discussions of practices and energy demand. The use of these categories highlights how using different devices constrains and enables opportunities for resource use at festivals. Cooking, for example, is dependent upon the availability of resources, such as gas, electricity, charcoal and fire, and devices that make use of these resources. Some devices are dependent upon specific resources to enable their use; for example, microwave ovens require electricity. Other devices are incorporated into cooking practices that use a number of different resources; for example, pans can be used on electric hobs, gas stoves and open fires.

I am interested in how practice performances are reconfigured by changes in the types of devices and resources used as part of everyday life practices. While Shove (2016: 155) seeks to ‘develop a practice theoretically compatible account of material relations that helps conceptualise rapid increases in per capita energy demand’, I aim to explore empirically how the availability and use of devices and resources in a specific context (the greenfield music festival) changes practices relative to other settings (e.g. the home). I do this by first considering the configurations of devices and resources found in performances of washing at greenfield festivals and how these materials help configure practice performances.

2.3 Washing: reconfiguring devices and resources

The practice of washing is shaped by societally entrenched meanings regarding washing. The manner of performances of washing often changes at greenfield festivals as, for most festival-goers, access to devices and resources of the home, such as showers and hot water, is constrained. Washing, inclusive of washing bodies and hair, is performed in a number of permutations at greenfield festivals, using various devices and resources. Festival-goers may incorporate self-provisioned devices and resources, such as showers, water bottles, shampoo, body wash, wet wipes and dry shampoo. These changes are not individual idiosyncrasies but are, to varying extents, socially shared reconfigurations. The degree to which a practice is reconfigured when it is performed at a greenfield festival is dependent upon the different combinations of devices and resources that are enrolled in the practice inside and outside the festival.

Most festival-goers report that they shower at least seven times a week at home (Hitchings et al: 2018: 503). Showering at home can include a range of devices and resources including

power showers, towel rails, shower screens, radiators, gas and electricity. However, most festival-goers forego showering during greenfield festivals (Hitchings et al: 2018: 503). I was one of the majority who forewent showering for the duration of the festivals I attended. Instead, I took wet wipes in order to eliminate body odour and remove dirt and sweat. This I achieved with limited success. I rarely perform washing in this way outside of festivals. My performances of washing at greenfield festivals, then, differed markedly from those in my home and incorporated an entirely different configuration of materials.

Wet wipes are a common way to ensure cleanliness at festivals. Of those surveyed by Hitchings et al. (2018: 503), 81% took wet wipes to a festival. While wet wipes can be enrolled for other purposes, such as removing make up, a cursory search of books on how to 'do' festivals and online resources, such as articles and forums, suggests that using wet wipes as part of washing practices is common (e.g. King, 2015; eFestivals 2011; Wilson 2019; The Festival Blogger 2018). Unlike some other practices, I did not observe other festival-goers washing in this way as the practice was most likely performed in the privacy of a tent. This is consistent with the private nature of washing in the home.

Even when a commitment to showering is maintained at festivals, performances still exhibit a degree of change from performances at home. The public nature of festival showers, and concomitant danger of catching infections such as athlete's foot and verrucas, mean that wearing flipflops is a wise precaution for showering festival-goers. While most showering devices and resources at festivals are the same as or similar to those involved in showering in the home, flipflops are not part of most people's regular showering practices. I also saw a woman, returning from the showers at Leeds Festival, walking through the campsite with towels wrapped round her hair and body and wearing wellies; another unusual addition to showering practices at festivals. Fully self-provisioned showering at festivals requires the provision of a device such as a solar shower. However, I saw no evidence of self-provisioned showering at either festival I attended.

I did, however, observe a woman washing her hair at Leeds Festival. Her head was protruding from her tent and she was rinsing shampoo out of her hair with water from a plastic bottle. The festival-goer was incorporating into the practice a device not normally found in hair washing. The water bottle, and the cold water it very likely contained, were substitutes for devices and resources ordinarily used when washing hair, such as showers and hot water, from which she

was separated. It is notable that, in this case, hair washing and body washing were not performed in the same way nor simultaneously, as is often the case outside greenfield festivals.

I ordinarily wash my hair and body in the shower at the same time, the practices becoming linked because they are performed in the same place and incorporate the same devices and many of the same resources. The use of different devices and resources to wash hair and bodies uncouples the practices and may affect performances of one or the other or both. The change in my body washing practice was instrumental in my making no provision for hair washing. Had I showered at Leeds Festival or Alchemy, I would have taken shampoo and performed body washing and hair washing simultaneously as I do at home. As it was, I maintained unwashed hair until I returned home from the festivals, whereupon I recombined the two practices in the shower.

Reconfiguration and variation in washing at greenfield festivals, and concomitant greater or lesser recalibration of devices and resources involved in different performances, have implications for energy demand. For example, showering in warm water requires very different material configurations and produces contrasting patterns of energy demand compared with washing with wet wipes. The use of organiser-provided shower blocks involves the provision of devices and resources by both festival-goers and festival organisers. The incorporation of devices, such as showers, taps and towels, and resources, such as shower gel and gas, produces many similarities with showering in the home. Washing using a solar shower does not involve organiser provision. Instead, festival-goers are required to provision the shower, towels and so on, while the practice enrolls heat energy from the sun. Washing with wet wipes requires only the provision of resources (wet wipes) and no on-site energy production.

This demonstrates that self-provisioning for washing affects how the practice is performed and the types of devices and resources enrolled. Since most festival-goers are not committed to showering during greenfield festivals, it is less prevalent during these festivals than in the home (Hitchings et al. 2018: 503). For those who regularly shower at home but do not shower at festivals, washing performances are reconfigured in less energy demanding ways. This highlights the role of self-provisioning, and the devices and resources that are provisioned, in the patterning and configuration of energy demand at greenfield festivals.

The range of washing practices performed at festivals highlights that self-provisioning is not simply a matter of bringing a predefined set of materials to festivals to perform a prescribed practice in a given way. The next section explores how festival-goers learn to provision for everyday life practices and how this learning changes self-provisioning over the course of festival-going careers.

3. Self-provisioning and learning

As the previous chapter made clear, festival sites do not come pre-provisioned for everyday life practices. Festival-goers must provide at least some materials to facilitate the performance of these practices. This is important as materials help configure practices and prefigure energy demand (Shove 2016). Prefiguration (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5) is understood as ‘a qualification of possible paths of action on such registers as easy and hard, obvious and obscure, tiresome and invigorating, short and long, and so on’ (Schatzki 2010: 140). The term provision refers to both the materials that are provided for practice performances, such as camping stoves, wet wipes and torches, and the act of provisioning itself. I use the term provisioning to refer to the practice of making provision for everyday life practices. Where festival-goers are doing the provisioning, I refer to this practice as self-provisioning.

Provisioning can be thought of as a different kind of practice than everyday life practices. Everyday life practices, such as cooking and washing, are integrative practices, which ‘have their own organisation of rules, of non-rule types of normativity, and of goals and emotions and bodily involvements’ (May 2001: 16-7). By contrast, dispersed practices ‘rarely have teleoaffective structure (“ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions and moods” Schatzki, 2010: 89) or rules’ (Harries and Rettie 2016). We might therefore say they have fewer and different kinds of elements – notably an absence of meanings regarding their ends, aims, purposes and rules. As such, dispersed practices rely on integrative practices to give them these elements. Everyday life practices give provisioning practices structure and rules because they require certain forms of provision in order to be performed successfully. Everyday life practices shape the materiality of provisioning practices, thereby, affecting how provisioning practices are performed. However, the relationship between provisioning practices and everyday life practices is recursive, since the sorts of provision made for everyday life practices affect how they are performed, as seen later in this chapter.

Self-provisioning is not an innate skill with an *a priori* knowledge base and a predefined materiality. It is a practice that must be learned, and which is performed differently by different practitioners and in different iterations. According to Schatzki (2017: 26), learning ‘is the transformation of people that accompanies their participation in practices ... the progression of any person’s learning over time is the history of his or her participation in different practices’. Schatzki argues that people learn that things exist (propositional knowledge) through experience, research and teachings, and how to do things (know-how) through direct experience. These types of learning inter-relate because ‘what makes sense to people to do partly rests on what they know (or believe) about the world’ (Schatzki 2017: 37). Propositional knowledge, then, gives meaning to what people do.

According to Becker (1963: 47-8), skills can be both taught and learned through experience. Once skills are learned they can be transferred to other practices. Schatzki (2017: 33) agrees that ‘knowledge that is pertinent to a given practice need not be acquired in the practice.’ According to Shove and colleagues (2012: 51, original emphasis), ‘specific competences are transferable because they are *common*, or at least common enough to a number of different practices.’ This means that knowing which devices and resources to self-provision can be transferred from competences gained through performing other practices and provisioning for practices other than festival-going.

Knowing what to bring to a festival involves a mixture of learning from one’s own experiences (acquiring know-how) and from those of others (acquiring propositional knowledge). Experiences might be of self-provisioning for camping trips, gap years, back packing or going on day trips to the beach, or of performing similar practices to those performed at festivals, such as barbecuing and sleeping in a tent in the back garden. Researched information might come from conversations, internet resources, books, weather forecasts or television and radio programmes about festival-going. The form this provision takes also depends upon what practices are to be performed. Knowing which practices to perform at festivals and which not to is itself a matter of learning.

The experiences that informed my own self-provisioning include attending V-Festival in 1999 and going on long-distance walking and cycling trips. On walking and cycling trips lasting up to a month, I carried my possessions with me for upwards of 1,000 kilometres and camped in my own tent along the way. These experiences instilled in me the value of packing light, a

principle I adhered to when packing for my festival fieldwork. Indeed, much of what I took to the festivals was the same as on my cycling and walking trips. I relied less on research into the specific festivals, although this was a necessary part of my PhD, than I did on my past festival-going experience and general knowledge acquired over the years as to what would be provided and what I would need to bring.

I took to Leeds Festival only what would fit into a 35-litre rucksack, plus a sleeping mat that I attached to the outside. For Alchemy Festival, I carried my tent on the back of my bike, and a pannier bag in addition to my rucksack in order to fit my sleeping mat into my rucksack, but what I took was basically the same. Things such as a tent, a sleeping bag, spare clothing, a torch, a book, dried fruit, a hand towel, plastic bags, electrical tape, wet wipes, a toothbrush and toothpaste enabled me to perform various practices of everyday life, such as sleeping, eating, reading, washing and brushing teeth.

Many of these materials facilitate different ways of performing these practices compared to my everyday life at home, for example, sleeping in a sleeping bag on a roll mat in a tent, reading by the light of a torch and washing with wet wipes. Other practices, such as brushing teeth, exhibited less variation in their performance. I performed similar everyday life practices to other festival-goers. However, performances of these practices differed to a greater or lesser extent between different practitioners at the festivals. This was, in part, due to the types of self-provisioned devices and resources brought to the festivals.

Many festival-goers appeared to have brought much more to the festival than I did. Some festival-goers provisioned for practices that I did not intend to perform, while some provisioned for practices that I performed but in different ways. For example, a number of festival-goers brought camping chairs and gazebos to use as part of various practices, such as reading and socialising, and blow-up mattresses to use while sleeping. As I attended the festival on my own, I made no provision for socialising and forewent camping chairs, since I had experience of performing many practices while sitting or lying on the ground in a tent and therefore knew that I could successfully perform practices without such devices. Having slept on a roll mat many times when camping, and on airbeds while visiting friends and family, I also knew that an inflatable mattress was not necessary for my comfort while sleeping.

Cooking is another example of a practice I did not intend to perform and for which I did not provision. This decision was very much informed by my prior experience of festival-going. I have an abiding memory from V-Festival of carrying a heavy, multi-hob camping stove and three days' worth of tinned food from the festival drop-off area across the site to my pitch. Carrying this, along with my other possessions, took a long time as I had to keep stopping because of the pain in my hands, arms and shoulders. This experience dissuaded me from provisioning for cooking at festivals this time around. Even bringing a lighter camping stove would still, along with the food, have added bulk and weight to my pack. As I mentioned above, this is something that experience has taught me to avoid.

Over-packing appears to be common among first-time festival-goers. V-Festival was my first greenfield festival; I was 17 years old and had few experiences of camping and no experience of being responsible for my own provisioning. However, when others were responsible for my provisioning on holidays and camping trips, I was able to learn through my acquaintance (Schatzki 2017: 38) with other people's self-provisioning and my use of provision that was made on my behalf. Billy works with an organisation that provides support and assistance to festival-goers at greenfield festivals. He said that his organisation helps many festival-goers who have brought more to festivals than they can easily carry. This, he said, was the case with many festival-goers, but particularly those who were attending a greenfield festival for the first time and therefore just starting out on their festival-going careers.

Self-provisioning, then, involves a process of accumulating and honing skills. Knowledge and skills take time to accrue in any practice and many who are not afforded opportunities to exercise skills regularly can find self-provisioning for everyday life practices at festivals difficult. Unlike myself, some festival-goers may consider difficulties they encounter in their self-provisioning to be worthwhile, as it allows them to provision more extensively for their everyday life practice performances at festivals. The extent to which this is possible depends upon the ability of festival-goers to transport devices and resources to the festival, which is discussed in the next section.

4. Self-provisioning and transport

Self-provisioning happens in relation to travel. What we bring to festivals affects how we travel and how we travel affects what we bring. The extent of festival-goer provisioning for everyday

life practices is limited by the carrying capacity of both transport modes and festival-goers, as these are the means by which this material provision is brought to and distributed around the festival site. Mattioli et al. (2016) argue that the carrying capacity of different transport modes affects people's ability to incorporate materials into practice performances away from the home. Where bulkier items are to be transported, cars are more likely to become part of practices, rather than buses, trains or bikes, for example. I argue that just as public transport and bikes place limits on what can be carried, so the carrying capacity of cars limits the extent to which provision can be made for everyday life practices at greenfield festivals. This is highlighted by the greater carrying capacity of live-in vehicles, which allow for increased provision for everyday life. Festival-goers' travel practices, therefore, help to shape performances of both self-provisioning practices and everyday life practices.

As I am unable to drive and wished to travel by more sustainable transport modes, I used a combination of public and self-powered transport to get to and from the festivals. For Leeds Festival, I took buses, trains and shuttlebuses to and from the festival site. These modes provide different opportunities for stowing and carrying luggage. Buses offer a relatively small amount of dedicated space for bags. Areas intended for pushchairs and wheelchairs may be utilised for luggage, but are often unavailable. Comparatively, trains and shuttlebuses offer larger luggage racks and storage areas near doors or in the hold that can be utilised. The possibilities offered by the availability of these storage spaces put limitations on the amount of stuff that I could take to the festivals.

In addition, I had to carry my belongings at various stages; from my house to the bus stop, from the bus stop to the train station, from the train station to the shuttlebus and from the shuttlebus across the festival site to my pitch in the camping area. I had made up my mind to camp as far from the arena as possible to distance myself from the revelry and noise of the festival, to try to ensure better sleep and aid concentration when making notes. By the time I arrived on Friday afternoon, there were few places left to pitch my tent. I found space at the back of the 'quiet' camping area next to the fence that demarcated the glamping area. This was as far away from the arena and late-night party stages as it was possible to be, given the restrictions of my ticket. (The glamping areas and the live-in vehicle field were positioned beyond the quiet camping area, but access was controlled by means of wristbands and limited to those who had paid for this privileged level of provision. Access to different areas of greenfield festival sites is discussed in Chapter 5). I therefore needed to ensure that I could carry my things almost the

entire length of the festival site, through fields, up and down hills and back again, in potentially muddy conditions the following Monday.

For Alchemy, I made part of the journey by train and the rest by bicycle. My self-provisioning therefore became contingent upon the carrying capacity of my bike, rather than buses and coaches. I cycled from my house to the train station, then took two trains to get from Lancaster to Lincoln, requiring a cycle reservation for each train. I then cycled the 24 miles to the festival site, carrying an extra bag on the bike's pannier rack into which I redistributed some of the things I had taken to Leeds in my rucksack. However, the issue of transporting my gear from the car park through the festival-site remained. This limited the opportunity offered by the bike to take more stuff to the festival, though this was less of an issue at Alchemy, as the festival site was much smaller than at Leeds. The distance one has to travel across the festival site with heavy gear is also a consideration for those who arrive at greenfield festivals in cars.

As Hui (2012: 211) points out, the movement of materials depends upon 'the transport resources available to practitioners.' My travel practices limited the amount and type of self-provisioning I was able to do and, consequently, the types of practices I was able to perform. The use of trains, buses and a bike lessened the distances I needed to walk with my belongings. This enabled me to take more than would have been comfortable had I travelled the whole way on foot. However, as mentioned above, the enforced pedestrianisation on the festival sites affected the extent of my self-provisioning. My travel practices meant that I did not have a vehicle in which I could securely leave my belongings, if I wished to make multiple trips to the camping areas. Such considerations are not necessary for those in live-in vehicles, who need not travel on foot to their festival accommodation, as discussed in Section 5.

The extent of each festival-goer's self-provision at Leeds and Alchemy varied, with many festival-goers bringing more than it would have been possible for me to bring, given my travel practices. Some festival-goers brought devices that would have been very difficult for me to transport to the festivals. For example, large, awkwardly shaped or bulky items, such as gazebos and duvets, would have been difficult for me to transport. In lieu of a duvet, I slept in a thermal vest and wool jumper in a winter weight sleeping bag under a light woollen blanket, as I was able to fit these items in my rucksack.

The presence of gazebos and duvet was likely a function of the carrying capacity of private motorised transport. Hui (2012) discusses how objects are more or less compatible with different transport modes. She argues that while binoculars used for birdwatching can easily become part of mobile practice networks involving bikes, telescopes, due to their size and weight, are more likely become part of networks involving cars. These networks can change by substituting either devices (e.g. binoculars and telescopes) or transport mode (e.g. cars and bikes). The resultant network affects how the practice is performed. Since most festival-goers travel to festivals in private cars (Bottrill et al. 2007: 49), greater volumes of self-provision are possible than they would be if trains, buses, bicycles and walking were the most common means of travel.

However, Hui also points out that the movement of materials does not happen only in relation to transport mode. Rather, it 'is realized in cooperation with [multiple] things – bags, cars, petrol and people' (Hui 2012: 209). This highlights the importance of the relationship between baggage and transport mode in self-provisioning. While I took a rucksack to both festivals, some festival-goers brought suitcases. For those with cars, suitcases enable greater provision to be made for everyday life. A large suitcase offers a greater carrying volume than a rucksack and may be preferable if a large rucksack is not already owned. However, suitcases are less suitable for the muddy terrain of many festival sites. At Leeds, some festival-goers needed to transport heavy suitcases upwards of two miles. The relationship between baggage, transport and material provision highlights the trade-offs made in self-provisioning practices in relation to the movement of materials.

The relationships between self-provisioning, travel and everyday life practices, highlighted in the examples above, are important because, while integrative everyday life practices give dispersed provisioning practices their shape, the performance of provisioning practices constrains and enables possibilities for performances of everyday life practices. The carrying capacity of transport modes used in self-provisioning limits the amount of provision that can be made for everyday life practices. This affects not only the materials that are made available for use in everyday life practices but also the types of everyday life practices that are performed at festivals. For example, my use of public transport and a bike meant that I made no provision for cooking or showering, since a gas stove, food and a bath towel would have taken up room and added weight to my rucksack.

The absence of self-provision for cooking meant that I was unable to cook for the duration of the festivals, which affected my eating practices while at the festivals. I ate dried fruit, nuts, flap jacks and one hot meal a day from food stalls. The limited extent of my self-provisioning for washing meant that, rather than showering, I washed with wet wipes. My self-provisioning, therefore, structured opportunities to incorporate energy into my practices, shaping the energy demand of my eating and washing practices at the festivals. This demonstrates the limits of exploring everyday life practices in isolation from provisioning practices, since the relationship between them impacts how everyday life practices are performed and how they incorporate energy.

5. Self-provisioning and infrastructure

5.1 The role of infrastructures

In addition to devices and resources, Shove (2016: 158) identifies a third role that materials play in practices; that of infrastructure. Infrastructure operates in the background of a practice and supports its performance without being directly engaged by practitioners. For example, washing may involve a bathroom, a shower, an electricity supply, electricity, a water supply, hot water, shower gel, shampoo and a towel. In this example, the bathroom and the electricity and water supply systems are infrastructures, because they operate in the background and are not directly engaged by practitioners. Showers and towels are devices, while electricity, water and shower gel are resources.

This configuration of infrastructures, devices and resources is common to washing in the home. However, as discussed above, the disconnection from the home and its infrastructures means that performances of washing practices reconfigure at festivals. Devices and resources, such as wet wipes, plastic bottles and dry shampoo, facilitate the washing of bodies and hair without connections to infrastructures. The ability to perform everyday life practices with a greater or lesser degree of infrastructural provision is a feature of many practices at festivals.

5.2 Self-provision, disconnection from pre-existing infrastructures and practices

How, then, are practice performances affected by different levels of infrastructural provision and what self-provisioning strategies are available to enable their performance? Festivals have

limited infrastructural arrangements and may lack certain types of infrastructures altogether. Disconnection from infrastructures of the home affects some practices more than others and can lead to a greater reliance on devices in the performance of social practices. This contributes to the reconfiguration of these practices at festival sites. Self-provisioning devices and infrastructures, in order to make up for the separation from infrastructures of the home leads to greater or lesser challenges and reconfiguration of practice performances, depending on the materials in question. In the remainder of this section, I explore the impact of infrastructural disconnection on practice performances by looking at how portable lighting, tents, live-in vehicles and mobile phones become part of reconfigured practice performances at festivals.

5.3 Relying on devices

Lighting infrastructure outside festivals comprises the national grid, street lights, fixed lights in homes and untold amounts of electrical wiring that facilitate lighting streets and houses. At festivals, lighting infrastructure may comprise generators or solar panels, floodlights and lights strung from poles, electrical wiring, trees, sculptures and other temporary structures. Low levels of lighting provision on site, and a lack of energy infrastructure in most festival-goers' accommodations, mean that festival-goers often rely on devices like torches, bike lights and mobile phones to provide light for practice performances. These devices were useful aids to reading, writing, searching for things at night and even going to the toilet at the festivals I attended. Practices performed using torches require a different set of skills and trade-offs compared to those performed using energy infrastructures.

Mobile devices such as torches carry resources such as zinc, manganese dioxide/carbon (Energizer n.d.) and electricity to power them. The electricity for these devices can come from outside; from homes in the case of rechargeable batteries, or from factories in the case of disposables. For mobile phones and tablets, the exact make-up of the resources may change (to e.g. lithium cobalt oxide and graphite (Masse 2019) but the electricity is still transported to festivals from off site, at least initially. This causes a temporal and spatial dislocation between energy production and use. Energy from the national grid, or even from elsewhere in the world in the case of disposable batteries, is stored and used at greenfield festival sites, decreasing reliance on the festivals' energy infrastructures to provide lighting. Devices using disposable batteries or with long battery life may not rely on infrastructure at all at festivals. Devices with

built-in batteries with short battery life may rely on organiser-provisioned energy infrastructures for their continuous use at festivals.

I used a torch to make fieldnotes; a peculiar practice to find at a music festival. However, I had also taken a book to read before going to sleep and during breaks from my research activities. As dusk approached, if I was reading or writing in my tent, I had to decide whether to open the flap of my tent to let in more daylight or to use a torch to aid the performance of the practice. The light outside was still good enough to read and write by but inside the tent it was too dim.

The decision was complicated by the evening drop in temperature. Houses can trap and reflect heat from the sun during the day as well as trapping and storing heat from bodies and electrical equipment. Tents, however, are not as good at regulating temperature; they can become very hot in direct summer sunlight and, conversely, lose heat quickly at night when the external temperature drops. At dusk, my tent still held the residual heat of the day and was doing a good job of trapping my body heat, making the tent warmer and me more comfortable. To open the flap would be to let out the heat and affect my thermal comfort, requiring additional solutions to the cold of a late evening in late August. This is not a trade-off I would need to make at home, since opening a window would have no impact on my ability to see well enough in order to read. The situation would have been different had I been making notes on a mobile phone or tablet computer. However, the disconnect from charging infrastructures would have compromised my ability to take the number of notes that I did.

A torch was also invaluable when searching for things in my tent. At night, I would place the torch in a mesh pocket at the highest point of my tent, directing its light downwards to mimic an overhead light in a house. This provided enough light by which to do things such as eating and drinking, reading, and finding things at the head end of my tent. However, when searching in my bag at the foot of the tent, I would take the torch out of the mesh pocket to use as both myself and my bag cast shadows that made it impossible to see what I was doing. I would sometimes drop the torch while attempting to hold it under my chin in order to use both hands in finding things. A torch is not something that I ordinarily use in findings things in the home. However, I do use a portable light, such as the one on my mobile phone for example, during a power cut, when reading the electricity meter and when trying not to wake my wife. This speaks to a greater reliance on devices when communal infrastructure is not available to be incorporated into everyday life practice performances.

My reliance on devices is also illustrated by the difference in lighting provision in toilet areas at the two festivals I visited. Additional lighting is particularly important as going to the toilet at festivals during the hours of darkness carries a health risk, given the potential condition of such toilets. If festival-goers are unable to see what they are doing, they might not be able to perform the practice to a sufficient normative standard. In the home, one can reasonably expect clean conditions without any unsanitary surprises. This, coupled with the familiarity of one's surroundings, makes going to the toilet in the dark relatively easy. At Leeds Festival, the additional lighting meant that going to the toilet was not problematic, beyond the issue of the general condition of festival toilets. However, at Alchemy Festival, light levels were such that additional lighting was required to ensure that the practice was performed hygienically.

At Alchemy, I found it necessary to use my bike light in the toilet cubical, as the condition of the toilets was such that I was unwilling to put down the toilet roll I had brought to the festival. It was hard to hold a bike light and a toilet roll in the same hand in order to see what I was doing, making the process difficult. It was sometimes necessary to clamp the bike light under my chin in order to use both hands to ensure the toilet was fit for use. Holding a light and toilet roll in one hand while simultaneously directing the light to where it is needed is not easy for the uninitiated. There was a risk of dropping the light into the long drop toilet, making it irretrievable, even had I wished to retrieve it.

Losing my torch due to lack of competence in balancing a light under my chin would have affected all other practices enrolling the light, such as reading, walking around the campsite (avoiding guy ropes) and finding things in my tent. This speaks not only to the challenges of performing everyday life practices with devices instead of infrastructure, but also to the importance of certain devices in practices in which they do not typically play a role, and the relative fragility of devices compared to more robust national energy infrastructures.

5.4 Self-provisioning infrastructure

It is, of course, possible for festival-goers to self-provision infrastructure. Tents, for example, replace houses as accommodation at festivals for most festival-goers. Tents, therefore, take over the infrastructural role of houses in several everyday life practices. Tents facilitate performances of practices, such as sleeping, dressing and washing. Like tents, live in vehicles

also fulfil an infrastructural role in festival-goers' practices. Live-in vehicles are the apotheosis of self-provision at festivals. The carrying capacity and inbuilt features of live-in vehicles, such as electricity and gas supplies, lighting, beds, toilets, kitchens and storage spaces, mean that everyday life practices can potentially look quite different for those in live-in vehicles compared to those in tents.

Sound engineer, Neil, told me about some of the features of the live-in vehicles he stays in while working at greenfield festivals:

Basically, they're kind of converted buses, coaches, so they have, kind of, bunks, like a submarine [laughs] and then a kind of small, lounge/living area. There's TVs and things, with films to watch, Play Stations and a little, kind of, basic kitchen area ... Given that our days are fairly long, there's not that much extended hanging out.

(Neil)

While Neil's employer provides the live-in vehicles in which he and the rest of the sound crew stay, the quote illustrates how live-in vehicles play an infrastructural role that can closely approximate that of the home. Live-in vehicle infrastructure can enable the performance of practices and variations of practices in ways that are similar to outside of festivals and which are not available to those who camp in tents. The provision of a kitchen area, for example, allows cooking to maintain a greater degree of similarity to cooking in the home than is generally achievable while staying in a tent. Similarly, Neil was also able to incorporate watching television and computer gaming into greenfield festivals. While it is not impossible, given the capabilities of today's mobile devices, for festival-goers who stay in tents to incorporate these practices into their festival-going, it is at least harder for them to do so and therefore less likely that these practices will be performed. Even where these practices are performed, they are performed in different ways, using different devices and without a direct connection to infrastructure.

Access to the infrastructural arrangements in live-in vehicles need not be reserved for those staying in them. Live-in vehicles can provide hubs for friends in tented accommodation who want access to a sink or electricity, for example, as part of their practice performances. Former

free festival festival-goer and present-day festival worker, George, highlighted the importance of live-in vehicles to the provisioning and performance of everyday life practices:

They've got fuel, light and heat and everything. Cans of beer and cider and anything you could want at a festival, pretty much. Each truck or bus has got all of that stuff, so they would be the centre of small areas. [Live-in vehicles] would be the infrastructure and there's still a bit of that goes on informally, whether it's in crew areas or just in general camping. If people have got live-in vehicles, they might be the nucleus of a group of friends that rely on having a sink there or cans of beer they can buy cheaply.

(George)

A live-in vehicle hub might be thought of in the same way as a garden. Practices such as cooking, socialising and listening to music are common in gardens, particularly in summer, but the garden is not directly interacted with in the way it is when a practice such as gardening is performed. Rather, gardens are infrastructural settings where barbecues, chairs, tables, gazebos and stereos and so on are gathered for the performance of multiple practices.

I observed the use of a live-in vehicle as a communal hub at Alchemy Festival. I was invited back to where a group of friends had created a small communal territory around a live-in vehicle. Tents and vehicle were arranged around an area for sitting, socialising, cooking and other everyday life practices, such as listening to music on the vehicle's stereo. We sat around in camping chairs, talking and listening to music, under a tarpaulin stretched between the vehicle, which dwarfed the tents, and two poles. Cups of tea were made using a steel kettle, gas-fuelled camping stove and water from the vehicle's taps.

Alchemy Festival was notable for the relatively high number of live-in vehicles at the festival and the proportion of festival-goers who stayed in them. This was in contrast to Leeds Festival, where the vast majority of festival-goers camped in tents. This is likely to do with Alchemy tracing its lineage back to free festivals, and with the number of festival-goers in attendance who began their festival-going careers at these festivals. As mentioned in Chapter 3, live-in vehicles were a dominant feature of Free Festivals, where their carrying capacity and in-built features provided for the needs of festival-goers in the absence of organiser provision. This highlights the importance of festival-going careers in shaping how festival-goers live their everyday lives at greenfield festivals.

6. Conclusion

The materiality of everyday life practices is important in shaping performances of those practices and their energy demand. Shifting everyday life practices away from the home leads to a recalibration of the materials of various kinds involved in their performance. The self-provisioning of devices and resources is instrumental in this material recalibration. The extent to which practice performances in other settings differ from performances in the home is affected by the extent of self-provisioning of devices and resources, and also by the extent or lack of infrastructural provision that prefigures the performance of practices and their energy demand.

Self-provisioning is a dispersed practice that is shaped by the integrative everyday life practices it serves. However, self-provisioning also prefigures everyday life practices, defining the possibilities for practice performances. Indeed, the performance of everyday life practices at festivals is constrained or enabled (Schatzki 2002) by the possibility of festival-goers making provision for their performance. Consequently, practice performances at festivals may differ from performances at home. Indeed, some practices may not be performed at festivals if festival-goers do not or cannot make provision for their performance, such as was the case for me with showering. This demonstrates how dispersed practices help to shape integrative practices, illustrating that this relationship is not unidirectional, as it might first appear. Studying everyday life practices at festivals in isolation from provisioning practices limits our understanding of how and why everyday life practices come to be performed as they are.

Since self-provisioning is learned, the learning process affects how self-provisioning is performed, the type of materials that become part of practices and how those practices are performed. Knowing what to bring to a festival evolves over time and in relation to available infrastructural provision. This knowledge affects the types of practices that are performed at festivals, such as my breaking my commitment to cooking practices during the festival, based on past experiences of self-provisioning. Acquiring skills is important, since practitioners use the same devices as part of multiple practice performances. Improper use of devices due to lack of competences when performing familiar practices can lead to loss of or damage to devices that cannot then be used in other practices. This affects subsequent performances of practices during the festival and leads to further reconfiguration of practice performances.

Devices are often used to compensate for the limited and temporary infrastructural arrangements of festival sites. Shove (2016: 166, my emphasis) asserts that ‘Doing any one practice *typically* depends on the coming together of devices, infrastructures and resources.’ Devices, infrastructures and resources combine in different ways and to different extents, depending on the availability of materials. For example, at greenfield festivals, the use of devices enables everyday life practices to be performed with varied amounts of infrastructural provision, with some performances, such as brushing teeth outside one’s tent and barbecuing, seemingly not enrolling infrastructure at all.

Practices such as socialising, eating and drinking draw on infrastructure to varied extents, depending on the provision of devices such as camping chairs and gazebos. Practices that draw minimally upon infrastructure in their performance can be little affected by the disconnect from infrastructure. Other practices, such as going to the toilet, can be affected to a greater extent by low levels of infrastructural provision, since they require devices and competences that are not ordinarily used in these practices. This is apparent in the example of going to the toilet, which might incorporate devices such as torches, and the ability to manipulate them, into practice performances.

The example of live-in vehicles highlights that, where self-provisioned infrastructures and devices more closely approximate to the home, practice performances at festivals can share more in common with those outside of greenfield festivals. This also highlights how the provision of infrastructure and devices cannot be understood in isolation, as the provision of certain infrastructures calls for the provision of certain devices and *vice versa*. Exploring festivals as temporary disconnections from national and regional infrastructures, and from devices of the home, highlights how combinations of infrastructure, devices and resources in practices change in successive performances of the same practice (e.g. washing). The examples given in this chapter provide empirical evidence that the extent to which infrastructure is enrolled in a practice changes depending upon the type of infrastructures, devices and resources available at the site of the practice performance (e.g. tents, camper vans or houses).

Access to more extensive infrastructure has consequences for how and whether energy is used as part of everyday life practices at festivals. This is expanded on in the next chapter. The focus in this chapter on everyday life practices and the self-provisioning practices of greenfield

festival-goers, raises questions about what organisers do and do not provide at festivals and how they make provision for everyday life practices. These discussions could be further developed by consideration of how product designers, producers, marketers and organisations shape the provisioning practices of festival-goers and festival organisers, though this is beyond the framework of this thesis. Chapter 5 explores the extent of organiser provision for festival-goers' everyday life practices, as well as different performances of the practice of organiser provisioning. It also draws upon the insights of this chapter to explore the recursive relationship between festival organiser provisioning, self-provisioning and everyday life practices, and how this relationship shapes everyday life and energy demand at greenfield festivals.

Chapter 5: Organiser Provisioning: Infrastructure and the Changing Role of Materials at Greenfield Music Festivals

1. Introduction

Chapter 4 looked at festival-goers' self-provisioning for everyday life practices at greenfield festivals. It highlighted the roles that devices and resources play in performances of everyday life practices and how this is tied to the separation of practices from infrastructures of the home. Thinking about how materials prefigure practice performances and shape energy demand requires not only consideration of provisioning by those attending festivals, but also how that relates to organiser provisioning. This chapter focuses on provisioning for greenfield festivals by organisers and their agents¹⁴. It expands upon considerations of the role of infrastructure in the last chapter by considering how organiser provision of temporary infrastructures affects everyday life practices.

Organiser provisioning and festival-goer self-provisioning are intertwined and take their form in relation to one another. Organisers provision resources and devices for festival-goers to make use of, alongside setting up and operating the majority of the infrastructure found at festivals. The types of provision made by organisers influences the sorts of everyday life practices found at greenfield festivals and how they are performed, while self-provisioning also impacts organiser provisioning. I challenge assumptions about the primacy of individuals in shaping their own practices and energy demand (see Chapter 1) by highlighting the roles of multiple agents in creating material settings in which practices and energy demand are enacted.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, organiser provision of infrastructure is explored, in terms of the differences between infrastructures at and outside festivals, how festival-goers access that infrastructure and the shifting roles materials play in practices. Second, sections on glamping and food provisioning explore a) the process of provisioning for everyday life

¹⁴ n.b. hereafter, the terms organisers may be used to refer to both organisers and agents. Agents carry out provisioning on behalf of festival organisers and both provision for the mass performance of everyday life practices of festival-goers. The relationship between organiser provisioning and that of their agents is explored in sections 3 and 4, though more explicitly in Section 4.4.

practices at festivals, b) the changing role of materials in practice performances and the relationship between organiser and festival-goer provision, c) the provision of infrastructure for greenfield festivals by festival organisers, and d) the relationship between organiser provisioning and that of their agents. These examples were chosen because they illustrate how practices and energy demand change in relation to organiser provision and draw upon the richness of data available from my observations and interviews. It is concluded that organiser provisioning operates in conjunction with self-provisioning to shape everyday life practice performances and prefigure energy demand.

2. Organiser provision, infrastructure and everyday life

2.1 Infrastructures at and outside festivals

As discussed in Chapter 3, throughout commercial greenfield festival history, festival organisers have, with some exceptions and to varying extents, provided festival-goers with a place to camp, sanitary facilities and access to food and water. However, in recent years, greenfield festival organisers and their agents have taken more responsibility for provisioning everyday life practices. Many festival organisers now provide for the possibility of luxurious accommodation, a wider range of better-quality food options and washing and sanitary facilities (cf. Anderton 2011).

The infrastructures that organisers assemble and provide, however, have distinctive qualities. Rather than what Shove (2016: 158) describes as ‘typically complicated, geographically dispersed, relatively expensive and often relatively durable networks’, the infrastructures that support everyday life practices at greenfield festivals need only be in place for a few weeks. Shove’s understanding of infrastructures fits with those found outside festivals, such as the national electricity and regional water networks. These infrastructures converge in homes and businesses and support the everyday life practice performances of millions of households in the UK each day. Their robustness means that change happens slowly over timeframes of up to hundreds of years.

By contrast, infrastructures at greenfield festivals are relatively simple, geographically confined (to the festival site), relatively cheap, less durable (they have less need to be) and comparatively easy to alter between iterations of the festivals. Materials that can be identified

as playing an infrastructural role at festivals, then, have different qualities to the sorts of infrastructural materials theorised by Shove. This means we need to pay attention to how we think about infrastructure when considering greenfield festivals.

Another feature of festival infrastructures that differs from those outside festivals is that they are less commonly networked together. Temporary infrastructures are harder to assemble into an integrated network and, in many cases, it would not make sense to do so. Materials with an infrastructural role in everyday life practices at festivals, such as generators, water tanks and gas bottles, can operate discretely in isolated infrastructural islands. Electricity infrastructure, for example, is generally not networked at greenfield festivals, while water infrastructure can be provided either as connections to regional water infrastructure or in the form of discrete temporary water storage for different areas of the site. Electricity generators are used to service different areas, such as trader islands and glamping areas, while gas bottles might service shower blocks or individual traders. Where water is provided via temporary infrastructure, it is brought to festival sites by tankers, and stored in tanks that can service different areas of larger festival sites without the need or logic to connect them all together.

The lack of networked infrastructure means that infrastructures do not converge and link up in festival-goers' on-site accommodations, as they do in people's homes. Rather, most infrastructures are accessed communally at particular points around the festival site (n.b. the situation regarding the connection of glamping accommodations to infrastructure is different and is discussed in section 3). These distinctive characteristics of festival infrastructure will be further examined and illustrated in later sections.

2.2 The changing roles of materials and the prefiguration of energy demand

In the process of festival sites being made and unmade, the roles that materials play in temporarily sequenced and interconnected practices change. For example, generators and Portalooos are proto-infrastructural devices in organiser provisioning practices, in that they will become infrastructures, but do not yet function as such. When these devices are enrolled in everyday life practices, however, they fulfil this latent potential and become infrastructure. Organiser provisioning practices precede and materially provide for everyday life practices at festivals. This means that materials cannot be considered solely in terms of their role in a particular everyday life practice.

Since this chapter looks at how the relationship between organiser provisioning and everyday life practices affects practice performances, it is important to understand how the roles of particular materials change from one practice to another. The different roles materials play in practices are related to the different ways that change might happen or that connections between provisioning and practice performances might be made. The shift in the role that particular materials play is important because as materials such as generators and Portaloos are successively integrated into provisioning practices and then everyday life practices, they come to prefigure everyday life practice performances, thereby shaping energy demand.

Prefiguration is ‘a qualification of possible paths of action on such registers as easy and hard, obvious and obscure, tiresome and invigorating, short and long, and so on’ (Schatzki 2010: 140). Shove (2016: 161-4) shows how the changing role of materials prefigures the energy demand of practices using the examples of house building, heating the home and watching television. A boiler, she says, is a resource in house building, but a device in warming the home. The warm room then becomes part of the infrastructure involved in watching television. In this scenario the energy demand of watching television in a warm room is prefigured by the boiler’s role as a resource in the practice of house building. The resulting presence of the boiler in the home increases the likelihood of it being incorporated into heating the home, which in turn affects the energy demand of practices that enrol that heat, such as watching television.

This same prefiguring effect of materials is present at greenfield festivals. In terms of glamping, the component parts of a temporary accommodation unit are a resource as they are put together in the performance of provisioning. Once assembled, the components become infrastructure that supports, but is not directly engaged with by, practitioners in, for example, sleeping practices. The implications for energy demand become apparent when considering how generators, power cables and three pin plug sockets become part of the infrastructure of the glamping unit and are enrolled in practices such as blow drying. If these materials were not part of provisioning practices, they would not become part of the unit’s infrastructure and hair drying and its energy demand would look different. It is precisely this multi-faceted view of materials and the roles they play in different practices that enables us to understand the role of materials in prefiguring energy demand.

Each time festival infrastructure is remade, it can be modified and laid out differently. Changes in regulations regarding the minimum standards of provision, cost saving measures, considerations of environmental sustainability and imperatives to keep up with the competition, mean that organisers are continually focussed on planning for the next iteration of the festival. This can lead to changes in infrastructural arrangements from festival to festival that can affect how everyday life practices are performed and potentially drive up energy demand.

2.3 Accessing organiser provisioned infrastructure

Organiser-provisioned infrastructure is provided on the assumption that it will be shared by large numbers of festival-goers. This infrastructure is arranged across the site to facilitate wider access to that infrastructure than is the case with self-provisioned infrastructure. The provisioning of collectively accessible infrastructures at festivals includes differentiations in relation to the number of people who have access to and would be expected to perform practices using those infrastructures. In some cases, provisioning addresses everyone who is part of the festival. In other cases, it addresses a very select group. This means that the sorts of infrastructures that festival-goers have access to and the way these infrastructures are accessed depends upon the status of the attendee, with for example staff and festival-goers who pay for improved services able to access enhanced provision.

At Leeds Festival, glamping, crew accommodation, shower tents and the enhanced Seat of Luxury (SOL) toilet facilities were located in separate fenced-off areas. These areas contain provision for practices that organisers do not provision for elsewhere on site, most notably, sleeping, showering, blow drying and hair straightening. The performance of these practices requires additional infrastructural components, such as gas bottles, pipes, generators, electrical cables and distribution boards, which are not found in areas open to all festival-goers.

Unlike unrestricted areas of the festival site, infrastructures in restricted areas may link. Shower tents and ‘posh’ toilet facilities, for example, are sites at which gas and water infrastructures are linked, while temporary housing infrastructure (glamping units) and energy infrastructures link up in glamping areas. The linking up of gas and water infrastructures allows hot water to become part of washing practices and the integration of electricity infrastructure and glamping units allows electricity to become part of blow drying hair, for example. It is, therefore, the linking up of infrastructures rather than the mere fact of infrastructural provision that enables

energy to be incorporated into practices performances. This highlights how differentiated access to areas where infrastructures link leads to variation in practice performances and affects the spatial patterning of energy demand.

In some respects, the spatial arrangement of infrastructure was different at Alchemy. There were no glamping areas and crew areas were more readily accessible to festival-goers, without the use of passes or wristbands. This way of doing things was a result of a commercial event being run and attended by people from the free festival scene where there was no organiser provision or distinction between workers and audience (see Chapter 3). George described to me how fences and the commercialisation of festivals created tighter control over access to certain areas of the festival site:

Free festivals are a lot less, [pauses] not less organized, but less formalized. So, there generally weren't any stewards. The idea of the free festival being that you are not just a punter, you are the festival and therefore you are the entertainment as well as the security. You're everything. It wasn't separated ... The main difference is, as soon as you start separating areas then you start separating roles and identities ... The existence of fences created tickets and tickets created security and wristbands and the idea of there being a "crew" and a "not crew". So, fences create all of that; the functional separation of what people are doing and what they are.

(George)

The legacy of this lack of 'functional separation' can be seen in the informal system of privileged access to backstage areas at Alchemy. This system was based on personal relationships. Knowing someone running or working at a stage or stall or even knowing a friend of such people could gain you access to these backstage, or what at other festivals might be crew only, areas.

Each stage at Alchemy was run as a separate entity by stage providers rather than by the festival's organisers. I gained access to a backstage area that consisted of a marquee set up in front of a number of vehicles. This was a similar, but more extensive, set-up to the live-in vehicle area I observed during the festival (see Chapter 4). Provision backstage was made for

socialising, catering and sleeping. The marquee encompassed a combined kitchen and living area with cooking facilities, chairs and trestle tables. I was given a hot drink made with water from an electric tea urn. The area was provided with energy from solar panels.

This situation blurs the distinction between organiser provision and self-provisioning. Here, organisers (in this instance stage providers) are making provision for themselves, but this provision is shared on an informal basis by friends and acquaintances. The contrast between the strictly controlled access to areas with enhanced provisioning and infrastructure at Leeds and the more fluid and ambiguous situation at Alchemy highlights that restricting access to certain spaces by means of wristbands is not an inherent part of festivals.

The rest of the chapter considers the impact of organiser provisioning on everyday life practice performances in more detail. I use the examples of glamping and food provision to explore how organiser provision influences the energy demand of practices, taking into account the relationship between organiser and self-provisioned materials. Looking at glamping provides a contrast between the everyday lives of glampers and non-glampers, highlighting the difference in opportunities for energy demand provided by different levels of access to organiser-provisioned infrastructure. Food provision meanwhile is a major area of energy consumption associated with organiser provision for everyday life at festivals. Looking at food provision provides insight into the relationship between festival organisers and their agents in shaping the energy demand of everyday life at festivals.

3. Glamping

3.1 What is glamping

Glamping is a portmanteau of glamorous and camping (OED n.d.). The term is used to distinguish camping experiences that are more luxurious than those ordinarily associated with camping. According to Brochado and Pereira (2017: 77), ‘Glamping is ... a transitional form between outdoor and indoor hospitality whereby entrepreneurs have innovated by combining comfortable accommodations with outdoor experiences.’ Glamping is generally understood as something that is provided for, not by, glampers. Consequently, glamping is usually discussed in economic terms, with providers and consumers of glamping. It is marked by its exclusivity and distinguished from that which is typical and open to all.

The term glamping subsumes a wide range of accommodational possibilities. At music festivals, the most basic glamping experiences hardly seems glamorous at all and simply involve staying in a pre-erected tent in a fenced off area of the festival site. Customers can augment their accommodation with sleeping bags, pillows and mattresses (Pink Moon n.d. a) to increase their comfort. More luxurious options include staying in tipis, yurts, camper vans or even small, prefabricated huts. Such accommodation may include many of the comforts of home, such as king-sized beds, feather duvets and pillows, tables, chairs, clothes rails, towels, lighting, small power and lockable doors (Kushti Cabins n.d.). These materials replace some of the more 'uncomfortable' aspects of camping, such as 'leaky tents [and] smelly sleeping bags' (Boscoboinik and Bourquard: 157).

Glamping can be seen as an evolution of camping practices. Precursors of the modern glamping experience existed at greenfield festivals in the late 1950s and 1960s. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Beaulieu Jazz Festival and the Richmond Blues Festival provided communal sleeping marquees for festival-goers who did not or could not bring a tent of their own (Sandford and Reid 1974). Such accommodation, while far from luxurious, nevertheless forms part of the history of festival glamping, since it was provided by festival organisers rather than festival-goers. I could not find reference to specific examples of communal sleeping provision after the mid 1960s, though it is mentioned in the Stevenson Report (1973) and in the 1993 Purple Guide (HSE 1993). It has not re-emerged in the age of glamping.

As competition in the glamping market becomes more intense, providers offer increasingly luxurious accommodations and update existing models to make them more competitive. This leads to changes in what is perceived as luxurious over time, resulting in larger accommodation units with more features and greater infrastructural provision. This provides more opportunities for festival-goers to incorporate energy into their performances of everyday life practices. James, the operations director of a major glamping provider, explained that:

Something I'm conscious of now is, 10 years ago, when these products were first launched, they probably were perceived as being fairly luxurious, but 10 years down the line, compared to the kind of base level of luxury and standard that a lot of other suppliers are producing, and compared to what a lot of people are expecting, I'm definitely conscious of the fact that a lot of our units are certainly not very luxurious any more. That is definitely something that needs addressing. A lot of the units that

would have been considered luxury five years ago, they're actually pretty basic now. Going into next year, we're actually revamping a load of the stuff and taking the appearance and the service up a level just to try and stay with trends. Certainly, a lot of what we're doing has depreciated in value compared to everything else.

This suggests a race to the top in terms of glamping provision and highlights the pace at which ideas about what luxury means are changing. The above-mentioned annual re-making of the festival site opens up the possibility for more rapid change than might be found outside a festival. That glamping provision is becoming more luxurious speaks to the role of competition in driving the evolution of perceptions of luxury and how these notions influence perceptions of units on a scale of 'basic' to 'luxurious'. It also highlights that the notion of luxury is not only about the perceived quality of accommodation, but also of service. However, I was also told that basic options still sell well, as many festival-goers are seeking convenience rather than luxury.

Focusing on provisioning processes for glamping provides insight into the infrastructure and energy demand associated with preparing the festival site and providing enhanced provision for everyday life practices. It also reveals how the energy demand of everyday life practices are prefigured by organisers' provisioning practices and the infrastructure, devices and resources that they provision as part of glamping experiences. I now turn to discuss what glamping is and its evolution at greenfield festivals before returning to a practice-oriented analysis and issues of materiality and provisioning.

3.2 Provisioning glamping

3.2.1 An overview of glamping provisioning and provision

Glamping operations manager, James, provided details of his company's operation. The company provides glamping accommodation at around 50-60 music festivals every year (95% of their business comes from music festivals). Initially, growth was quick. Bookings doubled year-on-year until the seventh year when things slowed. Demand had plateaued in the four years preceding the 2016 interview. It was thought that this was due to competition from other glamping providers rather than a drop in demand across the market.

The company can now offer 500 glamping units and 300 tents. They can cater for a maximum of 1500 people per festival, serving 10,000 people a year. The smallest festival involves 20 units for around 40 people. The average festival involves between 150 and 200 units. Accommodation ranges from £180 to £1500 for two people for the weekend. Typically, there are two or three events each weekend, but on busy weekends, such as August Bank Holiday, they may service as many as seven events.

James outlined the role of his company and the festival organisers in provisioning the glamping area:

How it works, we just provide the accommodation. We've got a range of units at a range of budgets, so we can put things up for two people, four people, or six people. Various shapes and sizes. Various units with different names and different things inside them ... The festival will give us an area; that's just going to be a field. We'll then go in there [and] set up units. We'll set up a reception tent most of the time, 99% of the time. We'll bring reception staff. We have reception managers, reception crew, who welcome the guests when they arrive and check them in. We've also got a team of guys and girls who put the stuff up, who will also stick around for the event and provide maintenance services and help on the reception as well. At most festivals, we take the bookings through our website. We then pay the festival a commission, so it'll be a percentage of the pre-VAT revenue that's generated from the hire of the units and in return for that commission, we ask for power feeds from generators, we ask for adequate fencing to secure the area. Most of the time, we ask for access to site plant. We always need forklifts and telehandlers to unload our kit from trucks. Most of the time the festival will provide us with a telehandler.

(James)

The above quote highlights that multiple processes (e.g. financial transactions, transportation, setting up and striking the glamping area) and materials (e.g. glamping units, fences and power feeds) are part of organiser provisioning for glamping. It highlights that festival organisers and glamping providers are responsible for different types of provisioning. I now explore how these processes, materials and the complex relationship between the practices performed by glamping providers, festival organisers and festival-goers shape everyday life practice performances and their energy demand.

3.2.2 Pre-festival

Much of the energy demand associated with the pre-festival stage of the provisioning process comes from transporting the units and other materials, such as sleeping bags and modular beds, to the site. James gave an overview of preparations for summer festivals. Most accommodation units and equipment are transported in 40-foot articulated lorries: 60 glamping units or 200 tents will fit on one such vehicle. On average, two or three trucks are used per festival. For the largest events (accommodating 1500 people), 11 lorries are used. The ability to easily hire more lorries means that, unlike with audience travel (see Chapter 4), vehicle capacity does not limit the amount of provision that can be made.

However, James's company was concerned to minimise transport costs, tailoring the dimension of flat-packed accommodation units and other materials to fit efficiently into lorries for transport. For example, a new flat-pack bed was designed for 2017 with the specifications of the lorries in mind (6ft x 4ft packages turned out to be most efficient). He said:

We transport our units in pallets, which are [a] four-foot by eight-foot footprint, and eight foot high. So, that's a fairly standard footprint. Being four foot wide, it means you can get two abreast on an eight-foot-wide trailer. Being eight foot long means you can get five in a row on a 40-foot trailer ... We might have six [units] in an eight-foot pallet ... You can, therefore, get 10 of those pallets on a truck, so you get 60 [units] on a truck. Some of our bigger units are transported in 10-foot pallets, so, obviously, you'll only get eight of those pallets on a truck. And then our tents. We transport a load of stuff, so things like camp beds, air beds, sheets, duvets, sleeping bags. We transport all of those things either in four-foot cubes or six-foot by four-foot or eight-foot by four-foot [pallets]. That way we can almost play Tetris on the truck. Some of those things are four foot high, some of those things are two foot high, some of those things are eight foot high. So, on a big festival, I'll fill the first couple of trailers up with the standard accommodation units, which we get 10 on a truck, and then the last couple of trailers, where we've got all the little bits and pieces, it really is a game of Tetris to maximise the efficiency of how we're loading the stuff and to try to reduce the number of trailers.

(James)

The level of detail in the above quote highlights how important transport efficiency is to James's company. As discussed in Chapter 4, Hui (2012) points out that the transportation of materials is not solely dependent on transport mode. Rather, its accomplishment requires a multiplicity of things. In this case pallets are significant as they affect the design of beds and

accommodation units. Tailoring flat-packed components to fit on pallets can help keep transport costs down and reduce the amount of petrol required for transportation.

3.2.3 Setting up and taking down

James mentioned that telehandlers ('big, rough terrain forklift[s]') are required in order to load and unload pallets, each of which weighs between 1.8 and 3.5 tons, from the lorries. Loading and unloading takes a couple of days at the larger festivals. Generally, telehandlers are needed for five hours at set up time and three hours at take down time (obviously, the more pallets they have the longer it takes). Unloading and loading lorries was considered to be the most significant on-site energy demand for the company.

Once unloaded, the accommodation units are constructed by the glamping crew. Units are made from component resources such as wood panels, electrical wiring, plug sockets and solar panels. These materials play the same role as bricks, boilers and radiators play in house building practices. Just as the materials in house building prefigure the energy demand of practices such as watching television (Shove 2016: 162), so the construction of glamping units prefigures the energy demand of everyday life practices at greenfield festivals.

3.2.4 During the festival

Once accommodation units are built and being used by festival-goers, they become infrastructure in everyday life practices including sleeping, listening to music, blow drying and making food and drinks. Some units have inbuilt components of energy infrastructure, such as solar and plug sockets. Others are also connected to organiser provisioned infrastructural components, such as generators, distribution boards and cables.

James's company provides standard units with 12-volt¹⁵ power supplied by a solar panel on each unit that is connected to a battery. The units have a car-style connection and USB

¹⁵ For those not versed in the International System of Units (SI), volts are the SI unit that signifies the force with which electrical current is moved around a circuit. Power sources (like plugs) have voltage ratings which tell you how much force is being used to move electricity around the system. The higher the voltage, the more force is used to create electric current. Amps are a measurement of the current being produced by the voltage of the power source. The more amps a device requires (draws), the more electric current it needs in order to work properly. For example, an 8 amp hair dryer uses electricity at a faster rate (draws more power) than a 1.5 amp phone charger. This is because a hair dryer has a higher wattage than a mobile phone charger. Wattage is the unit that indicates how much power a device uses. Devices come with wattage rating that tells you how much

connector. James sees the 12-volt supply and battery capacity in standard units as a problem since these infrastructural arrangements are often insufficient to cater for the festival-goers' everyday life practice performances. This is, in part, due to festival-goers provisioning devices that overwhelm the unit's energy infrastructure. As James explains:

In the [units] where we provide the 12 volt stuff, people'll bring a car phone charger and sometimes people bring a little 12-volt cool box and that causes us issues because the 12-volt cool boxes just drain the 12-volt batteries quicker than the solar panels can charge them up. That's where a lot of the power issues [in 12-volt units] occur; it's people bringing cool boxes.

(James)

In such instances, festival-goers are orienting themselves towards the devices they bring rather than thinking about the dynamics of the resources the devices draw upon. This shows how practices are often ambivalent to configurations of infrastructure and resource use 'even where they rely upon energy services for the achievement of their aims' (Hui and Walker 2018: 25).

More luxurious units have a 230-volt power supply, the same voltage as mains power in the home. Each pair of units is powered by a 16 amp feed from the main generator, split into two eight amp feeds. The feeds come from a generator supplied by the festival organisers. James sees a 230-volt supply as sufficient for the purposes of festival-going and enough to cater for the everyday life practice performances of most festival-goers without problems. However, some festival-goers provision devices that can overwhelm these infrastructural arrangements.

People bring their own appliances, because when they read that the units are supplied with 230-volts mains power, they'll bring their own hair straighteners and kettles and hair dryers; typically, they're the three main things that people bring ... Apart from hair dryers, straighteners, kettles, phones, occasionally laptops, occasionally iPads, I guess people charge their cameras in their units. Oh, sound systems, you occasionally get people bringing big speakers and things, well not big, but portable sound systems, especially in the group units. Sometimes you get groups who just treat them as party units.

power the device needs to work. Watts are calculated by multiplying voltage by amperage ($V \times A = W$). To find the amperage of a device, divide the wattage of the device by voltage of the power source ($W / V = A$). If the number of amps on a given electrical system is exceeded, the trip switches will break the electrical circuit interrupting the electricity supply.

(James)

Many festival-goers assume that if a device or appliance has the appropriate connection (e.g. plug) it will be suitable for use in the accommodations. This is not the case. Each pair of luxury units can draw up to 16 amps between them. When each pair of units exceeds 16 amps, the fuses are tripped and need to be reset, interrupting the performance of the practices:

It's a bit of a conundrum for us, in that we're powering 24 units off a single feed and each one of our units has got a 16 amp feed going into it. On the end of that 16 amp feed will be a trip switch, which will be 16 amps, so in theory somebody could draw 16 amps in their unit, but we realised that not everyone is going to be drawing maximum capacity all at once, which is why we are able to split it right down. A lot of the time, the distro boards do trip. It's just a case of walking round and flipping it back up again.

(James)

The use of devices that involve heating, such as blow dryers and straighteners, is a particular problem, as a blow dryer can draw between 8 and 10 amps. If two hair dryers (or similar high-powered devices, such as kettles) are used at the same time in either of the two units, power to the units will temporarily be cut, causing disruption to the practice performances.

This situation is further complicated by fluctuations in the voltage being distributed by generators.

The issue arises when the generators aren't kicking out 230 volts. If they're only kicking out 180 volts, that means the trip switches on them, the fuses, are going to trip at a much lower amperage or wattage than if they were kicking out 230 volts.

(James)

This speaks to the unreliability of the temporary energy infrastructure when it comes to sustaining a consistent electricity supply. The relative fragility of festival energy infrastructure can lead to disruptions in the performances of certain practices. However, as James says, 'we say we can't guarantee [the electricity supply] because it is in a field, at the end of the day, but it's pretty good. It's pretty reliable.' This speaks to a substantive difference between the

tolerability of failure in the energy supply systems at and outside festivals. In his discussion of blackouts in the United States, Nye (2010) illustrates that electricity has become inextricably linked with how people live and work in our society to the extent that many practices cannot be performed without it. Walker (2019: 68) argues that the narrative of ‘keeping the lights on’ has created the perception of ‘energy demand as non-negotiable, lying outside the framework of legitimate debate’. My interview with James highlights that this is not the case at greenfield festivals, even among those who pay for access to electrical services.

For the most part, festival-goers are used to performing everyday life practices incorporating the more robust and reliable infrastructure of the national grid and housing stock. The national grid allows innumerable energy demanding practices to be performed simultaneously. Festival-goers are therefore unused to having to manage the draw on an electrical infrastructure. The knowledge and skills required to perform and sequence practices when there are restrictions on energy use, may not hitherto have been part of a festival-goers’ practice performances. This leads to a discrepancy between festival-goers’ know-how and the capacity of the energy infrastructures of glamping units to cope with the demands of some everyday life practices.

James’s company are prepared to make infrastructural changes to accommodate the materiality of festival-goers’ everyday life practices. For the 2017 festival season, for example, the company planned to change the batteries used in standard units to more efficient silicon-type batteries. This would allow festival-goers to run cool boxes and other devices for longer. The use of devices by festival-goers can therefore be seen to have influenced organiser provision, highlighting the co-constructive relationship between organiser provisioning and self-provisioning. I now turn to consider another way that the company has accommodated festival-goers’ practices; the provision of the indulgence tent.

3.2.5 Indulgence tent

The indulgence tent is a place where glampers can dry and straighten their hair. It contains up to eight hair dryers and eight pairs of hair straighteners, depending on the size of the festival. In 2016, it was only available at eight festivals. The indulgence tent was initiated because of the problems associated with the use of hair dryers and straighteners in glamping units. Rather than discouraging the performance of these practices, more robust infrastructures and new devices were provided to facilitate their performance. The change to accommodate rather than

discourage festival-goers' practices speaks to the imperative of market competition and the changes to the festival-going experience in the last two and a half decades (Anderton 2008 and 2011).

The indulgence tent transferred responsibility for certain aspects of provisioning from festival-goers to festival organiser. New infrastructure and devices were provided in order to shift certain practice performances from accommodation units to a new communal location. The greater infrastructural provision in this space enables a degree of control over how and where energy is demanded. Providing a separate location for blow drying and hair straightening practices meant that accommodating festival-goers practice could be done without creating new infrastructural arrangements, involving 32 amp feeds to each accommodation unit. Such changes would have increased the issue of troughs in energy demand, since most of the time no energy is being drawn in the units and the likelihood of 32 amps being draw in one unit at any point during the day is low.

The indulgence tent is available to all glampers, not just those with access to luxury units with 230-volt power. This has ramifications for the potential number of festival-goers engaged in blow drying and hair straightening and opens up possibilities for such energy demanding practices to be performed by increasing numbers of festival-goers. The relative energy demand of practices performed in the indulgence tent can be seen in the number of feeds required to power it relative to the provision of power in other areas:

If we've sold one to 24 units, we'll ask for one feed, if we've sold 25 to 48 units, we'll ask the two feeds. It's a little bit more complicated than that because we'll factor in a couple of feeds for our reception tent. We'll factor in two feeds for our crew camp. If we've got one of those [indulgence tents] there, that'll take four feeds.

(James)

The differences in infrastructural arrangements for indulgence tent and different types of accommodation unit exemplify how some festival-goers are able to gain privileged access to organiser-provisioned infrastructures, devices and resources. The foregoing discussion of the process of setting up and striking glamping provision also speaks to the energy demand involved in providing glamping experiences and how glamping providers prefigure the energy

demand of festival-goers everyday life practices. Glamping providers are increasingly providing for everyday life practices in ways that facilitates performances more closely resembling those performed outside of the festival. This enables some degree of continued performance and reproduction of routine at festivals, but across what is a spectrum of variation. I now consider food provision at festivals, which shapes everyday life practices in different ways to glamping, since festival-goers have no access to organiser provisioned materials used in the preparation of food.

4. Food

4.1 Festival food

Examining glamping highlighted the relationship between festival organiser provision and that of their agents. In this section, I continue to explore this relationship by considering the provisioning of food at festivals. I explore how food providers' provisioning and practice performances are impacted by the limitations of organiser provisioned infrastructures. I also attend to direct and indirect implications of this for energy demand. Consideration of the relationship between festival organiser provisioned infrastructures and the provision made by food providers is important because food is more likely to be accessed by a larger proportion of festival-goers than glamping facilities. Many festival-goers now see food as an important part of the music festival-going experience, and many of today's festivals offer a wide range of high-quality food, provided by outside vendors (Clark 2015; Garlick 2018; Parker 2015; Winter 2017; Fletcher 2019; Stolworthy 2015; Wyatt 2015).

4.2 Resources

Resources, such as food and gas, are often provided by food vendors. John, who co-owns a fish and chip van has worked at several greenfield festivals, told me that the first stage of the planning process for festivals is working out how many covers (meals) are expected to be sold during the festival. Working out the number of covers is done by working out the maximum hourly output of the catering van and then extrapolating from this to the whole event. The outcome of this process informs how much stock is taken to the festival.

Estimating the number of covers is important as the rural location can make it more difficult to procure extra stock if estimates are incorrect. It can be difficult and time consuming if someone is required to go off-site to acquire more stock during the festival. John knew this from experience, as they once ran out of bread buns at a festival and had to send someone off-site to get more. Under- or over-estimating the number of covers can also be the difference between making a profit or a loss.

The type and amount of stock brought to the site varies depending on the festival. Some stock can be delivered to the site. This is particularly good for perishable goods, like fish. John's usual supplier is able to deliver anywhere in the country, which helps to ensure the quality and consistency of the final product. Some food is prepared in advance and taken to the festival site by the catering company, saving time while at the festival, which is particularly important at the busiest times. Before John's company had a shop, a commercial kitchen was hired for this purpose. This means that some food preparation practices are shifted in time and space and enrol off-site energy that is embedded in the food taken to the festival. Such preparations can be done in a few days, but tasks such as estimating the number of covers that will be sold, and energy needs for the weekend, might start a year before the festival, when the booking is made.

Sometimes festivals require that everything is purchased from designated suppliers, but in other cases this is limited to specific items, such as soft drinks. John felt that buying from on-site suppliers could be a good thing as it can reduce the amount of stock they are required to bring to the festivals. For example, at one event, John's company sold 170 cases worth of soft-drinks and water in two days. This is a lot to transport to the site and would have incurred greater transport costs for the company. However, since soft drinks were centrally distributed by from an on-site distribution hub, the burden of transporting such stock was removed, achieving some economy of scale in terms of the transport energy demand involved.

4.3 Food vendor infrastructure

Preparing for a greenfield festival also involves thinking about the physical structures that form part of a food vendor's infrastructural arrangements. For John and his colleagues, this generally takes the form of a catering van, a refrigerated van, a trailer for ambient stock and a gazebo that provides a storage area for stock during working hours. At larger festivals, an additional van is used to bring ambient stock, packaging and gas bottles. For smaller events, it is possible

to change the dimensions of the cold storage section of the refrigerated van to make space for the ambient stock, negating the need to bring the trailer. The limited size of these storage spaces can be an issue at bigger festivals, necessitating deliveries of perishable stock to the festival site.

The rural location of greenfield festivals can present challenges for transporting this infrastructure. John's company goes all over the country to cater not only for festivals, but also weddings and other events. Transporting catering vehicles to greenfield festivals increases the focus on transport in the planning process. For example, it may be necessary to stick to motorways if roads have height restrictions. This means that the route must be thoroughly planned in advance. Sometimes, more immediate problems present themselves when taking catering vehicles to a festival site. John recounted to me a story of an incident that illustrates the sorts of the problems that can occur when travelling to festivals:

The further afield that you're travelling, with a catering trailer especially, if something does go wrong, we've got breakdown cover, which I've made sure that the policy says, if we break down, they'll tow the trailer to the festival, so you don't lose on the trade, because there's a big risk. We actually had a really hair-raising moment when we were going to [one festival] ... We started travelling, we'd literally just left to go there, and we were driving for less than a minute and I looked in my wing mirror and there was smoke, and I was just like, "fuck! What is that?" and because we were towing the trailer with a new van, it applied the hand break, because you've got an emergency break that you put on, so basically, the hand break on the trailer was on and we were trying to pull it in the van. The smoke was the breaks on the trailer, so I realised what had happened and we changed it. Thankfully, no permanent damage was done, and it was fine, but that was just, [pause]. The heart just completely went. I was like, "oh God! I can't believe it."

(John)

This highlights some of problems of provisioning temporary infrastructure in such a short time frame.

At the festival, the company's refrigerated van, ambient trailer and gazebo are positioned behind the catering van. The refrigerated van contains fresh food while the ambient trailer contains oils and stock that does not need refrigerating. Setting up might take them between one and two hours; three at larger festivals. This infrastructure is for the private use of the

catering company rather than the communal use of all food vendors, which parallels the self-provision done by festival-goers. In adverse weather conditions, stock kept under the gazebo is kept dry by means of a tarpaulin. This is particularly important at greenfield festivals, where vendors stay in place in a field for several days with the possibility for extended periods of rain.

Mud and rain are not only a problem for keeping stock dry. John told me that torrential rain at one festival meant that festival organisers had to provide tractors to drag food trailers on to their pitches. Half of the food vendors could not get to their prearranged pitches, so the location of pitches needed to be rearranged at the last minute. In John's case, they lost a full day's trade. This highlights some of the difficulties of provisioning temporary infrastructure in rural fields and points to the importance of the relationship between organiser provision and that of their agents. Both sets of provision must come together harmoniously to successfully provision food for festivals.

4.4 The relationship between organiser and agent provisioning

Up to now, I have considered the provisioning practices of festival organisers and their agents to be synonymous. Agents such as food providers and glamping providers, however, do not provide all the infrastructure and resources they use themselves. Here, I consider the relationship between the provision of those with overarching control over a festival's organisation (festival organisers) and that of food vendors in order to highlight how the interrelation of the two leads to changes in practice performances which shape their energy demand.

The catering and refrigeration vans that John's company take to greenfield festivals require festival organiser-provisioned infrastructure and resources to function. Both of these vans connect to the electricity infrastructure provided by festivals. The company send an estimate of their electricity requirements prior to the event. Each van is usually provided with a 16 amp, single phase connection. This is provided either as two 16 amp connections or a single 32 amp connection split in two. Distribution of electricity is generally centralised, as most festival organisers do not allow companies to bring their own generators.

A festival's electricity infrastructure can affect the devices that food vendors provision for use at the festival. Since the draw on the system is limited to 16 amps, vendors using high wattage equipment must learn to manage their use of electrical devices in order to maintain an uninterrupted supply of electricity. In John's company's shop, located in an urban area with a connection to the national grid, the use of equipment need not be monitored, as the load that can be put on the system before it trips is far higher than the load the company uses in their day-to-day operation. At festivals, however, the limits of the temporary energy infrastructure mean that what food vendors are doing needs to be carefully monitored and managed. In order to manage the draw on the system and maintain a constant electricity supply, John keeps track of the combined wattage of all the appliances being used in the trailer. This is so important that John was able to recite from memory the wattage of every appliance used in the van.

So, the outdoor speakers are 90 watts. The fridge spikes at 500 watts when it first starts up but, then it'll run about 100 to 150 watts. That'd be the same with the over-counter fridge as well. The electric fryer is 2.8 kilowatts. The soup kettle will probably be about 500 to 1000 watts depending on which soup kettle it is. We don't really use that a lot, but it depends if we're doing very sauce heavy, chips and curry, chips and peas, chips and gravy, you need a back-up there. The max is, like, 4 kilowatts, you're looking at overall, but I don't know what the [total electricity] use is. I just know [the wattage of] each appliance.

(John)

At greenfield festivals, then, infrastructural limitations demand that attention is given to specific devices and their energy consumption profile, singularly and in combination. This differs from in the shop where wattages are not important, because the robustness of the infrastructure means that this knowledge is not required. John substantiated this point later in the interview when he said, 'The lights run at about 100 watts, I don't think I mentioned that before. That's in the trailer. I don't know what they run at in the shop.'

The limit on the electricity draw can have implications for how cooking practices are performed and what devices are provisioned for greenfield festivals. One concession John's company made to the limited power draw is that they only bring one electric fryer to festivals, despite using two in their shop. Electric fryers are used to finish off food and create room in the gas-powered fryers, speeding up food preparation times. However, the energy draw of electric

fryers uses a significant amount of the possible 16 amp draw. If the use of electric fryers in relation to other devices is not carefully managed, the electricity supply to the catering van can trip, interrupting food preparation.

Another concession made, given the limit on the electricity draw, is that there are no heat lamps to keep hot the food cooked at less busy times. This was not always the case. The decision not to bring a heat lamp was made only after experiencing repeated power outages due to the extensive draw the lamp added to the system. As John explained:

What we usually find is, something will trip and then we realise we're doing too much, but the thing is, you need to know. That's why I know all those appliances, in terms of what their wattage is, because I need to know it. Our very first event that we did, we had no idea whatsoever about electricity and how much each appliance draws and what our limit is to trip it. So, we brought four little electric fryers and we were plugging them all into one plug. We had a heat lamp, which was massive, and it was a huge draw. It was 4 kilowatts or something. We had soup kettles and we were just tripping it every single time – Bam! Bam! Bam! Bam! Bam! We just had no knowledge. And then you suddenly realise, “Right. Okay. That needs to be plugged into a separate supply, we can only have this limit because we've only got this much supply being given to us.”

(John)

This speaks to the learning associated with providing food using temporary energy infrastructure. This learning involved changing how food preparation practices were performed, the devices they incorporated and the sequences in which those devices were used. Limiting the number of electric fryers or not bringing heat lamps can increase waiting times for customers, but this is thought to be necessary given the restricted festival energy infrastructure. The speed of food preparation is nonetheless important as John estimates that they prepare as many as 100 to 150 meals an hour.

Unlike festival-goers in glamping units, who may not have much time to acquire the knowledge and skills required to manage their draw on a 16 amp feed (and in many cases may not need to since glamping companies are planning for greater levels of demand), food vendors learn to adapt over time. As their experience of providing food at festivals grows, they acquire new skills that help them to balance the energy draw by managing the timings and uses of certain

appliances. John told me how it was possible to work around the restrictions of the energy supply:

soon enough, you work out how you can get around certain things and how much you can push a certain thing, staggering when you're turning appliances on. All these little tips that you've got no idea of at the start. That kind of helps you out.

(John)

This speaks to the additional competences required as part of the performance of cooking practices and food provision at greenfield festivals. These skills are not needed in order to run a food business in premises with a connection to the national grid, where the load that can be put on to the electrical system at one time is far greater.

Other electrical devices in the catering van include a water boiler, a chip and pin machine that uses mobile wi-fi, two tablet computers for taking orders and one for use as a till. Staff also charge their mobile phones using this supply. The power draw of these devices, however, is negligible in comparison to devices such as electric fryers and soup kettles. It was said that without the use of these two appliances the electricity demand of the catering van is very low.

One of the reasons for this is the use of gas for cooking. The van supports two 19kg Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) canisters which are located one on either side of the trailer. Vendors can bring their own gas or buy it centrally from the festival distribution point. As John explains:

Usually you can only have x amount of back-up gas cylinders on site and they either go in a locked, secure compound or, if they're outside yours, they need to be standing upright or tied to something that is a solid structure. What a lot of festivals have is an on-site gas supplier that will be able to deliver and take away your gas ... We buy directly off Calor Gas, but if you were going to buy it off the festival gas supplier, then it will be over double what you'd pay normally.

(John)

The ability to provision one's own resources is, therefore, dependent upon the resource in question. This means that food vendors might employ both organiser-provisioned and self-provisioned energy infrastructure.

Consideration of food provisioning highlights the differences between energy infrastructure arrangements at and outside festivals. Festival energy infrastructure is not robust enough to allow practices to be performed in their usual way. This demonstrates the effect of infrastructural arrangements on practice performances and energy demand, a subject that will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown the importance of festival organiser provision in shaping the performance and energy demand of everyday life practices. Organiser provisioning practices shape the materiality of everyday life practice performances and can affect how energy is available to be enrolled into those performances. As materials sequentially shift from being part of provisioning practices to become part of everyday life practices, the roles that those materials play change. The shift in the role of materials prefigures the energy demand that results from everyday life practices. Without the provision of generators, electrical wiring and three pin plug sockets by festival organisers, blow drying, for example, would only be performable by festival-goers in suitably equipped live-in vehicles, while other festival-goers would only have alternatives, such as towel drying, available to them. This example illustrates how festival organiser provisioning practices and their materiality constrain and enable the incorporation of energy into festival-goers' practice performances.

The provision of infrastructure is central to festival organiser provisioning practices. The temporariness of this infrastructure is important in shaping everyday life practice performances and their energy demand. Temporary infrastructural arrangements prefigure opportunities for both festival-goers and the agents of festival organisers, such as glamping providers and food vendors, to incorporate energy into practices. The availability and reliability of, and cost of access to, temporary infrastructural arrangements affects how the agents of festival organisers perform practices (see section 4). The inadequacy of festival infrastructure to support the sorts of devices and the sequencing of their use that are usual outside festivals means that the way that everyday life practices are performed has to take into account the limitations of the temporary infrastructure.

While greenfield festival infrastructure can limit the possibilities for practice performances, the temporariness of this infrastructure does have certain advantages. Greenfield festival infrastructure is more malleable than most infrastructure outside festivals and can be changed for subsequent iterations of festivals. This gives festival organisers opportunities to change the levels and types of infrastructural provision they make and, subsequently, the sort of infrastructure that is enrolled into everyday life practice performances. Festival organisers can, for example, incorporate renewable energy infrastructure, such as solar panels, into their festivals or increase the level of infrastructure to facilitate a greater number and range of practice performances.

How such changes in the provision of infrastructure can affect the energy demand of everyday life at greenfield festivals can be seen in the example of glamping. As perceptions of luxury have shifted, so has the level of infrastructural provision that supports the everyday life practices of glampers. As seen above, trends in glamping are towards more luxurious accommodations and the ability to perform a greater number of practices in ways similar to those in which they are performed outside festivals. The example of the indulgence tent highlights the influence that organiser provisioning can have on practices and energy demand. In this instance, relatively inexpensive changes made to infrastructural arrangements led to the support of a greater number of energy demanding practice performances. This gives rise to the possibility that organiser provisioning practices could potentially prefigure energy demand downwards as well as upwards. However, a downward trajectory in energy demand is unlikely in the near future.

The relationship between organiser provisioning and self-provisioning is co-productive. Festival organiser provisioning occurs in relation to both everyday life practices and festival-goers' self-provisioning practices. The recursive relationships between these practices are crucial to the shaping of energy demand, as changes in one practice can affect the performance of the others. In recent times, it appears that this dynamic is driving greenfield festivals in a more energy demanding direction, with festival organisers providing infrastructures that are better able to cope with the performance of more energy demanding practices.

With increases in levels of organiser provision have come differences in levels of access to this provision. Festival-goers who pay additional fees are able to perform a greater variety of energy demanding practices at greenfield festivals, while the majority of festival-goers lack access to

this provision. This leads to differences in the everyday life practice performances of these two groups. As seen in Chapter 3, greenfield festivals have historically been places where practices needed to be performed in ways that incorporate little energy. This appears to be changing as infrastructures are provisioned that can support a greater number of energy-demanding everyday life practice performances. However, infrastructure at greenfield festivals is still less robust and extensive than outside of greenfield festivals and so is not able to support everyday life practices in the same way. Festival organiser infrastructural provision, then, still affects how everyday life practices are performed at today's festivals, shaping them in ways that are often different from performances outside greenfield festivals. I now turn to examine this issue further by exploring how the temporal and spatial features of music festivals affect the performance of everyday life practices and energy demand during urban festivals.

Chapter 6: Everyday Life During Urban Music Festivals: Settings, Doing-Places and Doing-Paths

1. Introduction

So far, this thesis has focused on greenfield festivals. As we have seen, everyday life is an integral part of greenfield festivals. Greenfield festival sites serve as temporary settings for the performance of a variety of everyday life practices from eating and drinking to sleeping and washing. The annual construction and dismantling of these settings means that the carrying on of everyday life is central to the planning and preparations of both festival-goers and festival organisers. The repurposing of rural spaces as settings for performances of everyday life practices brings everyday life into sharp focus, highlighting how performances of everyday life practices and their energy demand are shaped by the disconnection of rural settings from national and regional infrastructures which ordinarily support everyday life in urban settings.

This chapter focuses on urban music festivals in order to explore how different material settings affect the performances of everyday life practices by festival-goers and the implications this has for their energy demand. It draws upon both participant observations of the material settings and infrastructures available for possible performances of everyday life practices and analysis of answers (and absences) in interviews with some festival organisers. Looking at everyday life practices at urban music festivals allows us to contextualise both the provisioning practices of greenfield festival organisers and the everyday life practice performances of greenfield festival-goers.





The chapter is structured as follows. First, I outline how differences in the temporal and spatial features of music festivals lead to variation in the geographic dispersion of performances of festival-goers' everyday life practices during festivals. Second, I explain the concepts of doing-places and settings and show how festival-goers incorporate these into their everyday life practice performances during urban festivals; in turn, affecting what festival organisers do and do not need to be concerned with in relation to the everyday life of attendees during urban festivals. Third, I explain the concept of doing-paths and consider how the temporal and spatial

features of urban festivals can affect how audiences travel to urban festivals; again, affecting what provision needs to be made specifically for the mobility of festival attendees. Finally, I consider how urban festival energy demand is hidden by the incorporation of existing urban settings and doing-places into the festival space. I conclude that the enrolment of existing urban settings, doing-places, doing-paths and infrastructures in the everyday life practice performances of urban festival-goers leads to differences in those performances when compared to greenfield festivals, with discernible consequences for the making of energy demand. Moreover, consideration of everyday life practice performances during urban festivals helps to contextualise the making of energy demand at greenfield festivals and raises questions as to the extent to which energy demand at greenfield sites is a problem for academics and festival organisers.

2. Variety and commonality in urban festivals

First, it is necessary to highlight some of the features that distinguish urban music festivals as an analytically useful category. While greenfield music festivals, as outlined in Chapter 2, are relatively homogeneous in terms of their features (multi-day festivals, in rural locations that accommodate festival-goers overnight and have a primary focus on music), urban music festivals are relatively heterogeneous, while still, for the purposes of this thesis, exhibiting enough commonality to justify subsuming these diverse festivals under a single category.

This point is illustrated by the festivals I visited as part of my research. The schematic maps of Leeds Festival, Highest Point Festival and Cottingham Springboard Festival, below, depict areas, boundaries and ‘doing-places’ (explained in the next section) of various practices during the festivals. They show differences between the three festivals in terms of the composition of the festival sites and the geographical distribution of everyday life practice performances during the festivals. The maps spotlight different types of festival and non-festival settings as well as the movements of festival-goers beyond the boundary of the festival sites.

-  Festival site/venue and the boundary of festival organiser responsibility (e.g. greenfield festival sites, outdoor urban festival sites, pubs, cafés and town halls).
-  Non-festival public settings (e.g. cafés, pubs, restaurants, takeaways and shops).
-  Non-festival home settings (e.g. homes, hotels and guesthouses).
-  Audience travel (e.g. home to festival, festival site to home and festival site to restaurant).

Map Key

Leeds Festival

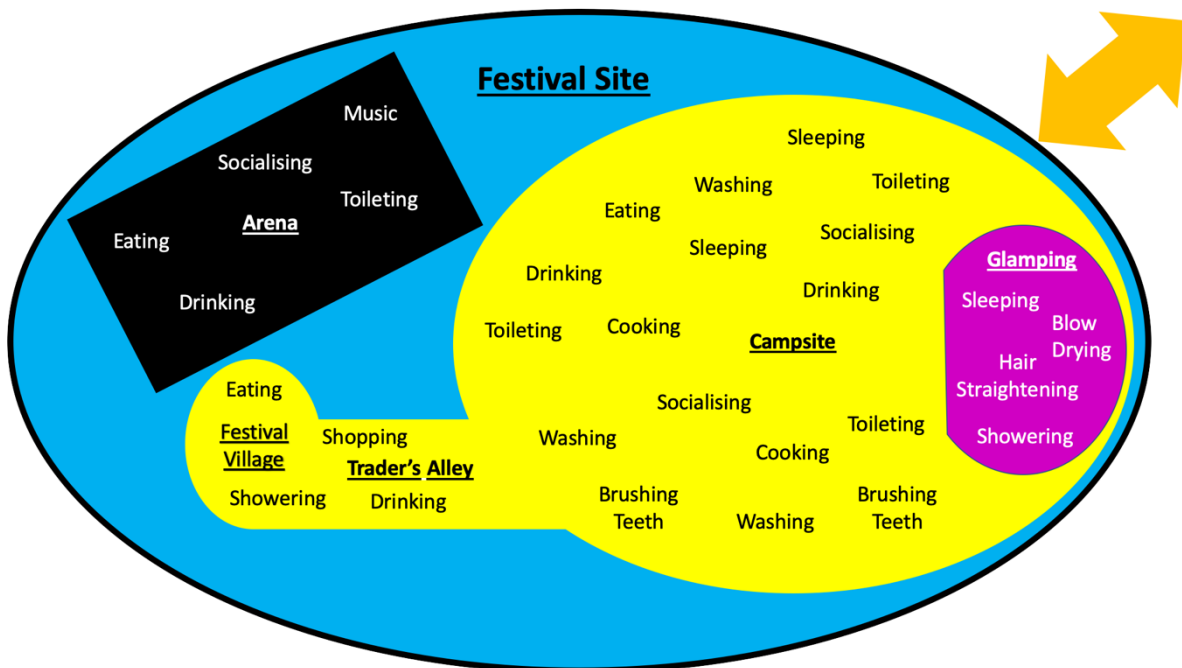


Figure 1: Leeds Festival Schematic Map

Highest Point Festival

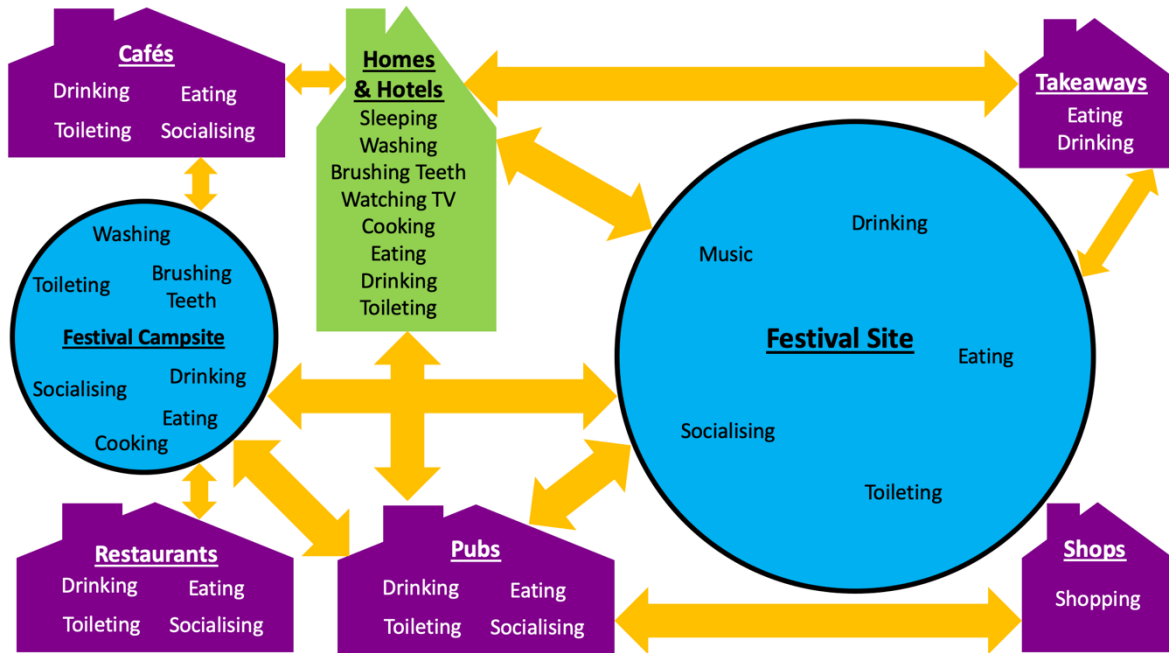


Figure 2: Highest Point Festival Schematic Map

Cottingham Springboard

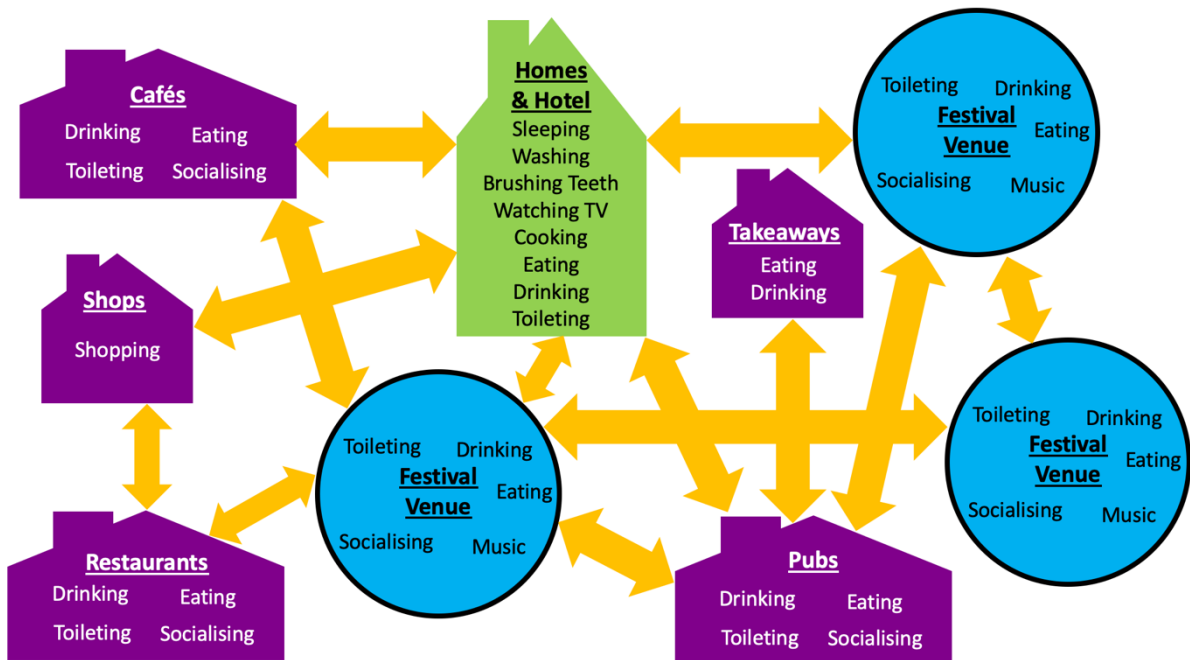


Figure 3: Cottingham Springboard Festival Schematic Map

Figure 1 illustrates that the greenfield Leeds Festival has a single, enclosed festival site. Many of the practices of everyday life, including sleeping, showering and cooking, are performed within the boundary of the festival site. As seen in chapters 4 and 5, festival organisers and festival-goers provision extensively for performances of such practices at the festival. Once festival-goers arrive at the festival, their movements are also exclusively within the boundary of the festival site for the duration of the festival.

Figure 2 shows that the urban Highest Point Festival is also composed of a single, enclosed festival site. However, festival-goers traverse public spaces outside the festival site at various points during the festival. This means that, while some of the everyday life practices performed at Leeds Festival are performed on site, some, notably sleeping, showering and cooking, are not. Some practices, such as eating, drinking and toileting, take place both in and outside the festival site during the festival weekend. The recent addition of the campsite at Highest Point is discussed below.

Figure 3 shows that the urban Cottingham Springboard Festival takes place across multiple sites. Festival-goers must, therefore, traverse public spaces in order to move between venues. Despite this, the types of everyday life practices that are performed in multiple venues at Cottingham Springboard are similar to those performed on site at Highest Point. The distribution of practice performances inside and outside the two festivals is also similar, with both seeing fewer on-site everyday life practices than Leeds Festival.

These examples highlight that the extent to which everyday life practices are performed on urban festival sites depends on the material, spatial and temporal configuration of those sites and other places for performing everyday life practices in the vicinity of the festival. Everyday life practices performed during urban festivals can be seen to enrol existing urban settings, provision and infrastructure that support their performance during the festivals. This affects both where and how festival-goers' everyday life practices are performed, the materials they enrol and the options open to festival organisers to make changes to urban environments.

The next section explores how the practice theory concepts of settings and doing-places can help to illuminate how urban festival organisers make provision for festival-goers' everyday life practices.

3. Locating everyday life at urban festivals

This section begins with a brief explanation of how practice theorists understand doing-places and settings. It goes on to describe the sorts of settings that exist in urban space and how festival-goers make use of them. The section ends by exploring some of the provisioning issues that can exist for organisers of urban festivals.

3.1 Doing-places and settings

As Hui and Walker (2018) point out, space is not simply an objective container in which things happen, it is also social. Following Schatzki, they outline a conception of places as ‘doing-places’ (Hui and Walker 2018: 23); places that are understood in terms of the activities that are carried on there, for example, a place to do cooking, a place to do a musical performance. In the above examples, an oven and a stage are examples of material *anchors* that make activities possible in places with the particular material features necessary to perform them.

Where multiple objects anchor and provide doing-places for certain activities, these can form settings in which multiple practices are regularly performed. These settings are given meaning by their relationship to the material anchors and doing places that shape what is done in those spaces. Hui and Walker illustrate this with the example of a café:

A café is a setting that has places for making coffee, places for paying one’s bill, places for cleaning dishes, and places for meeting with friends, and these are anchored in the configuration of espresso machines, cash registers, card payment terminals, dishwashers, sinks, tables and chairs that constitute the setting of the café.

(Hui and Walker 2018: 23)

Settings, then, are relational spaces that are distinguished as *places* by the ever-evolving sets of activities that are done in those spaces.

3.2 Pre-existing urban settings and doing-places

In the case of urban music festivals, a setting can be any or all of the venues or spaces that comprise the festival site. The urban festivals I visited during my research included settings such as pubs, cafés, restaurants, town squares, city parks and cordoned off districts of city

centres. Many of these settings already contain doing-places for drinking, eating, socialising, toileting, washing hands and watching sporting events, for example. These doing-places are anchored by materials such as bars, beer pumps, spirit measures, cookers, freezers, fridges, tables, chairs, televisions, sinks, toilets and water, sewerage and energy infrastructures. This means that, unlike greenfield festival organisers and their agents, who must wholly construct and provision their festival's temporary settings, urban festival organisers and venue managers are able to rely to a much greater extent on existing provision.

As Figure 3 shows, despite the existence of doing-places in festival settings, such as pubs and cafés, urban festival-goers also make use of non-festival settings for performing everyday life practices. These settings may be in close proximity to the festival or further away, depending on the practice in question and the presence of doing-places near the festival site. Non-festival settings, including cafés, restaurants and shops, contain doing-places that facilitate the performance of everyday life practices similar to those of many festival settings, such as eating and drinking. However, homes, hotels, guest houses and hostels become settings that host practices such as sleeping and washing, which are not generally thought of as part of urban festivals and which many urban festival settings have no way of hosting. When everyday life practices are performed in these non-festival settings, organisers might have little or no control over or responsibility for their performance. This issue is returned to in Section 5.

To illustrate the extent to which urban festival-goers carry on their everyday lives outside of festival settings, I use the example given by festival organiser, Richard, who conducted economic impact assessments that revealed that his festival 'brought £250,000 into the city centre [economy]' as festival-goers combined festival-going with other activities, such as eating in restaurants, thus 'making a day of it.'

Festival organiser, Paul, also spoke of how his festival benefited local businesses:

The idea of the festival, and one of the reasons it is successful, is because there are plenty of existing food outlets in the village already. We really do prefer that people coming to the pubs use the existing businesses. That way, we feel that the festival is more sustainable. The festival could ask for the car park [in the centre of the village] to be closed and fill the open spaces with catering and then we could take some money from that, but that's not the aim of the festival. The aim of the festival is to benefit local artists and businesses.

(Paul)

The above quotes highlight that much of the economic benefit from these particular festivals accrues to existing businesses that provide for the performance of everyday life practices.

None of the festival organisers I spoke to made provision for festival-goers' everyday lives. However, Richard did make arrangements for a number of the everyday life practices of artists and crew at his festival. Richard explains:

For artists, they all get accommodation, they all get fed, they all get drinks, for the entire festival. Regarding accommodation, we have a pool of artist hosts, like the equity scheme for touring theatre [...] So, we have a big team of volunteer artist hosts, who put them up and can feed them if they want, which we always encourage, but they don't have to. And then we feed the artists twice a day. We do breakfast and we do tea and whatever snacks during the day throughout the whole festival. Breakfast is, sort of, a drop-in thing at [a pub] this year and each night we had a big artist, volunteer and crew meal, which again is a sort of drop-in, but for a couple of hours at [a different pub], which we just booked out and put on a massive spread. It was really nice actually. All volunteers, crew, staff, artists are invited to it and there's enough food for them all and that's the best way we found of doing it.

(Richard)

The arrangements made by Richard utilise permanent features of urban environments, such as private houses and pubs, rather than drawing on temporary doing-places that he has constructed. He arranges for the everyday life practices of artists, such as sleeping, eating and drinking, to enrol existing urban settings (houses, pubs) and doing-places (bedrooms, living rooms, home kitchens, bars, pub kitchens).

3.3 The making of urban festival settings and doing-places

In contrast to the above example, where festival-goers utilise urban doing-places for the performance of everyday life practices, it might be necessary to extensively provision during urban festivals that take place on enclosed, continuous sites, where the movement of festival-goers between festival and non-festival space is not so fluid (see Figure 2). These festival settings may not have sufficient levels of existing provision to facilitate the accomplishment of

the higher than usual number of practice performances due to an influx of large numbers of festival-goers. This was the case with two of the festivals I visited, namely, Highest Point Festival in Lancaster and Humber Street Sesh in Hull.

Highest Point Festival, which takes place in Williamson Park in Lancaster, relies almost entirely on temporary provision to facilitate performances of everyday life practices on the festival site. The park's existing facilities are minimal but include a café, paved walkways, toilets and litter bins. In 2018, the festival organisers provisioned mobile catering vans, bars, Portaloos and even a giant screen, on which the royal wedding and F.A. Cup final were shown (n.b. the screen was not used during the music performances).

Humber Street Sesh has a greater level of existing provision in the festival setting than Highest Point. It is held in a fenced off area of Hull's Fruit Market district. The festival incorporates existing venues as well as outdoor stages; and the setting encompasses pubs, restaurants and cafés, with numerous doing-places for everyday life practices. However, since the festival attracts more than 30,000 people each year (Humber Street Sesh n.d.), additional provision is made in the form of food vendors, pop up bars and Portaloos. This provision enabled performances of everyday life practices which either would not have been possible or else would have overwhelmed the existing doing-places in festival settings.

The organisers of both Highest Point and Humber Street Sesh create temporary doing-places for everyday life practices in festival settings in much the same way that greenfield festival organisers do. However, both festivals also incorporate existing doing-places in the festival settings to a greater extent than do greenfield festivals. As with other urban festivals, they rely upon settings and doing-places in the surrounding urban area to facilitate some everyday life practice performances, such as sleeping, washing and eating breakfast.

These two examples show that urban festivals differ in the extent to which festival-goers incorporate existing urban settings and doing-places into their practices. This affects the degree to which organisers need to consider everyday life practices and how and whether they provide temporary doing-places for festival-goers' everyday life practices. However, it is characteristic of urban festivals that they do not provision for the majority of festival-goers' sleeping and washing practices, for example, and that many performances of practices, such as eating and drinking, take place outside festival settings and do not enrol festival-organiser provision. I

now consider the extent to which urban festival organisers consider and provision for festival-goers' travel.

4. Urban festivals and audience travel

4.1 Doing paths and urban festivals

Audiences travel to and from music festivals via doing-paths. As with doing-places, these paths are defined in terms of the activities that are performed in them; a path to walk or a path to drive, for example. As such, doing-paths are not understood in terms of their location in objective space but in terms of their relationship to the practices that are performed within them, and in terms of the practices that are performed at the end of the paths, for example, walking to work. However, 'doing-paths might be connected up with their particular manifestations in objective space, but only in a contingent way and with recognition of the potential instability of their connection' (Hui and Walker 2018: 23).

The existence or non-existence of material anchors in and along these doing-paths, such as roads, pavements and tramlines, affects how festival-goers travel to and from festivals. For example, greenfield festivals are linked to festival-goers' homes by doing-paths anchored by motorways, A-roads and smaller country roads, the latter of which may be unsuitable for the volumes of traffic associated with the festivals. Doing-paths in the rural areas where greenfield festivals are held often lack anchors such as pavements and railway lines, which can facilitate travel to the festivals by other modes. Conversely, urban doing-paths are anchored by pavements, tramlines, bus and cycle lanes, as well as roads, which can affect how audiences travel to urban festivals.

4.2 Thinking about audience travel

When I asked if they considered audience travel in their festival planning, festival organisers, Richard, Nina and Paul, responded variously: 'we do a bit, but not massively', 'No. That's something we've taken for granted really [...] It's something we haven't thought about', and simply, 'No'. The exception to this was Stuart, who said:

[Audience travel] is something I considered. Not this year because we had the experience of last year, I suppose, and smaller numbers, but last year I considered it seriously and felt that we were okay.

(Stuart)

Stuart concluded that ‘appealing to people’s better nature’, by encouraging local people to walk, informing them of the limited availability of car parking and encouraging people not to park on the main road, which served as a bus route, was sufficient intervention.

I had anticipated that the festival organisers I spoke to would give greater consideration to audience travel and somewhat more detailed answers to my questions, given how important audience travel is at greenfield festivals. This led me to think about why these festival organisers say they pay little attention to audience travel, especially given that they run successful festivals, where audiences appear to arrive and depart without incident? I believe that the answer relates to the existence of well-established urban doing-paths, transport infrastructure and services.

4.3 Three aspects of audience travel at urban music festivals

Urban festival organisers need not consider or make provision for audience travel in the same way that greenfield festival organisers do, because of what festival-goers’ travel needs are, how they are met and by whom. Analysis of my interviews with urban festival organisers suggests: 1) most people are able to successfully make their way to and from the festival site with little or no help from festival organisers, 2) existing transport provision in urban areas is sufficient to meet festival-goers’ needs and it can be difficult for festival organisers to change that provision, and 3) there is less need for festival-goers to provision heavily for an urban festival than a greenfield festival, which opens up a wider range of transport options.

Given the small sample size from which these three points are drawn, I can make no claims about their applicability to urban festivals in general. Nonetheless, it is possible to highlight some of the differences between greenfield- and urban festival-going by showing how doing-paths, and the types of doing-places with which they intersect, help to shape audience travel patterns. This is explained in the next section.

4.3.1 The travel independence of festival-goers

In order to successfully travel to and from a festival, a festival-goer must have the knowledge and skills to traverse local and perhaps inter-urban doing-paths. Those who live in immediate proximity to a festival might arrive on foot, making use of long-established, obdurate material anchors for doing-paths, such as pavements, street signs and pelican crossings. Those who travel from further afield might make use of bus or train networks, or road networks and car parks if coming by taxi or car. To travel successfully, festival-goers need to possess or be able to acquire specific knowledge about local transport provision, such as awareness of walking routes, bus and train times, the location of taxi ranks and the phone numbers of taxi firms. They also need skills; for example, the ability to catch a bus, to order a taxi or to use tools, such as smart phones, satellite navigation systems and google maps.

Most festival-goers at the urban festivals I attended appeared to possess such knowledge and skills, since the festivals were well attended and there was little evidence of transport problems. I was able to find my way to and from each festival without the need for organiser provisioned transport or intervention. Since I live or have lived locally to each of the urban festivals I visited, I did not need to make any special preparation, such as was needed when I cycled to the greenfield Alchemy Festival (see Chapter 4).

Where festival-goers lack knowledge about specific transport arrangements, they must instead rely on others to facilitate their travel to and from the festivals. For example, on the Sunday night at Cottingham Springboard, I helped a woman who had lost her friends, could not get a taxi (perhaps experiencing overwhelming demand from the festival) and did not know how to get back to her home in nearby Hull. I escorted her on a bus to a place where she was able to get a taxi home. Such incidents appear to be rare and the problem seemed to be one of lack of knowledge rather than lack of skill or transport provision, although there may not have been enough taxis at the festivals. Established urban doing-paths and their materiality are there to be drawn upon by urban festival-goers in a way they are not in the rural settings where greenfield festivals take place, hence the need for provision by greenfield festival organisers.

Urban festival organisers sometimes make some limited provision to help festival-goers to attend their festivals. For example, the websites and email communications of all the festivals I visited provided information on local transport options. Cottingham Springboard not only

provided public transport information but also a map showing how to get to the venues (Cottingham Springboard n.d.), and a map was also provided in the festival programme showing all the venues hosting music at the festival. Beverley Folk Festival sent information with my e-ticket about the availability of car parking at the festival and there were links to maps and information on bus times on their website. Most of the festival organisers I interviewed provided similar information to festival-goers but none of them mentioned this in the interview, which perhaps suggests that they assumed festival-goers would have the knowledge, skills and experience to travel to an urban festival without this information.

4.3.2 Existing transport provision is often sufficient and difficult to change

The types and extent of transport provision in urban areas play a key role in shaping the travel patterns of urban festival-goers. In contrast, greenfield festival organisers do much in the way of provisioning for audience travel, providing car parks, travel information for both car drivers and public transport users, shuttlebuses from nearby cities and even coaches from major urban areas further afield. WOMAD festival even provides information about electric car charging, secure bicycle parking, links to websites that provide guided, communal cycle rides to the festival, information on car sharing and links to a website that puts those with space in their cars in touch with those who wish to secure a ride to the festival (WOMAD n.d.).

The urban festivals I attended were served by multiple forms of existing transport provision. Bus and train companies run frequent services to and within Lancaster, Hull, Beverley and Cottingham, serving in festival-goers from local areas and further afield. I walked from my home in Lancaster to Highest Point Festival, while I used bus services that I had used many times before to travel between my house and Lancaster Music and Lancaster Jazz festivals. I took the train to Hull, where I stayed during the Humber Street Sesh, Cottingham Springboard and Beverley Folk festivals. While there, I used my knowledge of local bus services, road networks and public footpaths to travel to and from the festival venues.

Urban festival organiser, Paul, thought that the extent of existing transport provision was one of the things that made his festival a success:

[The village] is particularly well served by public transport. There's trains, there's buses, two taxi firms. If you want to get to [the village], it's very easy. There are buses

every ten minutes into the village. Most of those buses are not at capacity ... so, we don't feel the need to put any extra transport on. That's one of the reasons why the festival is so successful, I think, because it's very, very easy. It's very well served by public transport.

(Paul)

It is perhaps not surprising that Paul gave little consideration to making provision for audience travel, since such good transport provision already exists.

Of the six urban festivals I visited, two put on additional transport provision. Beverley Folk Festival and Highest Point both ran shuttlebuses to aid festival-goers' travel to and from the festivals. These two festivals share certain spatial characteristics that might explain this. Both take place on a single site and both sites have features that make them harder to access than the festivals I visited in town and city centres.

Highest Point, as the name suggests, takes place in a park at the highest point in Lancaster. The route up to the park is steep, which might make it difficult for some people to access, and existing public transport services are limited compared to those in other parts of the city. Beverley Folk Festival takes place on Beverley Racecourse, which is on the Westwood pastureland on the outskirts of the town. As with Highest Point, public transport provision is limited and the racecourse's location is a 15 minute walk from the edge of town. This highlights that where existing provision is insufficient, additional arrangements, in this case the provision of shuttlebuses, might aid festival-goers' travel.

One infrastructural component I did not engage with during any of the festivals I visited was car parks, since I neither drive nor was driven to any of them. Unlike shuttlebuses, which are a service, car parks form part of transport infrastructure and, as Hommels (2005) points out, infrastructure is obdurate. As well as providing many opportunities to enrol its use, the density of infrastructure in urban areas (transport or otherwise) also constrains opportunities to provision additional doing-places, since urban spaces cannot be easily reconfigured.

This sentiment was echoed by Richard, who compared his role regarding audience travel with that of greenfield festival organisers:

We have very little control over how audiences get here, because they can come from anywhere. Whereas, if you do a rural festival, you can quite closely control transport. Everyone'll arrive by car and you'll manage all the roads within five miles or you'll put in a scheme or whatever; the more you can do that. But when you're in a city, it's a city. You can encourage stuff, but it's limited. It's more of a token thing.

(Richard)

The ability to create settings and doing-places in areas that have limited or no existing provision and services, Richard suggests, enables greenfield festival organisers to play a bigger role in audience travel than urban festival organisers, who are dealing with obdurate urban environments that offer few opportunities for intervention.

This is illustrated by the example of Beverley Folk festival, which had a temporary car park on the Westwood pastureland, adjacent to the racecourse. The semi-rural characteristics of the area surrounding the festival site made it possible to temporarily reconfigure an area of the Westwood as a car park for the duration of the festival, something that Richard was unable to do.

Rather than a problem, I would suggest that in this instance the inability to closely control the festival environment is more of a trade-off, since the existence of road networks, cycle lanes, car parks, on-street parking, road signage, buses, bus lanes, trains and railway lines in close proximity to urban festival settings, speaks to the sufficiency of existing transport arrangements. It is notable, however, that Richard's assessment of the options available to him as an urban festival organiser were in the form of encouraging behaviour change; he spoke of the modest success of free tram schemes at another urban festival, marking such interventions out as 'limited' and 'token'.

4.3.3 The cargo function of cars will not be needed for urban festivals

Cars tend to be ubiquitous at greenfield festivals because people need to self-provision for everyday life. However, urban infrastructures and services can generally cope with the influx of festival-goers influencing the extent of provision that festival-goers need to make for urban festivals. As seen in Chapter 4, self-provisioning by festival-goers at greenfield festivals is

primarily associated with the performance of everyday life practices. This provision can influence how festival-goers travel to festivals and is part of the reason that the car is the most common mode of transport among greenfield festival-goers: according to Julie's Bicycle, 70 percent of festival-goers travel to greenfield festivals by car, versus 40 percent at urban festivals, going as low as 20 percent for festivals held in small venues and those held in London which has particularly a good public transport system (Bottrill et al. 2007: 45 and 49-50).

Urban festival-goers need to bring less provision to festival sites because they do not need tents, camping stoves, sleeping bags, towels or any of the paraphernalia for camping. Urban festival sites tend to be closed to festival-goers overnight, meaning that those routine everyday life practices that can require reasonably extensive self-provisioning, such as sleeping and washing, do not take place in the festival setting.

Some urban festivals do offer camping, as Highest Point began doing in 2018, meaning that festival-goers will likely provision for everyday life in much the same way as greenfield festival-goers. However, even where camping is not offered, many festival-goers still arrive at urban festivals from outside the local area, and stay overnight. Such festival-goers can be expected to travel, at least part of the way, with more provision for everyday life than those who live locally. This fact is often obscured because urban festival-goers tend not to arrive at festival sites carrying all of their possessions. Their doing-paths traverse doing-places like houses and hotels, where paraphernalia for carrying on everyday life, such as clothes and toiletries, can be left. This can mask both transport mode and the true extent of audience travel to urban festivals in a way that it cannot be hidden at greenfield festivals, where doing-places for parking and camping are part of the festival setting¹⁶.

While I did not use a car to attend any of the festivals I visited, I certainly carried less to urban festivals. It did not occur to me to record what I took with me when I attended urban festivals involving overnight stays; although I made comprehensive inventories of what I took to greenfield festivals. Despite this, I know that I did not take camping equipment, such as a tent or a sleeping bag, to any urban festival. Without these bulky or heavy items, I did not need the

¹⁶ While Highest Point started offering camping in 2018, unlike at greenfield festivals, camping is offered not at the festival site but at a cricket ground on the other side of the city centre and only performed by a small minority of festival-goers. This is a further example of the obduracy of urban spaces, that there is no space on the festival site to accommodate camping.

additional carrying capacity of a bike or a shuttlebus that was needed to aid my travel to out of the way greenfield festival sites.

For all three urban festivals to which I was not living locally, I took the train to Hull, due to the distance from my home rather than the specificities of my self-provisioning. I walked from the railway station to the house where I stayed for the weekend and travelled from there to and from the festivals, either on foot or by bus. What I took with me to the urban festival sites was similar to what I took to the arena at the greenfield festivals I attended: a bag, a notebook, a pen, a bottle of water, a snack, and so on. However, at greenfield festivals, organisers are likely to know how the majority of festival-goers arrive at the festival site, be it by car, coach, shuttle bus or bicycle, since they sell car parking passes and coach and shuttle bus tickets. In contrast, since festival-goers tend not to stay at urban festival sites, travel to urban festivals is often obscured by festival-goers' use of local transport services, such as buses, and infrastructure, such as car parks, that are also used by non-festival-goers. The invisibility of my journey and the provision I made for my everyday life speaks to the different extents to which everyday life is carried on and is thought be carried on at urban and greenfield festivals.

5. Energy demand issues and urban festivals

5.1 Urban energy infrastructure

As I touched on above, one of the key differences between greenfield and urban music festivals in terms of energy demand is that urban festivals are supported by more permanent infrastructural arrangements. Hui and Walker (2018: 25) point out that 'Many practices, even where they rely upon energy services for the achievement of their aims, remain ambivalent to the material infrastructures undergirding these services.' Nevertheless, if we are to better understand the relationship between everyday life practices and energy demand at music festivals, it is important to explore differences in infrastructural provision on greenfield festival sites compared to the urban environments in which urban festivals take place.

As pointed out in Chapter 5, the temporary festival organiser-provisioned infrastructure that may be enrolled in everyday life practice performances at greenfield festivals, and at urban festivals such as Highest Point, tends to be relatively simple, contained within the festival site and less durable than robust urban infrastructure. The limitations of temporary energy

infrastructure can affect how practices are performed and limit opportunities for energy use. We can recall, for example, that when working at greenfield festivals, food vendor John had to carefully manage the use of devices in order to avoid tripping the electricity supply.

The national energy infrastructures found in urban settings are commensurate with Shove's (2016: 158) understanding of infrastructure as 'typically complicated, geographically dispersed, relatively expensive and often relatively durable networks.' This infrastructure puts few constraints on the performance of everyday life practices and how they use energy resources. For example, the use of devices does not typically need to be managed when robust urban energy infrastructure is incorporated into practice performances at festivals. Since urban energy infrastructures and devices have co-evolved alongside everyday life practices (Trentmann and Carlsson-Hyslop 2017), these energy infrastructures form part of the typical infrastructure-device-resource configurations that ordinarily facilitate the performance of everyday life practices. Therefore, everyday life practice performances at urban festivals that enrol pre-existing urban infrastructure may not show any signs of reconfiguration at all.

The performance of everyday life practices in non-festival settings connected to urban energy infrastructures also allows particular energy-demanding variants of practices, such as, showering or blow drying, to be performed by a greater number of festival-goers during urban festivals, and potentially with greater frequency than at greenfield festivals. We should be wary, however, of over generalising since some practice variants, such as cooking on a fire, would potentially be more energy demanding than using a microwave connected to the national energy infrastructure, although the fire may play multiple roles in multiple practices. Despite the caveat, this highlights the role of infrastructure in everyday life practice performances and helps us to understand differences in the performances and energy demand of everyday life practices at greenfield and urban festivals.

5.2 Accounting for urban festival energy demand

Much of the energy demand of urban festivals, particularly as it pertains to everyday life, is hidden. For many venues, such as pubs, village halls, community centres and concert halls, festivals are simply part of their year-round operation. It is unlikely, therefore, that the energy demand associated with festivals would or could be separated from the day-to-day operation of the venue.

That energy demand at urban festivals is hidden parallels the discussion in Chapter 5 of food provider, John, having no idea about energy demand in his shop but knowing the wattage of every appliance in his catering van. In order to provide food at festivals, it is necessary for John to understand the restrictions that highly visible (and noisy) temporary energy infrastructure places upon cooking practices. Since energy infrastructures in urban areas largely remain invisible until they break down (Star and Ruhleder 1996), no such considerations exist to draw attention to how and how much energy is being demanded. Energy demand is, in effect, hidden by the fact of its ordinariness.

Because greenfield festivals are one-off annual events, clearly bounded in space and time, and are exceptional in the spaces they occupy, their energy demand is not only more obvious but more easily quantified. It is possible for those who quantify energy demand to do so by looking at on-site energy demand, which can be seen to be directly attributable to the festival since this is the only thing taking place on the site. Energy demand can be quantified by monitoring resource use and the output of generators during the festival. Reasonable estimates can also be made of the energy used in constructing the site by monitoring the fuel consumption of vehicles involved in this process. The energy demand of audience travel is less certain (Fleming et al. 2014) but estimates have been made in this regard (see Bottrill et al. 2009).

There are, however, obstacles to the quantification of energy demand in relation to urban music festivals, since identifying which practices are and are not part of the festivals is open to interpretation. I have already mentioned the difficulty of distinguishing on-site energy demand at festival venues from the energy demand associated with the day-to-day operations of those venues, but there is also the issue of the performance of everyday life practices in non-festival spaces. Since these practices are performed outside the festival setting, it is less intuitive that they should be considered part of urban festivals than it is at greenfield festivals. When I visited greenfield festivals, I stayed on site for three days, where I slept, ate, washed, brushed my teeth and performed research activities, such as copying up fieldnotes. Consequently, any organiser provisioned energy stemming from the performance of these practices was attributable to the festivals.

As mentioned above, during the urban festivals I visited, I stayed in my own home or that of a family member, where my practices and practice performances were often more energy

demanding than they were at the greenfield festivals I visited. I also performed practices that I did not perform at greenfield festivals, such as watching television, cooking using an oven, a hob and a microwave, making hot drinks using a kettle and washing up. If these practices, and others that take place during urban festivals in non-festival settings such as homes, hotels, cafés and restaurants, are thought of as part of the festivals, how should their energy demand be accounted for? If they are not perceived as part of the festival, this raises questions about the quantifying of energy use and its role in shaping perceptions of energy demand at greenfield festivals.

5.3 Perceiving energy demand at greenfield and urban festivals

As has been argued throughout this thesis, energy demand at music festivals is not solely about quantification. However, quantification singles energy demand out as a problem and has implications for understandings of the significance of energy demand at music festivals. Since energy demand and infrastructures form part of the provisioning processes of greenfield festivals, the quantification of energy demand creates a logic for trying to reduce that demand. This visibility marks energy demand out as a problem for greenfield festivals in a way that it does not for urban festivals. This is illustrated by consideration of the effects of the quantification of audience travel at greenfield festivals against the lack of quantification of audience travel for urban festivals.

Audience travel is believed to be the single biggest cause of carbon emissions at greenfield festivals (Bottrill et al. 2007). This has led to condemnation of greenfield festivals in the popular media (e.g. Edwards 2010; Reality Check Team 2018; Rymajdo 2019; Iqbal 2019) and to industry efforts to reduce the carbon emissions from audience travel to greenfield festivals (e.g. Julie's Bicycle; A Greener Festival Award). The lack of consideration of audience travel for urban festivals means that 1) a potentially major source of energy demand (and carbon emissions) goes largely unresearched and unconsidered in relation to urban festivals, 2) ways of reducing energy demand associated with audience travel are not given the same attention as at greenfield festivals, 3) there is no basis of comparison between greenfield and urban festivals in terms of carbon emissions associated with audience travel, and 4) while perceptions of energy demand associated with greenfield festivals are largely negative, no perceptions seem to exist regarding the energy demand of urban festivals. This, perhaps unfairly, singles out

greenfield festivals as high energy demand events, while there are no explicit assumptions about energy demand during urban festivals.

Despite the difficulties of quantifying energy demand associated with urban festivals, the issue is still worthy of investigation. As we have seen, some everyday life practices performed by those attending urban festivals demand more energy than those performed by greenfield festival attendees. This is evidenced by considering the relative energy demand of showering in the home on the night of an urban festival relative to washing the body with wet wipes at a greenfield festival. The ease with which energy demanding practices such as showering can be performed in the home, and the frequency with which these practices are performed irrespective of the festival, means that, for at least some everyday life practices, their performance at greenfield festivals is likely less energy demanding than in the home.

However, failing to pay attention to the energy demand of urban festivals, of which, I have argued, everyday life is a major part, decontextualises understandings of the extent of the problem of energy demand at greenfield festivals. That is not to say that efforts to reduce the energy demand of greenfield festivals are misguided or irrelevant. Rather, it is to say that consideration of energy demand during urban music festivals, including that of everyday life practices, would provide a basis for comparison with greenfield festivals that has the potential to change our understandings of the energy demand of greenfield festivals.

Comparing everyday life practice performances and rhythms at greenfield festivals and urban festivals highlights a number of implications for energy demand. Being at a greenfield festival diminishes the likelihood of the performance of some practices being performed, such as watching television, while increasing the likelihood of variations of others, such as washing with wet wipes. There is also the possibility that the everyday life practices performed at greenfield festivals might be less energy demanding than those performed during urban festivals and less problematic than is currently implied by the amount of attention the issue receives from academia, the music industry and in public media discussions.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have highlighted the variety of temporal and spatial arrangements found within multiday events that are subsumed here under the term urban music festivals. These

temporal and spatial features help to shape the extent to which the everyday life practices of urban festival-goers rely upon pre-existing settings, doing-places, doing-paths and material anchors found in urban areas. This can be seen in the contrast between Cottingham Springboard, which relies almost exclusively on existing urban provision, and Highest Point Festival, which incorporates specially provisioned settings, doing-places and material anchors to facilitate the performance of everyday life practices during the festival.

Despite such variations, there is much commonality in how and where everyday life transpires during urban music festivals and in the sorts of materials that are incorporated into most festival-goers' everyday life practice performances. This is because of the opportunities and constraints afforded by the urban areas in which the festivals take place, which allow festival-goers to make use of non-festival settings and doing-places during the festivals. These doing-places are undergirded by permanent urban energy infrastructures that provide the potential for many everyday life practices to be performed in more energy demanding ways than at greenfield festivals. While some urban festivals now offer camping and therefore host a broader range of practices, such as sleeping, washing and brushing teeth, this is by no means the norm for urban festival-goers, nor is it likely to become the norm given the ready availability of permanent settings for such practices in urban areas.

The incorporation into everyday life practices of pre-existing settings and doing-places, linked by various doing-paths, both inside and outside of festival sites, means that urban festival-goers are able to successfully perform everyday life practices during urban festivals without intervention from festival organisers. Urban festival settings, such as pubs, cafés and concert halls, exhibit an obdurate materiality that cannot be easily altered for the festivals. Since these sites are not set up for practices like sleeping and washing, there are limited ways in which they affect how festival-goers live their everyday lives during urban festivals.

This contrasts with greenfield festivals, where, as seen in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, organisers provision extensively for festival-goers' everyday life practice performances, since most festival-goers do not leave the festival site for the duration of the event. The fact that greenfield festival sites are reconstructed year after year makes these settings more malleable than urban settings. The malleability of greenfield festival sites, coupled with the broader range of everyday life practices that take place there, means that the organisers have more control over festival-goers' everyday life practice performances than urban festival organisers. However, as

seen in Chapters 3 and 5, this can mean that everyday life at greenfield festivals is provisioned in increasingly elaborate ways.

We can, therefore, see the influence of settings, doing-places and doing-paths on everyday life practice performances and on the extent to which or even whether these practices are performed at both urban and greenfield festivals. Those festival settings, mainly greenfield festivals, that host the performance of greater numbers of everyday life practices, come under greater scrutiny from the festival industry, academia and the media and face increased pressure to reduce carbon emissions resulting from their festivals.

Urban festivals, on the other hand, appear to have avoided this scrutiny to a large degree, despite my research suggesting that everyday life during urban festivals might be more energy demanding than at greenfield festivals. The energy demanded during urban festivals is tricky to attribute solely to the festival and is often hidden by the fact of its ordinariness because, for many festival-goers, everyday life is carried on in much the same way during urban festivals as it is at other times.

Comparing everyday life during urban festivals with everyday life at greenfield festivals reveals differences in everyday life practice performances, their materiality and their energy demand during these two types of event. This helps to contextualise energy demand at greenfield festivals and raises questions about the extent to which energy demand is a problem for greenfield festivals.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

1. Introduction

The aim of my thesis has been to generate new insights into the study of music festivals and the energy demand arising from the carrying on of everyday life activities during festivals. To that end, this thesis contributes new insights into: a) the evolution of everyday life at greenfield festivals, b) the reconfiguration of everyday life practice performances at greenfield festivals, c) the role of materiality in shaping everyday life practice performances and energy demand at music festivals, d) the prefiguring effects of festival-goer and festival organiser provisioning practices, e) the role of material settings and doing-places in shaping everyday life practice performances during music festivals, and f) the value that accrues from adopting a social practice theory approach to study everyday life and energy demand at music festivals.

These insights were shaped by my research design and the application of my research methods. My emergent research design guided me to the final focus of study and entailed a continual process of revising and re-evaluating where the main points of interest lay in the data. Insights were generated into the evolution of everyday life practices through the examination of secondary sources, while my participation as a festival-goer and my observations of festivals proved successful in generating insights into the reconfiguration of everyday life practices at greenfield festivals. Finally, interviewing was an effective strategy for uncovering the dynamic relations between organiser provisioning practices, self-provisioning practices and everyday life practices. However, see Chapter 2 for a discussion of the limitations of my research design and methods.

The remainder of the chapter is structured as follows. I begin by detailing the conclusions of my research with regard to the three key research questions focused on a) the evolution and dynamics of everyday life practices at greenfield music festivals, b) material provision, everyday life and energy demand, and c) material settings and everyday life practice performances. I then present some additional findings from my research and outline the contribution of my thesis to current knowledge. Finally, I speculate on the future of greenfield festivals and potential avenues for future practice-based research into music festivals.

2. The evolution and dynamics of everyday life at greenfield festivals

The first research question addressed in this thesis was:

1. How has everyday life at greenfield music festivals changed over time and how does this inform our understanding of the practices and dynamics of everyday life at contemporary festivals?

2.1 How everyday life at greenfield festivals has changed

I have argued that everyday life is synonymous with everyday social practices. To speak of changes in everyday life, then, is to speak of changes in everyday practices. Over the course of greenfield festival history, some practices have consistently been part of festivals, though many are now performed in different ways, incorporating different materials, requiring new skills and developing new meanings. Some practices are no longer performed or else have given way to new variants of practices, while several new practices are now part of greenfield festivals. In some respects, then, there has been a degree of continuity as well as change in everyday life at greenfield festivals, since everyday life practices such as eating, drinking, toileting and sleeping have been part of greenfield festivals since their inception. However, much of the change associated with everyday life at greenfield music festivals occurs through changes to practices that have consistently been part of festivals.

At early greenfield festivals (1958 to 1973), conditions of everyday life were often harsh. Provision for everyday life at early festivals was often inadequate, with festival organisers providing too few facilities of sufficient quality to facilitate festival-goers' practices and festival-goers arriving unprepared for the conditions they faced. Many festival-goers also failed to provide for such everyday life practices as sleeping and staying warm (Department of the Environment 1973). Some slept in communal sleeping marquees while others slept in canvas tents and sleeping bags or in woods. Food was provided by organisers, but not always in sufficient quantities to adequately feed those at the festival (Sandford and Reid 1974). Everyday life at early festivals, then, might be characterised as basic at best.

The free festival period of greenfield festival history (1970 to 1994) was characterised by a search for alternative ways of living. This period was, consequently, a period of great learning,

experimentation and innovation in living everyday life at greenfield festivals. In many ways, these experiments succeeded in creating a way of life that was markedly different from that lived in mainstream society. The lack of a central organisational structure at free festivals required festival-goers to make their own provision for everyday life. Free festival festival-goers spent much of their lives at festivals, away from national and regional infrastructures that support everyday life outside festivals. This relocation changed the materiality of everyday life practices and the skills required to performed them. Festival-goers would, for example, live in shelters made from plastic and wood or in modified live-in vehicles, meaning that beds, wood burning stoves, cooking facilities and sinks were part of their everyday lives at festivals (McKay 1996).

The current period of greenfield festival history (1994 to present) is marked by an increased level of professionalism and has seen changes in the types and quality of provision that is made for everyday life practices by festival organisers and festival-goers. This period has seen attempts to make everyday life at greenfield festivals more like everyday life outside festivals. As one glamping provider puts it, ‘our deluxe [accommodation] is your home away from home’ (Pink Moon n.d. b). This attitude is indicative of a period in greenfield festival history characterised by an increased focus on festival-going as a luxurious experience that seeks to make everyday life at greenfield festivals more like everyday life outside festivals. Modern festivals, therefore, incorporate a number of (energy using) practices not previously seen at greenfield festivals, such as blow drying, hair straightening and mobile phone charging. They also contain new provision, such as glamping accommodation with beds, mattresses, lamps and connections to electrical power, toileting facilities with sinks, hot running water, mirrors and toilet attendants and showers (see Chapter 5). This provision allows practices, such as sleeping, toileting and washing, to be performed quite differently than at past festivals (see Chapters 3, 4 and 5).

2.2 How everyday life at greenfield festivals changes

Everyday life at greenfield festivals has evolved through the repeated performance of everyday life practices. These past performances have prefigured performances of practices at today’s festivals. The dynamics of everyday life at today’s festivals are, thereby, related to past practices. Analysing everyday life at past festivals has helped to draw attention to some of the dynamics of everyday life at contemporary festivals. Consideration of prefiguration also

provides insight into the trajectory of the evolution of practice performances and allows us to situate energy demand at today's festivals in their historical context.

Changes in practices are also related to learning. Throughout greenfield festival history, there has been a steep learning curve for both festival-goers and festival organisers. The early period of greenfield festival history saw the first steps in the process of learning how to 'do' everyday life at festivals. Festival-goers and festival organisers learned how to provision and perform everyday life practices away from the infrastructures and settings that facilitate everyday life practice performances outside festivals. As alluded to above, learning often grew from their mistakes. In terms of learning, this period is characterised by festival-goers and festival organisers searching for satisfactory ways in which to provide for and to perform everyday life practices at festivals.

The free festival period saw great strides in festival-goer learning as they communally took full responsibility for providing for everyday life practices at their festivals. The degree of learning and the ability to create a way of life so different from outside festivals may have something to do with the duration of free festivals and the fact that many free festival festival-goers spent the summer travelling from festival to festival. This provided many opportunities for festival-goers to learn how to perform practices in new ways and to improvise and innovate. Everyday life was also given greater importance, since many free festival festival-goers were living a permanently peripatetic life, rather than simply spending a weekend away from home as is generally the case at commercial festivals. The shorter duration of commercial festivals means that individual festival-goers have limited opportunities to learn new skills and incorporate new materials into their everyday life practice performances. This is one of the reasons that everyday life at free festivals diverged from everyday life at commercial festivals to the extent that it did.

As seen throughout this thesis, everyday life at greenfield festivals has differed, in some respects greatly, from everyday life outside of greenfield festivals. The increased professionalisation of the festival industry from the mid 1990s onwards, which relates to significant changes in legislation and codes of practice in the festival industry (Anderton 2011), has seen festival organisers' practices change, perhaps, just as radically as festival-goers' practices changed during the free festival period. In both cases, these changes related to (I would argue, successful) attempts to provision more extensively for everyday life practices.

The increasing similarity between provision for everyday life outside and at greenfield festivals has reduced the amount of learning that some festival-goers have to do in order to successfully perform everyday life practices at greenfield festivals. As festival organisers continue to learn and perform provisioning practices in ways that create more extensive provision for festival-goers' everyday life practices, this prefigures future iterations of organiser provisioning. As seen in the next section, this is significant because the shifting role of materials, as they move from being part of festival organisers' provisioning practices to being part of festival-goers' everyday life practices, helps to prefigure and, thereby, shape everyday life practice performances and the resulting energy demand.

3. Material provision, everyday life practices and energy demand

The second question addressed in this thesis was:

2. How is the energy demand of music festivals shaped by the variety of ways in which everyday life practices are performed, and in particular by how the material provisioning of everyday life practices is enacted?

3.1 Variation in practice performances and energy demand

Following Shove and Walker (2014), I have argued that energy demand arises from the performance of practices. I have also argued that music festivals are composed of social practices. Therefore, the energy demand that arises from the performance of social practices shapes the energy demand of music festivals as a whole. Since no two practice performances are exactly alike, the pattern of energy demand arising from individual performances is often subtly but sometimes markedly different. Everyday life practices are crucial to my understanding of what greenfield festivals are. Therefore, I contend that the variety of ways in which everyday life practices are performed during greenfield festivals shapes those festivals and the energy demand arising from each iteration of those festivals.

The incorporation of new everyday life practices or variations of practices into festivals can also have consequences for energy demand. As seen in Chapter 3, everyday life at greenfield music festivals is constantly evolving through repeat performances of festivals and practices.

Much of this evolution has led to the incorporation of new aspects of everyday life into greenfield festivals. New practices and new variants of existing practices might require new or expanded levels of infrastructural provision and increased quantities of resources to facilitate their performance. The tendency of festival-goers to perform everyday life practices in ways that demand more energy has created a greater degree of variation in practices found at greenfield festivals and, thereby, shaped the energy demand of greenfield festivals.

3.2 Material provisioning and energy demand

Practice performances evolve, in part, through changes in their materiality. Materials enter everyday life practices at greenfield festivals through the provisioning practices of festival-goers and festival organisers. The type and extent of this material provision affects the possibilities for what practices might be performed, how a practice might be performed and the energy demand that arises from these performances. As such, provisioning practices prefigure performances of everyday life practices at greenfield festivals. As argued in Chapter 5, as materials move from one practice to another, the role they play in these practices can shift. An object that plays a resource or device-based role in one practice, might subsequently play an infrastructural role in one or more practices (Shove 2016). These materials shape the energy demand of everyday life practice when they constrain, enable, increase or decrease resource use at festivals.

The material provisioning of the festival site is especially important at greenfield festivals since the sites lack much of the infrastructure and many of the devices and resources that become enrolled in everyday life practices. This means that the provisioning practices of greenfield festival organisers, in particular, play an important part in shaping the energy demand of many everyday life practice performances, since festival organisers provide much of the infrastructure and many of the resources that enable energy to be incorporated into various everyday life practice performances. However, organiser and festival-goer provisioning practices have a complex and recursive relationship. As seen in Chapters 4 and 5, everyday life practice performances are shaped by the evolving dynamics of this relationship.

4. Material settings and everyday life practice performances

4.1 The availability and creation of doing-places and settings

The third question addressed by this thesis was:

3. How do the different material settings of greenfield and urban festivals affect the performance of everyday life practices and what impact does this have on the energy demand of music festivals?

As mentioned above, the provisioning of greenfield festival sites is important because of the lack of pre-existing materiality for the performance of everyday life practices. The settings and doing-places that are created at greenfield festivals, and the materials that anchor them, tend to be less robust than those that support everyday life practices outside the festivals. This means that many everyday life practice performances at greenfield festivals are reconfigured in some ways relative to their regular performances outside greenfield festivals. However, as some greenfield festival organisers have striven to create more robust settings and doing-places, so more opportunities open up for festival-goers to incorporate more of the materiality of modern everyday life into everyday life practices at greenfield festivals.

The presence of settings, doing-places and material anchors in urban spaces similarly affects how materials are incorporated into everyday life practice performances. The material settings found in urban spaces often enable connections to national and regional infrastructures, such as energy and water networks, facilitating the inclusion in practice performances of devices that can draw upon this robust infrastructure and higher level of resource provision. When festival-goers perform everyday life practices during urban festivals, they may incorporate any number of settings into their performances, with the corresponding opportunities to incorporate energy into their practices. This is important both in terms of what festival-goers are *not* doing at festivals and how they perform those practices that they *are* doing.

Exploring the differences in material settings in which everyday life practices take place during greenfield and urban festivals is, then, an important part of understanding how everyday life practices demand energy during music festivals. The availability of existing settings in urban spaces allows festival-goers to successfully perform everyday life practices without relying on festival settings.

Conversely, the extensive provision of settings and doing-places that become part of festival-goers' everyday life practices is crucial to the form everyday life takes at greenfield festivals. The malleability of greenfield festival sites, which stems from their annual rebuilding, along with the tendency of festival-goers not to leave the site during the festival, gives greenfield festival organisers a greater degree of influence over how everyday life practices are performed. It also makes it relatively easy to provision for everyday life practices in different ways in subsequent years, allowing for provision for new practices to be made as well as modifications to provision for existing practices. This gives greenfield festival organisers a degree of power over the shape of energy demand of everyday life at their festivals, while the energy demand at urban festivals is shaped by the relatively more obdurate settings in which urban festival-goers perform their everyday life practices.

5. Other insights from my research

5.1 Additional findings

My research also produced insights that are not easily subsumed into answers to the three key research questions. In this section, I discuss three additional findings. First, the non-performance of everyday life practices during greenfield festivals is an important factor in shaping energy demand. Second, comparison of everyday life practices at musical festivals with those outside music festivals suggests that perceptions of the extent to which greenfield festivals are high energy using events may need to be refined. Third, the use of greenfield festivals as sites of experimentation and places from which to disseminate environmental messages is complicated by the difficulties associated with top-down approaches to behaviour change and differences between the greenfield and urban settings that shape everyday life practice performances.

5.2 The non-performance of practices during greenfield music festivals

The non-performance of everyday life practices during greenfield festivals impacts the energy demand of everyday life at greenfield festivals relative to outside festivals. Greenfield settings constrain the likelihood that some high energy demanding practices will be performed and may reduce the number of performances of others. For example, festival-goers at greenfield festivals rarely, if ever, perform practices such as watching television, computer gaming, hosting dinner

parties, going clubbing, attending football matches or go kart racing. Other practices, such as showering (Hitchings et al. 2018), blow drying and hair straightening, while increasingly prevalent, are performed less frequently at greenfield festivals than outside of them.

Assessment of energy demand and emissions of greenfield festivals could benefit from taking into account the energy demand and emissions associated with practices that are not performed because of people's attendance at the festival. The non-performance of practices is not considered in research that focuses on the total absolute carbon emissions associated with festivals. This omission excludes any relative or comparative measure from the purview of the researchers. For example, Fleming et al. (2014) measured on-site energy use from generators that provide power to traders, bars and campsites. However, they did not interrogate the differences between energy demand at festivals compared with outside festivals, nor how what people were doing at festivals might differ from what they ordinarily do when not at festivals.

5.3 Perceptions of the energy demand of greenfield music festivals

Taking into account the non-performance of practices and the reconfiguration of practice performances at festivals revises our understanding of the extent to which greenfield music festivals are significant energy demand events. For example, audience travel is the biggest source of carbon emissions for greenfield music festivals and driving to festivals is rightly represented in the literature as being highly energy demanding (e.g. Bottrill et al. 2009); festival-goers might make a long journey specifically to facilitate their attendance at the festival. However, once cars are at the festival site they may remain motionless for three or four days. Bottrill et al. (2009: 5) estimate that the average roundtrip by festival-goers is 140- to 280-miles. If festival-goers making a 140-mile round trip by car arrived at a festival on Friday and left on Monday (a span of four days' worth of driving), the average mileage per car, per day is 35 miles. If the car carried three festival-goers, the average mileage per festival-goer, per day would be 12 miles. Understanding how people regularly use their cars from Friday to Monday contextualises the energy demand associated with travelling to and from festivals.

It should also be reiterated that driving facilitates the presence of greenfield festival-goers in settings that shape the performances of many everyday life practices in ways that can demand less energy than performances of the same practices in a multiplicity of urban settings. Seeing

the energy demand of these practices solely in terms of the energy output of festival generators can misrepresent the extent of the problem associated with energy demand at greenfield festivals. Rather than using on-site measurements alone, comparative studies could help to provide a fuller, more contextualised picture of energy demand at greenfield music festivals and, perhaps, help to inform organisers' priorities for action. While aiming to reduce the amount of car travel and on-site energy use at greenfield festivals is certainly a worthy endeavour, and plays an important part in reducing the carbon emission and energy demand of greenfield festivals, the above context suggests that the energy demand of driving to and from and living at greenfield festivals is more complex than it may at first seem, and is also not, perhaps, as big an issue as it is thought to be.

5.4 Festivals as possible sites of experimentation

A final finding from my research relates to the already existing ideas that festival sites can be used as sites of experimentation and places to disseminate environmental messages that will lead to changes in the way that festival-goers do things outside of festivals (see Chapter 1). My research suggests that free festivals saw the greatest long-term lifestyle changes among festival-goers. Free festivals were notable for their lack of a centralised organisational structure. This means that changes in festival-goers' lifestyles did not result from conscious efforts on the part of well-meaning festival organisers to affect the behaviour of festival-goers. Rather, it was through learning and innovation on the part of festival-goers who had a strong commitment to finding an alternative way of life outside of mainstream society. These festival-goers spent much more time living at festivals than today's festival-goers, many of whom may only spend two or three days a year at festivals. This limits the amount of learning that festival-goers can do and the impact of environmental messages spread by organisers.

One of the problems faced by festival organisers is the differences between the material settings of greenfield festivals and urban areas in which most festival-goers live. As seen in Chapters 5 and 6, living in greenfield festival settings contributes to the reconfiguration of practice performances. The extent of the differences between greenfield and urban settings means that festival-goers who live in houses are more likely to revert to their usual ways of performing practices when they return home from festivals. When festival-goers return to homes with access to national energy infrastructures and different configurations of devices and resources, they will reincorporate these materials into their practices. This highlights the difficulty faced

by festival organisers attempting to influence festival-goers' practices outside festivals using the ABC method of behaviour change, discussed in Chapter 1.

6. The contribution of my thesis

6.1 Areas of contribution

My research contributes primarily to the literature on sustainability and energy demand at music festivals by generating insights into how performances of everyday life practices shape energy demand at music festivals, as detailed above. These insights are also relevant to the study of other types of organised events, as well as the study of sustainability and energy demand more generally, since the temporariness of the greenfield festival context offers an unusual backdrop for the consumption of energy. Secondary contributions are also made to practice theory through my consideration of prefiguration and materiality, particularly infrastructure, in the festival context.

6.2 Sustainability and energy demand of music festivals

In focussing on what festival-goers are doing, and in seeing energy demand as an outcome of the performance of social practices (Shove and Walker 2014), I have highlighted the lack of engagement with this issue in current research into energy demand at greenfield festivals. My research suggests that the benefits of technological change, energy efficiency improvements and greening the energy supply may only be able to do so much in trying to reduce energy demand at greenfield festivals. The approach in this thesis offers a way for other researchers and the music industry to take into account not only what practices or activities are enabled by existing and new technologies, but how these technologies become enrolled in new practice performances and how this affects how these practices are performed. This opens up the possibility of looking at how practices might be performed using less or no energy rather than simply incorporating more energy efficient technologies or providing more energy by sustainable means, both of which have potential drawbacks, as discussed in Chapter 1.

The insights detailed in my thesis also speak to the ABC model of behaviour change (Shove 2010), which is the basis of many interventions designed by academics and music industry

initiatives to reduce carbon emissions at greenfield music festivals (e.g. Bottrill et al. 2017; A Greener Festival n.d.; Fleming et al. 2014). Attempts to change the behaviour of festival-goers and festival organisers can only contribute so much to efforts to reduce carbon emissions and/or energy demand at greenfield festivals because they are based on the assumption that values and beliefs are the primary factors in changing behaviour. My research has shown how materials and learning, for example, can affect how changes occur in what people do at greenfield festivals. In considering the importance of facets other than values and beliefs in shaping the everyday life practice performances of festival-goers, my thesis may also make a modest contribution to the literature seeking to design alternative interventions that take account of the social embeddedness of energy demand.

The thesis also does the work of contextualising the energy demand of greenfield music festivals by analysing them as settings that contain doing-places (Hui and Walker 2018) for the performance of everyday life practices and comparing these settings to those that support everyday life practices during urban music festivals. This reveals that the various ways in which everyday life practices are performed during music festivals are affected by the settings and doing-places in which the practices are performed. It also shows that many everyday life practices performed in greenfield festival settings are less likely to incorporate large amounts of energy into their performance than those performed during urban festivals. This challenges the extent to which we might think of the energy demand of greenfield festivals as problematic and opens up the possibility that festivals might be used as sites of experimentation for more sustainable living (Hitchings et al. 2018), or even as existing models for how to perform certain practices with less energy.

6.3 Practice theory

Despite not aiming to contribute to the development of practice theory, my research does make a contribution to the literature, particularly that on prefiguration and materiality. This contribution comes from the identification of the importance of provisioning and from taking account of the performances of multiple practitioners on the same practice. My thesis draws attention to the value of comparing practice performances in different settings, particularly when the materialities of those practices are affected, when trying to understand a practice.

My research adds to the literature on prefiguration by tracing instances of collections of practices being prefigured by specific types of provisioning practices. Looking at the provisioning practices of festival organisers and festival-goers, which facilitate the performance of everyday life practices at organised or planned events taking place on temporarily configured sites, reveals how these practices anticipate and then later respond to other performances, as well as infrastructures. This is potentially of interest beyond the study of music festivals and energy demand, perhaps for the study of different types of organised events and other issues, such as water use or other forms of everyday consumption.

A further contribution of my thesis is to add to the literature on practice theory and materiality. In this thesis, I have studied everyday life practices as performed away from the ordinary infrastructures that support everyday life outside festivals. Building on Shove's (2016) work on the materiality of practices, I have worked with an understanding of infrastructure not as complicated, obdurate, geographically diffuse and costly but as temporary, geographically concentrated, relatively simple and malleable. Working with this understanding of greenfield festival infrastructure has allowed me to investigate sets of practice performances that might not be considered typical variations of those performances. This yields a modest contribution to the literature on practice theory and materiality, and also provides conceptual tools for studying practices such as camping and long-distance trekking that may involve the performance of everyday life practices away from infrastructures as commonly conceived in the literature.

6.4 Music festivals beyond the UK

It is possible that my findings might also have relevance beyond the UK. Outdoor music festivals exist throughout the world and many have similar characteristics to those I describe here. Festivals such as Roskilde Festival in Denmark (Roskilde n.d.), Boom Festival (Boom n.d) in Portugal and Coachella in the USA (Coachella n.d.), for example, bear a close resemblance to UK greenfield festivals in terms of their temporal and spatial organisation, their material provisioning and the practices they feature. The above insights may have some relevance to such events and therefore be relevant beyond the UK.

However, local conditions, such as the climate or the exact location of a festival, can play an important part in shaping festival provision and the social practices found at festivals. While many aspects of my work may speak to organisers of non-UK festivals, my research is, in some ways, limited by the specificities of the UK festival scene to which it pertains. It is, therefore, necessary to exercise an element of caution when applying the insights derived from this thesis to new geographical contexts.

6.5 Non-music festival organised events

Finally, my thesis makes a minor contribution to the field of events management through the application of concepts drawn from practice theory to the study of a particular type of organised event, namely, music festivals. In drawing upon such concepts as prefiguration and doing-places, that appear to be under-utilised in events management, I have highlighted the utility of these conceptual tools for events. These tools could usefully be applied to sporting events, caravan club gatherings and food festivals, for example.

In addition, insights into the temporary provisioning of event sites, and how this links to and prefigures practice performances, can be applied to other types of organised events that draw upon temporarily provisioned infrastructures and feature practices such as eating and drinking and involve audiences travelling from outside of the immediate local area, such as country fairs and Christmas markets. Shove (2010) argued that theories of behaviour change are conceptually limited and practically ineffective. My research has demonstrated the value of adopting different conceptual resources in order to support innovation in event management.

7. The future of everyday life at greenfield festivals

7.1 Potential directions of change

The account of greenfield music festival history given in Chapter 3 raises interesting questions about the future of everyday life at greenfield festivals. What sorts of everyday life practices will be incorporated into future festivals? How will practices we see at today's festivals be performed differently? What sort of provision will be made for these practices and by whom? What forms will energy provision take and how does all of this fit with the carbon emissions reduction goals proposed in the literature and aspired to by organisations such as A Greener

Festival and Julie's Bicycle? Since the aim of my research is to generate new insights into the energy demand of everyday life practice performances at music festivals, it seems appropriate that I should now turn to speculate about what these insights might tell us about the future of everyday life during greenfield festivals.

7.2 The stability of everyday life at greenfield festivals

Everyday life at greenfield music festivals has seen changes since the 1950s. However, many aspects of festival life have remained remarkably resilient. The ever-present tent, for example, is an enduring symbol of greenfield festivals and a staple of everyday life at these events. While other forms of accommodation have existed, such as the communal sleeping tent, the bender, the camper van and glamping accommodation, by far the most prevalent and enduring form is the private tent. It can also be observed that other features of early festival life persist, such as cooking on open fires, eating from takeaway vans, brushing teeth and washing (and for many, not doing so), sunbathing, drinking alcohol and, not coincidentally, urinating in open spaces. Some of the materiality and the exact nature of the performances might have changed, but the similarities in what is going on at festivals past and present suggest that everyday life at festivals has, in many respects, continued in much the same way for over 60 years.

Greenfield festivals, then, continue to be spaces in which low energy lifestyles are lived. The endurance of what might be termed a festival way of life is a hallmark of greenfield festivals as a cultural phenomenon; mud, wellies and camping are iconic symbols that it is difficult to imagine greenfield festivals without. It seems likely that only a fundamental change in how festivals are organised could break the link between festivals and the festival way of life and there does not seem to be a compelling reason to do so. As such, it is likely that much will remain the same in everyday life at future festivals. However, new ways of doing things have come to be part of festivals over time and have been enthusiastically taken up by a minority of festival-goers. It is possible that some of these ways might gain more traction in the future and come to be a part of more festival-goers' festival experiences as time goes on.

7.3 Expanding everyday life: new and existing practices

How might festivals see an expansion in provision made for new and existing practices? The commercial imperative brought about by competition in the festival market has, up to now,

created an environment in which new everyday life practices and new provision to support the performance of practices old and new have been incorporated into greenfield festivals. If levels of infrastructural provision further increased and became more reliable, greater numbers of practice performances would be enabled. A race to the top in luxury glamping experiences (see Chapter 5) could also lead to new practices being performed at festivals. Glamping accommodations might be fitted with stereo systems or even screens that enable festival-goers to perform multi-media practices, such as surfing the internet, online gaming or streaming online video. Festival-goers might also bring new practices to festivals as they become commonplace in everyday life outside festivals, such as has been the case in recent years with photography, videography and hair straightening, for example.

Increasing levels of organiser provision at future festivals would allow some practices currently performed by a small minority of festival-goers to be performed by a greater number of festival-goers. As highlighted by the examples of blow drying and hair straightening in Chapter 5, the inclusion of energy demanding practices at greenfield festivals can lead to expanded provision being made for such practices. This enables a greater number of such performances. At the moment, practices such as blow drying and hair straightening, and facilities such as posh toilets, are available to only a small number of festival-goers who pay for access to the materiality that facilitates their practice performances. However, if more festival-goers are recruited to these practices, festival organisers could increase levels of provision to enable additional performances. It is, therefore, possible that such practices could proliferate in the future and may eventually come to be widespread or even offered as standard at many festivals.

The same might also be true of glamping and showering, which have a good potential to proliferate. As festivals seek to capitalise on the commercial opportunities offered by renting glamping accommodation and experiences, so festival organisers might come to take more responsibility for provisioning festival-goers' practices. It is possible that some festivals might come to provide tents for all festival-goers, in the same way that they do toilet facilities. This suggestion has been touted by the organiser of Glastonbury Festivals as a means of mitigating the problem of festival-goers discarding tents after festivals:

I would actually like to see, in about 10-15 years' time, a situation where every single tent is provided by us, and we can make sure that we can keep them, and store them for the following year.

(Michael Eavis, quoted in Henderson and Musgrave 2014: 254)

Were this to transpire, one could imagine an accompanying expansion in more luxurious accommodations with the concomitant potential for expanding energy demand, discussed below. The potential of showering to proliferate at greenfield festivals, meanwhile, is anticipated by changes in the materiality of washing practices and the effect that this has upon festival-goers' understandings of norms of cleanliness at festivals. As Hitchings et al. (2018) point out, the more showers festival organisers provide, the more festival-goers use them. If this trend continues and festival organisers seek to provide everyday life experiences more closely resembling those outside festivals, and festival-goers anticipate being able to maintain higher standards of cleanliness, showering provision could expand and the number of showering performances could increase.

If new practices do become part of festivals, or existing practices are performed in different ways, this may require new types of provision to be made. For example, if more festival-goers incorporate electric vehicles (EVs) into their travel practices, festivals could potentially start to offer EV charging points in the near future. If people are driving to and from a rural festival site, which may not be in range of EV charging infrastructure, it might be necessary to offer EV charging points to enable festival-goers to incorporate EVs into their travel to festivals. Though not on the same scale, the inclusion of smartphone charging at greenfield festivals shows that it is not beyond credulity to imagine a time when EV charging will also be found on festival sites. If EV charging does become part of greenfield festivals, this could lead to an ironic situation where EVs are being powered by electricity derived from diesel generators, unless greener alternatives can be found.

7.4 Considering future variations in everyday life at festivals

In this section, I consider how the concepts and approach used in this thesis could be helpful for researchers and festival organisers alike when thinking about possible future variations in the composition of festivals.

It is possible that everyday life at festivals will, for the most part, continue to be lived with less, with festival organisers still facilitating the living of everyday life in ways that are reduced compared to everyday life outside of festivals. However, the trajectory of everyday life at today's festivals suggests that new, energy demanding technologies could eventually become part of everyday life at greenfield festivals. The economic imperative that drives competition in the festival market can create multiple markets that cater to festival-goers seeking different types of experiences. Perhaps the most abundant type of festival in the future will be the one that offers some festival-goers the opportunity to pay for access to provision that facilitates the performance of higher energy everyday life practices, while most continue simply to live in a field with a few simple extras for a few days.

Some future festivals might want to market themselves as zero emissions, green or sustainable festivals, although committing to the use of only sustainable power only could put a natural limit on the number of practice performances that can incorporate energy. Restricting access to infrastructures that facilitate energy demanding variants of practices based on the limitations of sustainable power generation places a limit on the opportunities to enrol energy in everyday life practices. In such a circumstance, if a festival wanted to retain its status as a sustainable festival, organisers would need to expand provision of sustainable energy before the number of practice performances, or performance/hours, could be expanded. In a way, this is akin to built-in demand management.

Festival organisers with a serious commitment to reducing energy demand or CO₂ emissions associated with festivals might want to look beyond that which results from on-site generators to festival-goer provisioned practices, such as transport. For example, a more radical future for festivals might be envisioned by imagining what would happen if organisers simply provisioned less space for parking at both greenfield and urban festivals. Fewer cars arriving at the site would mean fewer journeys and possibly higher vehicle occupancy. This is potentially a risky move commercially, but if a festival were to provide sufficient means for festival-goers to get to the festival site from nearby destinations that are served by good public transport, this could be a way to tackle one of the biggest CO₂ emission issues for the festival industry. Such a move might also affect festival-goer provisioning. I mentioned above about banning camping stoves. Attempting to force a shift in audience transport mode might also have a knock-on effect in prefiguring other everyday life practices, for example, by discouraging festival-goers from bringing their own tents and bulky equipment.

Festival organisers might also provide less, such as not providing shower blocks, which could potentially allow festival-goers to carry less washing equipment with them to festivals, a move which could have repercussions for how festival-goers travel. This example highlights the interrelatedness of practices and how making a change in one practice can potentially lead to the reconfiguration of other practice performances over the course of a festival weekend. However, the complexity of these relationships means that I am not in a position to speculate on the exact nature of changes that would occur in festival-goers everyday life practices as a result of changes in their travel practices.

7.5 The future of energy demand

It is difficult to imagine a return to experimental ways of living to the extent found at Free Festivals that could help find ways to use less energy and provide a long-term alternative way of living at any time in the near future. Rather than doing things differently at greenfield festivals, it seems that ways of living everyday life at and outside greenfield festivals, are converging to a greater extent than in the past. Increases in the number of performances of practices such as showering, blow drying and mobile phone charging, and the incorporation of new practices such as EV charging, would lead to increases in the energy demand of greenfield festivals. A continued focus on luxury provision for everyday life practices could lead to the incorporation of new, high energy using devices such as hand dryers and digital screens, further increasing energy demand. Furthermore, festival-goers might increasingly come to expect a reliable energy supply to enable their performance of everyday life practices.

In order to attain carbon reduction goals, the direction of change appears to be towards using more sustainable energy sources, such as solar power or biofuels, to provide on-site power, rather than finding ways to perform practices differently and reduce total energy demand. A stage manager at a greenfield festival told me that restricting levels of energy use arising from everyday life practices was not even a consideration. What right did anyone have to tell festival-goers that they could not do what they wanted? The important thing, she told me, was that the energy used to facilitate those practices came from sustainable sources.

It is uncertain that temporary forms of off-grid, carbon neutral energy production employed at greenfield festivals will be able to cope with future levels of demand (Fleming et al. 2014).

Reliability of supply is already important for stages, catering vehicles and lighting, and more performances of energy-incorporating everyday life practices would increase pressure to ensure the consistency of the energy supply. Ensuring that such practices can be performed without interruption could come to be as ‘non-negotiable’ (Walker 2019: 68) as outside festivals and could be key to a festival’s survival in a competitive marketplace. This would require robust infrastructural provision that could cope with rising and variable levels of demand and ensure consistency of supply.

One potential solution would be to connect greenfield festivals to the national grid or other permanently installed energy infrastructure, such as large fields of solar panels or wind turbines. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the national electricity infrastructure is used to supply Øye Festival in Oslo, Norway (Jones 2017). This ensures reliable access to energy that would potentially allow for the performance of any number of energy demanding everyday life practices. However, the provision of such connections is not currently possible on most rural greenfield festival sites in the UK and there is no guarantee that the national grid will deliver energy from sustainable sources, an issue that greenfield and urban festivals have in common.

The option of installing permanent energy infrastructures on the festival site, for use during the festival, would be possible at established festivals such as Glastonbury, that are successful and run by the people who own the land on which they take place. Less successful festivals, or those where the owners of the site and the organisers of the festival are different people, are less likely to be able to incorporate such provision, as there is an increased likelihood that the festival could be required to move. I would, therefore, speculate that most greenfield festivals will continue to rely upon mobile/portable/temporary energy infrastructures and resources.

Taking action to reduce energy demand is harder than, for example, taking action on the use of plastics or recycling, as it impacts on the competitiveness of the festival, which is important for its economic success and, ultimately, survival. Businesses (and governments) tend to favour taking measures that are relatively easy and less costly. Ridding a festival site of plastic is not only a good idea from an environmental point-of-view but also from a business point-of-view, since it can improve a festival’s image and garner publicity. As I have argued above, it is hard to imagine organisers of festivals that already host such practices putting an end to the performance of practices such as showering and blow drying, which increase the energy demand of festivals, as long as there is demand for such provision from festival-goers. Nor, in

such cases, would I expect that they will stymie the trend for greater levels of provision for energy demanding practices or allow standards of provision to fall. It therefore seems likely that the energy demand of everyday life at some greenfield festivals will rise in the foreseeable future.

Nonetheless, barring significant changes in organising and provisioning greenfield festivals, such as adding permanent structures or connections to the national grid, it is hard to imagine a situation where the energy demand of everyday life at greenfield festivals will be equal to or higher than outside festivals. Despite the changes in everyday life practice performances at greenfield festivals, the temporariness of infrastructural arrangements and the sorts of practices found at festivals have remained fairly constant over the course of festival history. As Glastonbury's 2008 sustainability policy puts it, a greenfield festival is simply 'a one-off event in a field' (quoted in Bowdin et al. 2012: 179). It is not likely that such events will keep pace with the sorts of energy use demanded by everyday life practices outside festivals, whether that demand goes up or down in the future.

8. Potential avenues for future research

In the light of the foregoing discussion on the present and future state of greenfield festivals, I have identified six potential avenues for future research into the energy demand of festivals. First, future research might focus on practices of organising festivals. The malleable nature of material provision at greenfield festivals means that considering how provision is made for everyday life could provide insight into interventions that could affect the performance of everyday life practices and the resulting energy demand. Such research would involve interviewing and possibly shadowing festival organisers and could provide an indication of the sorts of provision that festival organisers make and are planning to make and to what ends. This information could indicate potential points of intervention in festival provisioning that might help reduce energy demand in the future.

Second, further exploration of the dynamic relationships between festival-goers' everyday life practices, festival-goer provisioning and festival organiser provisioning practices would help us to understand in much greater detail the possible prefiguring effects of these practices on future energy demand. This research could be a valuable point of engagement with research into events management, as well as industry initiatives, and could potentially contribute to

designing practice-theoretically informed interventions to reduce energy demand at greenfield festivals. A multi-year study could also help to understand how material provision for greenfield festivals changes year on year and reveal some of the complexity and dynamics of this process of change.

Third, practice theory research of the sort conducted in this study could be used to investigate music practices, such as sound engineering, stage building, stage production, stage management, and making and listening to music. The research might involve extensive interviewing and shadowing of festival organisers and their agents in order to better understand provisioning practices as they relate to such practices as sound engineering or stage managing. A key part of this, and the other avenues of research suggested here, would be the recruitment of greenfield festival organisers as interviewees. This was something that was missing from my research, and which could have yielded potential benefits to this study. Interviewing a large sample of greenfield festival organisers and their agents could provide insights into deeper organisational practices and processes that are not visible to those outside of the organisational structures. If the sample size was sufficiently large, it might be possible to speak to the practices of the festival industry as a whole.

Fourth, investigating the rules, regulations, guidelines and codes of practice that govern the staging of music festivals could not only yield insights into the organisation of music festivals but also help to identify points of intervention for festival organisers and regulators wishing to reduce energy demand at festivals. In Chapter 3 some of the most useful sources I found on past practices were reports and published guidelines on how to run greenfield music festivals. These regulatory documents provided insights into what was expected from festival organisers as a minimum. Such codes of practice exist today in the current Purple Book, but also in various legislation relating to health and safety, food hygiene and land use. These are important areas that are not considered in my thesis and affect how everyday life is lived at music festivals. Investigating these areas would involve examining legislation, codes of practice, planning applications and the terms of licences, which are granted by local or county councils and so vary from festival to festival.

A case study design would seem appropriate for such a study since the variation in the terms of licenses geographically and even on a festival-to-festival basis would make comparison difficult. An initial round of interviews with festival organisers and their agents involved in

provisioning would help the researcher to identify the regulations that are important to staging festivals today and at past festivals. Archival work could then be undertaken into specific festivals, ensuring a mix of festivals, some with long histories, some with shorter ones and perhaps even festivals that fell foul of regulations and were forced to discontinue. Examining licences and interviewing those involved in the granting of licences would also provide insights into some of the practices and processes that go on before a festival takes place that shape the materiality of everyday life that we see at festivals.

Fifth, another group that affects how everyday life is lived at greenfield festivals, which is not considered here, is designers of equipment, such as toilets and washing facilities. The design of equipment, whether provided by festival goers or festival organisers, is an important factor in shaping practice performances. The design of tents, glamping accommodation and camping trolleys, for example, affects how easy it is for festival-goers to bring things to festival sites. Indeed, some equipment is marketed specifically to festival-goers. However, devices used in everyday life outside festivals, such as smartphones, also affect the sorts of practices (e.g. photography) and infrastructural arrangements (e.g. USB charging stations) that are found at festivals. The design of these devices, particularly in terms of functions and battery capacity, is important when considering the energy demand of music festivals.

In order to interrogate how design affects practices and energy demand at music festivals, interviewing designers would be an obvious starting point. Another way might be to test different products at festivals and see how practice performances vary because of it or to recruit festival-goers to either test products or give interviews about their experiences of using such products in their practice performances. In terms of energy demand, this would be particularly interesting with regard to cooking equipment. A comparative element could be introduced to the study by interviewing, and perhaps shadowing, food providers, finding out how the design of equipment has changed over the years and what impact this has had on their catering practices.

Finally, researching the energy demand of urban festivals would yield insights into a largely neglected area of study. Better understanding urban music festivals could yield insights into how the carrying on of organised events in existing urban settings, which ordinarily relate to different sets of practices, affects these settings and *vice versa*. Additionally, studying the

transport practices of urban festival-goers could add to the practice theory literature on (im)mobility and the urban environment (e.g. Spurling 2020).

The above suggestions are only a few of the possible directions for research. Practice theory has not yet been applied extensively to the study of energy demand or organised events and has the potential to provide insight into many different areas. Such research would not only add to the social practice theory literature, it would also contribute to understandings of organised events and energy demand that would be useful to other disciplines.

9. Afterword

Greenfield music festival history has a beginning and a middle, but what will bring it to an end? Greenfield festivals have been places for ‘part-time pseudobeats’ to feel like they ‘were really with it’ (Anderson 1960), for a generation of free spirits to say, ‘I’m gonna get back to the land and set my soul free’ (Mitchell 1970), and for today’s festival-goers to enjoy a full-service ‘holiday from responsibility’ (Connelly et al. 2015) or simply to engage in hedonistic excess. Perhaps, one day, the free festival dream will be realised out of necessity, with members of a post-apocalyptic, post-carbon society living life at free greenfield festivals because they are better able to facilitate a carbon neutral lifestyle than the cities and houses we live in today. In that eventuality, greenfield music festivals could just become the norm, the mundane, the everyday. If this comes about, how soon will it be before people ask the question, ‘who needs the music?’

Appendices

Appendix 1: Project Information Sheet



Information Sheet

Changes in Live Music Events: Social Practices and Energy Use

Who Am I?

My name is Mike Allen. Thank you for showing an interest in my project and taking the time to read this information sheet. I am a PhD student in the DEMAND Centre at Lancaster University and also a keen musician. My academic interest lies in understanding the many interconnected activities that make up live music events.

About the Study

The study focuses on greenfield and urban music festivals in the UK. I am investigating how the different activities that make up these events (making music, listening to music, lighting, camping, travelling, socialising, etc.) have changed over the years. The aim in the end is to understand how these changes relate to the energy use of live music events.

How You Can Help

I am looking to interview people who are involved in the running of greenfield and urban music festivals in the UK. This includes the provision of services such as sound, lighting, stages, security, logistics, food and travel as well as the organisation of such events. I am conducting interviews that should take approximately one hour, at a time and space of mutual convenience. Through these interviews I want to understand what is involved in producing contemporary live music events and what goes on during the events. I am also interested in any historical insight that can be offered from any experience you have accumulated over multiple years of involvement with live music. Before participating you will need to sign and return the attached consent form, which outlines your agreement to participate. A summary of the research findings will be made available upon request following the submission of the thesis.

How Your Information Will be Used

All interviews will be recorded and recordings and transcripts held on an encrypted hard drive. Access to this information is restricted to me and my two PhD supervisors. The university recommends that all data is held for at least 10 years in a secure place (i.e. an encrypted password protected computer). All voice recordings will be destroyed upon production of the transcript of the recording. All data will be anonymised in my final PhD thesis and any related publications or conference presentations. Participation is entirely at your discretion and you are free to terminate the interview at any time without giving warning or a reason for your decision. You may withdraw your consent for the information you give to be used in the thesis at any time up to two weeks after your participation in the interview, after this point the data

will remain in the study. In the event of your withdrawal from the study all data pertaining to your participation will be destroyed and not used. Although I don't intend that the interview will involve discussing any forms of illegality, it should be noted that I am required by law to release information to the police if they request me to do so.

Protecting You

This project has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee. Should you have any concerns in relation to your participation in this study that you feel you cannot discuss with me, please feel free to contact any of the following people:

Professor Gordon Walker (Supervisor): g.p.walker@lancaster.ac.uk — 01524 510256

Dr. Allison Hui (Supervisor): a.hui@lancaster.ac.uk — 01524 510791

Dr. Bronislaw Szersynski (Head of Department): sociology@lancaster.ac.uk — 01524 594178

Getting in Touch

If you have decided that you wish to participate in this study, please contact me by one of the following methods:

email:

mobile:

phone (office):

m.allen2@lancaster.ac.uk

07949 802847 01524 510593

Should you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Consent Form

I have been invited to participate in research about live music in the UK. Please complete the check list and sign below.

Check List

I agree to be interviewed and recorded for this study

I have read and understand the information sheet pertaining to this study

I understand that my participation is voluntary

I understand how the researcher will use the information from this interview

I have been informed that my data will be held in a secure way for at least 10 years and any voice recordings destroyed once a transcript has made of them

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study and these have been answered satisfactorily

Signature

Name of Participant (Please Print): _____

Participant Signature: _____

Date (D/M/Y): _____

Name of Researcher (Please Print): _____

Signature: _____

Date (D/M/Y): _____

Appendix 2: Example Interview Schedule

Questions For _____ (Festival Services—Food)

Introductory Questions

- 1, How long have you been working at live music events and in what capacities?
2. What is your role at your present company?/How would you describe your job?
3. Could you describe your role in more detail?/What does this role involve?
4. What different events have you worked on? Including events not related to music?/Could you give me an idea of the different events you've worked on in your capacity as ...?

Now if we could move to think about your experiences at greenfield and urban music festivals ...

Preparing for Greenfield and Urban Music Festivals

1. Thinking specifically about your work at music festivals (or whatever job description is given), could you give me an overview of your planning and preparing for a greenfield music festival?
 - Timescales
 - Equipment (tents, laptops, communications devices, batteries, generators, lighting, etc.)
 - Transport (how many vehicles; how big)
 - Does any of the food need preparing in advance?
2. How does this process differ for urban festivals?
3. How much travelling do you do with regard to working at music festivals and how do you travel?
4. Thinking about preparing for festivals, what would you say where the most significant changes that you've experienced to this process in your time working at music festivals?

Setting Up and Taking Down at Greenfield and Urban Music Festivals

1. What do you do when you set up at the festival?
 - Can you walk me through the setting up process for the last/a typical greenfield music festival that you did?
 - Timescales (when do you arrive?)
 - What do you bring with you?

- What is already in place when you arrive?
- Who do you talk to/coordinate with?

2. What do you do when the festival is finished? Could you give me an overview of the sorts of things that need doing?

- Timescales (how quickly you need to be packed up and done?)
- What your responsibilities are versus organisers responsibilities.

3. Thinking about setting up and taking down at the festivals, what would you say where the main changes that you've experienced to this process in your time working at festivals?

Working and Living at Greenfield and Urban Music Festivals

1. What do you do during the festival?

- What are your responsibilities during the festival? (lost property, drinks, food(?), helping festival-goers).
- Timescales? (how long do you work? how long are you open during the festival? 24-hour opening)
- How do you re-supply/predict and provide for your requirements over the duration of the festival?
- How many people are there working with you?
- Do your cooking methods (untraditional fish and chips) require anything of your that a traditional fish and chip van wouldn't require?
- I noticed you do triple cooked chips, for example. Do these need preparing in advance?

2. Thinking about working at the festivals, what would you say where the main changes to these processes that you've experienced?/How has your role at the festival changed over the years?

3. How do you live when you are at a greenfield festival?

- Where you sleep?
- Do you get any time off?
- What sorts of things do you do?
- What sorts of things do you bring with you? (e.g. computers, entertainments, etc.)
- What's it like?

4. Thinking about living at the festivals, how much has this changed during your time working at festivals?

Regulations and Insurance

1. Are there any regulations that impact upon your work at greenfield music festivals? If so who's regulations?

- Maybe the festival has certain rules?

- Maybe there are industry or activity specific regulations? (e.g. food hygiene, food storage).
- Is this any different from your other work

2. Does insurance impact upon your work at festivals?

3. How have regulations (and the role/impact of insurance) changed during your career?

Energy Use

1. Could you tell me what role you (or your company) play with regard to energy at the festivals you work at?

- Do you provide your own transport?
- Do you provide all of your own power?
- How do you provide energy?
- Do festivals require any assessment of you power needs or type of energy provision beforehand?
- I'm trying to get at the degree of co-ordination or integration of the processes of festival organisers and service providers with regard to energy.

2. What do you use energy for at the festival?

- Cooking, obviously, but music? Anything else?

3. To what extent do you consider or track energy use?

- This might be in terms of managing what you do at the festival or managing/monitoring how much energy is used in the energy using activities you perform.
- If so, what is included in these calculations?
- Do you actively manage the energy expenditure at the festivals you do?
- Do you consider ways of reducing total energy use?
- Do you consider alternative energy sources?
- To what extent is your energy use at the festival within your control/influence?

4. I noticed from your website that you appear to have an indoor premises (The Kitchens) and that you're searching for new premises. How does your energy use differ at music festivals compared with your shop?

- The sorts of things energy is used for? (lighting, heating, transport, etc.)
- The amount of energy that is used?
- The source of energy? (gas, electric)
- The need to predict energy use?

Technology

1. What are the most important technologies that you work with?

- Cooking?
- Refrigeration?

- Transport?

2. Are there any other changes in technology affecting your work at festivals?

3. Have any of these technologies changed over the years that you've been working at festivals?

- This could include changes to existing technologies or the arrival of new technologies.

4. What prompts these changes in technology?

- Is change driven by competition, by yourselves, by changes in attitudes towards sustainability?
- Can you give examples of this?

5. Are there any innovations on the horizon that might, in your opinion, significantly change your work at festivals?

Festivals in Context

1. Finally, I just wondered how greenfield festivals influence your work on other events during the summer?

- Do you get more outdoor work during the summer?
- How does your work at the festival compare to your other work during the summer?
- How does your work at the festival influence your other work during the summer?

Questions

Can you think of anything else you want to tell me that has not come up in this interview?

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