

**Spatializing Galician Music at the International Festival of the Celtic  
World of Ortigueira**

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*Aos meus pais, Hernando e Pilar, meus irmãos, Andrés e Camilo, meu sobrinho, Dante,  
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# SPATIALIZING GALICIAN MUSIC AT THE INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF THE CELTIC WORLD OF ORTIGUEIRA

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation inquires into the process of locating socio-musical relations and practices, pertaining to Galician Music, in the context of the International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira (1978 to the present). It aims to show, first of all, that the festival itself was a result of the process of spatialization of Galician Music in post-Franco Ortigueira. This process was led and developed by the members of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, a grassroots, free of charge music school founded in 1975, made up of voluntary teachers, children, and young people from this town. Drawing on anthropologist Setha Low's definition of spatialization as the process of "locating, both physically and conceptually, social relations and social practice in social space" (1999, 111), I argue that the initial process of spatialization of Galician Music at the IFCW (1978-1983), together with the broader process of spatialization of Galician Music in Ortigueira, produced an alternative sense of locality in Santa Marta de Ortigueira. Although pretty much absent from present-day Ortigueira, this "alternative locality" is still embedded in the collective meaning of the festival, and local Galician-music performers are struggling to maintain it. Contrasting the historical emergence of the IFCW with the present state of the festival (2011-2013), this work expounds on the changing process of spatialization of Galician Music within the IFCW, highlighting, though, its continuity as a practice of resistance.

## RESUMO

Esta tese investiga o processo de localização das relações e práticas sócio-musicais, pertencentes à música galega, no contexto do Festival Internacional do Mundo Celta de Ortigueira (IFCW) (1978 até o presente). Pretende mostrar, antes de tudo, que o próprio festival foi resultado do processo de espacialização da música galega em Ortigueira no período pós-Franquista. Este processo foi liderado e desenvolvido pelos membros da Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira, uma escola de música de base, fundada em 1975, formada por professores voluntários, crianças e jovens deste povoado. Baseada na definição de espacialização da antropóloga Setha Low, como o processo de "localizar, tanto física quanto conceptualmente, as relações sociais e as práticas sociais no espaço social" (1999, 111), argumento que o processo inicial de espacialização da Música Galega no IFCW (1978-1983), juntamente com o processo mais amplo de espacialização da música galega em Ortigueira, produziu um sentido alternativo de localidade em Santa Marta de Ortigueira. De fato, o IFCW repetiu e reafirmou a possibilidade de ser local, e

diferente. Apesar de estar quase ausente da atual Ortigueira, esta "localidade alternativa" ainda está inserida no sentido coletivo do festival, e os artistas locais de música galega estão a lutar para mantê-lo. Contrastando o surgimento histórico do IFCW com o estado atual do festival (2011-2013), este trabalho aborda o processo de mudança da espacialização da Música Galega dentro do IFCW, destacando, entretanto, a sua continuidade como prática de resistência.

KEYWORDS: Galician music; music festivals; Spanish transition; spatialization of culture; autoconstruction.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Música galega; festivais de música; Transição espanhola; espacialização da cultura; autoconstrução.

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## Introduction

Today is November 5<sup>th</sup>, 2015. As I write these words Santa Marta de Ortigueira, a small town located in northwestern Galicia, Spain, is celebrating the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (Galician for “Bagpipe School of Ortigueira”). Facebook comments to the birthday images posted in real time on the *Escola*’s wall, show the importance of this event and the deep feelings that both current and former members of the *Escola* have towards their grassroots music school. So far, one of the highlights has been the mayor of Ortigueira’s announcement of the change of name of the *Calle del General Franco* (Spanish for “General Franco Street”), kept in honor of the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco even forty years after his death, for *Rua da Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (Galician for “Bagpipe School of Ortigueira Street”). The change, perhaps a simple anecdote for people outside Ortigueira, is full of meaning for the large family that is the *Escola de Gaitas*.

Since its foundation in November of 1975, a few days before the death of Franco and the subsequent fall of his regime, the members of the *Escola* have opened up space for Galician music with music in the town of Ortigueira (short version for Santa Marta de Ortigueira). Initially lead by Xavier Garrote, director and founder of the *Escola* and its various projects, the members of this grassroots music school were able to both produce and construct socio-musical spaces for Galician music at the private (instrumental practice by student’s in their own homes), institutional (founding a Galician music school with its own goals, curriculum, pedagogical tools, projects, in which instruction was in the Galician language), and public levels (organizing an international music festival and using abandoned public buildings as well as local streets and plazas to rehearse, give concerts, keep a music archive, and develop a workshop/school for the construction of Galician musical instruments). Remarkably, they did all this through voluntary work, in a conservative town where national (Galician) culture had been historically absent from the public realm, and in a period of only eight years.

This dissertation focuses on one of the socio-musical spaces that emerged from this initial eight-year effort: The International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira

(IFCW). Nearly forty years after its inauguration in 1978, the festival is still in existence. Despite the social, cultural, and economic significance of this long-term, massive, summer music festival for Ortigueira and Galicia, the IFCW has never been looked at in relation to its meaning, use, and importance for Ortigueiran musicians. By filling this gap, this work presents a case study of the challenges faced and the strategies developed by local musicians to both gain and sustain access to international music stages that are annually erected in their own cities or towns. In addition to looking into an emblematic and controversial music festival, this dissertation will address the questions: What has been the importance of the IFCW for Ortigueiran musicians and vice versa? Why is the festival still meaningful for them? What has facilitated and hindered their agency within the IFCW? How have they shaped the festival?

Looking into the importance of the IFCW for Ortigueiran musicians was neither my own nor my initial idea. At the beginning of my research, I set out to understand processes involved in the Galician nationalist musical revival and their ties with a so called Celtic culture in the context of both the IFCW and the musical life of Ortigueira. However, as my fieldwork, readings, and overall contact with the available sources advanced, I came to realize that such research goals were not appropriate. Although these issues pervaded the extant literature, they were only emerging as blurred, background aspects of more pressing matters in the field. These, I learned, were focused on how Galician musical practices had both gained space and struggled to keep it open in Ortigueira. Listening to the voices of my interlocutors in the field, I came to realize that by focusing on the spatialization of Galician music in this town, I was going to be able to tell the story of the IFCW in a more comprehensive way. For what encompassed a collective and long-term preoccupation on the part of a diverse group of people in Ortigueira, was the continuity of both the *Escola* and the IFCW under their own (former and present members of the *Escola's*) terms.

The IFCW is collectively meaningful for Ortigueiran musicians for it represents their capacity, and their ongoing commitment, to open and to maintain open spaces for Galician music making in Ortigueira. Together with the *Escola*, the festival is evidence of their agency to choose what music to play, in what musical context, where to do it, when, with whom, and how. The festival, furthermore, is also a proof of the struggles

and complications of implementing such agency in the long term, and under the pressure of political and economic forces such as privatization, commercialization, and political authoritarianism. Zooming in on the particular history of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* and its related musical projects unveils processes which although widely known at a local level are either unknown or disregarded as unimportant in Galician music scholarship. These include the agency of the Ortigueiran youth in the cultural transformation of their own town, and the influence of past music-making activities, initially fueled from Ortigueira, on different aspects of Galician musicking (Small 1998).<sup>1</sup>

This dissertation inquires, therefore, into the process of locating socio-musical relations and practices, pertaining Galician Music, at the International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira. It aims to show, first of all, that the festival itself was a result of the spatialization of Galician Music in post-Franco Ortigueira; a process led and developed by the members of the *Escola de Gaitas* of this town. Throughout this work, I argue that the initial spatialization of Galician Music at the IFCW (1978-1983), together with the broader process of spatialization of Galician Music in Ortigueira, produced an alternative sense of locality in Santa Marta de Ortigueira. Contrasting the historical emergence of the IFCW with the “present” state of the festival (2011-2013), this work expounds on the changing process of spatialization of Galician Music within the IFCW, highlighting the continuous implementation of autoconstruction strategies.

## **i. Theoretical Framework**

Looking at the processes of social production and social construction of the musical spaces developed by or related to the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (1975-1983), highlights the fact that they were autoconstructed (including the IFCW) and that as such, they were simultaneously produced and constructed by its founders and their Ortigueiran and non-Ortigueiran collaborators. Anthropologist Setha Low has defined

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<sup>1</sup> Defined by New Zealand music scholar Christopher Small, musicking is the gerund of the verb “to music.” For Small, music is a process rather than an object, and so the verb denotes, in his own words “to take part, in any capacity, in musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or by practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing) or by dancing” (1998, 9). As Small himself puts it, “to music” can be extended to all actions that make a performance possible such as doing sound checks, selling tickets, or cleaning performing spaces, among other things (*ibid*), as they all make the music performance possible. In the particular case of this dissertation, musicking includes learning and teaching music, as well as to organizing music festivals and building up music stages.

spatializing as the process of "locating, both physically and conceptually, social relations and social practices in social space" (1999, 111). Whereas the social production of space refers "to how a space or place comes into existence and opens up questions about the political, economic and historical motives of its planning and development" (Low 2016, 34), the social construction of space "includes the transformations and contestations that occur through peoples' social interactions, memories, feelings, imaginings, and daily use -or lack thereof- that are made into places, scenes and actions that convey particular meanings (Low 2016, 68). Spatializing culture allows Low to integrate theory and ethnography as well as to work with different paradigms including social constructivism and critical theory. It allows me to highlight the autoconstruction aspect of these socio-musical spaces, their history, and particular socio-musical practices and relations.

Scholarly literature on the social production and social construction of space is vast and interdisciplinary. Geographers, anthropologists, sociologists, political economists, and economists, among others, have dealt extensively with different space-related aspects. Attention has been given to aspects such as the social production of time and space (Lefebvre 1991; Merrifield 2002; Harvey 2006), to issues of hegemony and resistance (Gramsci 1973; Castells 1984); to space/place in relation to class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality (see, for instance, Foucault 1994; Said 1979; Fanon 1967; Butler 2005; Newton 2003); to the social reproduction of space and the intersection of a paradigm such as symbolic interactionism with practice theory (Jackson 2003, Bourdieu 1973; Bourdieu 1977); and to the theoretical underpinnings of modernism/postmodernism (Harvey 1989; Berman 1983; Jameson 1991; Merrifield 2002). My choice of Low's theory was based on my interest in her combination of paradigms such as social constructivism and critical theory. Her idea of "spatializing culture" delineated an inquiry path that closely matches that which I learned about in the field. Also, I was interested to see what conclusions I could draw from looking at the IFCW through the lenses of social construction and social production of space, and by implementing her theories in the field of ethnomusicology, something not done until now.



I have looked at the festival under the light of anthropologist Setha Low's idea of "spatializing culture," a conceptual framework initially developed from her multidisciplinary research on two urban plazas in San José, the capital of Costa Rica (Low 2016, 7). Since its initial formulation in *Theorizing the City. The New Urban Anthropology Reader* (1999), this framework, which pervades the author's subsequent work, has evolved. In 2000, for instance, spatializing was defined as locating "physically, historically, and conceptually- social relations and social practice in space" (Low 127, 2000). A most recent definition is to "produce and locate -physically, historically, affectively and discursively- social relations, institutions, representations and practices in space" (Low 7: 2017). Culture was explained in this particular context as a term referring "to the multiple and contingent forms of knowledge, power and symbolism that comprise human and non-human interactions; material and technological processes; and cognitive processes, including thoughts, beliefs, imaginings and perceptions" (Low 2016, 7).

In Low's view, spatializing culture is a conceptual "lens or frame" made up of other conceptual lenses which researchers can lean on to focus their "areas of inquiry" as well as their "ways of encountering, structuring or viewing" their research questions (2016, 8). These include, according to Low, the social production of space, the social construction of space, embodied space, discourse and language, emotive and affective, and translocal "approaches to the study of space and place" (2016, 7). In that recent text, entitled *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place* (2016), Low expounds on each of these particular frames, delving into their advantages and disadvantages for space and place-related inquires, and offering ethnographic examples that illustrate how scholars have used these approaches in studies centered on different parts of the world. This dissertation integrates both the dimensions of social production and social construction of the IFCW, a choice guided by what I found to be, in the field, the most relevant aspects concerning the "present" (2011-2013) state of the festival for its founders and creators.

If one looks at the Woodstock Music and Art Fair of 1969 from the point of view of participating musicians, its social production would highlight, for instance, the economic and cultural interests of festival founders and creators, their initial financial

investment in the festival, the proliferation of numerous summer music festivals in 1960s U.S.A, the political negotiations needed to obtain legal permits to celebrate the festival in New York State, the erection of the festival's built environment, the relationships between youth culture and the Vietnam war, and both the contracts signed with and the fees paid to all those who were involved including: performing artists, stage and fence builders, sound engineers, land owners, and other personnel working on the festival's logistics. The social construction, instead, would lead us to inquire into musicians' experience at the Woodstock festival stage, their socio-musical exchanges with audience members and other musicians, their chosen repertoire, their feelings and perception of the ambience/architecture of the festival, and their memories of getting, playing and being there, among other things. In the case of the IFCW however, this analysis would reveal that the festival founders, planners, producers, builders, logistics personnel, technicians, and its main local musicians were all linked (as either members or collaborators) to the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. Furthermore, musicians invited to the festival played for free, as money was only available to cover national (Spain) travel expenses, and lodging and food were provided by festival organizers (members of the *Escola* or other friends from Ortigueira). Moreover, the IFCW took place in Ortigueira, the festival producers' own town, and technical equipment such as sound amplifiers was borrowed from invited musicians (the members of Milladoiro). Compared to Woodstock, thus, a music festival to which musicians came to play once the performing space was built and ready, the IFCW emerged as a festival built by local musicians and volunteers from Ortigueira, who organized the event, negotiated the space, performed at the festival, and worked on its logistics, among other chores or responsibilities.

Beyond being a conceptual framework, developed through ethnographic work and aimed at bringing together ideas on space as something socially constructed "as well as material and embodied" (Low 2016, 4), spatializing culture is seen by Low as an avenue for both scholarship and activism (2016, 7). According to Low, "spatial analyses offer people and their communities the means for understanding the everyday places where they live, work, shop and socialize" (*ibid*). Although both theoretically and methodologically Low's work has been fundamental to my own research, I do not share

this portrayal of scholarly work as top-down activism. In fact, this dissertation documents a grass roots process which agents have lead from its inception (in 1975), and so they both understand the process quite well and are aware of its collective and personal implications.

### **i.1 Autoconstruction**

Inquiring into both the IFCW and the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* led me from the beginning to a common point: the process through which they were originally made. For the founders of the festival (Ortigueiran musicians, mostly members of the *Escola de Gaitas*, but also non-musicians from Ortigueira) making the festival, or collectively autoconstructing the festival as I call this process, was a memorable and powerful experience. Autoconstruction is not a term used literally in Ortigueira. However, its meaning is implied in phrases like: “the entire town made the festival” (Garrote interviewed by author 2013) or “we built the largest company [the IFCW] of Ortigueira” (Bermúdez interviewed by the author 2013). I borrowed the term “autoconstruction” from multidisciplinary Latin American research on *la vivienda autoconstruida* (Spanish for “autoconstructed housing”) by/among the Latin American urban poor. The term highlights the agency of local musicians, their deep attachment to the IFCW, their conflicting views of the “present” (2011-2013) state of the festival, and the history in Spain of an alternative, youth-fueled mode, to corporate musical management. Autoconstruction is “a very creative and completely conscious adaptation [of urban construction practices] by popular groups to really adverse [economic] conditions” (Jaramillo 2013, 6). Roughly explained, in autoconstruction processes the lack of money to buy a previously built house leads a group of neighbors, friends, or family members to collectively build their houses by stages (scattered in time, according to the material resources available). As the future inhabitants of the house are also the architects and constructors of the building, its design usually corresponds to their specific needs, aesthetic inclinations, and personal and collective desires. Autoconstruction practices open up the possibility of transforming a family’s quality of life (Wiesenfeld 2001, 50). According to Wiesenfeld, in this way:

people forge their future as they construct their houses and, depending on the formative capacity of the process of autoconstruction, it may acquire the status

of self-management, allowing the whole process to go farther than the acquisition of a house (Wiesenfeld 2001, 116).

Scholarly work on the autoconstruction of homes in poor neighborhoods in Latin America outline the practice as transformative at both the individual and collective levels (Allen et al 1978; Astudillo, Faus et al 2011; Centro Interamericano de Vivienda y Planeamiento 1961; Toledo Castellanos 2013; Wiesenfeld 2001). Identified points of transformation coincide with those mentioned by former members of the *Escola* in interviews and personal conversations (field notes 2011-2013). These include: 1) A sense of self-confidence as participants discover new, social uses for old abilities or acquire new ones to accomplish a common goal. Also, a feeling of self-worth due to the completion of a previously set goal. 2) A sense of future or "hope," as the finished project allows participants to believe that it is possible to set new goals and to complete them. 3) A sense of belonging to a group: individuals who take part in autoconstruction projects refer to fellow participants as a "family" or use other words to denote a close group of friends. Even if friendships do not develop, a lasting sense of attachment toward the completed project keeps individuals present as part of the group. 4) And lastly, a deep connection with the finished autoconstructed project (as something of their own).

By bringing in the idea of autoconstruction into the realm of both the *Escola* and the IFCW I am not trying to impose disparate and far away categories to compare what should be thought about separately. However, I see in this concept of autoconstruction a useful and powerful tool to look at civic-led projects where the importance of "how things are made" for the subjective and collective meaning of "things" is crucial. The use of autoconstruction as a potential theoretical tool does not aim, either, at creating a false and definitely wrong idea of homogeneity among "poor" or "economically deprived" regions of the world or particular social groups. On the contrary, as autoconstruction projects are molded by autoconstructors according to their needs, they highlight a diversity of visions. However, in my view, autoconstruction as a way of managing available resources in the midst of unfavorable socio-economic realities, highlights the role of the actors involved in the process, shows the importance of the process itself, and proposes a theoretically grounded concept that reverts the north-south direction of thinking of and talking about space and power.

## ii. Literature on the IFCW

The projects developed by the *Escola de Gaitas* in Ortigueira between 1975 and 1983 were not exclusive of this town. They were part of a particular historical moment closely linked to the last years and the fall of Francisco Franco's dictatorship and the Spanish transition into a democratic, constitutional monarchy. In Galicia, as well as in Catalonia, the Basque Country, and other parts of Spain, national (Galician, Catalanian, Basque) cultural movements developed and were a steady back force for, and beyond their constitutional acceptance as Autonomous Communities, with their own official language, political agenda, and with a recognized differentiated history and national entity (which in the case of Galicia took place in 1981). In the particular case of Galician music making, the youth lead the way through a revivalist process aimed at both recovering and "dignifying" traditional Galician music, a practice that was collectively thought to be on its way to extinction.<sup>2</sup> The Galician bagpipe and its music repertoire, musical symbols of Galician nationalism back from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Campos Calvo-Sotelo 2009 and 2013; Colmeiro 2014; de Toro 2002), became the center of this process. So spaces like the *Escola de Gaitas*, which aimed at teaching the bagpipe and its accompanying percussion instruments (initially including the bass drum or *bombo*, and a double-skin fretless drum called *caixa* in the Galician language) started to emerge throughout Galicia.

During fieldwork, one of the arguments I most frequently heard dismissing the importance of my research on Galician music-making in Ortigueira, was that what happened there also happened (simultaneously, if not before) somewhere else. By focusing this work on a particular town I am not aiming to ignore or disregard neighboring histories and processes. Given the scope of this work and the complexity of the issues that have arisen from my research in this town, I have chosen to narrow down my view to maximize both results and resources. Moreover, in addition to this decision, I think that empirically constructed "micro-focused" music ethnographies are the most adequate methodological strategy for the understanding of processes that are central to Galician music and culture.

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<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1 for an analysis of the meaning the emic phrase "dignifying" the bagpipe.

Scholarly publications on music-making in Ortigueira are rare. In fact, this dissertation is one of the first extensive works exclusively focused on an aspect of the musical life of this town.<sup>3</sup> In recent times, there has been international interest in Ortigueira, and specifically its International Festival of the Celtic World (IFCW). Research projects lead by both doctoral and bachelor's students from universities in Portugal (INET M-D, *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*), Northern Ireland (Queen's University, Belfast), and the United States (University of Chicago), demonstrate the importance of the IFCW as a global point of entry into local, Ortigueiran music-making (Alarcón-Jiménez; Grozdanova 2013; Stoneman 2016).<sup>4</sup> This festival is one of the two issues (together with the *Escola*) mentioned in the few Spanish and Galician academic texts centered on or mentioning Ortigueiran musical activities. Within the festival, academic inquiries are mostly directed towards the word "Celtic" in its name, and the relationships between Galician musicking, national (Galician) culture, and transnational Celtic ideologies, senses of belonging, and cultural and commercial exchange (Colmero 2014; Campos Calvo-Sotelo 2007, 2009, 2013; de Toro 2002; Estévez 1998; Fandiño 2014; Marina Grozdanova 2013; Medeiros 2004; Stoneman 2016; Vélez Barreiro 2012). Other works, including films as well as texts written by local researchers and music agents, have inquired into festive aspects of the IFCW (Biliana and Marina Grozdanova 2013; Biliana Grozdanova 2011, Stoneman 2016), and into the role played by local actors in the creation and development of this massive music festivity (Barcón 2005; Breixo Rodríguez 2006; Garrote 2013).

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<sup>3</sup> There is also only one historical monograph on Ortigueira, the *Historia de Ortigueira* (Breixo Rodríguez, Ramil González, and Grandio Seoane 1999). The section entitled the "Contemporary Age" (19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries) dedicates the last three pages to the decades between 1940 and 1970 (333-335).

<sup>4</sup> Besides my own research and the Celticism project that I worked for (see page 35), I am referring here to Queen's University (Belfast) student Finn Stoneman and to sisters Marina and Biliana Grozdanova (University of Chicago). I shared my contacts with Finn as he emailed me before travelling to do fieldwork in Ortigueira during the summer of 2015. He wrote what is called in Northern Ireland a dissertation, for a B.A. in Social Anthropology. His text *entitled Traditional Music in Galicia: Exploring Regional Nationalism through Celtic Imaginaries* (2016) was supervised by Professor Ioannis Tsioulakis. Contrastingly, I coincided doing fieldwork with Bulgarian-American sisters Marina and Biliana Grozdanova. Our collaborators and spaces of research were different. Whereas Marina's B.A thesis in International Studies "*Echoes at Land's End: The Celtic World in Galicia at the 2012 Festival Internacional do Mondo Celta de Ortigueira* (2013), was supervised by ethnomusicologist Philip V. Bohlman, both Marina and Biliana directed the documentary *Ortigueira: Echoes of a Land's End* (2013), a film centered on the IFCW. Biliana also directed an early documentary on the IFCW entitled *Ortigueira* (2011).

Besides Stoneman (2016), Campos Calvo-Sotelo (2013), and Grozdanova (2013), available literature either mentioning or focused on the IFCW sets it as a point of encounter between (depending on the author): 1) “countries of the Celtic fringe” (Campos Calvo-Sotelo 2009; Reimóndez 2014, 172), and 2) “traditional folk music and Celtic roots [music]” (de Toro 2002, 245; Estévez 1998). All of these accounts only mention the Festival very briefly, as also happens in Colmeiro’s text, where the IFCW is quickly portrayed as an example of post-Franco, Galician music revival processes (Colmeiro 2014, 96). In Vélez Barreiro’s article “The Festival of Ortigueira as a Bridge between the Celtic Countries: A Case Study of Cultural Production” (2012, 218-230), the author develops an argument to explain why the label “Celtic music” is controversial in Galicia, and portrays the festival as a place where such music “has a space in the world” (Vélez Barreiro 2012, 216). In spite of the hint given in the title of the article by the phrase “cultural production,” its content does not include related theoretical inquiries.

The IFCW is examined in different ways in longer texts, exclusively focused on the Festival, such as Marina Gorznadova’s, throughout which the IFCW is analyzed as “an example of Galicia’s perpetuation into the modern world” (Grozdanova 2013, 8), based on ethnographic descriptions of IFCW’s concerts (2012-2013) and on the analysis of interviews with some of the members of IFCW programmed bands. Stoneman’s text inquires into the festival as a “modern ritual” (7), as a site where a collective Celtic identity is constructed through music performance at different spaces of the festival, mainly its main stage and the Bar Caracas. Stoneman, a fiddle player and Irish musician himself, inquires into instances of performing at the festival from his own playing and fieldwork experiences (IFCW 2015). Using Ervin Goffman’s concepts of “front region” and “back region” performance (Goffman 1956), as well as Eric Hobsbawm’s “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), Stoneman examines, within the IFCW, the “Celtic imaginary as another way in which identity connects a larger amount of people through false personal believes of connection based off personal experience” (2016, 36). Finally, Campos Calvo-Sotelo, the third longer work on the IFCW so far available, examines Celtic music in Galicia, relating it metaphorically to the figure of the “Trojan horse” (2013, 56-57), as he argues that Celtic music

(...) has had a considerable extra-musical impact in dismantling the orthodox pro-Galician doctrine and replacing it with a fictitious narrative. (...) Classic Galician nationalism would then be pushed to virtual dissolution in an ambiguous and unrealistic sea of “Celticity” leading to the loss of Galicia as a nation (2013, 53)

Campos Calvo-Sotelo shows the IFCW as evidence of the Spanish state’s use of both Celtic music and Celticism, as a political tool to disarticulate separatist Galician political projects. He argues that the state’s interest in disseminating this music throughout Galicia, is reflected in the financial support given to this and not to other musical projects. Indeed, he states, the fact of the IFCW being free of charge and financed by the Spanish state from the very beginning (information that differs from the findings of this dissertation) prove his argument.

Campos Calvo-Sotelo’s views on the IFCW differ from mine in a number of points, which can be summarized as follows: first, my findings regarding the festival organizers’ failed attempts to get continuous financial support for the festival, from the Spanish Government, between 1978 and 1983 (see Chapter 2). Second, people in Ortigueira have struggled to keep the government-managed IFCW from turning it into a World music festival (Chapter 3). And third, Campos Calvo-Sotelo’s views on the IFCW as a state strategy to also activate regions in which “economies are depressed and whose populations are dwindling” (2013, 53) like Ortigueira, are complicated in this dissertation as it was Ortigueiran people themselves who initially proposed this strategy, and, as I argue in Chapter 3, since the appropriation of the festival by the Government of Ortigueira in 1984, the possibilities of the festival as a tool to reach local development have diminished (see Chapter 3).

Campos Calvo-Sotelo findings are more in accord than mine with current discussions on Celticism as a dismantling tool for the political power of the “Celtic fringes” (Miguélez-Carballeira 2013, 7), as well as with some Galician musicians’ views on Celtic music, voiced to me “in the field,” and which claimed that as an instrumental music genre, Celtic music effectively and “musically” silenced the Galician language. Furthermore, the appropriation of the IFCW by the government of Ortigueira in 1984 could actually be used as an argument (beyond specific financial issues) to sustain



Campos Calvo-Sotelo's claims on the Festival as explained above. However, the lack of interest of the government in this socio-musical event (see Chapter 3), together with other issues such as increasing fights among festival-goers, and drugs consumption (Medeiros 2004, 161) ended up leading to a seven-year closure of this socio-musical event (1987-1994). In this way, this dissertation presents a case that dialogues with Campos Calvo-Sotelo's arguments, presenting particular nuances, differences, and historical and geographical changes in the political and economic use of Celtic music in Galicia.

Although the word "Celtic" and the inclusion of "Celtic" music in the festival program since 1978 have both received the outmost attention from Galician, Spanish, and international academic researchers, the location and meaning of the "Celtic" world in specific contexts like the IFCW have gone surprisingly unquestioned. The literature mentioned above, unanimously links the erection of the IFCW in the late 70s to the importance of Celticism for Galician national narratives (dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and authored by Galician intellectuals) in the aftermath of Francisco Franco's regime. The festival and its music are thus put as sonic expressions of such narratives in a linear transaction in which festival founders and organizers are implicitly ignored in their capacity to construct or negotiate alternative angles for a Celtic music imaginary. However, a quick look at the process of spatialization of music at the IFCW (1978-1983), reveals a confluence of different but synchronic approaches to Celticism<sup>5</sup> within the festival space. These include 1) the particular line-up chosen by festival organizers for either aesthetic, ideological or practical reasons (that lead them to include places like Bavaria within their musical "Celtic world"); 2) Celticism, as mentioned above, linked to Galician nationalism; 3) Celticism as an alternative, pro-ecological lifestyle simultaneously but independently experienced within the time/space of the festival by both musicians and audience members alike, due to both, the particular conditions of the festival built and natural environment, and its resonance with contemporary

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<sup>5</sup> My use of the term "Celticism" dialogues with but differs from Michael Dietler's definition (2006, 239). For Dietler, "Celticism consists of self-conscious attempts to construct ethnicized forms of collective memory and communal identity that are territorially bounded and embedded in overt political projects and ideologies" (2006, 239). As I show throughout this chapter, my use of the term includes particular aspects drawn from the Ortigueiran experience, which are not included in Dietler's definition.

Celtic/ecological discourses promulgated throughout Spain by the Spanish Red Guard;<sup>6</sup> and 4) an incipient “Celtic music” label constructed within the Spanish music industry by music journalist and entrepreneur Manuel Dominguez (then a militant of the Communist Party) and his record label Guimbarda. As we will see, all these different Celticisms converged in the IFCW as festival organizers took decisions on (and, in some cases, negotiated with musicians and audience members about) how to build the festival, how to locate music within the festival space, how and which musicians to invite to play, with whom to collaborate in this quest, and under what terms.

### iii. Music Festivals in Context

In Europe, music festivals are events organized by public or private entities, with the goal of showcasing various music performances by solo musicians and/or music groups, to an audience who might pay or not an entrance fee. Festivals tend to last a minimum of two days and may extend for weeks. Invited performers are selected according to specific criteria (i.e. musical genre, place of origin) depending on parameters and mechanisms usually set by the festival organization. In other words, music festivals are often thematic, and tend to focus on specific kinds of music. They vary in size, setting, and attract different audiences. Music festivals are repeatedly celebrated in the same place and time of the year, on either a semiannual, annual, or biannual basis.

The IFCW can be placed within a type of festival commonly referred to as “summer (music) festivals” or “popular music festivals” by all the European and international music industry, scholars (McKay 2015), and the media. They contrast with another type of festival, the European “song festival,” celebrated indoors, carefully staged for both sitting and mediatized T.V./radio audiences, and set as contests with

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<sup>6</sup> The Spanish Red Guard (“*Joven Guardia Roja*” in the Spanish Language), was the youth group of the Spanish communist party PTE (Party of the Workers of Spain). According to a Pina López Gay’s statement (the group’s last leader) given in 1977, the Red Guard “is a Marxist-Leninist youth organization that follows the theory of Scientific Materialism, which ultimate goal is to form a classless society and to succeed in the instauration of communism” (interview with Sebastián García, 1977). Created in 1973, the Red Guard integrated different youth groups such as the Revolutionary University Youth, the Revolutionary High-School Youth, and the Workers and Peasants Youth (Pérez Serrano 2013, 262). Together with other Spanish youth organizations (such as the Union of Maoist Youths), the Red Guard was active in seeking rights for the youth, as a differentiated group, during the Spanish transition to democracy.

cash and other kinds of prizes.<sup>7</sup> Youth music festivals, as I prefer to call “popular music festivals,”<sup>8</sup> are characteristic of the European summer season; among the youth, they are currently one of the markers of what anthropologist Jeremy Boissevain calls the “work-leisure cycle of industrial regime in Europe” (1992). Unlike “song music festivals” youth festivals are celebrated outdoors, they might include (but are rarely focused on) music competitions, and one of their main characteristics is the encounter of large groups of young people, gathered together to musick with fellow festival-goers and onstage musicians, all of whom may or may not lodge in the festival site.

In Spain, youth music festivals lead by the youth started to proliferate during the last years of Franco’s dictatorship (1973-75). They emerged in synchrony with a surge of grassroots associational politics (Davis 2014) and left-wing youth political activism (Pérez Serrano 2013) which both anteceded and followed the Spanish Transition to democracy. Although currently promoted by the Spanish state through state initiatives such as Marca España (“Brand of Spain”) and Sounds from Spain (with a name in English), youth music festivals were initially forbidden or approved under tight censorship and policing conditions (Chapter 2). In this sense, the IFCW is examined here in light of what historian Andrea Davis calls “Spain’s long 68” (Davis 2014, 25-49), a periodization that not only highlights the continuity of socio-political (and socio-musical) processes extending before, during, and after the Transition proper, but also, Spanish grassroots

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<sup>7</sup> Besides the famous and widely studied Eurovision Song Festival (Bohlman 2002; Raykoff and Tobin 2007; Carniel 2017), other famous song festivals in Southern Europe include the *Festival della Canzone Italiana di Sanremo* (preceded Eurovision) (Borgna 1998), the Portuguese *Festival da Canção* (Lopes 2015; César and Tilly 2010), and the Spanish *Festival Internacional de la Canción de Benidorm*.

<sup>8</sup> By calling summer or popular music festivals “youth music festivals,” I aim to pay tribute to the large, changing, diverse, and generationally conscious group of social agents that gave origin to this particular kind of music practice, in different parts of the world, from the 1960s onwards. In Spain, the word “youth” has been explicitly used by both left and right wing political parties from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, in 1936, Trifón Medrano, secretary of the Spanish UJC (*Unión de Juventudes Comunistas* or “Communist Youths”), argued that together with the peasant and working youths, other young people should be called to join the party including students and the middle class youth (Medrano 1936, in Viñas 1978, 50). During Franco’s dictatorship, there were specific institutions focused on the youth, such as the *Frente de Juventudes* (with members ranging from 10 to 20 years old) and the OJE (Spanish Youth Organization).

activists' connections with "transnational influences and ideological trends,"<sup>9</sup> as well as "68-ers formative experience of mobility and transcultural contact" (Davis 2014, 27). Spanish youth music festivals created in the 1970s are also in line with the long 68 as spaces produced and constructed by and for the youth to collectively defy authoritarian and conservative public space regimes. The IFCW in Galicia, Canet Rock in Catalonia, or the Festival de Pueblos Ibéricos in Madrid, are all examples of socio-musical practices through which the youth organized and actively claimed for space (in both rural and urban settings), a space where temporary instances of a different, youth-led social order was, in fact, possible.

Music festivals' potential to annually draw large groups of people to listen to music in the open air, have turned these socio-musical gatherings into interesting arena for politicians, cultural entrepreneurs, business entrepreneurs, the tourism and leisure industries, and researchers from different disciplines alike. These confluence of interests is reflected in the literature on both music festivals and other cultural festivals, in which these are analyzed as propagandistic and disciplinary technologies (Akuupa 2011), as spaces to temporarily disconnect from everyday life routines and responsibilities (Boissevain 1992; O'Grady 2015), as sites for "contestation and democratic debate" (Delanty, Giorgi and Sassatelli 2011, i), and as privileged spaces to inquire into the intricacies of musicking and commercial sponsorship (Dávila 1997, Pier 2009, Guss 2000).

Indeed, in his work *Moments that Shaped the World II* (2013), Cuban artist Adrián Melis epitomized the malleable, contradictory, and complex affordance of youth music festivals as spaces for leisure, social struggle, commodification, and mass consumption. In a video that shows images of the 2011 edition of the Primavera Sound Festival (in Barcelona), Melis plays out audio recordings of the 15-M Movement protests held in

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<sup>9</sup> In particular, Davis makes reference to "Vatican II and the development of Liberation Theology, the old left's adoption of Antonio Gramsci's theory of interclass alliances, and the non-hierarchical structure and anti-capitalist objectives of Autonomist Marxism" (2015, 27).

Barcelona in 2011.<sup>10</sup> The viewer is thus exposed to a crowd of young festival goers, dancing together with joy and carefully dressed for the occasion, while listening to rowdy protesters ask for “union, action, no corruption,” against a background of sirens, things breaking, and small scale explosions produced during the protests (Melis 2013). The easily crossable line of the festival/protest/consumerist divide, is depicted in a Melis’ work that may potentially confuse its audience based on the mutable character of crowds (García 2011, 147).

All in all, Melis’ video is skeptical of the power of transformation of such collective, outdoor encounters. His audiovisual piece dialogues with Graham St John’s analysis of the late 1990s Global Day of Action. Looking at the transnational mobilization that took place “on thirty cities in five different continents coinciding with the Group of Eight meeting in Birmingham, England (on May 16, 1998)” (St John 2008, 167), St John uses the term “protestival” to frame Global Days of Action as “carnavalesque” forms of global protesting. A term coined by “radical technician” John Jacobs (St John 2008, 1968), protestivals are historically situated by St John within the British “free festival cultures” of the early 1970s (169). In contrast with Melis’ critique of both social protest and music festivals as mere “spectacle” (Melis 2013), St John sees Global Days of Action as “unpredictable interventions” that “envelope and destabilize neo-liberal centers and spectacles” (St John 2008, 184).

The findings in this dissertation portray the making of and the “being at” the IFCW as both personally and collectively transformative experiences. They also evidence what Pier calls, in a different context (2009, 15), processes of “resistance to appropriations and restructurings of arts by governments and corporations.” Commercial sponsorship, in particular, has been criticized by Galician musicians, Galician music listeners, and by former Ortigueiran festival makers, for given access to transform the collective meaning of the festival while disregarding its original goals and embedded history (Chapter 3). Specifically, I think, what is at stake here, is a well-grounded critique

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<sup>10</sup> The 15-M Movement, also known as the Movement of the *Indignados* (Spanish for “outraged”), started on May 15, 2011 and it took place in different parts of Spain (see for instance Coca and del Río 2014).

to governmental institutions, for favoring private enterprises over the voices and demands of their own citizens.

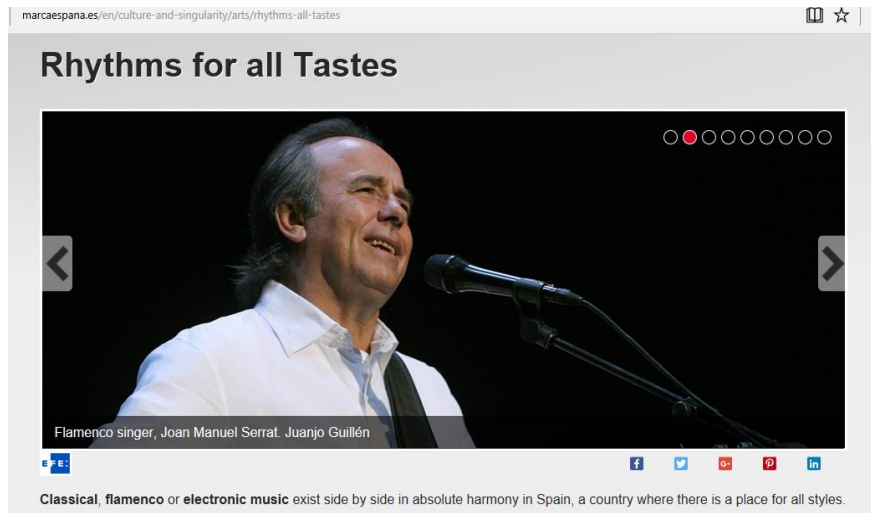
Commercial sponsorship, however, is a complex issue that cannot be reduced to simple binaries. Pier's work on the Senator National Cultural Extravaganza in Uganda, for instance, a music/dance festival sponsored by Ugandan Senator beer company, found its "particular kind of commercial sponsorship salutary for the Ugandan field of cultural production (...)" but without assuming "that commercial sponsorship of culture is always, or usually, benign" (2009, 14). In contrast with the IFCW, in this particular festival participants had to come up with music/dance performances to directly promote the sponsoring beer brand on the stage. Arlene Dávila accounts on *Sponsored Identities: Cultural Politics in Puerto Rico* (1997) exposes a different case in which musics neglected by the Puerto Rican State, such as salsa, reggae, and rap (Dávila 1997, 195) through exclusion from both state organized cultural events and allotted public cultural budgets, are staged publicly through private (mostly beer and cigarette brands) sponsorship. In a more recent discussion, the parliament of Lithuania is debating (as of 2017) whether to approve or not a law to completely ban beer and alcohol advertisements in music festivals and youth concerts, in order to counter their raising levels of alcoholism among the youth. Lithuanian festival organizers have publicly manifest against such measure ("Music Festivals with Less alcohol?" 2017) arguing that that will make it impossible for such events to take place.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, research literature on music festivals has grown vastly (see Getz 2010). In particular, there has been a proliferation of studies from the fields of marketing studies, cultural management, and the tourism and leisure industries. Drawing on the humanities and social sciences, these works have used ethnography as a research strategy to find ways to maximize the profits at music festivals, effectively publicizing them to enlarge audiences, and better respond to the public's expectations whilst lowering production costs (Bowen and Daniels 2004; Ali-Knight *et al* 2008; Morgan 2009; Holloway *et al* 2010; Park 2010). One aspect of great importance in those studies is the classification of festivals as general "events," comparable in administrative terms to other sports or religious large-scale gatherings. In this vein, the new field of Festival Studies has emerged (Getz 2010), including areas of study like cultural

administration, marketing, and tourism, as reflected in the peer review publication *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* (published since January 2010). Annotated bibliographies on music festivals such as Getz (2010) and, in the British context, Webster and McKay's (2016) (this last one is linked to the collective research project *From Glyndebourne to Glastonbury: the Impact of British Music Festivals*), highlight the growing number of texts and approaches to music festival studies. In both of these texts, a list of recommendations for future research is included. Whereas the latter calls for festival music inquires to fill the gap on the "lack of literature about the impact of festivals on musicians" (Webster and McKay 2016), the former proposes the development of research including "participant observation techniques" (Getz 2010, 21). This dissertation contributes, from the particular case of the IFCW, to fill in such gaps.

#### **iv. Music Categories in Galicia**

When I was twelve years old I received a package from Barcelona. It was a birthday present from my uncle and it contained Carlos Nuñez' CD *A Irmandade das Estrelas* (Galician for "The Brotherhood of Stars"). The gift, sent to my home in Bogotá, Colombia, came with a postcard that said: "(...) Carlos Nuñez is a bagpiper from Galicia, he plays Celtic music. Galicia is a Celtic region of Spain. It is located in the northwest (...)" (Jiménez Domínguez, 1991). I never imagined that twenty years later I was going to embark on a project centered on Galicia and on the controversial term "Celtic music." Nevertheless, my uncle's message clearly explained to me that Galicia, which I visited for the first time through Carlos Nuñez' music, was different from the successfully state-driven portrayal of Spain as a musically homogeneous place, a synonym of flamenco.



**Figure 0.1** The Spanish state tendency to equate Spain with flamenco music and dance continues through the Spanish government initiative Marca España (Spanish for “Spain’s Brand”) (www.marcaespana.es). In their Website, Catalan singer-song writer Joan Manuel Serrat is erroneously presented as a flamenco singer. In their music page, Spanish music is portrayed as an exclusive mix of “classical music,” “flamenco music,” and “pop/indie/electronic music” (“Rhythms for all Tastes,” 2015).

According to scholar Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, “the classification of musical phenomena can be used as mechanisms for musical and social differentiation, ideological indoctrination, political control and commercial interests” (2015, 675). This could be clearly seen in the debates I learned about “in the field” (2011-2013) regarding the term “Celtic music.” As a musical category, “Celtic music” is currently rejected by Galician musicians to refer to the music they make, but it is simultaneously used for the international distribution of their music, either through their Websites, in the media, or through their participation in festivals called something “Celtic” (such as Celtic Connections in Glasgow, The Festival Interceltique de Lorient, in Britany, or the Festival Interceltico de Sendim, in Northern Portugal). The term is porous and it often intersects, and is used with or in contrast to other music categories such as “folk music,” “*música popular*” (Galician and Spanish for “Popular Music”), and “traditional music.”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Other terms that have been created to refer to, or to categorize Galician music, include the Galician translation of “folk music” into the Galician language term “*música folque*.” Between 2008 and 2015 Ramón Pinheiro and the team of the Galician music production company *A Central Folque* used the term MPG to name their music school, specialized in “teaching different axis of Galicia’s musical heritage) (“Escola Livre MPG”). MPG stands for “*Música Popular Galega*” (Galician for “Galician Popular Music”)



Nowadays, “Celtic music” may be used in two main ways by Galician musicians: 1) as an umbrella term for Irish, Scottish, Breton, and Welsh “traditional” musics; and 2) as a term to emphasize Galician music as different (from both flamenco and Mediterranean musics) within the context of Spanish music making, to foreign listeners, markets, entrepreneurs, venues, and to the mass media. In Galicia, “Celtic music” was a historically important category (from the late 70s and throughout the 1980s) for Galician performers of what they call “música do país” (Galician for “music of the country [*i.e.* Galicia]”) but it is currently considered by a majority of Galician musicians as too commercial, superficial, and most of all as an inaccurate term to refer to Galician folk, popular, and traditional musics. A preferred alternative, which seeks to avoid the current load of the “Celtic music” term, while simultaneously locating Galician music as culturally, geographically, affectively, and politically connected to Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, is the category “Atlantic music.”<sup>12</sup>

In other words, whereas the use of “Celtic music” as a music genre is not currently accepted by Galician musicians, its use as a place marker for Galician folk/popular musics and musicians is still valid, particularly as a means to support international circulation, distribution, and sales. As mentioned above, “Celtic music” differentiates Galician folk and popular musics from those of the rest of Spain, as it offers

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which in addition to portray the music as “the people’s music” (in the Spanish and Galician meanings of the term), it highlights a link with Lusophone musics for its evocation of the Brazilian term MPB (Ramón Pinheiro, 2013). “Galician Tunes,” term made and used in Galicia in the English language, was launched in the Website [www.galicianunes.com](http://www.galicianunes.com) in 2007. Promoted by the Xunta de Galicia, AGEM (Galician Association of Music Enterprises), and the Association *Músicos ao Vivo* (Galician for “Musicians [playing] live”) the term attempts to be a brand, constructed from the Irish term “tunes,” to promote Galician music internationally. It includes a wide range of “styles,” as they call it in the Website, going all the way from “Celtic music,” to “World music,” “punk,” “Latin,” or “Classical music.”

<sup>12</sup> The geographic “north” (or *norte* in Spanish and Galician languages) and the sea/ocean (including the Cantabric Ocean, which borders with northeastern Galicia) are frequently used by Galician musicians and entrepreneurs to name CDs, businesses, and projects. This is not only due to the relevance of the northern oceans for subjective constructions of Galician identity, but also as an image that signals Galician sailors’ and fishermen/women stratum, the connections within northern Galician villages, and the commercial, historical, and cultural ties with Portuguese speaking regions around the world, with Brittany, Ireland and other northern “neighbors,” and with the Americas. As an example there is the Lusophone Festival Cantos na Maré (Galician for “Festival Songs in the Sea”), Victor Velho’s company Nordesía (a mix between *norte* and *travesía* or “journey”), or Ugia Pedreira, Abe Rábade, and Guadi Galego’s album *Nordestinas* (2005) (something like “Women from the North”).

broad cartographic guidelines to international listeners and entrepreneurs as to where the music is made, including ideas or imaginaries on the location, landscape, weather, and the remote historical and/or mythological past of Galicia. In this sense, “Celtic music” has had a positive impact for the international circulation of Galician music and it has served as a bridge for Galician musicians to open up space for their musics in international festivals, record labels, and music collections that use the word “Celtic.” However, the blurred view communicated by the term “Celtic music,” the ongoing historical and archeological questions and debates on Galicia’s Celtic past, and international record labels’ increasing use of the term “Celtic music” to include New Age musical practices (Stokes and Bohlman, 2003: 10) have led Galician musicians to create new, and to their eyes and ears, less commercial and more appropriate music categories. In the table below I present the defining aspects that I learned about in the context the IFW, regarding categories such as folk/folque music, traditional music, and Celtic music. The information presented in this table is a synthesis of the interviews, and conversations I had with Galician musicians, residents of Ortigueira, and festival-goers (all of whom I refer to as my “collaborators,” as recorded in my field notes and interview transcriptions).

Folk/Folque Music	Traditional Music	Celtic Music
<p>Frequently used by record labels, musicians, musicians’ managers/booking agents, music festivals, music journalists, music listeners, music libraries, music researchers</p> <p>Frequently described by collaborators using words like: fusion, “<i>mestizaxe</i>,” hybrid, transcultural</p>	<p>Frequently used by record labels, musicians, music festivals, music journalists, music listeners, music libraries, and music researchers</p>	<p>Rarely used by musicians to categorize Galician music, often rejected, changed for “Atlantic music”</p> <p>Sometimes used by musicians to name compositions that mix rhythms like, for instance, an Irish <i>jig</i> and a Galician <i>muñeira</i></p> <p>Frequently used by record labels, musicians’ managers/booking agents, music festivals, music journalists, and sometimes by music researchers. For distribution purposes</p> <p>Frequently used by collaborators as an umbrella term to refer to</p>

		<p>Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and Brittany's music</p> <p>In 2013, some Galician music producers wanted to attempt to locate Galician music within the "Celtic music" stand, and not the Spanish music stand, at WOMEX 2014, in Santiago de Compostela</p>
<p>Its emergence is located by collaborators as related to the creation of the Galician group Milladoiro in the late 1970s</p>	<p>Described by collaborators as having a long history. To be "traditional" a Galician music practice has to be at least a century old (López 2013, interview with author)</p>	<p>From the late 70s and early 80 described as inter-changeable with Galician folk music. In this stage, its emergence is linked to Milladoiro, Emilio Cao, Doa, and to the IFCW. Described as a commercial label used only for distribution purposes from the 1990s onwards</p>
<p>Newly composed repertoire. Described by collaborators as "re-elaborations" from traditional music pieces</p>	<p>Repertoire described by collaborators as passing orally from generation to generation</p>	<p>In relation to Galician music, described by collaborators as newly composed repertoire in the late 70s and early 80s.</p> <p>In relation to Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and Brittany's music, described as both re-elaborations and repertoire learned orally from previous generations</p>
<p>With new instrumentation but a more or less set musical formation (Guitar/Bouzouki, bagpipes, wind instruments, drums/hand percussion, sometimes fiddle, accordion, zanfona)</p>	<p>With Galician "traditional" instrumentation (see Carpinteiro 2010)</p>	<p>In relation to Galician music: In the late 70s and early 80s, with new instrumentation. Open to experimentation.</p> <p>According to some Galician musicians, at the beginning (late 70s, 1980s), if a Galician group used whistles, or a Celtic harp it was often classified as "Celtic music." But nowadays, those instruments are included in the Galician (folk/popular) music palette</p>
<p>Percussion section frequently played with double skin drums, or hand percussion. When played with drum-set, "this should be thought of as a percussion</p>	<p>Percussion section played with Galician drums (see Carpinteiro 2010), often with <i>caixa</i>, bass drum, and/or tambourine. Also <i>cunchas</i>, <i>cucharas</i>, and other objects (<i>ibid</i>). Synthetic drum-heads: create controversy, left</p>	<p>Often with boh dram but flexible percussion instrumentation. In the early IFCW the presence of a drum-set was a motive to exclude a band from being invited</p>

instrument” (Saburrido 2013, interview with author)	out by some Galician musicians as “non-traditional” and “non-Galician”	
Acoustic	Acoustic	Acoustic & electric/synthesizers
Groups referred to as “folk” by collaborators were from different places, including Galicia	Groups referred to as “traditional” by collaborators were from Galicia	Groups referred to as “Celtic music” by collaborators were from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, and other places but rarely from Galicia
Used frequently to describe the music of the IFCW by collaborators	Used by collaborators to mention what the IFCW (2011-2013) official program was lacking	Used by collaborators to describe their expectations of where invited bands to the IFCW should come from (as an index of location)
When danced at the IFCW: jumping, spontaneous	When danced at the IFCW: “set,” previously learned, steps	When used to refer to Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Brittany’s music, danced at the IFCW with both set and spontaneous steps
At the IFCW: located by collaborators on the main stage, the Bar Caracas, Fredi’s Bar, and the Beach of Morouzos	At the IFCW: located by collaborators on the Bar Caracas, Fredi’s Bar, on the streets, and on the Beach of Morouzos	At the IFCW: sometimes, located by collaborators on the main stage and on the inside of the Bar Caracas
Described by collaborators as authentic, respecting traits from traditional music but adding a personal aesthetic	Described by collaborators as authentic (and by some as “inauthentic” if martial bagpipes or synthetic drum-head drums were present)	When used to refer to Galician music: described as authentic in the late 70s and early 80s, but as inaccurate from the 90s onwards

## v. The Celticism Project

This dissertation was developed within a larger project entitled *Celticism and its Musical Repercussions in Galicia and Northern Portugal (2011-2014)*, coordinated by Dr. Salwa El Shawan Castelo-Branco and Dr. Susana Moreno Fernández, and funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (commonly referred to, in the Portuguese language, with the initials FCT). This was a large international research project developed by a team of professional anthropologist and ethnomusicologists from both Spain and Portugal, as well as by graduate students like myself. I was awarded a four-year grant as a Research Assistant for this ethnomusicological/anthropological initiative, which in addition to help me with a monthly salary supported the acquisition

of relevant books, facilitated the presentation of related papers at international conferences, and paid for all my fieldwork expenses. This stability not only made possible the realization of this dissertation, but It also made me very conscious of my own personal conditions as opposed to most of the people I interviewed, as the time of my research coincided with the Spanish and Portuguese financial crises, which had a significant impact on the professional and personal life of most of the musicians and music agents I met.

This moment of crises, of transition, and in a lot of cases of unemployment, was also a moment of pause, and of carrying personal and collective reflections on musical histories and trajectories for most of my collaborators. All the musicians I met in the field (2011-2013) wanted to talk, to reflect, and to discuss possible solutions for the complicated situation they were facing. Although in 2011 I carried on fieldwork for the Celticism Project in Portugal and Spain,<sup>13</sup> the rest of the time my fieldwork was exclusively related to this dissertation. After each fieldwork period, I wrote a report which I shared in written form and I later presented in person at the annual meetings held with all the members of the project in Lisbon, Portugal. For the project, I also transcribed a number of interviews done by Dr. Castelo-Branco, Dr. Moreno Fernández, and Dr. Cámara Landa throughout Galicia. I contributed to compile a comprehensive bibliography on music and Celticism, as well as a bibliography on music festivals. This transcription/compiling process put me in touch with insights that proved important in preparation for my own research. I was allowed total freedom to develop my dissertation proposal. In addition to the present work, my research results for the project include the elaboration of an article on the IFCW which will be part of an edited volume, containing the contributions of all the members of the Celticism project, to be published in the Spanish, Portuguese, and English languages.

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<sup>13</sup> In Portugal I went to the “Celtic Day,” celebrated in Sintra, and to the Interceltic Festival of Sendim, in Northern Portugal. In Spain I did fieldwork at the Arde Lucus Festival, a celebration where the city of Lugo, in Galicia, is filled by people dressed as Romans and Celts (and where Celtic weddings, baptisms, and other rituals are celebrated). In all the places just mentioned, I did participant observation and conducted ethnographic interviews with musicians, ritual “masters,” and audience members alike, in both Portuguese and Spanish languages.

## vi. The “Fiesta-scape” of Ortigueira

Throughout this dissertation, I argue that the IFCW repeats and reasserts the possibility of being local, locally, and being different. As founder of, and actor in, the festival space, the *Escola de Gaitas* has been central to the social production and construction of a different Ortigueira. This alternate dimension of the town, repeated yearly in the month of July since 1978, can be characterized by its youth culture, its collective living experience in outer public and private (restaurants and bars) space, its crowdedness, its sonic space filled with the sound of the Galician bagpipe, and as a gathering point for Galician, Spanish, and international musicians. Locality is understood here in Arjun Appadurai’s sense, as “a structure of feeling” produced by historical events, that is sustained in time through the hard and regular work of “local subjects” using available technologies within a shared context (1996).<sup>14</sup> Unlike everyday Ortigueira, the Ortigueira of the festival is profane and, even despite the growing control of the Government of Ortigueira, local musicians akin to the *Escola* have made a yearly effort to decentralize the up down direction of political power within the festival space through Galician musicking.

If one compares the IFCW with the other major celebration held in Ortigueira during the summer season, this alternative sense of locality of the Ortigueira of the IFCW becomes clear. In the summer months, Ortigueira, as the rest of the region of Ortelgal, celebrates its Saint Patron fiesta: the fiesta of *Santa Marta de Ortigueira*. The IFCW takes place first, and a week later comes the fiesta (July 27-31). Like most celebrations in Ortigueira, the fiestas are framed by Catholicism. Its location in the annual calendar, the symbols used (sculptures of Catholic saints usually housed at the local church), and the central role played by the Catholic mass and the church (its space and with its bells, its setting of time), all assert and reinforce the role of the Catholic Church in the social life of Ortigueira.

The Saint Patron fiesta lasts for five days. During the two years that I stayed for this celebration (2012 and 2013) dress codes varied depending on the day and the time

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<sup>14</sup> The phrase “structure of feeling,” used in Appadurai’s definition, was first coined by Raymond Williams. See Williams’ *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (1980, 24-26).

of the day but I perceived them to be, in general terms and compared to the fashion style of the IFCW, very formal. Carefully prepared attires were worn, with high heels for girls and women. Neatly arranged hairstyles and make up, new- looking blouses, dresses, shirts, and suit pants were all an important part of a display shared, almost exclusively, with close family members, other residents of Ortigueira, and returning migrants who visited Ortigueira for this celebration. The entire time of the fiestas was spent with family members, friends from the *cuadrilla* (this is a long term group of friends from people's school time), and Ortigueiran "neighbors" (as residents of this town call themselves). Strangers like myself had to adapt to the celebration, following its strict structuring of space and time. In fact, during the fiesta, everyone knew what was going to happen where and when. In order to share parts of the celebration I waited to be invited to join in, something I was fortunated it happened, as I felt this to be an intimate and socially closed moment, not directly related with what I had announced publicly to be the focus of my research in Ortigueira (the IFCW), and therefore, I did not want to undermine people's confidence on me nor on the object of my research.

During the fiestas, Spanish, rather than Galician national symbols, were displayed. Spanish flags adorned the balconies of the houses of the town. The Spanish anthem was played by the Symphonic Band of Ortigueira to open and close religious processions, and pasodobles, fandangos, and other Spanish and Latin American rhythms were listened and danced throughout the day. The Galician anthem and flag were both mostly absent from the fiesta. They only appeared on June 30 for the Day of the Immigrant, a celebration that honors Ortigueiran migrants living in other parts of Spain, Europe, or Latin America, where the Cuban Virgin of the *Caridad del Cobre* was taken into a procession that strategically walked through Ortigueira's Street of Cuba. Galician bagpipe music was only performed by the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* at punctual times of the day, as they have gained a space among the symphonic band parades of the 28, 29, and 30 of July. Bagpipe music repertoire was also heard on July 31, the day of the *jira*, when the entire town went to the Beach of Morouzos to have a picnic with their group of friends under the shades of pine trees.

The fiesta of *Santa Marta de Ortigueira* could be thought of as an act of localization, as a ritual "intended to produced local subjects," that "inscribes locality into

its participants' bodies" through a carefully orchestrated yearly process of repetition (Appadurai, 1996: 179). As Appadurai has explained it, rituals are "records of the myriad ways in which small-scale societies do not and cannot take locality as a given. Rather, they tend to assume that locality is ephemeral unless hard and regular work is undertaken to produce and maintain its materiality" (1996: 180). In the case of Ortigueira, and even though the fiestas are part of the Ortigueiran social life from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this assertion of locality, of order, cleanliness, of public behavior ruled by Catholic morals and values, of the structuring in time and place of social life, of the reassertion of Ortigueira as linked to Spain rather than to Galicia, all seem to acquire a particularly additional meaning in the face of the IFCW. I can adventure to argue that the festival was strategically scheduled to take place before the fiestas from 1979 onwards (in 1978 Xavier Garrote set the date of the first edition of the festival within the saint patron fiestas), as a way of reasserting what being Ortigueiran was throughout the Gregorian calendar, under the eyes of governmental and religious hegemonic powers, and beyond the utopian Ortigueira of the IFCW.

One of the most recurrent questions I got during the fiesta of *Santa Marta de Ortigueira* was whether I preferred the fiesta or the music festival. My answer always was that I liked both the same. When I asked back the same question I was surprised to learn that most people preferred the music festival (all my acquaintances in Ortigueira were related to the *Escola de Gaitas* in different ways). I was surprised to hear this as pretty much everyone I spoke to in Ortigueira was very critical of the current state of the festival. But beyond their personal frustration with the IFCW they still felt more sympathy towards it, than towards the saint patron celebration, as the festival, they said, was different and it belong to them.

It is easy to see the discontinuity of the Ortigueira of the IFCW and the continuity of the Ortigueira of the fiestas, in relation to everyday Ortigueiran social life. I was in the IFCW during the 2011, 2012, and 2013 editions. During the IFCW Ortigueira was full of unknown people. Young Ortigueiran residents did not hang out with their families but with their group of friends, or they even made new friends among the hundreds of thousands of young Galician, Spanish, and international festival goers. Personal presentation was really relaxed, with sporty items like sneakers, sweatshirts, and



sweatpants. The church was completely absent from the music festival, and the use of time and space, even despite the music programming set by festival organizers, was spontaneously chosen by festival goers. The high consumption of alcohol and drugs played a role in festival goers' chaotic use of space. Galician traditional music was heard all day everywhere in Ortigueira. Galician flags were displayed by a large number of festival goers and the Galician anthem, one of the most emotional musical moments heard from the stage, was, as it has been done from the foundation of the festival, played from the stage by the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* while sang by hundreds of thousands of audience members. Local residents had particular meeting points to gather with their Ortigueiran friends, and local musicians and dancers concentrated on the Bar Caracas and, from 2013, on the Beach of Morouzos. Not all young Ortigueiran people were allowed to go to the beach, as this is known as a place of sexual, drug, and alcohol-related initiation for the youth. The Beach of Morouzos was full of tents, and the entire town summoned in a festive ambience of euphoria.

The Ortigueira of the IFCW was also a completely different town from everyday Ortigueira in that it appeared in the media. In that context, Ortigueira was portrayed as a place with a thick music history authored by Ortigueiran people themselves. Under Appadurai's views mentioned above, the IFCW was a reminder that Ortigueira could be symbolically constructed and represented to the world by its own citizens. Although increasingly commercialized and privatized, the repeated effort made by Ortigueiran residents to cede their town for this radical transformation serves as a way of re-scaling an uneven geo-political hierarchy that inscribes in festival goers' bodies, both local and non-local, that Ortigueira can be "big," a center, and that it can still be projected towards the future.

## **vii. Ortigueira**

In geopolitical terms, Spain is presently constituted by Autonomous Communities and Galicia is one of them. The time-frame of this dissertation extends from November of 1975 to 2013, and thus develops through significant socio-political processes which, among other things, resulted in the political transformation of Galicia from a region, tied to a centralist government and where the Galician language was

banned, into a political entity with its own language<sup>15</sup> and governing institutions. Political events that led to this transformation throughout the Spanish territory include the death and subsequent fall of Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), the Transition to democracy (1975-1978), the establishment of a parliamentary democracy in Spain (1978), the approval of the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia by the Spanish General Courts (the legislature of Spain) in 1981, and the ensuing instauration of Galicia's own governing institutions including the Galician Parliament (legislature of Galicia), the *Xunta de Galicia* (Galician executive branch), the *Tribunal Superior de Xustiza* (Galician justice branch), the *Valedor do Pobo* (Galician ombudsman's office), and the *Consello da Cultura Galega* (Galician culture's office).<sup>16</sup>

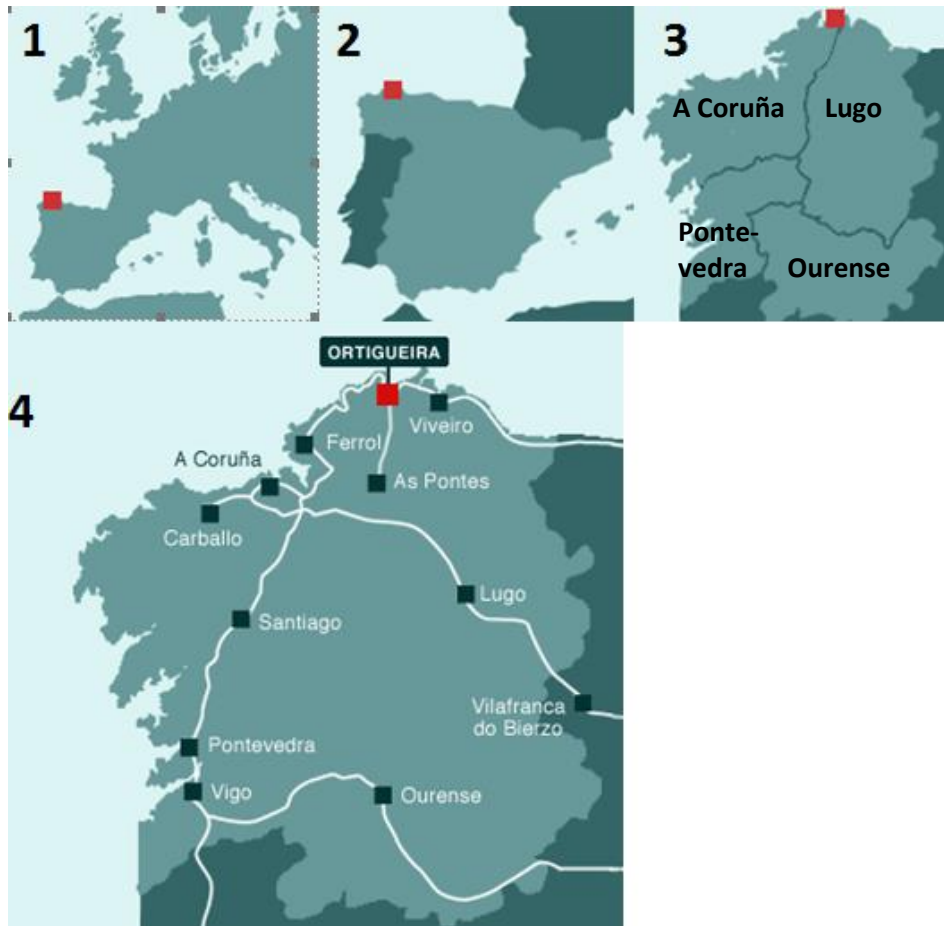
Furthermore, following a legal framework given by the Spanish Constitution of 1978 (Article 3), the Galician Statute of Autonomy of 1980 (Article 5), and the Law of Galician Normalization of 1983 (del Valle, 2000: 109), Galicia was "conceived of as a community with two co-official languages [Galician and Spanish] in which individuals" were free "to use either language in any domain" (*ibid*). Detractors of this bilingual legal framework, and its actual implementation by public institutions, have claimed that "under the present conditions, the co-existence of Galician and Spanish perpetuates the decline of the former; and therefore they demand affirmative actions that guarantee the dominance of Galician" in both the public and private realms (Del Valle, 2000: 106).

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<sup>15</sup> Language issues in Galicia cannot be reduced to simplistic Spanish vs Galician discourses and modes of understanding. According to Galician scholar José del Valle "Galicians do not want to choose between identity A and B and their associated Galician reflexes." In fact, "not only do they not want to choose between Galician and Spanish but they want to maintain the multiple norms available to them: Standard Galician, local Galician norms, code-mixing and code-switching norms, the diglossic norm, Galician Spanish, and Standard Spanish (2000: 128). In del Valle's view, this "linguistic hybridity (...) has become one of the cultural institutions that make up Galician identity" (*ibid*). Furthermore, unlike the ruling linguistic policies and laws, "the language attitudes and linguistic behavior of Galicians are grounded in the linguistic culture of heteroglossia: acceptance of multiple norms and resistance to convergence" (del Valle, 2000: 130).

<sup>16</sup> This is of course a simple chronological (and not comprehensive) guide for the reader and it neither reflects the historical duration nor the complexity of the political processes that took place in Spain, or its particularities in Galicia, between 1975 and 1981. For a deeper overview of the processes that developed in this period of time see Aguilar Fernández 2002; Aguilar 2008; Alonso and Muro 2011; Andrade Blanco 2012; Baby 2012; Barahona de Brito *et al* 2001; Brassloff 1998; Castro Torres 2010; Gallego Margaleff 2008; Martín García and Ortíz Heras 2010; Radcliff 2011; Sánchez-Cuenca 2009; Villares 2004: 441-450.

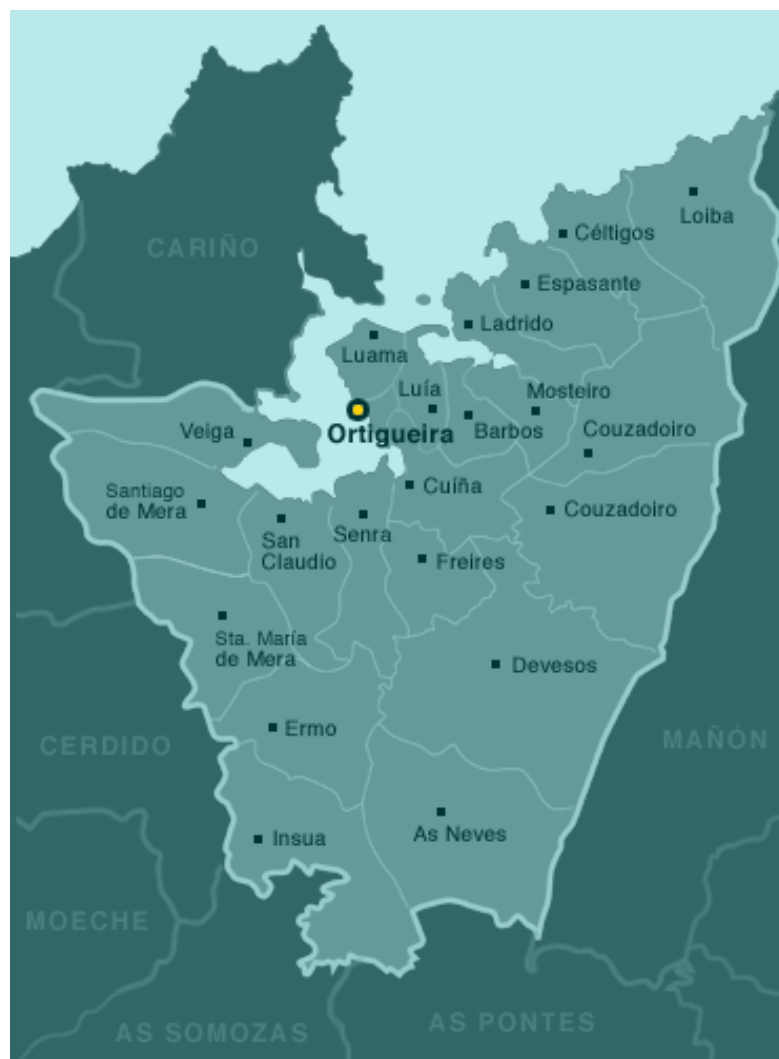
Forbidden during Franco’s regime, the institutional implementation of Galician following the dictator’s death took longer than its initial 1978 approval. For instance, as shown in Chapter 2, letters written in the Galician language between 1978 and 1983 by IFCW organizers, were systematically returned by the Galician governmental authorities they were addressed to, with an expressed request of re-writing them in Spanish.



**Figure 0.2** In red: **1.** Ortigueira in Europe; **2.** Ortigueira in the Iberian Peninsula; **3.** Ortigueira in Galicia (with the four Galician provinces); and **4.** Ortigueira and its accessing roads (Maps taken from the Website of the Government of Ortigueira).

Nowadays, as an Autonomous Community, Galicia is divided in four provinces and all the places examined in this dissertation are part of the province of A Coruña. That province is subdivided in smaller units called *comarcas*, and my research on the IFCW was located in the *Comarca* of Ortegá. Ortegá is further divided into four *municipios*, and Ortigueira is one of them. The *Municipio* of Ortigueira is composed by twenty-two *parroquias* or parishes, including the town of Santa Marta de Ortigueira

(called here Ortigueira) and the neighboring towns of Espasante, Cuiña, or Ladrado, among others. These three parishes (Santa Marta de Ortigueira, Espasante, and Cuiña) were highlighted in my research by my main collaborators in Santa Marta de Ortigueira, the members of the bagpipe quartet Os Devotos. These were the main places (although not the only ones) where they rehearsed, performed, and gave music and dance lessons. Although I rarely visited Ladrado, its bagpipe band, directed by Juan Barcón (former member of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* and bagpipe teacher at the Municipal School of Ortigueira) was always present in celebrations and parades in Santa Marta de Ortigueira, and therefore, I added it to the aforementioned triad.



**Figure 0.3** The parishes of the *Municipio* of Ortigueira with [Santa Marta de] Ortigueira in yellow (map taken from the Website of the Government of Ortigueira).

As the capital of the comarca of Ortegal, [Santa Marta de] Ortigueira is home to all the regional public buildings (the public schools, the public library, the public theater, the public music school, and the public sports and health facilities). Musical activities in Ortigueira are centered on either the Municipal Music School of Ortigueira, a public institution modeled after the music conservatory, or on grassroots managed cultural associations. Folk/traditional music activities are developed in this town by members of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, in Espasante (Ortigueira) by the Cultural Association *Gamelas e Anduriñas* (which often collaborates with the *Escola*), and in Ladrido (Ortigueira) by the Bagpipe Band of Ladrido. It is possible to learn to play the bagpipe at either of these places, although at the Municipal Music School it is mandatory to learn how to read scores (Barcón 2012, interviewed with author).

As the number of music venues and events in Ortigueira was small, musicians' life and activities took place throughout a large number of places in the *Comarca* of Ortegal, as well as in the nearby *comarcas* of Eume and Trasancos. Thus, my fieldwork highlighted this triad of *comarcas* as the space of the "local" with respect to the agents involved in Galician musicking in Ortigueira. However, in terms of the music repertoire played, learned, and taught in this town by Galician music performers, the "local" went beyond such triad and it included different parts of Galicia. In fact, Galician music was located by them not only in geographical terms (linking particular music pieces to their place of origin or to the place where they were "collected" or memorized by either folklorists or musicians), but also in a common and embodied territory, located in elderly musicians' memories of the past, and knowledge of current musical practices.

The population of the *Municipio* of Ortigueira has been slowly shrinking through the years. While Santa Marta de Ortigueira has kept a population of around 1800 inhabitants (1813 in 1981 and 1836 in 2001), Espasante, Ladrido, and Cuiña have gone from having 908, 532, and 405 residents in 1981, respectively, to 817, 395, and 336 in 2001 ("Censo de la Población de España. Provincia de La Coruña" 1981, 214-283; Instituto Galego de Estadística, "Parroquias," 2001). Current numbers are even lower and depopulation is a main concern of the ruling government, as can be heard in their plenary sessions, uploaded monthly or bimonthly in a YouTube channel of the Government of Ortigueira called *Plenos Orteganos 2015-2019* ("Plenary Sessions 2015-2019") (<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCeTSHotZBwY3udOvty909oA/featured>).

According to the Galician Institute of Statistics, IGE, the *municipio* of Ortigueira is made out of “low” and “super-low” populated parishes (all of them marked as ZPP or “low populated zones”) with a low to medium degree of urbanization (Instituto Galego de Estadística, “Parroquias:” 2001). Coinciding with IGE’s classification of this area as “rural,” given its low population density (*ibid*) and in spite of the low agricultural and fishing related work-activity,<sup>17</sup> all the residents of Ortigueira I spoke to described their area of residency as rural. Ortigueira, referred in written form as a *villa* or town, was called orally (by Ortigueiran residents) with the Galician and Spanish word “*pueblo*,” meaning, village.

The *municipio* of Ortigueira is located in northwestern Galicia. Fourteen out of its twenty-two parishes touch the Atlantic Ocean through the Ría (Spanish and Galician for “sea inlet”) of Ortigueira. Summers tend to be rainy and towns do not get overcrowded with tourists during this season, as it often happens in some points of the southern and eastern coasts of Spain. Although Ortigueira was repeatedly described to me by its residents as isolated and far from everything, there are deep personal connections with other parts of Galicia, Spain, Europe, and Latin America, as migration to these areas has been part of the Ortigueiran (and Galician) social life of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. As it happens in rural areas throughout Galicia, summer is a season of reencounters with returning family members and friends studying, working, or living outside, and so bars and restaurants open more frequently and for longer periods of time. In Ortigueira, the IFCW and the Patron Saint fiestas of different neighborhoods and parishes mark an intensive calendar of local summer celebrations. The summer season also means larger revenues for the hotel and service sectors, and it is thus easier for Ortigueiran residents to find temporary employment opportunities and to save some money for the following months, during this time of the year.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Among the active, working population, agricultural activity in the parishes of Ortigueira, Cuiña, Ladrado and Espasante ranges from 4 to 13% and fishing activity from 4 to 26% (Instituto Galego de Estadística, “Parroquias:” 2001). Contrastingly, jobs in what the IGE calls the “service sector” (including commercial activities, tourism, scientific and artistic activities, managing activities, jobs in the transportation sector, communications and information jobs, and domestic and health related employment) range between 42 and 66%. Employment in the construction sector ranges from 8 to 22%, and in the industrial sector from 8 to 22% (*ibid*).

<sup>18</sup> Although unemployment rates between 2011 and 2014 were high in the province of A Coruña, where Ortigueira is located, they were still lower than the national average. For instance, in 2012, unemployment

## viii. Methodology

### viii. 1 Doing Field and Archival Research

In 2011 I went to the IFCW for the first time, and I enrolled in its free of charge Galician Bagpipe Reed Making Workshop in order to make contacts with musicians and audience members alike. In this preliminary visit, my research only included participant observation during the festival and I exclusively visited the spaces and events specified in the official program of this music event. I was mostly in contact with audience members, including my classmates from the workshop, a fellow researcher from the Celticism project (Spanish musicologist Javier Campos Calvo-Sotelo), my colleague Susana Belchior (Belchior and Losa 2010) from the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa* who visited the festival with the Galician group *Luar Na Lubre*,<sup>19</sup> and with Nacho, a Galician street musician and a frequent festival-goer with whom I travelled from Ortigueira to Santiago de Compostela, as he drove me back in his van/home. I stayed in a hotel in the neighbor town of Cuiña and I walked daily to Ortigueira (leaving Cuiña at 9am and returning at 2 or 3am). In preparation for this first visit, I watched the video tapes of previous editions of the IFCW, recorded by Dr. Susana Moreno Fernandez and Dr. Enrique Cámara Landa (both members of the Celticism project). These were kept at the Institute of Ethnomusicology, Music, and Dance (INET-MD) of the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, my home institution and the research center where the Celticism project was based. My first approach to the festival was thus influenced by these recordings, which captured most of the music concerts held at the main stage of the IFCW, and included

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in A Coruña was 18.5% but in Spain it reached the 25% (in 2007 unemployment levels for both A Coruña and Spain were at 8.5%). Youth unemployment levels were dramatically high throughout the Spanish territory. In 2012 the province of A Coruña was below the national average in this respect, having a 45.48% unemployment level for both the male and female youth, in contrast with the 53.16% youth unemployment level of Spain (Xunta de Galicia, 2014: 147-148).

<sup>19</sup> Susana Belchior, in addition of being a doctoral student at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, was deeply involved with the Portuguese and Spanish Irish music scene as a both a dancer and musician (up to 2013). At the IFCW Susana introduced me to different people like the Portuguese singer Sara Vidal (then in charge of the leading vocals of the Galician group *Luar na Lubre*) and to English/Irish fiddle player and dancer Hannah Kitts (member of the Galician band Böj, which I repeatedly met in subsequent editions of the IFCW).

filmed walks through different festival areas such as the crafts market, and the bagpipe band concerts and parades. I later added my 2011 tapes to this particular archive.

My subsequent research on the IFCW was very different from this initial immersion. Methods included:

- Participant observation 2013:
  - Galician Connection: Galician music workshop, Santiago de Compostela (Cristina Pato, organizer).
  - Analysis of Traditional Galician Music: Galician music workshop, Santiago de Compostela (Sergio de la Ossa, teacher).
  - Voice lessons: *A Central Folque*, Santiago de Compostela (from April to July).
  - Percussion lessons: *A Central Folque*, Santiago de Compostela (from April to July).
  - IFCW, Ortigueira.
  - Composition of Traditional Galician Music: workshop, Ortigueira (Ernesto Campos, teacher).
  - Rehearsals of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, Ortigueira (for the IFCW).
  - Rehearsals of the Dance Group of the Cultural Association Gamelas e Anduriñas, Ortigueira (for the IFCW).
  - Dance lessons at the Cultural Association Gamelas e Anduriñas, Espasante, Galicia.
  - Participation with the beginners' dance group of the Cultural Association Gamelas e Anduriñas at the *Festival Entremareas*, Espasante, Galicia.
  - *Fiesta de la Fraga*, As Pontes, Galicia.



- *Fiesta de Santiago*, Cuiña, Galicia.
- *Fiesta de Santa Marta*, Santa Marta de Ortigueira.
- Participant observation 2012:
  - Music lessons at the *Central Folque* (observation without participation): diatonic accordion, violin (fiddle), Galician bagpipe, and traditional percussion (drum and bass drum), Santiago de Compostela.
  - *Fiesta de San Antón*, Espasante, Galicia.
  - Music concerts organized at the *Escuela Municipal de Música de Ortigueira*.
  - Rehearsals and participation in the rehearsals (bass drum) of the traditional Galician music group *Os Devotos* (Espasante/Ortigueira).
  - Rehearsals of the *Grupo Celta*, at the *Escuela Municipal de Música de Ortigueira* (for the IFCW).
  - Music and dance lessons at the Cultural Association Gamelas e Anduriñas (traditional dance and pandereita).
  - *A Gaita no Folclore Tradicional Galego*: workshop/conference, Ortigueira.
  - Rehearsals of *Escola de Gaita de Ortigueira* (for the IFCW).
  - Rehearsal of the Dance Group of the Cultural Association Gamelas e Anduriñas (for the IFCW).
  - IFCW
  - *Fiesta de la Fraga*, As Pontes, Galicia.
  - *Fiesta de Santiago*, Cuiña, Galicia.
  - *Fiesta de Santa Marta*, Santa Marta de Ortigueira.

- Participant observation 2011:
  - 12<sup>o</sup> Festival Intercéltico de Sendim 2011, Terras de Miranda, Portugal.
  - IFCW
  - Arde Lucus, Lugo, Galicia
  - Día Celta, Casa del Fauno, Sintra, Portugal.
- Ethnographic interviews
- Archival research.

In 2012 and 2013 I arrived to Ortigueira before the festival (usually held in mid-July) and I stayed through its celebration and the celebration of the local Patron Saint fiestas (June 7 to August 7, 2012; July 6 to August 6, 2013). I also stayed in Santiago de Compostela (February 2012; April 5, 2013 to July 5, 2013) and frequently visited nearby towns when need it (to meet musicians, festival goers, to look for documents, to do interviews, and to go to concerts and celebrations). As I focused on the relationship between local, Ortigueiran musicians and the IFCW, the space of the festival expanded beyond its official program in terms of all, agents, places, and time. Although I kept on filming and taking pictures, I changed the video camera for a smaller digital camera, and I took shorter, although frequent shots. I also relied more on sound recording than on video recording. These changes facilitated my “being in the present,” and they also helped me to document what I needed, while changing the act of recording from the foreground to the background.

I conducted forty open-ended interviews with people who had participated as either musicians, instrument makers, organizers, or as recurring audience members at the IFCW. I also interviewed music managers and producers associated with both the festival and the Galician folk/ traditional music industry. I was especially interested in interviewing the founders of the IFCW and the Ortigueiran residents who performed or played a role in the making of the first years of the festival (1978-1983), as I aimed at writing an oral history of this initial process for Chapter 1. In all these cases, an interview guide was developed with the specific goal of eliciting interviewees' spatial-affective

memories of the IFCW. The names of the interviewees/collaborators that appear in this dissertation, are the names that each of them asked me to use (and so, depending on their choice, I only wrote their first name, either complete or as a nickname, or their name with the first, and in some cases also with the second surname). These interviews were carried in different parts of Galicia and Spain between 2012 and 2014 (including Santiago de Compostela, Ortigueira, Vigo, Tui, Vila García de Arousa, Rianxo, Cariño, Espasante, As Pontes, and Pontevedra in Galicia, and in other parts of the country such as Madrid, Oviedo, Gijón, and Burgos). They lasted between an hour and a half and two hours, and they often included looking at (and getting copies of) personal memorabilia (photo albums, letters, accounting documents, newspaper articles, posters, and music programs). I got verbal permission to use, and to include those documents for the writing of this dissertation. Interviews were conducted in bars, cafes, and private homes with only myself and the interviewee participating in the process (there were a few exceptions to this: an interview to instrument maker Antón Corral done together with Galician music researcher and entrepreneur Ramón Pinheiro, an interview to Marías where Belén Pérez Pérez, his close friend, was present, one interview carried together with Asturian doctorate Llorián García Flórez, and three collective interviews with the members of the bagpipe school of Ortigueira, with young people from Ortigueira, and with the members of the Japanese group Harmonica Creams). Before the interview, I made sure to let the interviewee know that although my spoken Galician language skills were incipient (reason why I spoke in Spanish), my listening skills were more developed and so they could choose whether to talk to me in the Galician or Spanish language.<sup>20</sup>

Given the importance of all these interviews as sources for this dissertation, I cite them throughout the text specifying the last name of the person interviewed, the year of the interview, and the interviewer's last name. The specific place and day of each interview, together with the language in which the interview took place, are all detailed in the Appendix 8. As only one of these interviews was in English, I translated all the quotations that are included in this text from Spanish and Galician into the English

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<sup>20</sup> This was also one of the first things I did when meeting someone from Galicia, not only for interviews. Various collaborators communicated with me in the Galician language, and as I answered in the Spanish language, our dialogue and emails were permanently multilingual.

language, to facilitate the reading process (I did the same with the quotes from articles and texts).

In 2012 and 2013 I did participant observation at the *A Central Folque* (Santiago de Compostela), the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (Santa Marta de Ortigueira), the Cultural Association *Gamelas e Anduriñas* (Espasante), among the bagpipe quartet Os Devotos (Ortigueira), the music group *Grupo Celta* (Ortigueira), the IFCW, and the Patron Saint Fiestas of the towns of Espasante, Santa Marta de Ortigueira, Cuiña, and As Pontes. I was easily welcomed into all these spaces and music groups. My main contacts were made through both Marías, an Ortigueiran musician and one of the founders of the IFCW, and the net of musicians connected with the Galician music school of *A Central Folque*, a project centered in the study, promotion, and community outreach of Galician music. Based in the Galician capital, Santiago de Compostela, the music school of *A Central Folque* was an important meeting point as I was either introduced to musicians by its Artistic Director Ramón Pinheiro, or I got to meet people directly through the Galician voice and percussion lessons I enrolled in between April and June of 2013. Other ways in which I met my collaborators included the *Galician Connections* event I assisted to in 2013 (Santiago de Compostela), privately sent Facebook and email messages, my annual visits to Galicia, and both the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, and the Cultural Association *Gamelas e Anduriñas*.

Musical participation and my general interest in learning about Galician music and dance in the field, were pivotal for constructing personal ties and closer relationships. In the rehearsals of the group Os Devotos I was frequently assigned (and simultaneously taught) to play the bass drum by Fredi López, one of the members of this group and the president of the Cultural Association *Gamelas e Anduriñas* of Espasante. Fredi also invited me to take part in the Galician dance lessons given by him, for free, to summer visitors in Espasante (2012-2013) and to sit in his Galician voice lessons for children (members of *Gamelas e Anduriñas*). In 2013 I was invited to dance in public with the beginners' dance group of this association for the first edition of the Festival Entre Mareas of Espasante. The dance lessons at the Cultural Association *Gamelas e Anduriñas* were an important opportunity, as they allowed me to learn and shared different dancing experiences, including those at live concerts where Galician and

Breton steps were adapted to dance Irish traditional tunes. In Santiago de Compostela, I performed publicly on three different occasions with the voice ensemble and the percussion ensemble of the Galician music school of A Central Folque. I was also allowed to participate, along with other Galician-voice students of this music school, in the recording of the song "Canto de Monzo/Muñeiras de Florencio," included in Basque musician Kepa Junkera's album *Galiza* (2013). My previous experience as a bassoonist was useful in the context of bagpipe reed-making workshops and discussions, as both instruments shared similar reed making tools and techniques.

In 2012 and 2013, participant observation at the IFCW was focused on its civil-organized music performing spaces (street performances, performances at the Bar Caracas, at the Beach of Morouzos, and at Fredi's Bar in Espasante) but it also included the programmed concerts of the main stage of the festival and all the bagpipe band presentations and parades. These spaces were shown to me as I hung out with Ortigueiran musicians and frequent festival goers, whom I had previously gotten to know by either playing music together, dancing, talking, going to concerts, or taking group music lessons with. Previously developed personal relationships were extremely valuable in many different ways, including the deepening of my research. During the 2012 edition of the IFCW I spent most of the time with Marías and his friends, as well as with Sandra, a resident from Espasante who strived to document the cultural life of this town in her Facebook page "Espasante a Toda Marcha" (Spanish for "Espasante at Full Speed") ([www.facebook.com/espasante.atodamarcha](http://www.facebook.com/espasante.atodamarcha)). Contacts made in Santiago de Compostela also contributed to enriching my knowledge of the IFCW (2013). For instance, Inma, a fellow voice student who travelled yearly with her family from Ourense to Ortigueira in a caravan, and Santi, Inma's close friend and also our classmate at *A Central Folque*, allowed me to share and experience their everyday life at the IFCW. Finally, participant observation at the fiesta of As Pontes, Cuiña, and Santa Marta de Ortigueira (2012-2013) was made next to Marías, his friends, and his bagpipe quartet Os Devotos.

Although I completed the full transcription of all the interviews in 2014, after the conclusion of my fieldwork, all field notes, audio recordings, video recordings, pictures, printed documents, maps, and interview-related material (sound files and notes) were

initially coded and analyzed in the field the day or days immediately after the gathering of the data. I followed Kathy Charmaz' guide to "Coding in Grounded Theory Practice" (2006: 43-73), where the act of coding, or of "categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data" (2006: 43), is divided into initial, synthesis-driven, co-relational, and theoretical steps. This coding and preliminary analysis influenced the re-elaboration of interview guidelines and redefined the focus of qualitative data collection during fieldwork. For instance, through 2011 and the beginning of 2012 the focus of my research was on the meanings and definitions of "Celtic music" and Celticism in general terms, for IFCW founders, Galician musicians, and Ortigueiran festival-goers. However, soon after starting my fieldwork the festival appeared to be a space of conflict for Ortigueiran and Galician musicians, where Celticism was not emerging as a point of interest but categories such as "[Ortigueiran people] building the festival," "[the IFCW] belonging to Ortigueiran people," "[Ortigueiran musicians] trying to play Galician music at the IFCW," or "being disappointed with the current festival and its organizing team," were constantly appearing. In this way, my questions, research goals and areas of inquiry were shaped to respond to the priorities reflected in the codes.

Finally, I conducted archival research at the Arquivo Sonoro de Galicia (Galician for "Galician Sound Archive") and at the Ortigueiran newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*. I also looked into the online archival collections of the Spanish newspapers *El País*, *ABC*, and the *Voz de Galicia*. I went to the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid to look into the now out of print newspaper *Informaciones* and the cultural magazine *Ozono*. For all the newspapers just mentioned (with the exception of *La Voz de Ortigueira*), I looked for articles between the 1970s and 2013, if available, with the keywords "music festival," "Ortigueira," "Celtic music," and "Galician music." I was able to access the archives of *La Voz de Ortigueira* in 2013, after a year waiting to do so, in a small table specially set for me at the shop of *Imprentas Fojo* in Ortigueira (where the newspaper is created, printed, and distributed). Her current owner and director Maricarmen Fojo allowed me to take pictures of all the material, which was given to me in bounded volumes by year. In this newspaper, I looked for articles on the *Escola de Gaitas*, on music in general terms, on fiestas, on the IFCW, and on cultural initiatives developed between 1975 and 2013. Last

but not least, I was at the Arquivo Sonoro de Galicia for about a week (2013). The archive is located at the library of the City of Culture of Galicia and it was then coordinated by Cristina Pujales Prats. Before going to the archive I did a search on their online catalogue under the terms "Celta," "Celt," and "Celtic," aiming to inquire into the uses of these words for categorizing purposes. I asked Ms. Pujales Prats to listen to all the materials that came up after that search. At my arrival she had all the recordings ready, although she told me that there is quite a number of materials at the archive which have not been catalogued, and so they were missing from my list. I listened carefully to the LPs, CDs, and audio cassettes that were available. I took notes of their musical content, the categorization of the recordings as "Celtic music," and the liner notes referring to Celtic-related issues. I took pictures of the jackets of these records and talked to Cristina about the use of those terms by her and other members of the Arquivo Sonoro. I put special attention to the LPs released in the late 70s and early 80s in Manuel Dominguez' label Guimbarda, as this specific collection had been repeatedly mentioned by Galician and Asturian musicians as crucial for their own aesthetic and stylistic "Celtic" influenced choices, for the construction of both Galician and Asturian folk musics.

### **viii.2 Visiting Student and Visiting Researchers' Fields**

As mentioned earlier, research and writing for this dissertation was housed at INET-MD, at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, but took place in different spaces and institutions. In addition to the places already mentioned, I was a Visiting Student at the History Department of the University of Santiago de Compostela (February 2012), at the Institute of Heritage Sciences "INCIPIT" of the Spanish National Research Council, better known as CSIC, in Santiago de Compostela (April to July 2013), at the Department of Ethnomusicology of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (February to April 2014), and at the Anthropology Department of the Institute Milà I Fontanals (CSIC) in Barcelona (November 2015 to November 2016).

Visiting all these institutions facilitated and enriched my knowledge and research. Doing fieldwork in Galicia, for instance, while having a space, library, and a community of researchers available to me at INCIPIT, helped me to reach material,

insights, and to make contacts with people I had been struggling to get in touch with.<sup>21</sup> At CUNY I took classes with ethnomusicologists Jane Sugarman, Peter Manuel, and a short module on fieldwork methods with anthropologist Setha Low. I also contacted linguist José del Valle, director of the Center of Galician Studies of the City University of New York, and I tried, although unsuccessfully, to arrange a concert for the musicians of A Central Folque in this city.

I was also invited to share researchers' fields on specific occasions. In February of 2012, Portuguese Anthropologist Paula Godinho not only helped me to get in touch with Galician historian Lourenzo Fernández Prieto and the Galician rural history research group HISTAGRA, but she also accepted my request to accompany her in the field to learn about her research methods and strategies. I went with Dr. Godinho to the *entroido* or Galician winter carnival celebrations of the *Xenerais da Ulla*, in Marrozos, A Coruña, and to the *entroido* in Maceda, Ourense. Mauro Sanín, from *A Central Folque*, and Xoan Xil López, from the Galician group *Escoitar*, took me to Espasante to accompany them during their research for the European Acoustic Heritage project (April 2013). Finally, Llorián García Flórez, a doctoral student and Asturian bagpiper working on Celtic music in post-Franco Asturias, introduced me to musicians and writers in Asturias (June 2013), and held regular Skype conversations with me to discuss our findings on music and Celticism in Asturias and Galicia (February-May 2013).

## **ix. Dissertation Structure**

This dissertation is divided into four chapters. Each chapter is organized around four particular instances of the Ortigueiran socio-musical life, that highlight different kinds of relationships between local performers of Galician music and the social production of Galician music in Ortigueira: the creation of the *Escola de Gaitas de*

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<sup>21</sup> At INCIPIIT I met (and was under the guidance of) Dr. Cristina Sánchez-Carretero, head of the Anthropology Department of INCIPIIT and co-director of my dissertation. Also, Galician researcher Xose-Lois Armada (INCIPIIT) met me in Ortigueira and helped me to get in touch with the then Counsellor of Culture of Ortigueira Mari Cruz Sabio. Dr. Pablo Alonso led me to a number of texts he had written on Celticism (Alonso *et al*, 2012: 11-31; Alonso y González, 2013: 305-330), and doctoral student Guadalupe Jiménez Esquinas shared her dissertation text with me (Jiménez Esquinas 2017) and she also led me to relevant bibliography (including Jiménez Esquinas 2017, 301-326).



*Ortigueira*, the first six years of the IFCW, the appropriation and management of the IFCW by the Government of Ortigueira, and the “present” (now past, 2011-2013) use of the IFCW by local, Ortigueiran musicians. From the point of view of the methods and sources I used, chapters 1 and 2, on the emergence of the *Escola* and the IFCW respectively, are both historical. They are largely based on people’s memories, festival documents held in private collections, and articles from the Ortigueiran newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira* among other periodical sources. Chapter 3, on the appropriation of the festival, is based on interviews with different festival organizers, festival documents, and periodical (and other media) sources. The last chapter is mostly derived from fieldwork; thus, field notes and my festival experience hand in hand with local, Ortigueiran performers of Galician music, were essential for writing this last part of the dissertation.

Discussions on local musicians’ spatialization of Galician music within the festival space, through the implementation of different and changing autoconstruction strategies, unveils two co-existing IFCW’s, as addressed in the fourth as well as in the concluding chapter of this dissertation: an IFCW, organized by the Government of Ortigueira, with limited access to the means of music production for Ortigueiran performers of Galician music, and a co-managed, autoconstructed festival, resulting from the strategies designed, negotiated, and implemented by these musicians in a festival space that they are affectively attached to and which they claim by musicking.

In Chapter 1, I inquire into the emergence of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. I focus on its early functioning and goals regarding Galician musicking in Ortigueira, and on the socio-musical impact that the opening of the *Escola* had in the town. I describe the role played by a leading figure of the *Escola*, Xavier Garrote, and on how his particular musical vision influenced certain musical parameters still in place today within the context of both the *Escola* and Galician music making in Ortigueira. I also discuss the managing strategies implemented by the members of the *Escola*, and the particular ways of organization that made it possible for the school to develop musical projects of different sizes. I refer to those particular strategies with the phrase “the *Escola* as a Family” managing strategy. Overall, looking at the early history of the *Escola*, I claim that

their Galician music-making projects transformed Ortigueira into a center of musical production.

Chapter 2 is about the social production and social construction of the IFCW (1978-1983). Following Setha Low's views on both of these terms, I looked at the social production of the festival focusing on the history of the emergence of the festival, its financial intricacies, and their connections to the "*Escola* as a family" managing strategy. I locate the IFCW in relation to other music festivals founded synchronically in a Spain that often censured and made it difficult for young cultural agents to both make and be at music festivals. In relation to the social construction of space, I argue that the socio-musical practices developed at the IFCW in Ortigueira, led to the symbolic appropriation of the town by the Ortigueiran youth. I also delved into what I call the "festival mode of listening," arguing that it inscribed meaning into the IFCW as a youth-related and joyous space, for people in and beyond Ortigueira.

In Chapter 3, I focus on the appropriation of the IFCW, and the subsequent management of the festival by government employees. Building on two of the latest festival organizers' visions of the IFCW, I argue that their plan to "professionalize" the IFCW, and their particular conceptions on "professionalization," undermined the collective meaning and the history of the festival, for long-term festival goers and festival founders and collaborators.

And finally, in Chapter 4, I return to the focus on local, Ortigueiran performers of Galician music. I look at their implementation of autoconstruction strategies in four different spaces, as a way to strive for continuous access to the means of music production within the IFCW. These spaces are: the main stage of the festival, the Bar Caracas, the Beach of Morouzos, and Fredi's Bar in the neighboring town of Espasante. Linking each of these spaces to one of the aspects highlighted by Esther Wiesenfeld as characteristic of what she calls "community autoconstruction" (2001, 283-292), I describe how local performers of Galician music have aimed at spatializing Galician music at the IFCW, and I claim that these efforts have resulted in the co-existence of an autoconstructed IFCW, in which these musicians retain their role as agents and decision makers within the festival space.

## Chapter I

### Spatializing Galician Music in Santa Marta de Ortigueira: The *Escola de Gaitas*

#### I.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the process of spatialization of Galician music that took place in the town of Santa Marta de Ortigueira between 1975, year of the death of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, and 1983. The spatialization of Galician music in Ortigueira not only involved the teaching and performance of a musical practice that was new in Ortigueira, but also a new way of learning, of talking about music, of performing, and, all in all, a new way of participating in the social and cultural life of Ortigueira. The center of this process of spatialization was a grassroots music school called the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (Galician for "Bagpipe School of Ortigueira"). In the aftermath of Franco's regime, the *Escola* was one of the first spaces where people under twenty, regardless of their gender, were able to gather, travel, and participate as leading agents in Ortigueira (that is, as main actors in Ortigueira's socio-musical processes initiated by the members of the *Escola* themselves), with no or minimum adult supervision.<sup>22</sup>

Spatializing Galician music in Santa Marta de Ortigueira required arduous and long term work. In this chapter I will discuss the role of these agents, highlighting the location of their social relations and social practices in the context of Galician music making in Ortigueira. This is important because, as scholar Ruth Finnegan has stated, "music does not just happen 'naturally' in any society but has to have its recognized time and place, its organization of personnel, resources, and physical locations" (1989, 193). Talking about music making in Milton Keynes, England, Finnegan explains that the possibility of making music in that town depended "on the commitment of many individuals" who devoted "so many hours to upholding these [musical] institutions" as well as "on the continuing efforts of individuals" (1989, 252). At first sight Finnegan's

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<sup>22</sup> During Franco's time, the local offer of after-school and summer activities for the youth in Ortigueira were divided by gender (Bermúdez 2013, interview with author; Marías 2013, interview with author).

statements may sound obvious. However, resounding with her experience in England, my experience in Galicia has taught me that music (and dance) making, agents, and infrastructures are often taken for granted. Furthermore, in contrast with Finnegan's experience in Milton Keynes, a town where cultural and musical spaces were constructed and put to use by state planners aiming to attract potential residents (1989, 29), in Ortigueira cultural and educational activities have a history of being developed as civic initiatives (and in some cases with residents' money) due to the slow pace and inefficiency of the local government's efforts (Figure 1.1).



**Figure 1.1** Articles from the November 19, 1982 issue of the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*. On the left, an announcement on the foundation of the Film Club of Ortigueira, for which some residents collectively bought a video projector after requesting a two-year loan. On the right, an announcement on the formation of a group to pressure the local government to improve the poor state of the only theater of Ortigueira, the *Teatro de la Beneficencia* (these works were made and finally finished in 1990).

This chapter addresses three main questions: How was Galician music initially spatialized in Santa Marta de Ortigueira (1978-1983)? By whom? And why? I start by

talking about Xavier Garrote, the person who envisioned and took the first step in the implementation and further development of this spatialization process. I then trace the history of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, situating it within the broader late-Franco/post-Franco period, as one of the many youth organizations that engaged in transforming the structures of power incorporated into local, regional, and state-wide socio-political practices by the four-decades long totalitarian regime. Furthermore, I look at the *modus operandi* of the *Escola* (which I have called “the *Escola* as a family”), and at the main music projects that were developed by its members during the first eight years of the school. I will discuss the emergence of the largest project of the *Escola*, the International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira (IFCW), separately in Chapter 2 due to its size, scope, and its relation with the transnational “Celtic music” label.

Finally, both this and the following chapters aim to show that the spatialization of Galician music in Ortigueira produced a new sense of locality in this town. With the activities and projects of the *Escola*, Ortigueira became a center of Galician musical production. The overall image that Ortigueiran people had of their own town as a remote and little known place, was temporarily transformed through Galician music making. Ortigueira, for instance, started to appear in the Galician, Spanish, and international media, in a way and with a frequency unheard of in the history of the town. A sense of future and capability was collectively forged as the young members of the *Escola* and other residents of Ortigueira, successfully developed highly complex (and in the case of the IFCW also very large) music projects, through voluntary work, with no previous knowledge, and with little or no financial capital.

## **1.2 Xavier Garrote**

Xavier Garrote Cobelo was the founder and first Director of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. He was also a leading figure in the creation and realization of other musical projects linked to the *Escola*, such as the International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira (IFCW). Xavier Garrote’s views were particularly influential, and they were decisive in shaping the initial stages of the *Escola* and its musical projects, even though decision-making developed collectively within this school.

Garrote was and still is a deeply respected and loved person in Ortigueira, especially among former members of the *Escola* and other neighbors from this town

who volunteered during the first six editions of the IFCW (1978-1983). During the two years trying to get an interview with him, I only heard words of admiration and gratitude towards him. Xavier Garrote does not like to give interviews and it took me a while to get to talk to him. He did not live in Ortigueira when I conducted fieldwork in this town, and I did not get to meet him during his short summer visits to his hometown (word spread fast when he was there, but I missed him twice for I was busy with field-work related tasks). And even though it was easy for me to meet people who knew him, who trusted me, and were interested in my work, getting his contact information to ask him directly about the possibility of having a conversation, an interview, or a brief talk via phone or email, was impossible (as people were reluctant to share his phone number or email address with me).

This situation changed on July 17, 2013. Marías, my guide and main collaborator in Ortigueira, had finally convinced Garrote to meet me and to be interviewed by me. Marías had forged a deep and respectful relationship with Garrote through their years together at the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* where Marías had registered as a student in 1975 (at the age of 18). At the *Escola*, Marías was not only a student and a performing member of this school's bagpipe ensemble, but he was also its (voluntary) recorder teacher. Furthermore, he was part of the core team of the *Escola* that was in charge of thinking about and coordinating the development of their different music projects, including the IFCW.

Marías, known by this name which is both his middle name and his maternal last name (and it is the name that he has asked me to use here), drove me to the port of Cedeira to meet Xavier Garrote. They both had agreed on the time and place of our encounter and I only learned about these details as the journey unfolded. I never imagined that getting this interview was going to become such an event in my life.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps, the waiting time played a role in awakening great expectations for the encounter. Furthermore, after two years of fieldwork hearing only words of praise for

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<sup>23</sup> Meeting Xavier Garrote was important for me, for I felt that without a personal conversation with him my work was incomplete. One of the most important repercussions of this interview was my perception of the deep sense of affect and respect that exists between Xavier Garrote, Marías, and the early members of *Escola de Gaitas*, and the connection of such a deep personal bond to their shared role as agents of the socio-musical activities they did within the *Escola* and the IFCW.

both Xavier Garrote and his prominent role in the process of spatialization of Galician music in Ortigueira, I was eager to meet him.

Xavier Garrote came to the interview with his wife Lina; they picked us up on a boat (Figure 1.2). Our conversation took place on board and it developed in a bilingual environment: Xavier Garrote and Marías spoke in Galician and Lina, a native from Zaragoza (Aragón, Spain), and I in Spanish. From the moment we started to talk, Garrote's words emphasized the collective character of the musical projects developed by the *Escola de Gaitas* in the same way that other agents involved with this school, such as Álvaro Fernández Polo or Marías himself, did it in both our everyday life conversations and in interviews. Downplaying their prominent role as individual actors was not only a matter of humbleness. For them, their experience at the *Escola* developed collectively and the success of this project was a result of collective effort and actions. As Garrote himself explained it:

(...) for me the *Escola de Gaitas* was never a group. It was an entire town. By that time [during his years at the *Escola*] what happened to the *Escola de Gaitas* happened to the people of Ortigueira. People lived that as if it [the *Escola*] were something that belonged to them, as something of their own (Garrote 2013, interview with author).



**Figure 1.2** Lina and Xavier Garrote going home after our interview.

In her critical examination of the term “group” from the perspective of the field of Folklore Studies, scholar Dorothy Noyes writes that the fact that groups are not homogeneous “is the first realization of any scholar doing fieldwork. The first stages of fieldwork,” she states, “are a trajectory through a social network, from the margins toward the center” (1995, 454). Xavier Garrote was definitely a central figure of the *Escola de Gaitas*, although I would not consider him *the* center, given the extended and deeply ingrained view of the *Escola* as a collective. Most of the projects developed by the *Escola*, including the *Escola* itself, were initially proposed and pushed forward by Garrote. In Ortigueira, Garrote is remembered as a hardworking individual, who was able to encourage very different kinds of people to work together towards the realization of sometimes seemingly unattainable goals. Garrote is also remembered for his capacity to effectively coordinate collective work through a combination of factors like the organization of available resources, discipline, comradery, and trust. Furthermore, as director of the *Escola*, Garrote was able to bring together different fronts of action that were essential for the development of this school and its projects. These included the unconditional support of the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*, the collaboration of Galician instrument maker Antón Corral, of renowned Galician bagpiper Ricardo Portela, and the assistance of several Galician entrepreneurs and intellectuals such as Isaac Díaz Pardo from the Sargadelos Ceramics Factory or Xosé Fernando Filgueira Valverde, director of the Museum of Pontevedra and, earlier (before Garrote met him), of the Institute of Galician Studies Father Sarmiento, two of the few institutions where Galician traditional songbooks and related music scores were available for consultation at the end of the 1970s in Galicia.

Xavier Garrote’s family background has played an important role in the narratives of the *Escola* as an Ortigueiran musical institution with links to this town’s musical past. His paternal family is directly related to the Garrote Band, a locally famous instrumental ensemble that together with the bands *Lira Ortegana* and Music Band of Ortigueira made up the fabric of what is collectively remembered in Ortigueira as this town’s rich musical past. Symphonic bands were and still are today prominent musical institutions in Galicia. From the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, bands like the Garrote Band not only offered performance opportunities for its members but they also played



a role in their process of acquisition of music education. Band directors or advanced band musicians often taught fellow band members to read music scores and to play musical instruments, as opportunities to do so outside the context of the band were rarely available.

The Garrote Band was founded in Landoi, Ortigueira, in 1886 by Garrote's great-grandfather, José María Garrote (Suárez Santodomingo 2013, 72). Andres Garrote, Xavier Garrote's father, was the last conductor of this band before it ceased activity in 1963 (Diéguez 2016). In spite of the relevance of this and other symphonic bands in Galicia, the number of monographs written about them is surprisingly scarce (see Chamadoira 2002; Costa-Vázquez 1997; Costa-Vázquez 2013; Iglesias Alvarellos 1986; Vázquez 2013). There are, however, numerous articles on specific bands written by local, self-taught historians who own or have had access to private archives, where primary sources for the study of these music ensembles are often found.<sup>24</sup> In fact, in the past couple of years there has been an abundance of online posts focused on the Garrote Band since Xavier Garrote found in 2014 a 1910 handwritten score for piano of the anthem of the world famous Barça Football Team. Xavier Garrote found this score in his father's music archive.

The Garrote Band was led by Garrote family members from its inception up to the time it ceased activity (Suárez Santodomingo, 2013). After founder José María Garrote stepped down from the band, his sons Manuel and Francisco took the lead (1901). They both conducted and taught band members how to read music scores and "how to walk in band parades" (*ibid*, 75). Symphonic bands and their music repertoire are seen retrospectively by local Ortigueiran historians like José Manuel Suárez Santodomingo, as spaces for learning and socializing. Although a detailed history of the Garrote band has no place here, it is important to highlight its link to both the aesthetics

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<sup>24</sup> This is the case not only for the symphonic bands of Ortigueira but also for the Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira and the IFCW. In fact, the Library of Ortigueira did not have a music archive during the years that I did my field work in Ortigueira (2011-2013) so primary sources had to be accessed little by little, as I was able to gain access to people's private collections. Carlos Diéguez, director of the Municipal Music School of Ortigueira, has led a number of online initiatives to collect images and chronologies of the Ortigueiran bands and other music ensembles (see his collection of images entitled *Música da nosa Vida*, uploaded on Flickr or his initiative *Museo da Música Ortegana* on the blog of the music school he directs).

and style of military bands (Figure 1.3), the adaptability of the structure of the band to the music instruments available in Ortigueira, and its all-male formation.



**Figure 1.3** Garrote Band, 1951 (author unknown). Taken from Carlos Diéguez' online project *Música da Nosa Vida* (Galician for "The Music of our Life Project") (2009).

In the 2013 *Program of the local Patron Saint's Fiesta of Santa Marta de Ortigueira* (an annual publication including the program of the fiesta and articles by local writers), Suárez Santodomingo stated that "the continuation of the musical legacy" of the Garrote family "culminated with Xavier Garrote and his creation of an alternative band: The Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira. This group has been carrying the name of his [Xavier's] native town all over the world" (Suárez Santodomingo 2013, 86). When Xavier Garrote decided to found the *Escola de Gaitas* in November of 1975 (see "History of the Escola" below) he did not have in mind to have a bagpipe band. He definitely wanted to create a bagpipe school with a small number of bagpipe quartets for students to practice and eventually perform Galician bagpipe music repertoire in nearby towns (Garrote 2013, interview with author). However, as a response to both the large number and young age of the people registered during the first month of classes, Xavier Garrote decided to take a different direction. He organized the performing group of the *Escola* as a large, collective ensemble with two to three sections of bagpipes plus percussion,

which he conducted in rehearsals, street parades, and on stage from 1975 to 1982 (Garrote 2013, 42).

During its now forty years of existence, the *Escola* has always performed publicly with this large bagpipe/percussion ensemble, often called a “band” by people not directly related to the *Escola*, due to its similarities in size and form with bagpipe bands from Scotland or Brittany, or even with symphonic bands like the Garrote Band. However, former and current members of the *Escola* are unanimously against this denomination (and it is therefore, not used in this dissertation to refer to the *Escola the Gaitas*). As *Escola* members have told me separately and collectively on numerous occasions, “the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* [the group] is a *escola* [Galician for “school”] and not a band” (Garrote 2013, interview with author). For the *Escola* members, the term “band” pointed to links with non-Galician music sites that they explicitly wanted to keep out from discursive representations of the school. There are several reasons that made this exclusion important for them. One of them is related to the location of the school and its music ensemble as something rooted in Galicia, constructed according to their needs, experiences, and knowledge of Galician music, and not as a copy of foreign bagpipe musical ensembles (Garrote 2013, interview with author; Marías 2012, interview with author; Marías 2013, interview with author; Fernández Polo and Pérez Ojea 2013, interview with author). Another reason has to do with the centrality of learning and of the pedagogic aspect of the *Escola* not only in terms of privately held rehearsals but also of public performance.

Symphonic bands, however, were certainly part of the background of the beginnings of the *Escola*. In our interview, as well as in an article that Xavier Garrote wrote based on his memory of the first years of the *Escola de Gaitas* (Garrote 2013), he highlighted a number of formative experiences in relation to his own music education. In Garrote’s own words, the sources of the *Escola* came from his years with:

(...) [Lugo-based bagpiper] Hortensio, [Galician musician and instrument maker] Paulino [Pérez], [Galician musician and instrument maker] Xosé Manuel Seivane,

[Francisco] Méndez (conductor of the Symphonic Band of Lugo), my experiences in Lugo, and my parents (Garrote 2013, 38).<sup>25</sup>

Xavier Garrote started to learn the bagpipe in Lugo (northeastern Galicia), as an adult, with bagpiper Hortensio. He accompanied Hortensio on the bagpipe, playing the second voice during both his rehearsals with the choir of the *Colegio Menor* of Lugo and in live performances (Garrote 2013, 36). With Hortensio, Garrote had the opportunity to meet instrument makers Pérez<sup>26</sup> and Seivane, from whom he not only got bagpipe parts to fashion his own instrument, but he also learned and expanded his bagpipe repertoire (Garrote 2013, 37-38). Garrote also collected pieces from the archive of the Band of Lugo, all of which made up the preliminary repertoire of the *Escola*. Francisco Méndez, conductor of this band and an old friend of Xavier Garrote's father, gave him access to the archive of a band that, according to Xavier Garrote, had incorporated the bagpipe from 1923 (Garrote 2013, 38).

This combination of bagpipes and symphonic band was particularly appealing to Xavier Garrote, as the instrument that he was working to “dignify” was put on an equal footing with “real music” (Garrote 2013, interview with author). For Garrote “real music” meant “classical music” (Garrote 2013, interview with author). According to him: “in the Galician music tradition, traditional music was at the bottom. So, there was this feeling that we could elevate all these things to something that people could take seriously if they were able to play with a band or an orchestra” (*ibid*). The *Escola*, then, took part in this process of “dignifying” the bagpipe (and with it, the figure of the bagpiper) which aimed at turning the Galician bagpipe into a musical instrument with the same social status as instruments from the realm of Western Art Music. Introducing Western Art Music aesthetic criteria in the context of Galician bagpipe musicking, was one way of trying to reach that equal status. For instance, in our interview, Xavier Garrote remembered that:

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<sup>25</sup> In Spain, teachers in the public school system like Xavier Garrote, may be transferred from one place to another according to the needs of schools and the teachers' specific labor situation. For this reason, within the span of a year Xavier Garrote moved from Lugo to Ortigueira to Santa Comba.

<sup>26</sup> Xavier Garrote's connection with Paulino Pérez and his instrument workshop in Lugo, was crucial for the development of one of the *Escola*'s later projects, Antón Corral's School-Workshop of Galician Musical Instruments, as well as for the *Escola* initial bagpipe supply.

(...) my father [Andrés Garrote] composed a piece for the *Escola* entitled “O Romance a Escola de Gaitas” (Galician for “A Ballad for the Escola de Gaitas”). Talking with him for the composition, [we agreed that] the bagpipe had a musical failure that did not allow it to make loud and soft sounds. So my dad’s composition was an attempt to make it possible for the group to play dynamics, by making bagpipes come in and out in different numbers at different times. [With the *Escola*,] we had to work on this piece much more [as it was more difficult than others], but well, it made it possible for a group of bagpipes like us to have a different air (Garrote 2013, interview with author).

Xavier Garrote’s musical sensibilities and musical thought paved the way for the process of “dignifying” of the Galician bagpipe in the context of the *Escola*. Beyond dynamics, other musical preoccupations included tuning, teaching band members to read and write music, and coordinating musicians’ collective performance in a similar fashion to that of a band or an orchestra conductor (that is, by placing himself in front of the group, indicating entrances using a similar gestural palette, choosing and marking the tempo for each piece, and helping musicians to reach an expected musical synchrony). In relation to tuning, the implicit ideal was given by the tempered and collectively unified tuning of Western Art Music ensembles. In practical terms, this led Garrote to look for bagpipes that allowed the *Escola* to reach or to get closer to that tuning ideal. Other ways of getting “in tune” included setting the ensemble of the *Escola* as a separate group in which only advanced students could participate (Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author), taking the time to carefully tune the instruments before important concerts (with the help of people like Galician instrument maker, and former oboe player, Antón Corral), and teaching “tuning” to members of the *Escola* (Corral 2013, interview with author and Ramón Pinheiro). According to Xavier Garrote:

We started to collect [bagpipes for the *Escola*] and so we had chanters in A, in D, and C, there was a little bit of everything, so well, our rehearsals [with the *Escola*] were... (he laughs). Well, tuning all that was impossible (...), but as I had links with instrument makers from Lugo we asked for help there. And so we started to have good quality instruments. And I think, out of modesty, that the emergence of the *Escola* and our need to play with so many bagpipes together made instrument

makers shape bagpipes very carefully (...), it made them make instruments that were able to tune collectively throughout the entire range, and that was actually a quite hard thing to do. So [Antón] Corral helped us with that [constructing instruments for the *Escola*] (Garrote 2013, interview with author).

The issue of “unifying” the tuning and timbre of the Galician bagpipe following Western Art Music standards was, of course, not unique to the *Escola*. It was a general preoccupation of Galician bagpipers, groups, and instrument makers, seeking to “dignify” the instrument from the decade of the 70s. This led to a modification of the bagpipe and to the creation of a “new” instrument called by Galician expert Pablo Carpinteiro the “contemporary Galician bagpipe.” According to him “from the 1970s a new typology of bagpipe started to emerge. (...) The contemporary bagpipe (...) is characterized by the following: the shrinking of its interior diameter and, therefore, a modification of the traditional timbre, the softening of the overall dynamic range of the instrument, the tuning according to the tempered scale (...), [and] the substitution of the fol (an animal skin airbag) by synthetic materials” like Gore-Tex<sup>®</sup>, among other things (Carpinteiro 2010).

At the *Escola*, musical pieces were taught and learned “by ear” (both orally and aurally).<sup>27</sup> In public performances the ensemble of the *Escola* played, as it still does today, by heart (without using music scores). Teaching how to read music scores<sup>28</sup> to the members of the *Escola* was a priority for Xavier Garrote, even though this only took place during the first years of the school. In fact, one of Garrote’s goals was the creation of a [Galician] music archive (Garrote 2013, interview with author). And so, for him, knowing how to follow music scores meant that the members of the *Escola* were going to be able to both use the archive and collaborate in its creation. For Garrote, teaching

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<sup>27</sup> During my fieldwork in Ortigueira (2011-2013) some members of the *Escola* could read music scores but others didn’t. This was not a skill taught at the *Escola*. Reading scores was not used to learn the repertoire. Most pieces were learned by heart, watching and memorizing the fingering of each piece, going to the rehearsals, and listening to and repeatedly playing the pieces. An important resource for learning the repertoire (for members playing with the *Escola* at large events like the IFCW but studying or working outside Ortigueira) was the recording of the pieces on mobile phones, and the sharing of the recording files via the *Escola* WhatsApp group.

<sup>28</sup> The music scores I am referring to were Western Art Music scores.

how to read music to the members of the *Escola* was important as it made them independent:

In order to fly you need wings, and that [being able to read music scores] is the bagpipers' wings. [It is true that] that was not part of the tradition. Traditionally people only learned by ear. [But] what is most important, when we are talking about [teaching] young girls and boys, is to give them the resources for them to be able to fly on their own. Because in the near future they will need to be able to take the available repertoire, the things that are written, and play whatever they feel like. [In that way] you don't need anybody to tell you what to do. (...) And so in that way we constructed everything (interview with author, 2013).

Xavier Garrote was thus a central and leading figure of the *Escola de Gaitas*. His musical interests and his pedagogical vision guided the direction of the *Escola*, always in consultation with older members of the school (Marías 2013, interview with author; Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author; Francisco Bermúdez 2013, interview with author). In larger projects, steaming out of the *Escola* but involving people beyond it, Garrote was able to convince people to work together as volunteers in spite of political or personal differences (Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author). According to Álvaro Fernández Polo, Xavier Garrote's friend and former member of the *Escola*: "Javier (c.a.) Garrote had an impressive capacity to organize anything, he was impressive doing that, so... well, he created everything and we all followed him" (2013, interview with author). Garrote, thus, had strong leadership qualities that were effectively implemented for the development of the *Escola* and its related music projects. Together with these factors, collective work turned such projects into reality in Ortigueira due to the focus on the projects themselves (and not on their financial gain or on other external factors), to the use of peoples' previous knowledge (for instance, at the IFCW English speakers helped as translators for invited music groups and electricians helped set up the electric wiring on the stage), and to Xavier Garrote's trust in peoples' capacity for knowing by doing. In the following section I will characterize these projects, starting with the first years of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*.

### I.3 A History of the *Escola de Gaitas*

The *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* was founded in the midst of a period of great change throughout the Spanish territory. After the death of Franco in November, 1975, a process took place for the political Transition of the Spanish state into a parliamentary democracy. Following a dictatorship that lasted for almost forty years, a “political regime of democratic character” was established in the country, endorsed by the 1978 constitution (Villares 2004, 441). Moreover, Spain changed its centralized structure and internal subdivision of Regions (one of which was Galicia), to a de-centralized organization of Autonomous Communities (*ibid*). In 1981 the Spanish courts approved the status of Galicia as an Autonomous Community, with its own executive and legal institutions (the *Xunta de Galicia* and the *Galician Parliament* respectively), and with Galician (previously forbidden by the dictatorship) and Spanish as official languages.<sup>29</sup>

If looked at as a musical archive that “contains layers of historical, social, musical, and emotional information” (Rancier 2014, 379), a musical instrument like the Galician bagpipe reveals the diversity of democratic projects envisioned in Galicia, developed prior, during, and after the institutional instauration of democracy by grassroots groups and activists. Furthermore, if the conceptualization of musical instruments as archives allows, as Rancier puts it, to look at the “performers of those instruments as *historians* who access, negotiate, and interpret the meanings stored within their respective musical archives” (2014, 385), new actors and information emerge in narratives of the Transition process particular of Galicia. Specifically, a diverse, active, and creative youth is set to the foreground in the long 1968, as leading voices of conversations on Galician social, political, and cultural issues.

Narratives of the bagpipe as an icon of Galician identity (Campos Calvo-Sotelo; 2007; Colmeiro 2014, 93-114; de Toro 2002, 237-255) highlight the continuity of its function, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as “the soul of Galicia” (Risco 1920, 4; in de Toro 2002, 242). With terms like music “hybridization” (Colmeiro 2014, 93; de Toro 2002, 245), they

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<sup>29</sup> Galicia’s status as an Autonomous Community was approved through a referendum celebrated in December, 1980. Although participation in this democratic process was extremely low, with only 28.17% of voters casting their ballot throughout Galicia, in Ortigueira voting levels were considerably higher, reaching a 41.33% (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, December 26, 1980, 1).



point to the bagpipe as a privileged site for understandings of the articulation of difference within the Galician national project. Changes in the morphology of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Galician bagpipe, and the post-Franco reconstruction of the instrument into a particular artifact called by Pablo Carpinteiro the “contemporary bagpipe” (Carpinteiro 2010), reflect the discontinuities and ruptures of such a national symbol. Even if as the “soul of Galicia,” the bagpipe was adapted, by Galician citizens listening to one another’s performance needs. With great respect to a past of which most of them knew very little, Galician bagpipers and akin musicians, started to participate in a process of “self-discovery and self-construction” (Colmeiro 2014, 93) and, I would add, of remembering.

Interest in learning about the bagpipe, its repertoire, and a personal need for musical instruments, took young Galicians to travel to libraries, to look for music printed in songbooks, and to listen to older generations of bagpipers and instrument makers, in parts of Galicia they did not know. The bagpipe, thus, moved young people to see Galicia in a different way, in an increasingly inter-generational dialogue. A general attitude of learning, furthermore, created channels of communication through which all the rural-urban spectrum of Galicia, initiated a fruitful, youth led dialogue.

As an archive, the Galician bagpipe contains “documents” that the bagpipers as “historians” have performed, preceding both the publication of the first post-Franco history of Galicia in 1979 (Fernández Prieto 2011, 25) and the subsequent re-emergence of Galicia as a “well defined object of historiographic study” (*ibid*). In accord with Campos Calvo-Sotelo, Colmeiro, and de Toro, this dissertation documents a socio-musical process (implemented from 1975 onwards) through which a group of young Galician people constructed an inner sense of themselves as Galician democratic citizens. Different ways of “being Galician” and of performing Galician identity were accepted, not without dialogue and self-critiques, such as that of the folk music group *Milladoiro*, singer-song writer Emilio Cao, the bagpipe quartet *Os Raparigos*, or the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. In Ortigueira, for instance, in a period of only three years, the bagpipe changed from being an instrument difficult to get, played by hired performers in patron saint fiestas, to an instrument that was constructed (made in) Ortigueira, and played voluntarily in an array of places and times of the year, in and

outside Ortigueira, by Ortigueiran young people themselves. These changes in the “markers of place and occasion” were common throughout Galicia (de Toro 2002, 246)

Like neighborhood organizations in Catalonia and other parts of Spain (Davis 2014, 37), the *Escola de Gaitas* started targeting a “single issue” (teaching the bagpipe in Ortigueira), later attempting to turn it into a permanent local, and regional organization (organizing bagpipers in the Association of Galician Bagpipers AGAL, delineating a plan to include Galician music in the Galician school music curricula, or demanding public financial means to support their projects in the long run). Galician bagpipe and dance schools like the *Escola*, furthermore, could be seen as instances of “public schools” as opposed to “state schools” a distinction framed by Davis looking to a different synchronic case in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Catalonia (Davis 2014, 139). For, even if schools like the *Escola* demanded financial and infrastructural help from the Government of Ortigueira, of Galicia, and from the Spanish state, the school was framed as “public” in that its members were at the center of its administration, and they were completely reluctant to accept any intervention or participation of either state or autonomic institutions in its functioning. At the end, it was this struggle to “build public administration from the people” (Davis 2014, 139) what, in my view, turned the *Escola* and its projects into a problematic organization for the government, which projects (with the exception of the *Escola* itself) did not get the needed financial support from either the state or autonomic powers. At the end, the growth and extended support gained by the *Escola* took everyone by surprise, starting by its own members.

### **I.3.1 First Call**

On October 17, 1975, almost a month before Spanish dictator Francisco Franco's death, Xavier Garrote shared an announcement in the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira* (Spanish for “The Voice of Ortigueira”). Published on the front-page, Garrote explained in the Galician language that registration was open for all those interested in taking Galician bagpipe lessons at the soon-to be opened *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. “The only thing that I aim with this school,” he wrote, “is to promote a general interest for music and, specifically, for our most typical regional instrument: the bagpipe” (Garrote 1975, 1). The lessons, he said, were going to be held daily and would last for about an hour depending on the number of people registered. The activities of the

*Escola* were going to take place at an abandoned building called the *Escolar Vello* (Galician for "Old School"), selflessly relinquished by the mayor and sub-mayor of Ortigueira José María Barro Soto and Juan Luis Pía Martínez, respectively (Garrote 2013, 39). As emphasized in Garrote's announcement, registration was open for everybody regardless of their gender or age, and owning a bagpipe was not a requirement. Xavier Garrote's announcement closed with the words: "I want to clarify that the classes will be free of charge since the focus is exclusively cultural, and not financial profit" (Garrote 1975, 1).

In 1975 Xavier Garrote was the Music and Physical Education teacher of the public E.G.B of Ortigueira. In the Spanish educational system of the late 1970s, E.G.B schools (acronym in Spanish for "Basic General Education") corresponded to children's primary and part of their secondary education (7 to 14 years old). Due to reasons that he preferred to keep private (Garrote 2103, interview with author), Xavier Garrote was not able to develop his Galician musical projects as either a part of his classes or as extracurricular activities within the EGB. Music education in the school was focused on Western Art Music and included instrumental practices with both recorders owned by the students and Orff instruments owned by the school (Garrote 2013, interview with author). Although popular music from Spain and Latin America (especially Cuban and Mexican musics and dances) were part of the secular musical fabric of Ortigueira, Galician bagpipe music was only heard on special occasions such as patron saint fiestas. Usually, this music was performed by non Ortigueiran bagpipers, hired from nearby towns like Viveiro, Rianxo, or Melide (Galicia). According to Xavier Garrote: "Ortigueira was a land of musicians. In any house (...) you could hear a clarinet, an oboe, a French horn, but it was difficult to hear a bagpipe." This only happened "during the fiestas, when [groups like] *Brisas do Landro* with the unforgettable [bagpiper] Pepe Randa, and later on, *Os Rosales* from Rianxo or *Os Garceiras* of Melide" came to perform to Ortigueira (Garrote 2013, 38).

The idea of joining the *Escola* was quickly embraced by a large number of children and young people from Ortigueira: "we are a town of fifteen hundred inhabitants from which almost all the youth sixteen years and older are studying outside Ortigueira, and in spite of this we already have 60 students" (Garrote 1975). Only one out of the total

of sixty students registered within the two first months of the school was eighteen years old (Marías), and three of them were adults (*i.e.* older than eighteen). The other fifty-six students were underage boys and girls with no previous experience with the bagpipe. Contrastingly, all the adults (including Marías) or the *mayores* (Spanish for “older” alluding to “older students”) as they were called within the *Escola*, were male. The volume of registered students together with their young age, lead Garrote to organize the school according to certain pedagogic parameters that have characterized the functioning of the *Escola* from its beginnings to the present day.

### **1.3.2 Initial Organizational Characteristics**

It is difficult to determine why such a large pool of young participants responded to the call for registration publicly announced by Garrote. According to him and other members of the *Escola*, in addition to his announcement in *La Voz de Ortigueira*, Garrote also invited his students from the E.G.B to register at the *Escola* (2013, interview with author). Loli Pérez Ojea (L) and María del Mar Fernández Polo (M), former members of the *Escola* (1976-1982), and María del Mar, one of the first female conductors of a bagpipe group in the history of Galicia, remembered that:

(M): the year that the *Escola* started, Xavier was a teacher here [in Ortigueira]. So the first students of the *Escola* were his students at the [EGB or primary] school. We both registered at the *Escola* in the next year [1976]. Her [Loli's] sister was already there [at the *Escola*] and I had my brother there too [Álvaro Fernández Polo], so our brothers encouraged us to get in, and we liked it! (L): I was already going with my sister to the *Escola* because I had to help her to put on her clothing, because she was very little. So as I accompanied my sister I felt that I wanted to be at the *Escola*. We [Loli and María del Mar] were studying together so we said to each other: let's register! And we did. It was his brother [Álvaro Fernández Polo] who taught us [how to play the bagpipe] (2013, interview with author).

The motivations for joining the *Escola de Gaitas* were varied. They included a personal desire, parents' decision for their children, or a group of friends' or family members' desire to join the *Escola* together. These reasons are still valid for the *Escola* nowadays. Friendship or family ties play a particularly important role in young people's

decision to register or not in the *Escola*. In Ortigueira, the *cuadrilla* de amigos (Spanish for "group of friends") plays an important role. A *cuadrilla* is a closed, life-long group of classmates/friends who spend time together and feel the responsibility of being together in public and private special celebrations such as patron saint fiestas, birthday parties, and the like. The long term relationship developed by the *cuadrilla* leads them to have set ways and spaces to get together and celebrate. For instance, one man in a bar told me that his *cuadrilla* met every IFCW on the third palm tree counting from the proscenium-right and that they had a set routine during the festival. During my time in Ortigueira, talking informally to people about whether they went to the *Escola* or not, I heard repeatedly from people who did not join the *Escola* for their *cuadrillas* were in other kind of after-school activities (*i.e.* sports). I also heard of people who never register for being unable to convince someone from their *cuadrilla* to do so.

As former members of this school have repeatedly told me, in 1975 there were not many things for either young people or children to do in Ortigueira, and so the *Escola* was a new, accessible, and free after-school activity. Although Garrote 's link to the E.G.B. could explain why so many people under eighteen years old initially registered in the school, it is unclear why only a few adults did (and no women). Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, the age and number of students registered gave shape to two important features of the *Escola de Gaitas*: its social division by age and the collective character of both its lessons and public performances.

Within the *Escola de Gaitas* there was a social division dependent on age. Older members got to teach younger ones and they also had the responsibility of looking after them when traveling outside Ortigueira. For instance, Loli and María del Mar remember that:

(M): Francisco Bermúdez was in charge of taking care of us, he was really dedicated, (L): and there were children of different ages, (M): plus, he had a brother and a cousin [at the *Escola*]. Fran [Francisco Bermúdez] always came with us to the hotels and took care of us (2013 interview with author).

Furthermore, the "older members" of the *Escola* were regularly consulted by Garrote to discuss and help to implement his projects and ideas. The *mayores*, a group constituted by Marías, Álvaro Fernández Polo, Francisco Bermúdez, and Jesús Lozada Outero, soon

became the core group of the school. During the second year of the *Escola*, as Xavier Garrote was unwillingly transferred to teach at an E.G.B. school outside Santa Marta de Ortigueira, the *mayores* became the new teachers of the *Escola de Gaitas*. They gave instrumental lessons during the weekdays and prepared students for their rehearsals with Garrote every weekend. At that point, the continuity of the *Escola* was mostly possible due to their commitment to the school (most of them had full time jobs). Whereas Marías and Álvaro Fernández Polo taught incoming bagpipe students, Francisco and Jesús taught both the *caixa* (a double skin snare drum) and the bass-drum. Marías also taught the “modified” recorder (a recorder with its last hole manually enlarged in order to change the instrument’s tuning to B flat), an easy-to-play (and to get) version of the chanter or *punteiro* of the bagpipe, used to teach the fingering of the instrument and Galician tunes to new bagpipe students (and to, also, make up for the lack of instruments).

In this initial stage of the *Escola de Gaitas* everybody was learning. Given the large number of students registered during the first months of the *Escola*, Garrote decided to make all the lessons, the solfege classes, and their performances collective:

[I decided to make the *Escola*] because I was a teacher, that was the main reason. I thought that you were obliged to transmit your own knowledge; this sounds reasonable, doesn't it? And also if my main goal [with the *Escola*] was that in Ortigueira everybody could play the [Galician] bagpipe it did not make any sense to do bagpipe quartets when the idea was to make a school. The main idea was to found a bagpipe school and to make [bagpipe] quartets to play with them in all the parishes to collect and compile with them an orally transmitted knowledge. But what happened was that the circumstances lead us to have collective rehearsals, and our sound was starting to get better so we thought: this is unique, let's go for it! (2013 interview with author).

Taking care of each other, learning together and, ultimately, performing and traveling together, made the experience of the *Escola* a collective one from the very beginning. Moreover, the pedagogical structure of the *Escola* in which students' mastery of their instrument was rewarded with their entrance into its performance ensemble (so individual members aspired to attain musical mastery to be able to join a collective),

reinforced the group-like character of the school. Garrote's teaching methodology was, as he has explained in his own words: "a traditional methodology like, for instance, that used in the learning process of an instrument like the clarinet. I mean, with scales, and triads" (Garrote 2013, interview with author). With this, he intended "to give [technical] exercises that could lead us directly to the pieces" (*ibid*). Coinciding with the overall description of Xavier Garrote's pedagogical structure (*ibid*), later conductor and former member of the *Escola de Gaitas*, César Muiño, has explained that

[at the *Escola*] we start with a series of easy exercises on the chanter.<sup>30</sup> I make them more difficult little by little so they [students] end up learning a piece. Then, the student learns that same piece on the bagpipe. After that, I teach them a number of pieces and when they learn them well, they enter into the *Escola de Gaitas* [performance group]. In addition, once they are part of the group, they have to learn all the pieces played by this group and perform them at the same level as the other fifty [members] (Muiño 1988, 16).

One of the first challenges faced by the *Escola* was their lack of instruments. In 1975 finding a Galician bagpipe was not as easy as it is today. There were not many bagpipes available, not many constructors, and the instruments were expensive (Corral 2013, interview with author; Ferreirós 2013, interview with author; Fernández Polo and Perez Ojea 2013, interview with author; Garrote 1975).<sup>31</sup> By December 1975 the *Escola*, thus, had sixty students and ten chanters available to start the project (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, December 16, 1975). Garrote's contact with Antón Corral, a Lugo based constructor of Galician musical instruments, was key to start solving this problem. Corral gave "priority to the order of fifteen chanters made by the *Escola*, which was not his most profitable job but was, in Corral's words, the one with the most cultural interest" (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, unknown day, 1975). Moreover, Corral loaned seven chanters to the members of the *Escola* while he worked on their request (*ibid*). Money for these

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<sup>30</sup> When chanters are not available modified recorders were used.

<sup>31</sup> María del Mar Fernández Polo and Loli Pérez Ojea remembered that most of the students of the *Escola* borrowed their bagpipes from the school, as this acquired the necessary number of instruments. Exceptionally, some students like María del Mar had their own Galician bagpipe. She remembered that hers was a gift from her brother, one of the *mayores* of the *Escola* (Álvaro Fernández Polo), and that in 1976 it cost 100,000 Spanish *pesetas* (more or less 600€) (2013, interview with author).

chanters was donated by the City Council of Ortigueira, the Local Union or *Delegación Comarcal de Sindicatos de Ortigueira*, the Provincial Service of Support and Promotion for Education and Rest (a Francoist institution), the students' parents, and the *Escola's* friends (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, December 16, 1975; *La Voz de Ortigueira*, unknown day, 1975). From the beginnings of the *Escola*, a list of financial contributors for the acquisition of musical instruments was regularly published in the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira* (Figure 1.4). The close bond that developed between Antón Corral and the *Escola* throughout the years eventually lead to their joint creation of a Galician Music Instrument Workshop-School in Ortigueira (called in the Galician language *Taller-Escola de Antón Corral*), for which he and his family moved to this town in January of 1979 (see page 100).

DONATIVOS	
Educación y Descanso	10.000
Irene Cobelo Lopez	1000
America Daporta y esposo	200
Jose M <sup>a</sup> Peña Fustes	2.000
Josa Negrete Rico	1.000
Modasto Cheda	500
Carlos Cobelo Blas	1000

**Figure 1.4** Detail of article with names of donors and the respective amount (in *pesetas*) given to buy chanters to Antón Corral (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, December 1975).

### 1.3.3 Initial Music Repertoire

The repertoire of the *Escola* was initially made up of what Garrote knew, of what he had learned with Lugo based bagpiper Hortensio, and of pieces he got from the archive of the Municipal Band of Lugo (Garrote 2013, interview with author). Xavier Garrote also traveled to Santiago de Compostela, the capital of Galicia, to collect scores for the *Escola* at the Institute of Galician Studies Father Sarmiento (in Spanish the *Instituto de Estudios Gallegos Padre Sarmiento*) (*ibid*). Furthermore, according to him:

I was also very lucky to have met Filgueira Valverde, they [at the Museum of Pontevedra, where Filgueira Valverde was the director] had just recently finished writing the *Castro San Pedro's Songbook*. They had that there, like a museum piece, like four or five friends [had a copy], and he gave me a copy! We had that



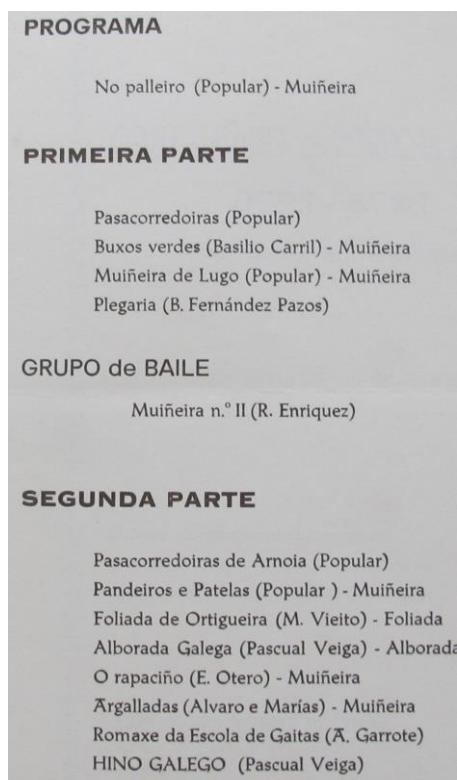
connection. Sometimes, I do not know how did I get connected with those right-wing people. But I think that right-wing people from before had a sense of pride in their own [Galician] culture different from that of right-wing people today (Garrote 2013, interview with author).

Since its beginnings on November 1975, the *Escola* spatialized Galician music in Ortigueira with the intent of vindicating Galician popular culture from Ortigueira and as Ortigueirans. This vindication was initially envisioned by Xavier Garrote, and even if it was not individually shared by the children and young members of the school, it was collectively embraced as an embodied and inseparable quality of the functioning of the *Escola*. In Álvaro Fernández Polo's experience, one of the *mayores* of the *Escola*, "at the beginning playing the bagpipe [at the *Escola*] was not a vindication of Galicia, but it was like that later on" (2013, interview with author). Garrote, therefore, focused on choosing what in his view was "Galician" music repertoire for the rehearsals and performances of the *Escola*, loosely defining that boundary by excluding rhythms "brought in" (by travelers, migrants, or the media) such as *rumbas*, *corridos*, or *polkas*. In contrast with the position of the members of the *Escola* in the aftermath of Franco's death, some Galician bagpipers prior to the second half of the 1970s chose their music repertoire according to different boundaries, political constrains, and parameters:

(...) these kinds of pieces, I am talking about the [19]40s, from [19]45 on, the 50s, these [polkas, waltzes, rumbas, corridos] were the pieces that [bagpipers] would play, there was nothing more. The thing is that we only got what came from [Galician returning] immigrants. From Mexico, (...) Montevideo, Cuba (...). (...) And there were a lot of bagpipers who played all that, a lot of Mexican pieces, even tangos. Nowadays if you play a tango [even] your mother will kill you, but before you [bagpipers] could play tangos, you know? It seems funny but it was like that (Iglesias, in Costa 2004).

The *Escola*, as Xavier Garrote jokingly put it, "*nunca foi rumbera*" (Galician for "it was never *rumbera*") (2013, interview with author), alluding to a genre of Galician bagpipe music known as *Rumba* which gained popularity from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of Cuban *Rumba* music, brought to Galicia by returning Galician emigrants and frequently aired on local radio stations (Costa Vázquez 2004; Rodriguez

Ruidiaz, 2013). As mentioned above, an important criterion for choosing the repertoire of the *Escola* was the “origin” of the pieces or, in other words, how Galician they were thought to be. An analysis of the materials that I was able to gather for this dissertation (concert programs and newspaper articles) indicate that during the first years of the *Escola* its repertoire included Galician music “types and genres” (Schubarth 1984, XXIII) such as the emblematic *muñeira* (7), *pasacorredoiras* (3), *alboradas* (1) and *foliadas* (1). They always played the Anthem of Galicia by Eduardo Pondal and Pascual Veiga at the end of their public presentations, and they also performed a number of pieces in band style such as a romance (1), a rhapsody, a march, two *pasodobles*, and a fandango. Besides the repertoire compiled by Xavier Garrote, this group soon started (1977) to play original compositions by Garrote’s father, Andrés Garrote (a romance), and also by two of the older students (or *mayores*) of the *Escola*, Marías and Álvaro Fernández Polo (a *muñeira*) (Figure 1.5).



**Figure 1.5** Detail from the second presentation of the *Escola* on June 4, 1977 at the *Teatro de la Beneficencia*, in Ortigueira. The program is written in the Galician language. It includes Andrés Garrote’s (Xavier Garrote’s father) “Romaxe da Escola de Gaitas” and Marías and Álvaro Fernández Polo’s “Argalladas” (from Francisco Bermúdez’ archive).

The first ensemble of the *Escola* was made up of about thirty students. In their first concert on July 3, 1976 at the *Teatro de la Beneficencia* of Ortigueira (Bermúdez unknown date), three out of the seven pieces they performed were *muñeiras*.<sup>32</sup> In fact, two of the first pieces that María del Mar Fernández Polo and Loli Pérez Ojea remembered learning at the *Escola* were The “Muñeira of Lugo” and the *muñeira* “Buxos Verdes” (2013, interview with author). The *muñeira*, an icon of Galician popular culture (together with the Galician bagpipe), was thus by far the most played “type” of music in the *Escola*.<sup>33</sup> Genres and types, classified at that particular historical moment as “non-native” by members of the *Escola*, were not usually played in the context of the school. However, due to both Xavier Garrote’s personal connection with the realm of symphonic bands, and symphonic bands actual link with the musical past of Ortigueira, band genres were, in fact, included. “Non-native” bagpipe music, even if not performed by the *Escola*, was included, nevertheless, in one of the later projects of the school, aimed at making a Galician Music Archive in Ortigueira (see page 103). In a 1980 interview to Xavier Garrote, he said, when asked about the *Galiciannes* (or “Galleguidad” in Spanish language) among the pieces included in this archive that:

these types of compositions [polkas, waltzes] will also be included in the archive even if they are not typically Galician, because they are part of the music that nowadays is performed by Galician bagpipers. However, we will write a note to clarify their origins (*La Voz de Galicia*, March 7, 1980, 36).

The members of the *Escola de Gaitas* thought about which styles and genres to choose and which to exclude as representative of Galicia within the broad realm of bagpipe music. These discussions, of course, were not new and they were not unique to the *Escola*. The history and scope of the debates on the construction of a distinctively

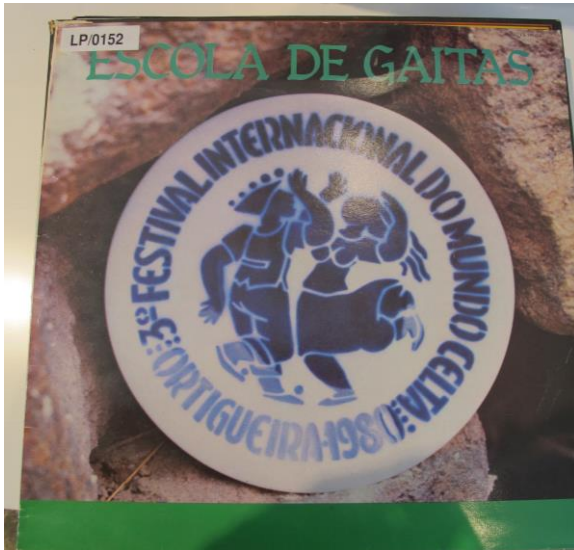
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<sup>32</sup> The repertoire included the *muñeiras* “Buxos Verdes,” the “Muñeira of Lugo,” the “Pasacorredoiras of Fonsagrada,” the “Rianxera,” the “Foliada of Ortigueira,” the “March of the Ancient Kingdom of Galicia,” the “Muñeira of Castrelos” and the “Anthem of Galicia” (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 9, 1976)

<sup>33</sup> In her songbook, Swiss folklorist Dorothé Schubarth states that the term “type” was used by her “informants” to talk about the *muñeira* (a dance in 6/8), the *jota*, and the *pasacorredoiras*, among other dances and musics, and the terms *foliada* or *serán*, both roughly meaning “fiesta” in Galician language and indicating that the piece was to be sung on such a festive occasion, were referred to as a “genre” (Schubarth 1984, XXIII). The *muñeira*, which is divided in her songbook into “new *muñeira*” and “old *muñeira*” was indistinctively referred to as “*muñeira*” by her informants (*ibid*).

Galician “musical *corpus*” (Costa 2004, 1) for the Galician bagpipe from the 19<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, has been thoroughly researched by Galician musicologist Luis Costa Vázquez (see Costa Vázquez 1999, 2001, 2004). By choosing what to play and how to define Galician bagpipe music following their own parameters, the young members of the *Escola* took part in that conversation. Furthermore, they empowered themselves to use, reinterpret, and adapt that repertoire to their own ends by composing new pieces for the *Escola*, by putting together new music ensembles (including the ensemble of the *Escola* itself), by arranging music pieces for those novel groups, and by placing their *Escola* and its repertoire within music groups from Brittany, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland on both the stage of the IFCW or on music recordings (Figure 1.6).

For instance, in terms of texture the *Escola* explored new possibilities hand in hand with Galician musician and instrument maker Antón Corral. Although I discuss Corral and his role in Ortigueira in detail in a different section (see p. 92), it is worth mentioning here that in Ortigueira and within his Workshop-School linked to the *Escola*, Corral created ensembles such as the group of *Zanfonas, Pitos e Requintas* (Galician musical instruments re-made or refashioned by him), and he also made a septet of bagpipes or “*septiminio*” to perform a piece by Rogelio de Leonardo Bouza (Corral 2013, interview with author and Ramón Pinheiro; Garrote 2013, 40). Ideas and decisions regarding the Galician bagpipe repertoire, organological aspects of both the Galician bagpipe and its accompanying percussion instruments, and the teaching of the bagpipe, among other things, did not take place in isolation. This common preoccupation with the articulation in the present of what was seen as a disappearing musical past in the aftermath of Franco’s dictatorship, lead to an intra-regional and inter-generational dialogue among Galician bagpipers (all of them male). These conversations started in Santa Marta de Ortigueira, continued in Melide (A Coruña, Galicia) and lead to the already mentioned creation of AGAL, the Association of Galician Bagpipers.



**Figure 1.6** Above Left and below: LP *Escola de Gaitas* (Guimbarda Records). On the front cover (top) there are the memorabilia of the IFCW 1980 (a Sargadelos' ceramic plate, an iconic craft from Galicia, with a couple wearing the Galician traditional attire, dancing the *muñeira*). On the back cover (bottom) the *Escolar Vello* were the *Escola* started its activities and later on, were Antón Corral's Workshop-School was located. Above Right: front and back cover of the LP *Nocturno Celta* (Guimbarda). Reproductions of iconography at the *Arquivo Sonoro de Galicia*, Santiago de Compostela, 2013.



**Figure 1.7** On the left: *Escola* 1978, Ortigueira. The boy is holding a banner (always displayed by the *Escola* in public presentations) with the name of the group in Galician Language and the coat of arms of Ortigueira; photograph by Álvaro Fernández Polo. On the top right: *Escola* posing with banner (left) and the Galician flag (right); from Antón Corral's personal archive (unknown author). On the bottom right: *Escola* performing in front of a giant Galician flag (left) and with its banner (right). Photograph taken in Ortigueira by Álvaro Fernández Polo (1978).

#### **I.3.4. The *Escola* as a New Experience**

When the *Escola* opened its doors there was nothing like it in Ortigueira. Unlike any precedent institution, the *Escola* was a space lead by young citizens of Ortigueira, independently of both state and church powers. Contrary to Franco's language regulations, which forbade the Galician language in public schools (Stewart 1999, 293), the *Escola* used Galician as the language in its classes, program notes, newspaper announcements, and interviews, among other things. In public performances both in

and outside Ortigueira, *Escola* members dressed with the Galician “traditional” attire (Figure 1.7).<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, they closed most of its public presentations with a performance in unison of the Galician anthem, and they always displayed the Galician flag, even before either these symbols were officially approved by the Spanish state (in 1981).

Through its music activities in Ortigueira, the *Escola* located Galician popular musical practices in time and space. This was done through collective rehearsals in public buildings (such as the *Escolar Vello*, the *Teatro de la Beneficencia*, or in the open air), private instrumental practice at home, public concerts, music participation in local celebrations (*i.e.* in the summer patron saint fiesta, the holy week, the winter carnival, Christmas), and the realization in relinquished public buildings of music projects such as Antón Corral School-Workshop, the Galician Music Archive, or the meetings held with other bagpipers or people from Ortigueira to discuss and coordinate efforts to carry on with their different musical projects.

With the *Escola*, young people gained space in Ortigueira. Furthermore, *Escola* members were able to engage in new modes of social relations. In fact, in 1975 the *Escola* was one of the few after school activities opened for both female and male young people. According to Marías

There was nothing to do here, so young people had a lot of energy, of desire to do things ... Look, here the only kind of organization that existed [for the youth] was called the Youth Front. These were Francoist organizations [exclusively for men]. So they were the only kind of associations that we had. There, you could play football, ping-pong, pool, card games, Parcheesi, table games, and sometimes they will make an outdoors activity or organize hikes. My brothers

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<sup>34</sup> In a 2013 interview, Xavier Garrote explained to me that the initial attire used by the *Escola* had a mix of different elements which were mainly taken from his research on the “typical attire from Ferrol.” As pointed out by an anonymous Galician researcher, the attire of the *Escola*, resembled the clothing used by Franco’s folkloric troupe or *Sección Femenina* (Spanish for “Female Section”) to represent Galicia. This link, probably known by the older members of the *Escola*, was secondary to their sense of re-appropriation of what they saw as a “traditional,” pre-Franco Galician symbol. A collection of these costumes was given by Franco to Argentinean first lady Eva Perón in 1947 (Ortiz 2012, 17). It is kept by the Museum of Spanish Art Enrique Larreta of Buenos Aires, and it is available for consultation on the internet site <http://www.acceder.gov.ar/> (Ortiz 2012, 18).

and other guys tried to do, later on, a similar organization focused on youth and nature but where your ideology did not matter (...). The relationships between girls and guys here were... well, there was a heavy conservative ideology. You could only go out with girls from a certain age and you had to have permission, and everybody had to be able to see you (...) (2013, interview with author).

The *Escola* was one of the first large bagpipe groups in Galicia with both female and male instrumental performers. It was also one of the first Galician music groups to have young female bagpipers, and, as mentioned before, it was the first one to have a female conductor, María del Mar Fernández Polo. Traveling together as a mixed group, and without parental supervision for the multiple performances of the *Escola*, was unheard of in Ortigueira. Loli and María del Mar remembered that:

(L): For me it [the time at the *Escola*] was a wonderful time in my life (M): it was very good because [at that time] girls in Ortigueira did not leave the town, perhaps, exceptionally, to [nearby] Ferrol, and Coruña at the most. But with the *Escola* we were allowed to travel by ourselves and we went to Mallorca, Murcia, Zaragoza, we traveled throughout... (L): throughout Galicia, Spain and abroad (2013, interview with author).

Traveling and playing outside Ortigueira was important for the members of the *Escola* not only because it was something new for them, something that allowed them to break with established social norms, but it was also empowering. Performing outside their native town with a group called *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, transformed the young members of the *Escola* into representatives of their town. On a few occasions, they also became representatives of Galicia. This was the case on their trip to the French Festival *Interceltique de Lorient* (1978), in Lorient, Brittany, where they played as part of the first Galician commission ever invited to this event.<sup>35</sup> The opportunity of performing in Lorient and traveling in the bus with renown Galician musicians such as the members

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<sup>35</sup> The Festival Interceltique de Lorient is celebrated annually in Lorient, Brittany, France. It was created in 1971 under the name *Fête de Cornemuses* (Bartho Lavenir 2012, 720). In 1972 the word “*interceltique*” was incorporated into its name, making it the Festival Interceltique de Cornemuses (*ibid*). Currently known as the *Festival Interceltique de Lorient*, it is a large music event with international guests from the so called “Celtic nations,” attended by thousands of people. The festival features bagpipe band parades, on stage concerts, and smaller concerts in so called “pubs” (in English) among other things. For more on this festival see (Bartho Lavenir 2012; Freitas Branco 2015; Valentim Madeira 2014).



of *Fuxan os Ventos* (Galician for "the Winds Blow"), led these young musicians to feel proud of their work. And this is rightly so, since acclaim for their music performances were not only coming from their close social network in Ortigueira, or even from Galicia, but from the audience of the Festival of Lorient, as well as from the national and international press (Fig 1.8).



**Figure 1.8** Left: “Galicia: a First Bagpipe-Band in Lorient,” on the French Journal *Le Télégramme* (July 7, 1978). Right: leaflet with information on the *Escola*, tribute to the *Escola* and Antón Corral’s School-Workshop by Spanish airline Iberia (1984) (both documents are in Francisco Bermúdez’ archive).

The overall activities of the *Escola* re-located Ortigueira from the margins, and turned it into a center of cultural, and specifically of musical production. In Ortigueira, this sense of “centralization” was both transmitted and reinforced by the large repercussion given to everything done by the *Escola* in the local (and widely read) newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*.<sup>36</sup> During the first ten years of the *Escola*, David Fojo, director and owner of this journal, published in a very detailed and always acclaiming way, all the activities developed by the *Escola*. These articles included information like the repertoire performed, the number of members of the *Escola* participating in each activity, the size of the audience and their positive reactions, among other details.<sup>37</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> *La Voz de Ortigueira* is a widely read newspaper in Santa Marta de Ortigueira.

<sup>37</sup> In my experience, *The Voz de Ortigueira* is one of the most important available printed sources to do research on the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* or any of their projects.

*Voz de Ortigueira* showed a tremendous support for the *Escola*, it expressed an open proudness and support for its young members and their cultural achievements, it reported about the hard work of the members of the *Escola*, and it scorned the people of Ortigueira for not collaborating enough with everything they did. In spite of both the age and political differences between Xavier Garrote and David Fojo (Garrote 2013, 39) their mutual focus on the *Escola* both shaped and constituted a strong and long-term bond.

The *Escola de Gaitas* did not only re-center Ortigueira due to its "external" presentations and their ample medialization in the local press. The *Escola* also became, literally, a center, because of four large musical projects it organized which took place in Ortigueira: The International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira (IFCW), The *Xuntanzas de Gaiteiros* (Galician for "Bagpipers' Meeting"), the Galician Music Archive, and the Workshop-School of Galician musical instruments of Antón Corral. Developing all these projects, in addition to teaching, taking lessons, and maintaining a hectic performing/touring schedule was not an easy task. In fact, it is important to remember that, in addition to the fact that the *Escola* was not a main activity from which a monthly income or a certificate diploma derived for anybody, a lot was demanded, performance-wise, from its members. For instance, Loli and María del Mar, remembering their experience at Lorient, said that:

(M): The experience of Lorient was fantastic and we were really acclaimed because there were not many bands from Galicia (...). We were rehearsing the walking style [before leaving]

(L): there, on the pier. Xavier made us practice a lot! walking from one side to the other, we had to pay attention to our feet, to avoid crossing them, because he also scared us a bit with the responsibility that we had, because the best groups play in Lorient, he said, and if we were going to go we needed to practice, we needed to walk correctly. (...)

(L): Lorient was very beautiful because we were different from everybody else: we had young people and children, we were a mixed group, and the fact of having both girls and guys that was not very normal back then, we were a different kind of group and that was beautiful (2013, interview with author).

So, even if the *Escola* required a lot of effort from its members most of them committed

to it. They worked hard aiming at developing its projects successfully. This way of working and developing projects was also an important managing strategy of the *Escola*. In the following section I will explore this strategy which I refer to as "the *Escola* as a family," showing not only that this was what allowed the *Escola* to exist and develop during its first ten years, but also highlighting its relation to the specific, future oriented, music goals of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*.

#### **I.4 The *Escola* as a Family**

During the first week of August 2013 I interviewed a group of current members of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. We had met repeatedly in the previous weeks, as well as in the previous couple of summers; Rodrigo López, the *Escola* conductor, had allowed me to be present at their concerts and rehearsals. I followed, photographed, and recorded the ensemble of the *Escola* in concerts and street parades, most of which took place in the context of both the IFCW (2011-2013) and the local Fiesta of Saint Marta, the patron saint of Santa Marta de Ortigueira.

A call for my interview was forwarded by Rodrigo through the *Escola*'s WhatsApp group, a mobile phone application highly popular in Spain, through which the members of the *Escola* exchanged both music and socially related information. Through WhatsApp, members of the *Escola* also set times for concerts and other activities of the *Escola*, and they shared images and videos. The group interview, led in Spanish, involved a total of eleven people out of the nearly forty members of the performing group of the *Escola* (as of 2013). There were six girls and five men between the ages of seventeen and twenty-seven, who had been members of the *Escola* for a total of three to fifteen years. Most of them had family members who were or had been part of the *Escola*, and a number of them expressed a desire for involving their future children in this school. I first asked the group, I asked them to imagine that they were being interviewed at a famous Colombian radio station, and that they were asked to explain what was the *Escola de Gaitas* to a Colombian audience:

Member 1: one thing is what the *Escola* is and a different thing is what the *Escola* is for me, I mean, what it means to me

Author: Let's start by what it is in general terms, and then you tell me what it is for you

M1: The *Escola* is a group of traditional Galician music. The *Escola* for me is a

group of friends (...) we are like a clan

M2: it is like a family, because when we arrive here and we are very little the older ones take care of us, but then it comes the time when we are the ones taking care of the little ones. There are no parents here, no parent comes to our trips (2013, interview with author).

During fieldwork, former members of the *Escola* also likened the sense of belonging to the school to that of belonging to a family. This feeling of belonging to a particular cultural formation like the “family” through socio-musical relations and practices in the particular context of the *Escola*, deserves a dissertation on its own. In this section, I will focus on the political-economy of the *Escola*, or the intricate relationship between their particular way of managing available resources and the social construction, social production (Low 2000, 127-128), and social reproduction of the space of the *Escola*. In my view, “the Escola as a Family” can be understood as a mode of management. This basically consists of using the material resources available (not money) and relying on collective work and the commitment of a collective towards the completion of a project, to socially produce and construct a space, in tandem. In the “Escola as a Family” the possibility of “knowing by doing” plays an important role, and both the personal and collective interests towards the completion of the project are focused on the project itself, without expectations of immediate transactions leading to capital accumulation. This mode of management, frequently used in Ortigueira to develop cultural and educational projects lead by local residents in the face of an absent or immobile state, allowed the *Escola* to develop projects and musical infrastructure, and therefore, to contribute to the cultural development of Ortigueira. In this context, the idea of “development” corresponds to the Marxian sense of the term, defined as the process of “replacing the domination of circumstances and chance over individuals by the domination of individuals over chance and circumstances” (Karl Marx cited by Sen 1997, 497).

For anthropologist Setha Low the social production of space refers to “all those factors –social, economic, ideological, and technological—that result, or seek to result in the physical creation of the material setting” (2000, 127). The social construction of space, on the other hand “is the actual transformation of space –through people’s social exchanges, memories, images, and daily use of the material setting—into scenes and

actions that convey meaning” (2000, 128). For instance, if we were to look at these processes in relation to a public music conservatory in Spain, the social production would include the political negotiations to get a City Hall to approve the project and finance the building (and specifically, a music conservatory and not, let’s say, a rock music school), the attribution of that architectural project to a given company, and the negotiations over the design of the building between the powers and agents involved. The social construction would include, contrastingly, the transformation of the building for the teachers, students, student’s parents, cleaning, and clerical staff of the conservatory, into something meaningful according to both their individual and collective experiences of/in that particular material setting.

In the case of the *Escola* the social construction and social production of space were not lead as separate processes but they occurred in tandem. Leading agents were the members of the school, and so the process of creating a musical infrastructure was a part of their music making-activities. Musicking (Small 1998), in this way, included finding a place where to actually develop the activities of the *Escola*, cleaning and refurbishing together the abandoned *Escolar Vello* to be able to give and receive classes, cleaning the *Teatro de la Beneficencia* with the same aim, constituting and making the norms of the *Escola*, finding the necessary musical instruments or ways to fund the acquisition of these instruments, finding music teachers and teaching, making the necessary costumes for the public presentations of the *Escola*, constructing a music stage when necessary, making posters, writing programs, rehearsing, practicing, and performing publicly, among other things.

As money was neither an aim nor a resource that was initially available at the *Escola*, both the making and continuous functioning of the school depended on the capacities and compromise of its members as the primary resource to reach its goals. These included the number of hours invested, the quality of work, the prioritization of collective necessities over personal needs, the flexibility to do new things as needed, or the willingness to use previously acquired knowledge and abilities to tackle different issues. And also, in addition to the previous motives, the affects involved. In this sense, I think, the idea of *family* in the “*Escola as a Family*” denoted a strong personal connection with a group of people who worked collectively, for an extended period of time, to create, maintain, and expand the *Escola* and its projects. Sharing long periods

of time, musicking together, and having specific responsibilities in the group based on age, and less explicitly on gender, reinforced this feeling.

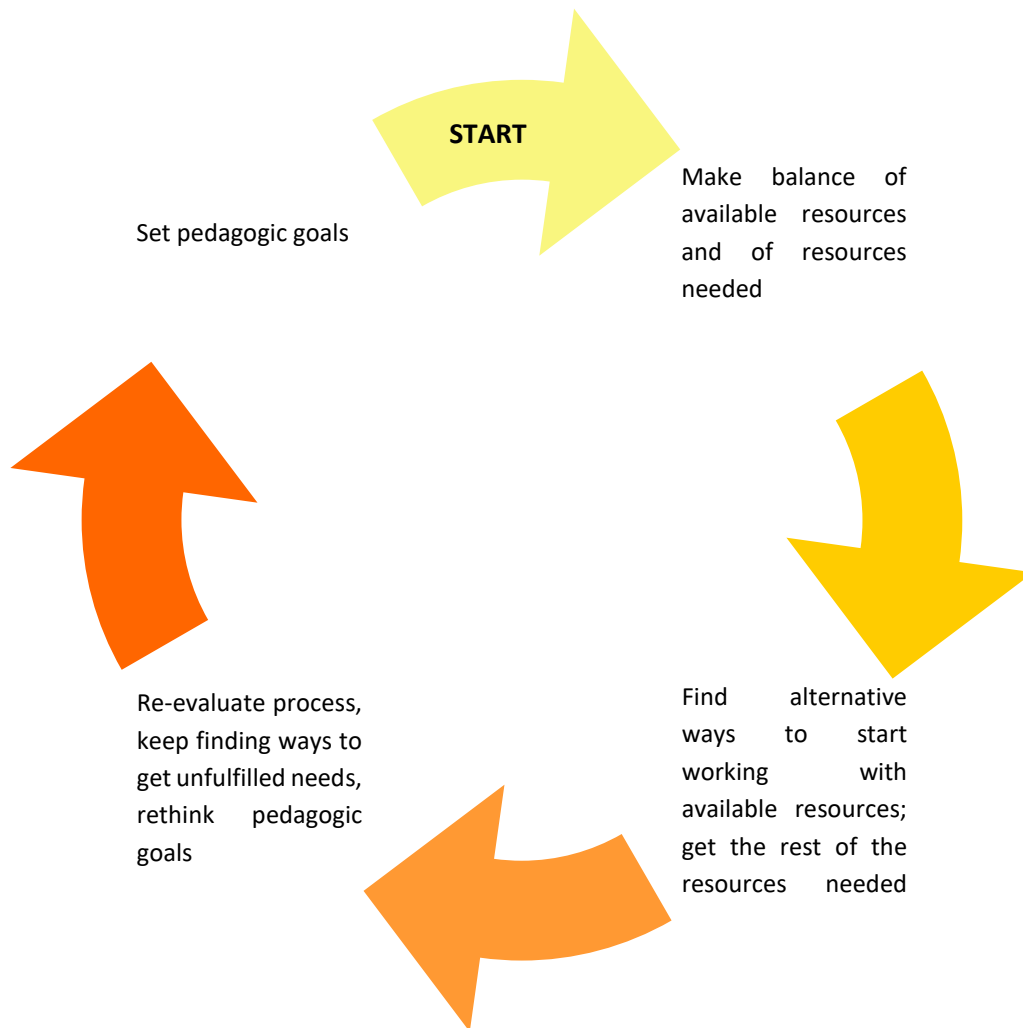
Members of the *Escola*, thus, did not “participate” (from the Latin *pars* or “part” and *capere* or “take”) in the school and its projects but they were “involved” (from the Latin *in* or “intro” and *volvere* or “roll”) in them. This particular way of leading the social production and construction of the school, was a collective response to the lack of money, governmental support, and/or financial aid available for its development without compromising the leadership of its members or their collective socio-musical views. The *Escola* was initially or eventually seen by its members as an urgently needed space in Ortigueira. The mode of management used to palliate financial and material needs, urged members of the *Escola* to work in a certain way which influenced their strong identification with the school; they were not only there to receive a service but they were also there to give one, and the existence and functioning of the *Escola* depended, to a great extent, on them as a collective. In the short, medium, and long term, this has contributed to the social reproduction of the *Escola*, as former members, for instance, even if in strong musical disagreement with what the *Escola* does today, are still associated with the school (they pay an annual fee for membership to the Cultural Association *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*).<sup>38</sup> This sense of belonging to the *Escola* beyond personal difference and in spite of the passing of time, has helped secure the functioning of the school, in the midst of difficult financial and political moments, up to the present day.

As a mode of management, the “*Escola as a Family*” resembles the process of *autoconstruction* of homes in economically deprived areas of Latin America (see p. 16), through which houses are erected collectively and by parts depending on the availability of material, financial, and social resources. In the context of the *Escola* the process of autoconstruction was led gradually and according to their needs. Their first project was the *Escola* itself and the last one and largest was the IFCW. Despite the different size of each of these projects (the *Escola* had sixty members and the IFCW involved an unknown

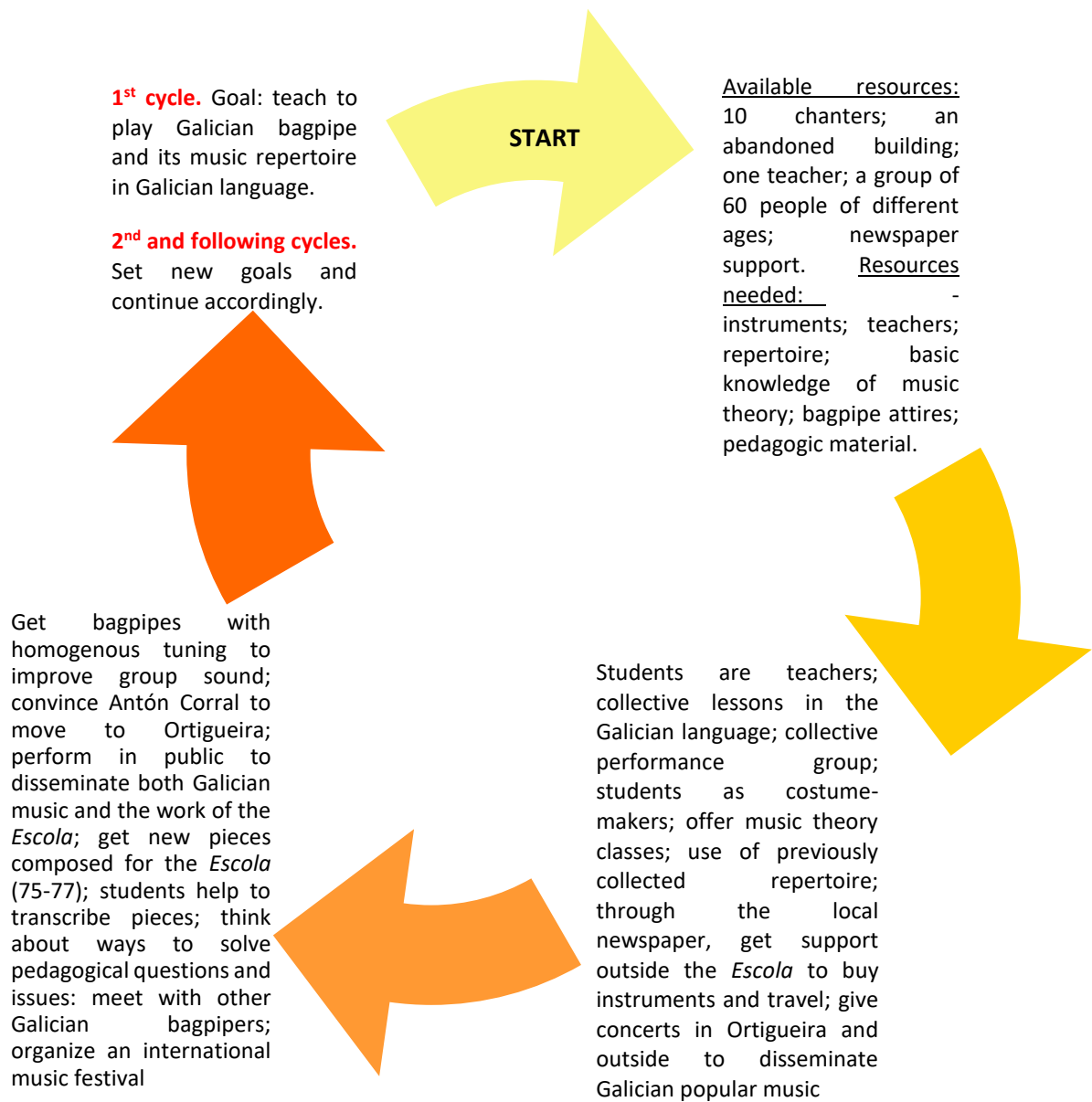
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<sup>38</sup> The *Escola de Gaitas* was constituted as a Cultural Association on December 23, 1981. Members-collaborators had to turn into *socios* or “members” of the association. The first president of this association was Francisco Bermúdez, one of the *mayores* of the *Escola* (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, October 8, 1982).

number of collaborators from Ortigueira, musicians from all over Galicia, Scotland, Ireland, Britany, and Wales, and an incoming audience of around ten thousand people), the initial working flow was basically the same:

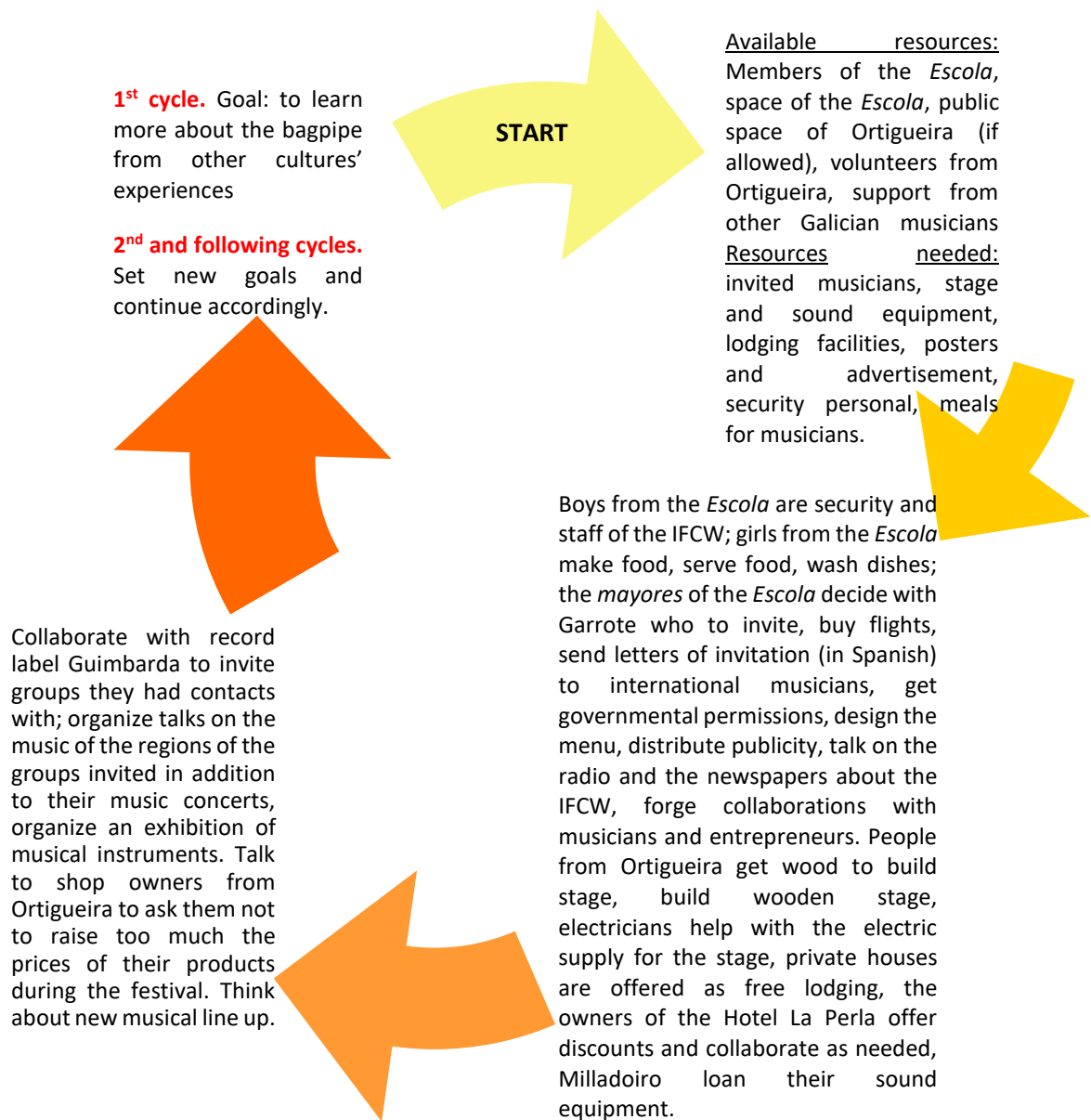


Applied to the first years of the Escola the working chart looked like this:





Applied to the first two years of the IFCW the working chart looked like this:



The “Escola as a Family” was an important managing strategy, an outcome of social agency, that allowed the *Escola* to function and set the base of the IFCW. It also supported the development of projects that seemed impossible to implement, such as the opening of a Workshop-School of Galician musical instruments or the celebration of an international music festival in Ortigueira. In relation to the *Escola*, Xavier Garrote explained that:

We marked a first goal within our pedagogical project: to create bagpipe groups. So we had to bring the material because we had nothing, we did not have any instrument. So we started to collect things (2013, interview with author).

Besides refurbishing the *Escolar Vello*, offering instrument lessons free of charge, transcribing bagpipe music, or taking care of younger students, members of the *Escola* supported the school according to their personal knowledge or interests. For instance, Álvaro Fernández Polo, who was a state worker in the Registry of Ortigueira when the *Escola* was founded, used his knowledge as a resource to fulfill the needs of the *Escola*:

I was at the *Escola* for a long time, until... Besides playing [and teaching the bagpipe], as I was the only one [in the *Escola*] who worked [in a state office job] as administrative staff, to put it in some way, I became a kind of the secretary of the *Escola de Gaitas*. I made the invoices of the *Escola*, I was the accountant... I even made the change of guard (laughs) ...then we became older and new people came in (2013, interview with author).

Furthermore, Álvaro Fernández Polo collaborated in other ways due to his ability as a visual artist and graphic designer. He designed posters, made designs for the *Escola* memorabilia, and initiated a photographic archive of Galician musical instruments focused on, though not limited to, the *Escola de Gaitas*.

In addition to managing of resources of “The *Escola* as a Family” and the initial financial contributions by its members' parents, friends of the *Escola*, and the Government of Ortigueira to acquire more and better musical instruments, the *Escola* soon became self-sufficient (Garrote 2013, interview with the author; Bermúdez 2013, interview with the author; Fernández Polo 2013, interview with the author; Marías 2013, interview with the author). The *Escola* was able to balance the money needed and the money earned as their concert agenda grew fast and assured sustainability. During its first three years of existence, for instance, the *Escola* went from offering one local performance (1975), to eleven yearly presentations throughout Galicia (1977), which almost doubled the following year (1978) to twenty performances in Galicia and Southern France, plus one top prize at a bagpipe contest in Pontevedra, Galicia.

In addition to money, the *Escola* was able to gain the support of a number of Galician cultural agents and entrepreneurs. This support from older generations was

important, if not economically, then in terms of reinforcing the self-confidence of the *Escola* (within its own members):

(...) all these doors were opened! It was the same with Isaac Díaz Pardo, the director of Sargadelos [ceramic enterprise]. (...) That availability of a man who has twice your age and that gets fascinated with a new project... it was cultured people and beyond their ideology they knew what were their roots. We had a lot of luck with all this, don't you think? (2013 interview with author).

Self-confidence was an important aspect of musicking in the *Escola*. Appropriate managing strategies, a focus on the projects for the projects themselves and not as channels to accumulate money at a personal or collective level, and an adequate sense of planning and anticipation, led members of the *Escola* as well as external supporters to trust in the project of the school. As trust was gained and self-confidence was collectively embraced the spatialization of Galician music in Ortigueira continued as more projects were developed. From 1975 to 1985 there was always something new to do, and to learn in Ortigueira (Figure 1.9). Four main issues centered the attention of the *Escola* and concentrated its re-elaboration of goals and needs: access to bagpipes and other Galician musical instruments, access to Galician music repertoire, the dissemination of Galician music and culture, and the improvement of the *Escola*'s pedagogical methods. Four major projects were thus constructed responding to these main points: the IFCW (1978-1983; pedagogical methods and diffusion), the Workshop-School of Antón Corral (1979-1981: access to bagpipes and other Galician instruments), the Galician Music Archive (1976-?: Galician music repertoire),<sup>39</sup> and the *Xuntanzas de Gaiteiros* (1980-1983: bagpipe pedagogy and Galician music repertoire). I will discuss these projects next, in chronological order, but leaving the first one (IFCW) for a larger analysis in a separate section (Chapter 2).

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<sup>39</sup> The question-mark is there as I have not been able to get empirical evidence of the year when this particular project was discontinued.

Where	Present Projects	Future Projects
Ortigueira	Bagpipe lessons, percussion lessons,	Creation of a <i>Zanfona</i> School
Ortigueira	Music theory: solfège classes	Construction of a Galician " <i>pitos</i> " school
Ortigueira	Galician popular dances	Meeting of constructors of Galician musical instruments
Ortigueira	Research Department of Folklore with a photography section	Meeting of directors of all the bagpipe groups of Galicia. Talks and compilation of repertoire to be kept in an open-accessed Galician music archive
Ortigueira	Galician "popular" music Library	Music colloquium
Ortigueira	Dissemination of Galician music with the Escola and the IFCW	Construction of a building to develop all the activities mentioned above.
Ortigueira	<i>Zanfona</i> construction classes and music lessons	
Ortigueira	Galician bagpipe construction classes (in different keys)	
Ortigueira	Galician " <i>pito</i> " making classes	
Ortigueira	Reconstruction of Galician musical instruments that had previously disappeared: " <i>charrasco</i> ," " <i>ferreñeiro</i> ," "dulcimer," "ocarina," and "Celtic harp."	

**Figure 1.9** Report of present and upcoming activities of the *Escola* sent to the government of the "Diputación Provincial de La Coruña" (Garrote and Fernández Polo 1979)

## I.5 The *Escola* and its Projects

### I.5.1 *Taller-Escola* of Antón Corral

The *Taller-Escola* (Galician for "Workshop-School") of Antón Corral was the second largest project developed by the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. It officially opened its doors on March of 1979, only eight months after the IFCW was created. Xavier Garrote remembers that:

(...) of course, as we were advancing with the group [of the *Escola*] we started to generate new needs, they [students] had to learn new things, so we had a close relationship with Antón Corral and we asked him to move [from Lugo, Galicia] to Ortigueira to work with us and to create a workshop-school [of Galician musical instruments], not only a workshop (interview with author, 2013).

Galician instrument maker Antón Corral moved to Ortigueira with his family and his life-long savings. He was convinced by Garrote to do it, to participate with what then seemed to be the ever-growing music project of the *Escola*. Antón and his family took a big financial risk doing this. Following the ethos of the *Escola*, the classes offered at the Workshop-School were free of charge. There was no grant or any kind of salary provided for Corral's work at Ortigueira. There was, however, a promise of a grant from the regional Galician administration, which came four months later and gave Antón five hundred thousand *pesetas* (*La Voz de Ortigueira* 1979, 1). Just like the beginnings of the *Escola*, the Workshop-School was located at the, yet again, empty *Escolar Vello*. This had been empty since the *Escola* moved away to what was then, the deteriorated *Teatro de la Beneficencia* in 1976. The old school building was relinquished by the Major of Ortigueira to accommodate both Corral's workspace and home. According to Álvaro Fernández Polo "the first floor [of the *Escolar Vello*] was for him, for the workshop, (upstairs was his home). We fixed everything, we painted the building, we did the wallpapering (...)" (interview with author, 2013).<sup>40</sup>

Antón Corral and his family contributed to enrich the musical and cultural activities of the *Escola and Ortigueira*. He trained some of the first young instruments

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<sup>40</sup> The practice of autoconstruction has reinforced the affective links among the people involved. Affection has been at the base of the "*Escola* as family" from the very beginning. In the case of the *Escola*, the long-term affective relationships have passed through many phases, and they have grown as a group.

makers of Galicia. The unique idea of making a workshop as a school, attracted attention from different parts of Galicia and abroad, including the Department of Folkloric Research of the University of Toulouse (Garrote and Fernández Polo 1979, 3). Furthermore, the Workshop-School expanded the geographic ratio of the student body of Ortigueira, as, within its 16 young students who were between fourteen and twenty-one years old, there were students from Ortigueira and neighboring towns as well as from Vigo, Ferrol, Betanzos, and A Coruña (*La Voz de Ortigueira* 1979, 1). Besides constructing instruments and teaching instrument construction, Corral founded the Pedagogical Group of *Zanfonas Pitos e Requintas* (see Figure 1.10) in Ortigueira. This was a novel musical formation for which Corral composed and arranged music, and which, as all the projects linked to the *Escola*, was centered on performance as well as on teaching. Money to buy Antón Corral's musical instruments for his group came from local donation's (Figure 1.11). He got a lot of attention during the IFCW which helped him promote his instruments, and he organized an instrument exhibit for the festival. The group of *Zanfonas, Pitos e Requintas*, although directed by Antón Corral shared the stage with the *Escola* at the IFCW and other events. His son, Jesús, founded the Galician Dance Group of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, which was also free of charge and had rehearsals during the weekends (*La Voz de Ortigueira* 1980, 1).



**Figure 1.10** "Requintas" (black flute on the left), "pitos" (next right to requinta), and "zanfona" (hurdy-gurdy). Larger instrument at the center. Source: booklet of the LP of Antón Corral Pedagogical Group in Vigo (2007).

LA VOZ DE ORTIGUEIRA  
21-9-79

## ESCOLA DE GAITAS

### SUSCRIPCION PARA ADQUISICION DE ZANFONAS Y OTROS INSTRUMENTOS

Jesús Martínez	1.000	Ptas.
Director Banco Santander	500	«
Eduardo Maciñeira	500	«
Anónimo	500	«
Fernando Fernández	1.000	«
Casa Tonis	500	«
Manolo Platas	1.000	«
Zapateria Pancho	100	«
Manuel Blanco Blanco	500	«
Calzados Iglesias	500	«
Jesús Iglesias	500	«
Tele-Hogar	1.000	«
Comercial Bellón	500	«
Anónimo	100	«
Confitería Victoria	500	«
Relojería Jesús Manuel	2.000	«
Vicente Orjales	200	«
Tejidos Durán	1.000	«
Guillermo Caula	500	«
<b>Total</b>	<b>32.900</b>	

**Figure 1.11** List of donors for the purchase of *zanfonas* and other musical instruments (in Spanish *pesetas*) (From Francisco Bermúdez archive).

Due to the differences between Antón Corral's financial needs and the self-sufficient economy of the *Escola*, Corral and his family only lived in Ortigueira for two years. However, his presence in Ortigueira was important for both the *Escola* and for himself, as he has stated (2013 interview with author). For the *Escola*, the project meant that they were able to do what they had in mind, and that their projects were having a positive impact on the development of Galician music. In fact, the *Escola* and its projects effectively turned Ortigueira into "the center stage of the bagpipe in Galicia" (Corral 2013, interview with author). They also supported the work of Galician music agents such as Corral who, during his time in Ortigueira, gained popularity as an instrument maker due, for instance, to the attention he received by the media during the IFCW. For him, the experience of the *Escola* was also important:

(...) [in Ortigueira] I lived all what was happening with the world of the bagpipe. That helped everything to evolve, didn't it? To tell you the truth all this was like.... damn! It was impressive! And for me, above all, what [was important] was the instrument workshop, and the group of the *Escola*, the Pedagogical Group [of *Zanfonas, Pitos e Requintas*], which had a tremendous importance for me because it followed me to Vigo. We recorded an LP there, and with this group we contributed to make an instrument like the *zanfona* known, as well as the *pito* and *requinta* (...). I think that they were made to be played together (2013,

interview with author).

Antón Corral's experience in Ortigueira was important when he moved south to Vigo. In this Galician city, he re-constructed a number of the things that he had seen in Ortigueira such as The Celtic Music Festival of Vigo, he continued with his activities with the Pedagogical Group of *Zanfonas, Pitos e Requintas*, he organized the bagpipe band *Xarabal* (where now famous bagpipers such as Carlos Nuñez started to learn to play the instrument), he made a permanent music instrument exhibit, and he found a more stable job at the Popular University of Vigo for teaching how to make bagpipes and other Galician musical instruments.

### **I.5.2 Xuntanzas de Gaiteiros and Galician Music Archive.**

From 1980 to 1982 three different *Xuntanzas* with Galician bagpipers took place in Ortigueira. They were summoned by the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* to “open up an ample debate regarding the possible unification of rhythms, airs, and the codification [transcription] of musical compositions for the bagpipe” (Cheda 1980). Besides this goal, other issues discussed in the meetings included the creation of a Galician Music Archive, the collaboration of older and experienced bagpipers in the music education of the Galician youth, and the collective agreement to demand cooperation from fiesta organizers to include Galician bagpipe music in the fiestas’ musical line up, as well as to present bagpipers with “dignity” in that same context (that is, to pay bagpipers a fair fee and to print their names in fiesta posters and advertisements, using the same size of font employed to list other groups).

The Galician Music Archive started with Xavier Garrote’s repertoire collection for the *Escola de Gaitas*. The idea of the *Escola* was to create an archive with repertoire from all over Galicia, transcribed or collected as a score if it was already written. Scores were to be deposited in Ortigueira, either during the meetings or later on by mail. In Ortigueira, each score would undergo analysis to assure its identification by composer, if known, place of origin, performance context, performers, and melodic variations (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, March 14, 1980, 1). According to Xavier Garrote the *Escola* was going to be a “decentralized center” for the Archive, as copies of all the documents available were going to be kept in this town but they were also going to be shared with all those participating in the project (sending copies by mail or giving copies during the meetings) (*La Voz de Galicia*, March 7, 1980, 36).



Unfortunately, a copy of the archive could not be located during my fieldwork in Ortigueira. From 2011 to 2013 there was no music archive at the Public Library or at the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* and so the few documents available were scattered among the private collections of former members of the *Escola*. I was also unable to find out what happened to the material of the archive. The only printed documents that I found in relation to the Archive were newspaper articles, which corresponded to the memories of the Archive that I had collected in interviews or heard in informal conversations with former members of the *Escola* (Marías, Álvaro Fernández Polo, Francisco Bermúdez, Loli Pérez Ojea, Maria del Mar Fernandez Polo, Xavier Garrote).<sup>41</sup>

According to these newspaper articles, the first bagpipers' meeting took place on March 1 and 2, 1980. Bagpipers who attended included: directors and representatives from the groups *Faíscas do Xiabre*, the Portela Brothers, the Garceiras Brothers, *Follas Novas*, *Froito Novo* from Melide (Galicia), *Caraveliños*, *Os Rueiriños*, *Agarimos*, *Nova Xuntanza*, *Os Rosales*, *Airiños da Nosa Terra*, *Brandoiro* and others (*La Voz de Galicia*, March 7, 1980:36). There were representatives from each of the four Galician provinces but Ourense (the other three are A Coruña, Pontevedra, and Lugo). Besides the construction of the Galician Music Archive, which took as a starting point the "four hundred scores" that made up the already existent archive of the *Escola* (*El Progreso*, February 28, 1980; *La Voz de Galicia*, February 27, 1980), bagpipers who were present agreed to share all their known repertoire with the *Escola* and vice versa. In fact, during this first meeting the *Escola* shared its repertoire, printed in different volumes, with each of the participant groups.

During the late 1970s and early 80s there were rumors about the reluctance of Galician, especially older bagpipers, towards their performing repertoire. Sharing knowledge was not something common, as competition for possible jobs or for safeguarding one's own musical status was seen as dependent on the exclusivity of that knowledge. Nevertheless, the *Escola* did not find any type of resistance from participant bagpipers to share their knowledge and repertoire (Garrote 2013, interview with author). On the contrary, as mentioned before, there was general consensus about the

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<sup>41</sup> Local music archives are not kept in the best conditions in Galicia. For instance, writing about the state of the art of music bands in Galicia, Costa Vázquez highlights the low maintenance of music archives liked to these music ensembles (Costa Vázquez, 2013, 347).

importance of relying on the musical knowledge of the oldest and most experienced bagpipers to educate the youth, and specially to teach them how to “respect the melodic lines of the compositions,” thus avoiding melodic variations (*La Voz de Galicia*, March 7, 1980, 36; *La Voz de Ortigueira*, March 14, 1980, 1).

In the aftermath of Franco’s dictatorship Galician bagpipers combined efforts to bring a sense of “dignity” to their cultural role and their profession. As the *Escola* held its first meeting, for instance, bagpipers from Ferrol (a nearby city) met with a representative of the *Sindicato Galego da Música* (Galician for “Music Union of Galicia”) and decided to collectively join the Union to try to negotiate fair contract conditions with fiesta organizers, and to demand their right to social security benefits. They also set minimum hiring wages according to the type of presentation (street parades, tours, festivals), and agreed to respect the minimum hiring conditions that were set (*La Voz de Galicia*, March 7, 1980, 36). As mentioned before, in the meetings of the *Escola*, a disconnected but simultaneous event to that in Ferrol, a statement was created to demand fiesta organizers to hire bagpipers for their celebrations, to write their names in an appropriate font on all the printed advertisements, and to pay them fair wages. Discussions were held on whether or not to pressure fiesta organizers to make mandatory the inclusion of a bagpipe quartet in the fiesta music programming (*La Voz de Galicia*, March 7, 1980, 36; *La Voz de Ortigueira*, March 7, 1980). Also, gathered bagpipers agreed to collaborate with the *Escola* to create a directory including, if possible, all the Galician bagpipers and bagpipe quartets (*La Voz de Galicia*, March 7, 1980, 36).

The second meeting or *Xuntanza* took place on November 29 and 30 1980. It took place in Ortigueira and it was summoned by the *Escola* through personal invitations; a total of fifty were sent to bagpipers throughout Galicia (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, November 18, 1980). The main goal was to make the Galician Music Archive a reality (*ibid*) as well as to discuss the possibility of creating a society of Galician traditional music groups (*La Voz de Galicia*, November 30, 1980). A total of eighteen representatives from different bagpipe groups (mostly from the province of A Coruña) gathered in Ortigueira for this meeting. During the first day, activities were centered on correcting scores, proposing relevant bibliography, and discussing issues related to the notation of bagpipe ornamentation (*La Voz de Galicia*, November 30, 1980). The

identification of “a high number of adulterations in the music compositions” lead the bagpipers present to set as a solution the “direct contact between experienced bagpipers and students” with the goal of homogenizing melodic lines (*ibid*). In order to test this idea, a plan was set for bagpipers from the group Os Alegres from Pontevedra (Galicia), and bagpipers Ricardo Portela, Emilio Corral, and Gabriel Mato to give classes to the members of the *Escola de Gaitas*. Finally, a tentative date for a third meeting was set for 1981 and the mutual compromise agreed upon to invite not only bagpipers but also Galician instrument makers (*La Voz de Galicia*, November 30, 1980).

The third and last meeting celebrated in Ortigueira took place on January 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> 1982 (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, February 5, 1982). In this meeting, a set of four volumes with the compiled repertoire was given to all the assistants, and five groups were formed to eventually perform and record such repertoire (*ibid*). Guests brought more scores to the archive, and Galician percussion instruments, in charge of accompanying the bagpipe in bagpipe quartets, emerged as a forgotten but crucial element of Galician popular music that needed to be debated (*ibid*). Attendees at the meeting agreed to publish a booklet, to be released in July 1980, with the names and contact information of people and events related to the bagpipe (*ibid*). Galician instrument makers Seivane and de Ribeira de Piquín gave a lecture on the bagpipe air bag (or *fol* in Galician language), and assistants agreed to work together on the publication of a booklet about the construction of bagpipe reeds (or *palletas*). The members of the *Soutelo de Montes* (Galician instrument makers) Cooperative agreed to offer a course on the construction of the bagpipe reed. Finally, a tentative date for a fourth meeting was set, and everyone agreed to hold a fourth meeting in the town of Melide, Galicia. In this fourth meeting, assisting bagpipers decided to move a step forward to consolidate the creation of the Association of Galician Bagpipers (AGAL). A board was elected including bagpipers from different Galician groups such as Ricardo Santos, Juanjo Fernández, Xosé Manoel Fernández, Pepe Ferreirós, Xan Rodríguez, Antón Castro, Xosé Mingos Fuciño and, representing the *Escola de Gaitas*, Marías (*La Voz de Galicia*, February 25, 1983).

## **I.6 Conclusions**

The *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* successfully spatialized Galician music in Ortigueira. It located both physically and conceptually social relations and social

practices in space. Socio-musical practices took place in both private and public space and included activities like instrumental practice, public performances, the development of projects, meetings, and dancing. Social relations were also located in public and private space and took place among members of the *Escola*, between the *Escola* and its students' parents, Galician musicians from outside Ortigueira, Antón Corral, the newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*, other people from Ortigueira, Galician entrepreneurs, and, through the IFCW, international musicians.

The young members of *the Escola de Gaitas* were agents of the cultural transformation of Ortigueira through Galician musicking. Ortigueira started to be described in newspapers with headlines such as "Ortigueira, the Capital of the Bagpipe" (*El Progreso*, February 28, 1980) or "Two Young Men from Canarias and Puebla del Caramiñal in Ortigueira to Learn How to Play the Bagpipe" (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, September 12, 1980). With the *Escola*, Galician music was not only spatialized in Ortigueira but Ortigueira started to appear in the public sphere through the music, projects, and performances of the *Escola*. Local and regional (Galician) newspapers and TV programs gave space to the projects and music of the *Escola*, as, for instance, Galician Television recorded two carols performed by the *Escola* for its Christmas Eve special (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, December 19, 1980) or the National Spanish Radio sent correspondent Manuel Mendez to do a program on the *Escola* and other issues of the village (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, 1980).

Within only a few years the *Escola* turned Ortigueira, set discursively and in terms of available roads and infrastructure, as an isolated town, into a center of cultural production. This was perceived as such in Ortigueira at the time, as it can be clearly seen in an article published by the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*, where the activities of the *Escola* were seen retrospectively as the writer narrated the event in which the LP *Escola de Gaitas* was presented to the people of this town:

That history of the *Escola de Gaitas*, despite being so short, is full of enjoyable surprises for the Ortigueiran people, perhaps, the first surprised with all this (...). Ortigueira, in spite of being one of the farthest northern points of Spain together with Mañón, is today a center for all things related with the bagpipe, bagpipers, zanfonas, and zanfona players. Does somebody doubt this? Their musical activities have been extending. Today, in addition to having a band with about

forty young bagpipers, [the *Escola*] has a group of *Zanfonas, Pitos, e Requintas*, a recently created Galician Dance group, the School-Workshop of Antón Corral where the best bagpipes and zanfonas are made and where instruments are researched to renew the instrumental possibilities; and they also have a unique archive with six hundred scores for the bagpipe and a museum of musical instruments. Who could ask for more in such a short period of time? But this does not stop there, because the International Festival of the Celtic World is already known throughout Spain and also among our brother Celtic countries (...) (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, November 14, 1980).

## Chapter II

### The Social Production and Social Construction of Space at the International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira, 1978-1983

#### II.1. The Day that it Rained in Ortigueira

The first edition of the IFCW took place on July 30, 1978 in Santa Marta de Ortigueira. The festival was called *Primeiro Festival Internacional do Mundo Celta* (Galician for “First International Festival of the Celtic World”). It was simultaneously celebrated with (but not as part of) the Patron Saint Fiesta of Santa Marta of Ortigueira,<sup>42</sup> and specifically, on what is known in the context of this fiesta as the Day of Galicia (La Voz de Ortigueira, February 24, 1978, 1). Contradicting local knowledge on weather forecast practices during the five days of the Patron Saint Fiesta, that July 30 it poured in Ortigueira. The unexpected large number of young festival goers who had come to the festival, the lack of an adequate number of bathrooms and lodging facilities for all of them, the actual musical impact of the festival, and the festive chaos set by the rain, have all linked memories of the first edition of the IFCW to mediated images of the 1969 Woodstock Music and Art Fair, celebrated in the United States. In fact, this similarity was often used by people who participated in the first editions of the IFCW as either organizers, collaborators, musicians, or audience members, to explain to me their views on the importance of the festival at both a socio-musical and personal level.

I want, thus, to start this chapter with a translation of a newspaper article that appeared on the front page of *La Voz the Ortigueira* a few days after the celebration of the first edition of the festival. The text was published under the alias Nicolás Nidecoña (Spanish for “Nicolás No-fucking-way”) by what it seems to be a young person from Ortigueira. This was not the only article published by Ortigueiran residents after the celebration of this pioneering music event. However, I think that this particular text captures a vision of the colorful intensity of this day, including not only the sudden social and cultural transformation of a conservative Galician town, but also the impact of the unexpected weather and natural conditions on the overall meaning of the festival. The

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<sup>42</sup> Patron saint fiestas are one of the most important celebrations in many villages, towns and cities in Galicia and throughout the Iberian Peninsula.

article that follows was written in the Spanish language and it is entitled “The Day that it Rained in Ortigueira:”

The Day that it Rained in Ortigueira. It did not happen all of a sudden but it took us all by surprise. The day that it rained in Ortigueira the rain was lying in wait, exasperated, stubborn, and recalcitrant like a half good, half bad fairy.

The 30th of July of 1978 was not just another day in our village. It was neither a day of folkloric monotony nor an infertile rally attended by thousands of people. It was a day filled with a town’s faith in its own identity, without a trace of either cultural shame or unnecessary formalities. It was the day of acknowledging our own roots and our own self without making concessions.

Before the rain, a mass of people was walking through the *Tres Farolas*, the *Cantón*, the *Alameda*, and the *Malecón*.<sup>43</sup> They had come to Ortigueira days earlier, half curious half happy, to the First International Festival of the Celtic World. And to say that they came for the festival is to say too little, as all that, seemed more like a massive response to a primordial call, to a racial and bottomless request to make spatial our own depth.

All those people who suffered uncomfortable situations in the organized disorder of their campsites, those who suffered the impact of the "festive" [high] prices, the trap of the rain, and the lack of almost everything here in Ortigueira, only did it for a reason: that of feeling [simultaneously] Galician, brothers, and free, for at least that 20<sup>th</sup> (*sic.* it’s 30<sup>th</sup>) of July of 1978 here in our town.

Everything was both strange and familiar. Eccentric attires that ranged from affectedness to the most notable natural appearance, backpacks on their backs, festival posters glued to t-shirts, street vendors exhibiting things from posters to every kind of item, cars parked in unlikely places, a small camping site located in *Curuxeira* [street] hoisting an anarchist flag from an improvised flagpole. The circulation was chaotic, there were flags of all kinds, the clamor and canticles

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<sup>43</sup> All these are specific places in Ortigueira. See Figure 2.1 to locate these and other places mentioned in this article located in a map of Santa Marta de Ortigueira.

were made "ad hoc" (*sic*). And within that shouting, worries, and expectations, Ortigueira was a town besieged by hope.

After a long queue of people had lined up in the *Cantón* to get tickets [for the festival], an impressive parade of over 15000 souls started to walk through the *Salgueiro* [street]. It was an endless stream of traffic of onlookers, tourists, guards, journalists, and neighbors,<sup>44</sup> who proudly and decisively occupied the open area of the EGB [school, where the IFCW took place] which, for some hours, was their house as well as ours.

Everything was magnificent, even when Filgueira Valverde presented the festival and our dear *Escola de Gaitas* started to play, and a sudden downpour started to fall, and it rained so hard that even the *passotas*<sup>45</sup> who were there were confused, because that rain was also ours and therefore, it was fertile and fortunate. Neither consternation nor disenchantment. Soaked wet and disconcerted people didn't move: Where is the categorical failure? where could there be more loyalty and enthusiasm?

Of course there were those [neighbors] missing everything; those who were at the end of the street and had not realized that there was a party. [Because,] on the one hand, there were those who thought that this was a political event; on the other hand, there were those who felt envy of an event that was nobody's because it was everybody's. It is well understood that none of this would have happened without Xavier Garrote, you ought to know this and you had to be grateful to him. In my case, [when we are] surrounded by friends, [I make sure]

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<sup>44</sup> The term "neighbor" (*vecino* in the Spanish language and *veciño* or *vecinho* in Galician language), means in this context "residents of Ortigueira." During fieldwork, I heard this word repeatedly and it was used by my interlocutors to denote this same meaning.

<sup>45</sup> *Passotas* is written in the original article with a double "s" (twice) and it is used as a noun constructed from the adjective *pasota*. According to the online dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spanish Language (RAE) *pasota* denotes a quality of indifference toward important issues or towards issues that are discussed by a given society ("pasota"). In this specific case, the writer refers ironically to the way in which some people in Ortigueira seemed to have referred to young visitors dressed informally, for they might have been judged as not caring about anything (or as being *pasotas*) due to their personal appearance. It is important to note here that the first IFCW took place in the context of the local Patron Saint fiestas of Santa Marta de Ortigueira, for which Ortigueiran people dressed very carefully with cocktail-like attires (neatly cleaned and ironed).



he knows this. There was also a journalist who combined a sensationalist headline with a completely inaccurate chronicle [of the festival] which described Ortigueira as if it were a town invaded by the northern barbarians, and Ortigueiran people as scared and shut away in their houses. He might not know this, but one thing is the [feeling of] fear and another one that of astonishment. (...). It is important to say that there was not even one problem, not even one antisocial act as, dear sir, all the neighbors can testify, including the civil and military authorities.

The day that it rained in Ortigueira it was a clamorous self-affirmation of Galicia, an unprecedented popular fiesta (...). The consecration and international contrast of the *Escola de Gaitas*, the confirmation that we are able, we, people from Ortigueira, of being a real village, in our own way, but a village.<sup>46</sup>

The day that it rained in Ortigueira, in an opposite way to that in Macondo, not only a 100 years of solitude were broken but a lot of centuries in which nobody knew who we were, the inhabitants of this northern place, so beautiful, so unknown, and, as we have seen, so alive.

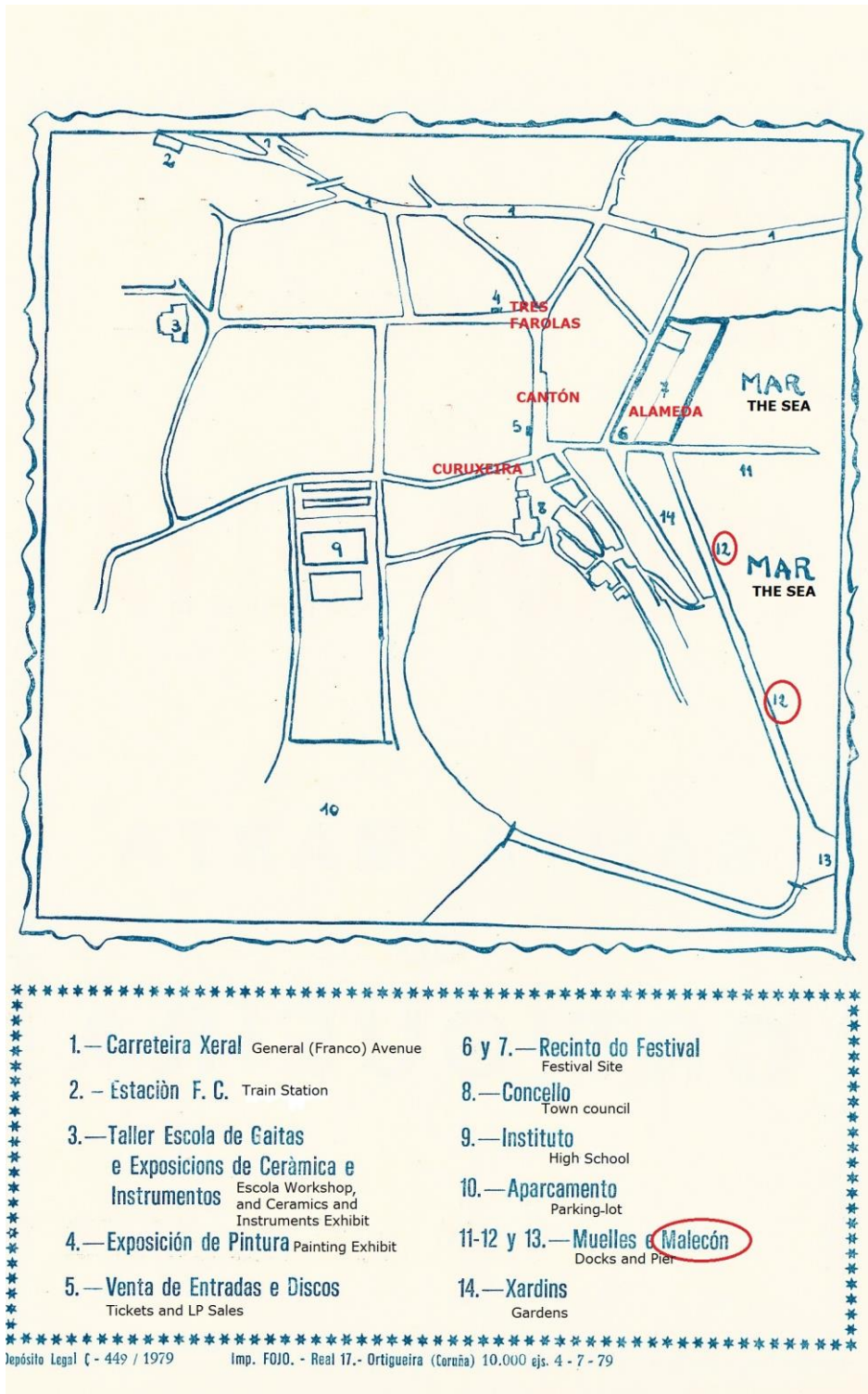
The day that it rained in Ortigueira our town was called in the most beautiful way we could have ever dreamed of: FREEDOM.<sup>47</sup>

In other words, an invasion of *passotas*, complaints, uncivil acts, or an absolute failure, no fucking way (*ni de coña*) (Nicolas Nidecoña, *La Voz de Ortigueira*, August 25, 1978, 1 and 3).

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<sup>46</sup> Here the author makes a game of words with the double meaning of the word *pueblo* in the Spanish language as simultaneously "village" and as "the people."

<sup>47</sup> FREEDOM is written with capital letters in the original version of this article.



**Figure 2.1** Map of downtown Ortigueira printed in the program of the IFCW 1979. Additions in black (translation) and red (indicating places mentioned in Nicolás Nidecoña’s article) are by the author (Francisco Bermúdez’ archive).

This chapter is focused on the process of spatialization of Galician music in the context of the International Festival of the Celtic Word of Santa Marta de Ortigueira

(IFCW). It aims to show that the festival itself was a result of the precedent spatialization of Galician music in Santa Marta de Ortigueira, a process which had been taking place in the village from 1975 under the leadership of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. The IFCW, thus, is framed as a festival that emerged as part of the music education project of the *Escola*, when the specific pedagogical goals set by the members of this school made it important for them to compare their work with, as well as to learn from, other bagpipe-centered musical projects and practices (Garrote 2013, interview with author).

As we will see, the points of “comparison” chosen by the *Escola* had a particular location in the European map. Even if different types of bagpipes could be then, and can still be found today in different parts of the world, members of the *Escola* chose to invite to the IFCW music groups from the Atlantic coast of the European continent (Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall, Isle of Man and later on Asturias) with whom they felt to have musical, aesthetic, cultural, historical, and political ties. During the festival, Ortigueira was placed at the center of a Celtic world, made up by the “Celtic nations” mentioned above, and it musically represented Galicia within this constituted transnational space. As mentioned at the beginning of the dissertation, this chapter will not inquire into the “why” of this particular affinity, but into the “how” this was spatialized in the context of the IFCW, without minimum financial resources, and throughout a period of six years (1978-1983).

Delving into the “how” has helped me shed light on the agents and processes through which the “why” was socialized in Ortigueira. The “how,” offers an empirical means of thinking about the creation and negotiation of that “Celtic world” in Ortigueira and from Ortigueira. It highlights the tremendous importance of travel experiences and musical practices (including musical objects like the bagpipe) for the forging of affective and interpersonal ties with the “Celtic nations.” Moreover, looking into the “how” unveils the implementation of a shared sense of solidarity among the Ortigueiran and Galician youth. Also, it shows the existence of European underground social networks threaded by a left-wing militant youth, all of which had a significant impact on the diffusion, production, and construction of youth cultural objects and practices in post-Franco Galicia, as well as in the rest of the Spanish state.

In this chapter I delve into the social production and construction of the IFCW between 1978 and 1983, the period of time in which members of the *Escola de Gaitas* were in charge of the organization of the IFCW. Although during this initial period of time the festival was autoconstructed, and therefore, social production and construction processes took place simultaneously for the residents of Ortigueira, I have decided to present them here individually, aiming for clarity. In the discussion on the social construction of the IFCW, I talk about the location of Galician music and of Celtic music within the festival space.

This chapter dialogues with musicologist Javier Campos Calvo-Sotelo's claim for the existence of a music Celticism imposed from the Spanish state as a strategy to "dilute separatist tendencies on their periphery by diverting them towards a politically unviable project, and to activate regions whose economies are depressed" (2013: 53). I show that, at least during the first six years of the IFCW, there was a music Celticism that came from below.<sup>48</sup> This is not without forgetting, however, that such Celticism could have been disarticulating, as Campos Calvo-Sotelo argues, for, discourses on the Celtic origins of Galicia make part of what Galician scholar Helena Miguélez-Carballeira calls "the dynamics of misrepresentation, which arises from the colonial setting of Spanish-Galician relations" (2014, 3). According to her, this "has also penetrated Galician discourses about the nation, even when these have been thought out to fulfil an insurgent function" (*ibid*). Celticism, thus, has played an important role in the construction of what Miguélez-Carballeira calls a "colonial stereotype" of Galicia and Galician people. Understood in this way and looked at in the particular socio-musical context of Ortigueira 1978-1983, this chapter shows that such a colonial stereotype did not function as a tool for "subjugation" (as, in some way, Campos Calvo-Sotelo proposes) but "as a space for oppositional resistance" (Miguélez-Carballeira 2013, 4).

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<sup>48</sup> Campos Calvo-Sotelo applies his claim to the first years of the IFCW based on data that differs from that which I have been able access. According to him, the festival was financed by the Ministry of Culture of Spain with a yearly amount of one million *pesetas* (*peseta* was the currency of Spain that preceded the euro) (2013, 57-58). With this evidence at hand, he argues that the Spanish state infiltrated socio-musical practices in Ortigueira. My findings, however, show that even though the Ministry of Culture (as well as the governments of Ortigueira and Galicia), gave a total amount of 1,200,000 pesetas to the IFCW between 1978 and 1979, from that year onwards, the Ministry repeatedly denied financial support to the festival, arguing that it had no cultural interest (see page 140).

## II.2. The Social Production of Space at the IFCW

### II.2.1 Music Festivals and the Spanish Transition to Democracy

The history of music festivals organized by the youth for the youth throughout the Spanish state from 1975 onwards, serves to evidence the continuation of Francisco Franco's censorship apparatus after the fall of his authoritarian regime. Between 1976 and 1979 seventeen out of twenty-one music festivals organized by the youth through either private investment, grassroots efforts, or cultural/neighbor associations ("*asociaciones de vecinos*"), were cancelled, fined, or militarized (see Appendix 7).<sup>49</sup> Large agglomerations of young people, and the communal living experience that music festivals entailed, were feared by state authorities as focal points for public disorder. Public order or "organized" social behavior in public space, was maintained in the context of youth music festivals by implementing censorship, surveillance, and by threatening artists and organizers with large fines as well as lawsuits, all prior, during, and after the celebration of these music-centered gatherings.

Available newspaper articles show that the borderline dividing public order from disorder, as framed by the Spanish state, was too easy to violate. This was due, in part, to a mix of overall conservatism and of fluctuating regulations or norms, imposed by a governmental team perhaps unprepared to respond to the challenges of an empowered youth, outside the political and legal framework left by Franco. In 1976, for instance, song lyrics were still expected to be authorized by state institutions prior to a musician's performance (a regular Francoist practice).<sup>50</sup> This was the case of the *Recital de Pueblos Ibéricos* (Spanish for "Recital of Iberian Nations") organized by students at the Autonomous University of Madrid. The dean of the university threatened to cancel the

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<sup>49</sup> I have gathered this information from the online archive of the Spanish, Madrid based newspaper *El País*. The systematic study of further sources from online, *in situ*, institutional, and personal archives are not available, and they are therefore needed.

<sup>50</sup> During Franco's time, young Spanish musicians creatively evaded lyrics censorship by playing with words, metric, and metaphors. In Galicia, a well-known example can be given by Benedicto e Bibiano's song "O Can de Palleiro," a song about an old dog (*Can de Palleiro* is a Galician breed) whose dentition is falling. The chorus of the song said "*tua forte dentadura/vírase abaixo/abaixo a dentadura*" (Galician for "your strong dentition, fell out, dentition out!"). In live concerts, the word *dentadura* (dentition) was replaced by *dictadura* (dictatorship) and so concert goers will collectively sing "*abaixo a dictadura*" (dictatorship out). This song was brought to my attention by Galician musician Rodrigo Romani (2013, interview with author).

festival if, among other things, the lyrics of the songs to be performed were not previously handed to him with the corresponding seal of approval from the General Administration of Popular Culture, a division of the then Ministry of Information and Tourism (*El País*, May 5, 1976). That same year, concert organizer Eustaquio Pezonaga was fined a 100,000 *pesetas*<sup>51</sup> for allowing Spanish singer Ana Belén to perform a piece entitled “Democratic Chotis” (*chotis* is an iconic dance from Madrid) that was not included in the list of previously authorized material. Pezonaga was also fined for allowing the presence of “illegal” flags and political banners during the concert (*El País*, August 25, 1976).

The presence of regional flags, in fact, was a recurrent excuse to either cancel or fine music festivals. Confusing regulations regarding these symbols lead state authorities to allow some flags and not others depending on the place and the occasion. For instance, the cancellation of the one-day festival *La Trobada dels Pobles* (Valencian for “The Meeting of the Nations”) four hours after its opening, was ordered by a government delegate whose role and presence were meant to ensure the compliance of the event with pre-established regulations. Despite repeated reminders by festival organizers on the restriction that exclusively allowed Valencian flags at the *Trobada*, audience members displayed unauthorized flags (from other Spanish “regions”) as well as political banners, and so the festival was called off. Subsequently, the military authorities intervened to evacuate the audience from the stadium where the event was being held (*El País*, September 21, 1976).

It could be safely said that the large presence of military forces<sup>52</sup> made part of the music festival ambience during the Spanish transition to democracy. According to festival goers’ memories, musicians’ memories, and newspaper articles, military bodies such as the Civil Guard and the Armed Police added a feeling of tension to the mostly

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<sup>51</sup> Pesetas was the currency of Spain between 1869 and 2002.

<sup>52</sup> In Spain, between 1941 and 1978, state policing authorities were organized in three different bodies, all of them “under total military control” (Macdonald, 1999: 405): The Civil Guard, in charge of rural areas, the Armed and Traffic Police, in charge of urban areas, and the General Police Corps, a “plain clothes investigative police” (*ibid*). Whereas the second body was informally called *los grises* (the gray colored), due to the color of their uniforms, the later was called *la secreta* (the secret [police]). These policing bodies, as Macdonald has suggested, were decisive for “the thirty-six-year survival of the regime” (*ibid*).

pacific collective behavior that characterized such gatherings. Madrid-based journalist and music entrepreneur Manuel Domínguez (founder of Guimbarda records), for instance, recalled how the Armed Police surrounded the outer border of the aforementioned *Festival de Pueblos Ibéricos* (2014, interview with author), a memory backed by YouTube comments to a Super 8 video of this event, posted under the user name Manuel (2012: <https://goo.gl/R0cko5>). Replaying to this video, user Cesar Gil recalls “the *grises* [Armed Police] up there pointing their weapons to us, the union, the people, the rain” (2013), and user Gonzalo Aparicio López remembers that “I was there with my friends (...) in spite of the *grises* [Armed Police]” (2013).

Military presence was both a reminder of the fading dictatorship and a symbol of its still strong coercive power. Physical force was often used by policing authorities to maintain what they considered to be order and morality, a measure directly proportional to an expected apolitical, conservative-catholic, and obedient public behavior (Figure 2.3). During the first *Alcuentro Asemeyu. Canciós pal Pueblu* (Asturian for “Gathering of the Similar. Songs for the People”) in 1976 in the small town of Noreña, Asturias, the Civil Guard pistol-whipped a number of festival-goers and temporarily closed up bars, as political protests took place within the festival (Ramos: 1976).<sup>53</sup> Prior to the festival, nine jeeps with personal from the Armed Police had arrived to Noreña, together with Civil Guard forces. In Canet de Mar (Catalonia, 1976), festival organizers were granted permission to hold a second edition under the compromise to comply with the government authorities mandate to “impede any attempt to turn this artistic act into an event used for different purposes, especially political” (*El País*, August 20, 1976). In the aftermath of Franco’s regime, youth music festivals were deeply linked with the public display of political symbols, and so the state authorities’ pressure to depoliticize these spaces often failed. When this happened during an authorized music festival, state authorities proceeded to either cancel the event (which lead, frequently, to the physical confrontation of policing authorities with members of the audience reluctant to evacuate), or to fine festival organizers and/or participant musicians in the aftermath of

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<sup>53</sup> Festival organizers encountered a number of difficulties previous to the realization of the festival. The organizing Cultural Association Asemeyu (Asturian for “Similar”) had to give a list with its members, which the mayor of Noreña passed on to the state authorities. This is according given by Ramos in the article entitled “Encuentro Musical en Noreña” (Ramos 1976).

the festival. In some instances, force was also exerted by temporarily sending musicians, organizers, and/or audience members to jail (Esteban, 1976).



**Figure 2.2** For this poster, announcing the fourth edition of the pioneer Catalan festival Canet Rock (1978), organizers were fined 500,000 *pesetas*. The poster was banned on the basis of being offensive for religious beliefs (Quinta 1978).

The militarization of music festivals during this particular historical time unveils the emergence of both an empowered social force (the Spanish youth) and an important social space, a source and symbol of civic power (the youth music festival). Scholar Paul Wapner has defined civic power as “the forging of voluntary and customary practices into mechanisms that govern public affairs” (2015, 182). In this sense, musical practices

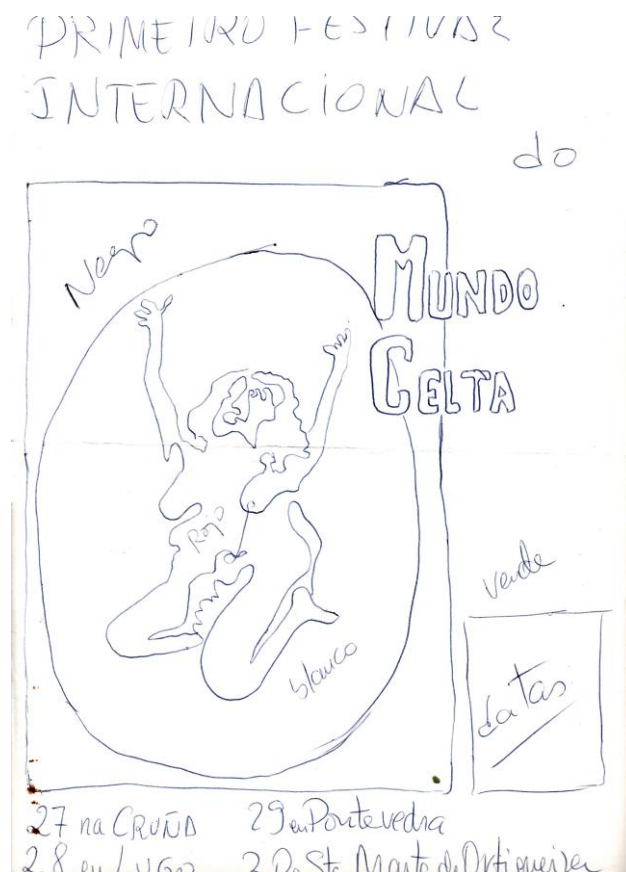


and particularly, modes of listening within this socio-musical space, allowed festival goers to shape new ways of publicly and collectively being together. In music festivals lasting more than one day, this included: participation in the design of spatial layouts in camping sites, finding pacific ways to solve emerging personal and group conflicts, accepting and displaying difference (sonically, visually, aesthetically, ideologically, politically), debating, constructing and experiencing alternative lifestyles, assuming a political position and showing it in public, and producing and constructing affective ties through music and dance performance (by playing music and listening to it), among other things.

### **II.2.2. Emergence of the IFCW**

The IFCW emerged in this particular historical moment and was shaped, as other music festivals of their time, by the youth. Unlike festivals such as Canet Rock, a private business enterprise, or the 1979 *Festival Celta-Ecológico de Madrid* (Spanish for “Celtic-Ecological Festival of Madrid”), a political gathering organized by the Red Guard of Spain, the IFCW was linked, as a non-profit event, to the already existent music education project of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. This connection, I think, articulated the festival as a harmless pedagogical endeavor, freeing it, initially, from government surveillance. This also lead Ortigueiran people akin to the *Escola* to collaborate in its production, regardless of the general feeling of disbelief in the making and success of the festival (Figure 2.4). Musician Xosé María Ferreirós remembered a 1978 meeting with Xavier Garrote in Santiago de Compostela, when Garrote told him about his idea of making the IFCW and requested Ferreirós’ musical collaboration (with his bagpipe quartet *Faíscas do Xiabre*):

[I told him that] the idea [of the festival] was excellent, that even though I thought that [the IFCW] was too difficult and complex [to do], that he could count with us. We then said bye and I left thinking "he is a dreamer!" And after a while, after a month or something like this, he called me back to tell me: "Ferreirós, it's Garrote, look, it's about the festival, we are going ahead with the idea, can I count on you guys?" And I couldn't believe it! It was then that our [musical] relationship started (2013, interview with author).



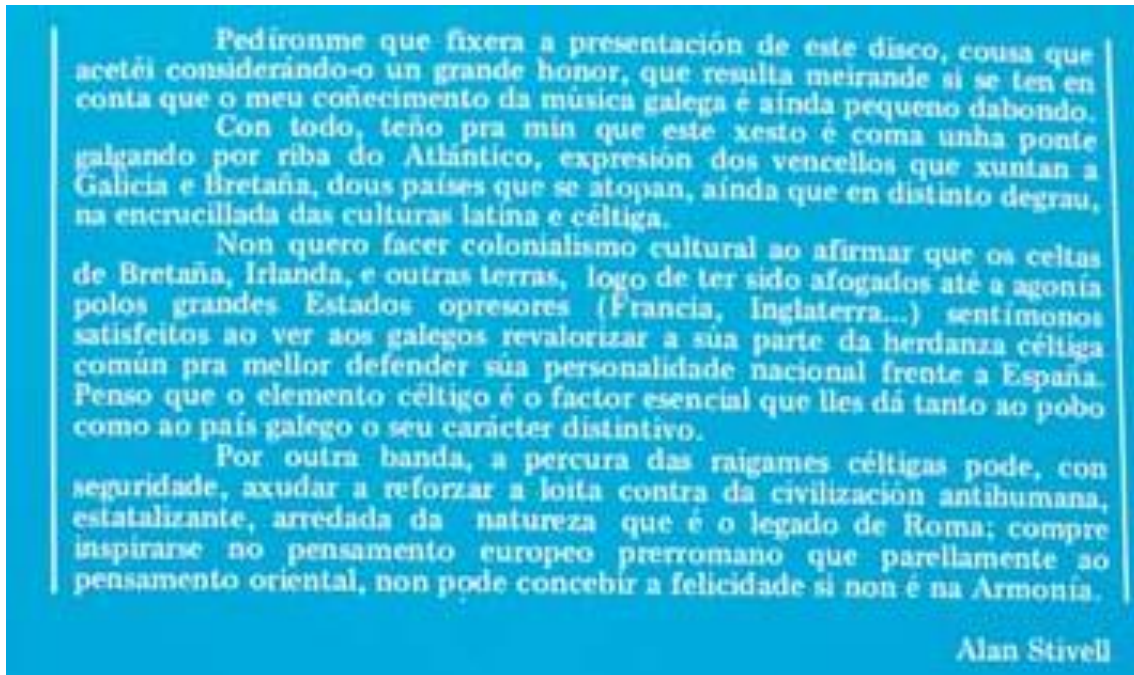
**Figure 2.3** Draft of poster of IFCW 1978 (Unknown author). The festival was initially thought to tour around major Galician cities such as Lugo, A Coruña, and Pontevedra, to then finish in Ortigueira (from Francisco Bermúdez' archive).

The IFCW took shape on a trip. The act of traveling played a crucial role in the realization of musical ideals and ideas in the context of post-Franco Galician music-making. Having a multi-sensorial experience, dialoguing holistically with a previously acquired sense of connectedness with Britany, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Ireland or Isle of Man (through literature, historical and geographical knowledge, political militancy, musicking, and other cultural artifacts and practices), generated in travelers deep and long-lasting affective and personal ties. In fact, when looking at iconic sites in the history of Galician folk music such as Alan Stivell's forward for Emilio Cao's LP *Fonte do Araño* (1977), Emilio Cao's music, the group Milladoiro, the IFCW, and the later pub Casa das Crechas (1987), traveling recurrently emerges as an important precedent.

Before looking at Xavier Garrote and Álvaro Fernández Polo's trip, an adventure that was directly related to the emergence of the IFCW, I want to mention both Emilio Cao's journey to Wales and Milladoiro's trip to Brittany. All of them took place on the

second half of the decade of the 70s with affordable automobile models like the French Citroën 2CV, or the American Dodge Dart. At the time, musicking encouraged traveling, and traveling was an effective way of linking music-inclined people and projects. To begin with, Galician singer-song writer Emilio Cao's trip to Swansea, Wales, led him to further his knowledge on the Celtic harp under the guidance of Welsh musician Elsie Thomas. In Swansea he also learned Welsh tunes, some of which he included in his 1979 album *Lenda da Pedra do Destiño* (a translation in Galician language of the name of the Scottish "Legend of the Stone of Scone"). Furthermore, Cao built up friendships, becoming closer to musicians like the members of the band Cromlech. When Cao was invited to play at the IFCW in 1979, he helped to contact this Welsh folk music band, and they both played at the festival. Cromlech opened this edition of the IFCW, and after their concert they offered a roundtable on Welsh music (2013, interview with author; Program of IFCW 1979).

The second trip I wanted to talk about is *Milladoiro's* trip to Brittany, France. Before the band *Milladoiro* was formed (in 1977, the band was constituted in 1979), three of the future members of this group including, Rodrigo Romaní (Celtic harp), Antón Seoane (guitar, accordion, and keyboards), and Xosé María Ferreirós (bagpipes), went on a car trip through Brittany (Anton's wife was also with them). The goals of the adventure included traversing Brittany following Galician intellectual Alfonso Castelao's book of illustrations *As Cruces de Pedra na Bretaña* (Galician for "Stone Crosses in Brittany") and meeting Breton musician Alan Stivell (Celtic harp player). The use of Castelao's text, and the fact of being at the same sites that the author had drawn years earlier (in the 1920s), was deeply emotional for the travelers (Ferreirós 2013, interview with author 2013; Romaní 2013, interview with author). Moreover, meeting a then famous Stivell made the experience something out of the ordinary and it allowed Rodrigo, Antón and Xosé María, to ask the Breton musician for a forward for Emilio Cao's first album, something he agreed on, and which was later sent by him (Figure 2.5).



**Figure 2.4** Alan Stivell's forward for Emilio Cao's album *Fonte do Araño* (1977).<sup>54</sup>

The later members of Milladoiro got Stivell's home address in Brittany after a long journey that included getting letters of recommendation from friends who were militants of the left-wing Galician political party *Union do Povo Galego* (Galician for "Union of the Galician People"), and a stop in Brest at a friend's acquaintance's house, a militant of the left-wing *Union Democratique Bretonne* (French for "Breton Democratic Union") (Ferreirós 2013, interview with author; Romaní 2013, interview with author). In this dissertation, these left-wing links have emerged as important means for the

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<sup>54</sup> Translated from Galician, the forward says: "I was asked to make a presentation of this recording, something that I accepted to do and that is a big honor for me, although it is a little too much for me if we take into account that my knowledge of Galician music is still small. Nevertheless, I think that this gesture is like a bridge, navigating up in the Atlantic, an expression of the ties that link Galicia and Brittany, two countries that are, even though in different degrees, in the crossroad between the Latin and Celtic cultures. I do not want to make cultural colonialism by saying that the Celts of Brittany, Ireland, and other lands, that are being asphyxiated by the big oppressor States (France, England), we feel satisfied to see Galician people revalorizing the common Celtic heritage to defend their national personality from Spain. I think that the Celtic element is the essential factor that gives to the people of Galicia its distinctive character. Contrastingly, the search for Celtic roots can, surely, help to reinforce the struggle against the antihuman civilization, *statalizing*, against nature. That is the heritage of Rome. It is important to be inspired by the pre-roman European thought that concurrently with the Oriental thought cannot conceive happiness if it is not in harmony" (Stivell, 1977).

connection and distribution of music and musicians, throughout the 1970s, among and beyond the so called “Celtic nations.”<sup>55</sup>

These trips, as well as Xavier Garrote and Álvaro Fernández Polo’s journey to Brittany in the summer of 1977, are remembered as emotionally strong moments, as subjective instances of an experienced affective continuum with Brittany, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall and/or Isle of Man. Whereas Emilio Cao remembers to have felt at “home” in Wales, to have had there, as well as in Ireland, a

feeling of being very close to myself. I am talking to you about feelings and perceptions, not about scientific documentation, I am telling you what I really felt, and that feeling [of connection] I have had it very clearly (2013, interview with author).

In their trip to Brittany, Rodrigo Romaní told me, the three travelers from *Milladoiro* also started to see that Brittany and Galicia were really similar. We started to find similarities everywhere! Their crêpes were our *feijoas*, they also had spirals (...). Musically, that made us try to find a harmony to connect us with all that (2013, interview with author).

At the time of my fieldwork (2011-2013), the music-related actors whom I had the opportunity to talk to or interview, unanimously located the word “Celtic,” in relation to Galician music-making, as an inaccurate term and/or as a label bounded to the past. The word, they told me, was either historically attached to the Transition or commercially used, and manipulated, by multinational music-corporations from the 1990s onwards. However, beyond the shine and sense of superficiality evoked by the label “Celtic music,” a felt affective continuum with the so called “Celtic nations” and their musics, appeared to be a still presently deep collective force.

For Xavier Garrote, the name “International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira” was not chosen by him but by the time they were living in (2013, interview with author). For Celticism “was a term that, at that time, drew people and places

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<sup>55</sup> This is a non-researched area and is something that I would be interested in pursuing after completing my doctoral degree.

together. We did in fact feel in tune with those places. Even myself, knowing that such Celticism did not exist, I felt closer to a Scottish or Breton group than to a music band from Aragón [Spain]" (2013, interview with author). That feeling of belonging, together with the particular musical history of Brittany, where the *Binioù kozh* (Breton for "old bagpipe") was replaced by the Scottish Highland Bagpipe in the context of *bagadoùs* (Breton for "bands"), lead him and Álvaro Fernández Polo to travel to Brittany (*ibid*). Garrote wanted to be aware of what had happened in Brittany to avoid repeating it in Galicia. Furthermore, as his music education project had reached a certain level of development, Garrote felt that it was important to contrast their process with similar ones. The festival, thus, emerged as a "methodological and pedagogical annex to the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*" (2013, interview with author).

The geographical proximity to Brittany was in fact a major influence for making this place a frequently visited destination:

we had recently started with that [project] of the bagpipes and so... and Brittany is a mythic place... Scotland was a bit far to go with a [Citroën] 2CV, then, it was the easiest thing [to do], wasn't it? And so, once we were there, we saw folk music groups, and that was almost unknown here, there were no facilities nor [communication] means, there was no Internet like now, no recordings, nothing, absolutely nothing (Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author).

In separate interviews, Álvaro Fernández Polo and Xavier Garrote recalled traveling through Brittany spontaneously, without having a fix plan or direction. As it was the month of July there were festivals in many of the places they visited. They decided to stop by Brest, where a festival with bagpipe bands was being held, and Garrote started to consolidate the idea of making a festival in Ortigueira. It is not clear whether the idea of the festival preceded the trip or if it was rather a result of this experience. In my view, this is not important as the IFCW didn't try to copy or emulate a particular music event. The music festival, however, was seen as an adequate musical space to respond to and locate the director of the *Escola's* pedagogical questions and preoccupations.

Brest was undoubtedly an inspirational place for the founders of the IFCW. Their presence in this Breton city pushed them to

talk and to tell to ourselves “we can do something like this, it is not that difficult!” We were young and crazy; we went wherever we felt like. And Xavier Garrote was terrific organizing things, [he was] terrific! He had the ideas and we all follow him, you see (Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author).

Beyond inspiration, the connection with Brest consolidated in musical ties. The *bagadoù* Kevrenn Brest Sant Mark was invited repeatedly to the IFCW, including its first, second, and fourth editions (due to the heavy rain, they were unable to perform a complete program during the first visit in 1978). A mutual sense of interest and solidarity had to be present, as moving with an approximate number of twenty-one musicians and dancers, including their musical instruments, dresses, and in some cases their families, added additional difficulties to an already long and challenging road trip; especially if one takes into account that the festival budget only covered the cost of the trip plus, once in Ortigueira, meals and lodging. In a 1979 interview, Robert Loquet, then director of the Kevrenn Brest Sant Marc, described the IFCW from Ortigueira saying that it was a “magnificent type of folkloric festival, because here [at the IFCW] the music and the town are merged into each other, reaching a truly great and massive communion” (Conde Murais 1979).

### **II.2.3. Planning and design of the IFCW.**

The IFCW has taken place “on” Ortigueira from its very first edition. During its celebration, the town and the festival are merged with each other; their maps overlap; the town is “invaded” by an unusually large number of unknown and mostly young people, whose transit or absence of transit reshape the space of Ortigueira. Massive, collective walking and listening practices, trace flexible and ever changing borders within the festival/town space. In terms of spatial design, the first six editions of the festival were different from all the rest, and the very first IFCW contrasted sharply with the five that followed. In my view, the main design-related aspects that set apart these six versions of the festival were:

1. The presence of a fence, built to surround the music stage and to produce a particular closed zone that could be only accessed by audience members with previously purchased tickets (when appropriated by the government of

Ortigueira in 1984, the IFCW was held as a free festival and no tickets were needed).<sup>56</sup>

2. The process of autoconstruction of all the structures of the IFCW.

Built in public space, the erection of the festival infrastructure between 1978 and 1983 required permission from governmental authorities, as well as a strong-willed group of voluntary, and mostly amateur, carpenters, electricians, and workers. During the first edition of the IFCW, celebrated simultaneously with the Patron Saint Fiesta of Saint Marta of Ortigueira, permission was requested verbally (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, February 24 1978, 1). For the following editions, permission was requested to the appropriate provincial authorities through official letters, written by Álvaro Fernández Polo and signed by either him or Xavier Garrote. Fernández Polo used his knowledge as a civil servant at the local Registrar's Office to serve as secretary of the *Escola*, and therefore, of the IFCW. Like him, many of the volunteers of the IFCW used previously acquired skills to tackle the numerous aspects needed for the successful organization of this international music event. Government permits, such as the one written to request the use of both the kitchen and dining room of the local public school, for being “the only available facility to gather such a large number of people” in Ortigueira (Garrote 1981), were, according to the testimony of all festival organizers, consistently answered late (Garrote 2013, interview with author; Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author; Marías 2013, interview with author; Bermúdez 2013, interview with author). This issue, put additional pressure on the yearly organization of the festival. As making haste was fruitless, festival founders were forced to decide whether to cancel the festival for lack of governmental permits (that arrived either during or after the IFCW) or to take the risk of making it, assuming a positive but late reply, and taking a risk of facing legal consequences. For six years, they chose the latter option.

As mentioned earlier, the first edition of the IFCW was set apart from subsequent ones. The permission for this pioneer music celebration was granted by the major of Ortigueira in a public meeting celebrated on October of 1977, with the aim of

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<sup>56</sup> The IFCW of 1983 was free of charge as festival organizers did not need the money to finance further editions.



encouraging a group of citizens to constitute the local Fiesta's Committee (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, February 24 1978, 1). In northwestern Galicia patron saint fiestas are organized by a committee, formed yearly by civil volunteers, who must produce the fiesta and find adequate financial resources for such production among neighbors and local businesses. Garrote went to this meeting with Álvaro Fernández Polo and Marías, to propose the idea of making a First Folkloric International Festival of the Celtic World (the word "folkloric" was dropped later on) within the local fiestas (*ibid*). Although the project was backed up, based on an unanimous sense of trust in Garrote and his projects (*ibid*), the Fiesta's Committee did not approve to financing the initiative. The festival, thus, had a separate poster and it was promoted as an independent but synchronic event. The IFCW was later scheduled for July 30, and its program included a musical parade, as well as on-stage concerts by international artists (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 14, 1978, 3).

In a first instance (1978), the festival space was designed to occupy a particular section of Ortigueira. This was placed at the patio of the public school *Colegio Nacional Alférez Provisional* (Figure 2.6) in northeastern Ortigueira. There, a large wooden hand-made stage was built by civil volunteers, who also bounded it, surrounding it with a three-hundred squared meter fence (also wooden and handmade). As one can imagine by looking at the picture of such an enormous stage, collective effort, time, belief, and coordination were utterly necessary for its assemblage. Entrance fees were sold in local stores and prices were fixed in 100 and 150 *pesetas* (for a standing or sitting listening experience, respectively), the cost of cinema ticket at the time (Bermúdez 2013, interview with author). A parade with some of the participant musicians, led by the *Escola de Gaitas*, was scheduled to take place, five hours before the concerts through the streets of an already festive Ortigueira. As the day advanced, the large number of visitors drawn by the festival, filling parking spaces, placing tents everywhere, and the suddenly unexpected hard rain, all turned the entire space of Ortigueira into a boundless festival. Beyond the built fence, the borders of the IFCW were given by the location of and activities led by its massive and wet audience body.



**Figure 2.5** Wooden stage of the IFCW 1978. Xavier Garrote is directing in front, looking in the direction of the *Escola*. Marías is playing the bass drum behind. Álvaro Fernández Polo is taking the photo. Francisco Bermúdez, is on the stage right, next to Marías. In the background a large Galician flag is displayed (from Álvaro Fernandez Polo's archive).

From the second to the sixth editions of the IFCW (1979-1983), the handmade wooden stage and its surrounding fence, were placed at the *alameda*, in the southwestern part of the town. And from the third edition onwards the stage was built in that same location but over the sea (Figures 2.7 and 2.8). Local knowledge on the changing pattern of the tides was primordial to avoid a disaster, in an already potentially hazardous construction that included wood, water, and electricity. In spite of the danger, happily never an issue at the IFCW, the views to the stage were magnificent (Domínguez 2013, interview with author). Audience members could listen to the programmed bands with the sea and the moon as a background. The direction of wind currents and their positive impact on the overall sound quality of the amplified music coming from the stage, were also considered in choosing such a location (Marías 2013, interview with author).



**Figure 2.6** Left: Circled in blue are the Beach of Morouzos (left) and Ortigueira (right). Right: A closer view of Ortigueira. 1. Bar Caracas. 2. National public school. 3. Antón Corral’s workshop (now the Public Library of Ortigueira). 4. *Alameda* (main stage site). 5. City Hall and Church. 6. *La Perla* hotel. Map made from Google Maps.



**Figure 2.7** Antón Corral stands in front of the stage of the IFCW, built over the sea (from Antón Corral's personal archive. Approximate year: 1980).

During these editions of the IFCW (1979-1983), a series of activities were mapped around Ortigueira in such a way that, from an organizational point of view, the space of the town was incorporated into the space of the festival. In addition to the restricted music-stage area mentioned above, the festival program included instruments and art exhibits (ceramics, painting, photography), music-focused roundtables, music parades, and books and record stands. These activities were housed in public buildings around town, such as public education centers. Meals for musicians were provided at the dining room of the public school *Colegio Nacional Alférez Provisional*, an institution also occasionally used as a press conference space (Figure 2.9). Next to the stage, the fish

market was turned into a sort of dressing room, as musicians waited their turn to play in front of the audience (Figure 2.10). The smell of fish is one of the first things that the IFCW brings to mind to Galician musician Rodrigo Romaní (2013, interview with author). Lodging for musicians and journalists was set at *the* local hotel La Perla. As the hotel was often small for the number of beds needed, some artists slept at spaces specially arranged for them at private homes (Cao 2013, interview with author; Domínguez 2013, interview with author). Musicians' time of arrival to such homes was sometimes problematic, as hosts feared being the object of public gossiping for receiving young men into their private space at sunrise (Cao, interview with author). Lodging for the audience, contrastingly, was set as a camping space at the Beach of Morouzos, three kilometers north from downtown Ortigueira. Camping tents, nevertheless, could be found everywhere. As journalist Perfecto Conde put it in a 1981 article: “[the IFCW] served as an excuse to transform the *alameda* and the woods that surround Ortigueira into a giant and improvised camping site, a meeting point for ecologists, libertarians, anarchists, and nationalists” (Conde, 1981).



**Figure 2.8** Dining room of the IFCW 1979. Dancing and music jam sessions took place after the meals (Photograph by Álvaro Fernández Polo from his personal archive).



**Figure 2.9** Antón Corral and Antón Seoane (Milladoiro) at the fish market, before performing at the IFCW, 1980s (Unknown author; from Antón Corral's personal album).

From the point of view of the audience the space of Ortigueira was necessarily the space of the IFCW. Walking across Ortigueira was needed to get from one point of the program to the next. Furthermore, audience members stayed in this town for at least the either one (1978 and 1983), two (1980-1982), or three days of duration of its program (1979); given the tacitly accepted flexibility of regulations on noise emission in public space during the IFCW, they made the festival, and therefore, the town, theirs. During the festival, an alternative to the official program was to listen to and/or participate in the spontaneous activities and music performances developed by festival goers themselves. Like camping tents, these were placed everywhere. Furthermore, together with music sessions, some audience members improvised crafts stands as well as other ways to collect money during the festival (*La Voz de Galicia*). All in all, the transit of an average of seventeen thousand festival-goers through Ortigueira (with a population of around eighteen hundred in the 1970s) during the one to three days that this musical gathering lasted, filled the local outer (streets, parks, plazas) and part of the inner (schools and other buildings) public space, clearly interrupting the public

everyday-live and rhythm of this town. In 1981, the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*, a fierce supporter of the *Escola*, the festival, Xavier Garrote and of the Ortigueiran youth, wrote that “certainly, we can say that the festival is a festival of youth, either measured in years or in the possible mentality, ways of settling in, and acceptance of that particular way of understanding the world and the life” (July 24, 1981).

Planning and designing the IFCW in Ortigueira did not last only one, two, or three days. From an organizational point of view, the festival had a depth, time-wise speaking, that threaded the future into the social life of Ortigueira. Beyond the long-term preparation that the IFCW required, something that implied holding meetings from November or traveling at least every summer to Brittany to make contacts with groups for the following edition of the festival, there were other issues that lengthened the impact of the festival in Ortigueira. Although the festival was organized by a group of citizens of this town, and actually “practically all the Ortigueiran youth participated in the organization” (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 18, 1981), the fact that it developed in the town itself generated demands of improvements of the local infrastructure for an adequate response during the IFCW. In this way, the festival generated social pressure on the mayor of Ortigueira to improve the available local parking areas (*Ideal Gallego*, July 15, 1979), the facilities in terms of running water, toilets, and showers at the camping site of Morouzos (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 20, 1984), the regulation of traffic for the benefit of the festival and its program, and the regulation of prices, controlled from the local government, for local businesses during this event.

The IFCW did not escape the troubles of its own time. Although its first edition developed without security issues and policing forces did not show up, the reality of the subsequent editions of the festival was different. The security body of the IFCW was made out of boys and young men, all of them either members or collaborators of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. They were armed with walkie-talkies and were certainly unprepared to respond, had a major security challenge occurred. From the second edition onwards the local Civil Guard was present at the IFCW, with additional men from nearby bases so as to balance their size with that of the audience. Taking into account the massive number of people that was gathered in this one place, security issues were

minor. Two thefts occurred in punctual occasions (in a drugstore and a butcher's shop) (Palmeiro 1979, 38), something that was also reported to happen to certain camping tents at the camping site of Morouzos (*La Voz de Galicia*, July 22, 1980). Moreover, on the 1979 (Palmeiro 1979, 38), 1980 (*La Voz de Galicia* 1980, 1), and 1982 (*La Voz de Galicia*, July 19, 1982) editions of the IFCW, groups between one hundred to a hundred and fifty festival-goers, tried to enter into the concert precinct without paying the respective entrance fee. This issue caused the largest security problems, as the fence surrounding the stage was either knocked down, burnt, or simply skipped taking advantage of the low tides. Unwilling to pay the entrance fee, under perhaps the valid argument that the music of the IFCW was the "people's music" and so, in their view, people did not have to pay to hear it, attacking the fence was deeply damaging for the IFCW. Besides the financial downside caused by this, as I will explain in the following section, breaking into the concerts served as a perfect excuse for the Civil Guard to intervene in the festival. Unlike other music festivals, the IFCW was never fined for the presence of "illegal" flags, political banners, or political propaganda, all of which were present at the IFCW. However, in my view, it was still seen suspiciously by governmental authorities. Xavier Garrote remembers, for instance, that

it [the IFCW] was radically important, politically speaking. We had a lot of political problems because of the festival. In the sense that... I was wrongly labeled, as it was logical, as a high-ranked leader of the Communist Party and of the Red Young Guard (...). But of course, you ought to realize that we were living a moment of reemergence of [Galician] nationalism and, of course, this [the IFCW] was a movement that drew thousands of people together (2013 interview with author)

In the midst of these times and with the tensions raised by an event like the IFCW, policing authorities not only helped to support festival organizers during the breakthroughs to the concert site, but they kept surveilling the festival further on, even for an additional day, and coming to forbid festival goers to remain "in groups" in Ortigueira (Carballo 1980; Antón Corral 2013, interview with author). Furthermore, the use of smoke artifacts and rubber bullets to contain festival-goers ignited violent reactions. In the 1980s edition of the IFCW, secret police overheard a group of festival goers chanting in favor of ETA and against the Civil Guard, and so this latter body



intervened, leading up to a violent confrontation that resulted in guards severely injured, and two-festival goers sent to jail. Together with the festival financial difficulties, security issues lead to the closing of the IFCW in 1983.

#### **II.2.4 Finances and the IFCW**

Just like the *Escola de Gaitas*, the IFCW was managed with the strategy described in Chapter 1 under the label “the *Escola* as a family.” The strategy, nevertheless was extended to people outside the *Escola* who invested their knowledge and time to develop the IFCW as a collective project. The “*Escola* as a family” was key for the successful management of the mostly human, and in some instances, financial capital used to autoconstruct the IFCW. The labor force that made the festival a reality was entirely constituted by civil volunteers. The Ortigueiran youth played a leading role in the success of the festival. Also, participant musicians (Galician and foreign), journalists, and music label owners, collaborated with the festival as they were drawn to it for its erection as a non-profit, culturally focused initiative.

Members of the *Escola*, together with the volunteer Ortigueiran youth, carried different jobs within the IFCW. Age and gender certainly played a role in this division. The boys of the *Escola*, to begin with, constituted the security team of the festival. They also sold tickets at the entrance of the concert site, distributed posters all over Galicia, and moved needed materials from one point to the other. The girls of the *Escola*, on the other hand, were assigned to the dining room to help preparing and serving the food, and cleaning up the dining area three times a day. Professional volunteers, mostly male, helped with the construction of both the wooden stage and fence and the electricity supply for this area, among other things. Translation and picking up guest musicians was something done by able volunteers (*e.g.* depending on their English language abilities, or their capacity to drive). Festival founders were in charge of a diversity of activities throughout the year, that included leading the meetings with IFCW collaborators and overseeing the organization of the different tasks of the festival. They talked to the press, made press dossiers with published articles and materials, wrote letters to their selected groups and coordinated their invitations to the IFCW. They also bought air and bus tickets, wrote letters to government authorities to ask for financial help, as well as for permission to make the festival. Garrote, in particular, talked to businessmen to look

for their cooperation with the festival project. In spite of the efforts and challenges that the festival surely signified for all those involved, the production, and autoconstruction of the IFCW is remembered with deep affect by everyone I spoke too. The most recurrent thing remembered, besides the fact that in many ways this musical gathering was a collectively built utopia, is the successful, selfless, and harmonic coordination that all participants were able to lead in spite of their political or personal differences. The making of the festival, united the young workforce of an entire town in a way unseen with any other previous project.

External collaborations were crucial for the IFCW. As mentioned before, all the musicians that played at the festival performed for free, regardless of whether they were local, national or international artists. Some musicians played inside and outside the stage, and the members of Galician folk music group *Milladoiro* collaborated in more ways than playing. For instance, some of the members of this group would arrive a little before the starting date of the festival in case their help was needed, and they lent their sound equipment to the festival when this was necessary. Manuel Domínguez, director of the Spanish folk music record label Guimbarda, a label that like the IFCW also emerged during the Spanish Transition, was a heartfelt admirer of Garrote and his music endeavors (2013, interview with author). Domínguez helped to bring the groups he recorded to the festival (groups like Emilio Cao or Boys of the Lough) and he also ended up recording and producing two LP's featuring the music made in Ortigueira (see Chapter 1). Isaac Díaz Pardo, then head of the Galician ceramics factory known as Sargadelos, an iconic craft from Galicia, collaborated with the festival donating plates given as memorabilia to participant musicians in 1979.

Led by Xavier Garrote (Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author; Marías 2012, interview with author; Marías 2013, interview with author) the founders of the IFCW produced the festival with a particular sonic and visual image. Posters and music programs kept a unified aesthetic, the former designed by Galician volunteer Xosé Luis Lago Costa and the latter by the Ortigueiran Fojo Printing house (the image of the posters was also used to print smaller sized stickers). This unity was not fortuitous. When asked about the common appearance of the IFCW poster of 1980 with those of previous years, the festival organization explained that such commonality was aimed at building

up an immediately recognizable image for the festival (*La Voz de Galicia*, February 29, 1980).

During the first three editions of the IFCW, both posters and stickers featured an androgynous figure that could be either looked at as an anthropomorphized bagpipe or as a human whose body has been literally broken through from within by a bagpipe (Figure 2.11). Interpretations of these images are of course infinite and subjective, but I see an effective, contemporary, and expressive representation of a continuum body/bagpipe, where the bagpipe has emerged anxiously to be played; by playing the bagpipe, the figure is also playing her or himself.

Although keeping the unity of the collection's graphic content (*e.g.* typography, shapes, color palette, image distribution on the page) the poster of 1982 is the only one not featuring a musical instrument. Instead of showing people playing or turned into a bagpipe or a *zanfona*, it shows a "Celtic" spiral with the seven "Celtic" nations including Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Isle of Man, Cornwall, Brittany, and Galicia. The list of "Celtic" places is limited to seven and it excludes Asturias, even though Asturian groups were invited to the IFCW in both the 1981 and 1982 editions.<sup>57</sup>

Sonically speaking, the founders of the festival also gave a sense of unity and an identity to the IFCW. Group choices were suggested by Xavier Garrote (Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author) in consultation with Marías and Álvaro Fernández Polo (*ibid*). Marías, would propose some groups (*ibid*). Garrote frequently consulted the members of Galician folk band *Milladoiro*, for they travelled a lot and were close collaborators of the IFCW (Garrote 2013, interview with author). A feature that was important for the festival was to keep their music separate from rock or pop proposals, and so they refused to program groups with a drum set or with electric musical instruments (Bermúdez 2013, interview with author). In 1983, journalist Nonito Pereira wrote in his musical supplement the *Young Voice* (for the *La Voz de Galicia* newspaper)

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<sup>57</sup> When I asked festival organizers about this exclusion I was only given an explanation by Marías, who as an answer, recited some verses of a poem *Hinos dos Ultraia* (Galician for "Hymn of the Ultraia" where *ultraia* is a greeting associated with the Way of St. James). The poem is attributed to Filgueira Valverde, and the cited verses say "'Ei Armórica, Cornubia e Cambria/Escócia, Erín, Galiza, /E a Illa de Man./Son as sete nacións celtas/ fillas do rei Breogán." (Galician for "Oh Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales/ Scotland, Ireland, Galicia/ and the Isle of Man/are the seven Celtic nations/ daughters of the king Breogan").

on the rejection of the group Brath by IFCW organizers, citing that Brath members had heard that “they [the IFCW] were not going to program them because, for the fact of having a drum set and an electric bass, they were not folk [for the IFCW]” (Pereira, 1983).



**Figure 2.10** Posters of the IFCW 1978-1983 by Xosé Luis Lago Costa. In the sixth one, as Mariás showed me, the letter “e” (Galician for “and”) anteceded to the number six, indicates that that was the last festival. Lago Costas added a dedication in that particular poster (bottom left) that says “to dream being land, being men. To the *Escola de Gaitas* with love” (1983) (From Francisco Bermúdez’ archive).

In spite of all these collaborators, the finances of the festival were complicated. Budget deficits were decisive for the festival in the short, medium, and long terms (Figure 2.12). They determined the length of the festival in terms of days per year as well as the size and shape of its “Celtic world.” When asked by a journalist about the reasons for not inviting musicians from the Isle of Man, for instance, festival founder Francisco Bermúdez said that “the reasons were mostly financial” (*Ideal Gallego*, July 15, 1979). In

an earlier interview, Xavier Garrote explained that he had invited the German group Friederich und Helmut Ritter, for it was already in Ribadeo, Galicia (*El País*, August 5, 1978).

During the first edition of the IFCW financial support was obtained from different governmental grants, and remaining expenses were backed up by the gains from sold entrance tickets. From the second edition to the sixth, nevertheless, finances were tight. A second contribution from the Ministry of Culture of one million *pesetas* (in 1979), an amount not as large as it seems if compared with the money needed to run the IFCW, was not renewed in 1980 with the argument of the festival “lacking cultural interest” (Garrote, cited by Agulló 1983). The lack of governmental support to the IFCW was criticized by many different actors. Festival organizers tried to gain financial support writing letters, justifying all of their activities and expenses, and talking directly with certain authorities. Political intermediation was unfruitful, for even María Victoria Fernández, third vice-president of the Congress of Deputies of Spain (a high ranked politician) requested support for the IFCW from the Minister of Culture in February of 1980 (*La Voz de Galicia*, February 20, 1980). The answer to her petition was positive, as it was later communicated by the press (*La Voz de Galicia*, June 26, 1980), but in reality only rejection materialized.

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
<b>GRANTS</b>						
Ministry of Culture 200000		Ministry of Culture 1000000	Promissed; never given			
CIT Ferrol 100000			"No cultural interest"			
Provincial Government 200000			Ortig. City Hall 50000			
Private donations and Tourism delegation more than 50000						
Tourism Directory 75000		*plus 1978's profit		*Pastor Bank pays printing fees		
<b>total</b>	637000	more than 1200000	50000	0	0	0
<b>SALES</b>						
Tickets	approx. 900000	approx. 15000	3079315	approx. 15000 x 300 pesetas approx. 35000 x400		
Stickers	unknown	unknown	61616,5			
Sargadelos Plates	unknown	unknown	715500			
Food and drinks	unknown	unknown	118000			
<b>total</b>	more than 900000	approx. 2250000	3974431,5	approx.4500000 14000000?		
<b>PROFIT</b>	more than 1500000	approx. 3450000	4024431,5	4500000 14000000?		
<b>EXPENSES</b>						
Posters/Stickers/Plates	unknown	unknown. Saragadelos donates plates	570208	unknown	unknown	unknown
Sound/lights	unknown	unknown	157570	unknown	unknown	unknown
SGAE	unknown	unknown	147741	unknown	unknown	unknown
Insurance x 2	unknown	unknown	68614	unknown	unknown	unknown
Wood	unknown	unknown	109482	unknown	unknown	unknown
Travel/lodging/food	unknown	unknown	2147087,3	unknown	unknown	unknown
Other/variou	unknown	unknown	61452	unknown	unknown	unknown
<b>total</b>	1300000	5000000	3262154,3	unknown	unknown	2000000
minus deficit		unknown	-1550000	unknown	unknown	unknown
<b>TOTAL</b>	more than 200000	-1550000	-787722,8	unknown	unknown	0

**Figure 2.11** Financial situation of IFCW 1978-1983 with available data. The only year with full data is 1980. This was taken from the budget of the festival made by, and given personally to me, by Álvaro Fernández Polo.

The statement above sounds bold, or perhaps too casual, but available sources reveal a collective feeling of discontent, a heartfelt sense of rejection towards the lack of public funding to this particular youth-lead music space. Young journalists, invited international musicians, festival organizers, and festival-goers raised their voices against such rejection. Published complaints included statements such as “What is the Ministry of Culture saving its grants for?” (*La Voz de Galicia*, February 29, 1980), or “we should remind you, even if it sounds unthinkable, that the Festival of Ortigueira does not receive any grant from the public entities related with such activity” (*La Voz de Galicia*, July 23, 1982), or more poignantly: “how can they [adults] complain the we [the youth] are lazy, and that we have no interest in either culture or sports, when there is not even a soccer field, and there is no support for young people’s music and theater groups, and when events such as the Celtic World of Ortigueira are clamorously ignored?” (Javier 1983).

The IFCW was probably seen by governmental authorities as a “politicized” cultural space. In 1979 the minister of Culture of Spain stated his desire to bring to the country an event like the Festival Interceltique Lorient, in France. Finances, the minister stated, were not a problem for the Ministry, but the event would have to be a-political (*La Voz de Galicia*, January 31, 1979). The IFCW was definitely not a-political. It was not partisan but it did struggle to attain cultural, musical and social change for its own town and for Galicia. And it succeeded in many different ways. It contributed to local development and it benefit local businesses in terms of growth. Besides bars, bakeries, and local stores, whose sales raised dramatically during the IFCW, materials to build the festival infrastructure were acquire locally. In the 1980 IFCW, for example, the stage and fence of the festival were built with a mix of eighty-five eucalypti, agglomerate wood, boards, three poles of eucalyptus, and thirty-five wooden posts at a total cost of 109,482 *pesetas* (Fernández Polo 1980). They were bought from local distributors such as Pérez Pinzón, Polo, Cribeiros, Durán, and Losada (*ibid*). The IFCW not only taught collaborators new skills or new uses for old ones, but it also showed them that they were capable of producing and then managing, a large cultural enterprise, and, in addition, it also brought in financial and symbolic capital to Ortigueira.

### II.3. The Social Construction of Space at the IFCW

A few days ago, in an interview for a program in the Spanish National Radio Station Radio 1, Lluís Pasqual, director and founding member of the Teatre Lliure (Catalan for “Free Theater”) in Barcelona, remembered the day that the theater was opened to the public for the very first time. About forty years ago, on December 2, 1976, the theater offered its inaugural play; the audience got tickets and entered there to see it. And right before the play started, audience members began to clap. Lluís perceived that action as if they were clapping to the space itself, as if they were celebrating, together, the opening of a young theater in a post-dictatorial environment (“Teatre Lliure,” December 2, 2016).<sup>58</sup> After Franco’s death, cultural spaces such as the IFCW and the Teatre Lliure were collectively produced by an empowered and hopeful youth throughout the Spanish territory. “[Look at] the physical decompression that that [Franco’s] death generated, [we were like] the bottles of Champagne, and the cork popped out so strongly that we all thought that everything was possible” (Pasqual 2014).

In the second half of the decade of the 70s, young cultural agents such as those erecting the *Teatre Lliure* in Catalonia or the IFCW in Galicia coincided in proposing innovative cultural management models based on accessibility (affordable tickets for a desired diverse audience), a horizontally and collective mode of production, and a financial model focused on the sustainability of the produced space rather than on the accumulation of capital for personal benefit. A very important feature of these youth cultural projects was their simultaneous seriousness, for they were committed to present high quality cultural material, and their joyfulness.

We don't think that theater is a custom of just a few social groups, or an abstract celebration of culture. We don't want to simply offer [works for] a passive contemplation. We like the term party not “pastime” (*sic*) (Teatre Lliure, *Manifest Fundacional*, 1976).

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<sup>58</sup> The radio quote was brief and I did not write its exact data. I have been unable to find it after listening to it. However, I have decided to cite it as it yield to the video of the described moment (the clapping of the audience to the theater, on its opening date. The video was uploaded to the You Tube channel of the Teatre Lliure on the exact date of its fortieth anniversary). In other words.



The term party is a good descriptive fit for the IFCW. Unlike a pastimes, an activity defined by its signifier as something one does to escape boredom and to actively face the passing of time, a party entails a personal and collective commitment to have fun. In a party, party goers, just as festival-goers, may actively engage to construct a particular type of social interaction, collectively thought and/or felt to be joyous. The success of the party depends on such an engagement and, as music festivals, this may be also centered in musicking. The IFCW was socially constructed as a joyous, youthful music space. In fact, from its first edition, audience members implemented a particular mode of listening that implied an active, party-like, collective musical engagement. Through this particular mode of listening and its yearly repetition, the youth of the IFCW simultaneously inscribed and appropriated the festival's space.

### **II.3.1 A Festival Mode of Listening**

*For Raparigos it was a honor to be [playing] twice in [the festival of] Ortigueira. In 1979 the mission of being the first Galician traditional bagpipe quartet to play in the festival was given to us. We were not a [bagpipe] band, nor a folk music group, and we had to play on the big stage of the Alameda, and the response of that enormous human tide was exiting. As a group we already had a long experience playing on [Patron Saint] (...) fiestas (...). We also had it [experience] in bagpipe contests (...) for we played in those from 1968 (...), but a festival like that of Ortigueira meant a new way of making things, a new way of talking publicly about our music for a public that was coming to receive it in, also, a different way, with a new attitude*

*Xoán Rodríguez Silvar, member of group Raparigos.<sup>59</sup>*

The “festival mode of listening,” as I have decided to call it, was practiced by the young audience of the IFCW based on both expectations and experiences. Expectations were accumulated from past personal memories, divulgation “mouth to mouth,” imaginings, and/or mediatized images and ideas on ways to listen to music at festivals (generally speaking) and (more specifically) at the IFCW. Experience entailed the real time adaptation of such expectations to the actual environmental, personal, and social

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<sup>59</sup> This quote was taken from the section “Experiences” of the 2014 official Website of the IFCW. Unavailable in the new festival Website (2017), the text is still accessible in the link below, through the *Way Back Machine* of the *Internet Archive* Website (<http://web.archive.org/web/20130616093803/http://www.festivaldeortigueira.com:80/experienciasdet.php?id=23&lg=gal>)

conditions found on the ground. In the festival, the “festival mode of listening” implied a personal disposition to share a temporary, crowded, outdoors living/performing space with other festival-goers. On a personal level, it involved dressing and grooming as a festival-goer, being ready to downplay personal needs to support collective enjoyment and stability, a relaxed view on personal hygiene, and the potential enhancement of the overall bodily sensorial apparatus through alcohol and/or drug consumption. In terms of time, the “festival mode of listening” had an average medium duration, as it often involved spending at least a night over the festival area, and so beyond being an audience to the programmed musicians presented onstage, festival-goers performed themselves (outside the stage site), and shared time making and dancing to music throughout the IFCW. The use of time during the IFCW was flexible but it certainly turned around the scheduled activities printed in the festival program. The highest value of nighttime within the festival space is evidence not only in terms of the personal and collective use of time, but also, for instance, in the pricing of entrance tickets as it happened in the IFCW of 1979 (Figure 2.13).

	IFCW 1978	IFCW 1979	IFCW 1980	IFCW 1981	IFCW 1982	IFCW 1983
Audience (approx.)	9000 people	8000 people	15000 people	15000 people	35000 people	20000 people
Tickets (in pesetas)	100 (standing), 150 (sitting)	50 (a.m.), 100 (p.m.), 200 (last day)	250	300	400	Free
Stage 1	Colegio Nacional Alferéz Provisional	Alameda	ocean	ocean	ocean	ocean
Stage 2	no	beach	no	no	yes	no
Dressing room	unknown	fish market	fish market	fish market	fish market	fish market
Parade	canton	yes	yes	yes	yes	rain
Expo 1	celtic folkloric instruments	musical instruments	Popular music instrument			
Expo 2	no	Galician ceramics	Galician ceramics			
Expo 3	no	painting	Photos (Fernández Polo)			
Expo 4	no	LP selling	all expos in Escolar vello			
Expo 5	no	books	Press conference at Colegio Nacional			
Dates	july 30	July 19-21	July 19-20	July 18-19	July 17-18	July 24
"Celtic World"	Galicia x 5 Brittany  Wales  Baviera	Galicia x 7 Brittany Scotland x 2 Wales Ireland	Galicia x 5 Brittany Scotland Wales Ireland x 2	Galicia x 7 Brittany x 2 Scotland Wales Ireland Asturias	Galicia x 5 Brittany x 2 Scotland x 2 Ireland Asturias x 2 Cornawall	Galicia x 2 Brittany x 2 Scotland Ireland

**Figure 2.12** Basic information on IFCW 1978-983. In yellow the price of tickets through the years (in pesetas). In green the "Celtic" nations invited to perform at the IFCW.

The impact of this “festival mode of listening” on the collective meaning of the IFCW as a youth and joyous space was considerable. In a 2013 interview, festival founder Álvaro Fernández Polo recalled how for the first edition of the IFCW, festival organizers prepared the stage precinct lining up chairs, as if the audience was going to enter and to be “waiting for a symphony orchestra to go out to play” (2013, interview with author). Aided by the rain and the young age of audience members, Fernández Polo said, such chair alignment was rapidly transformed into a less organized and more spontaneous arrangement (*ibid*). The practice of this “festival mode of listening” as something linked to the youth, is clear in the exchange of opinions published in the “Letters to the Editor” sections of different Galician newspapers. For instance, Rosa Cal, a citizen from neighbor Ferrol, wrote with anger against the youthful aspect of the IFCW asserting that:

For one more year a plague of young people with long hair, apparently or really disheveled (...), wearing naked shoes, and dirty bags (...) took over the city [of Ortigueira], the pine forest, and the beach altogether. (...) When a young person is characterized by not following the rules and by breaking with the established norms, one should offer him or her not a festival but a jail (Cal 1980).

In another letter, Agapito Fandiño from Lugo, wrote complaining about the “anti-social behavior” of the audience (1980) and the lack of proper infrastructure offered by the festival to family groups like his, who were wishing to listen to the music of the IFCW sitting on chairs (*ibid*). Answering to Agapito, the young Castelao Film Association wrote:

(...) in response to Agapito's comments about the dirt, lack of chairs, and hippies at the festival, we want to tell him that the tuxedo and the tailcoat are for other kinds of parties. The popular character [of the IFCW] means that it belongs to the people, is the people's, and for the people. (...) We consider ourselves to be normal people and we don't understand why Agapito generalizes calling us all "hippies". We went to a festival where comradeship was the norm of behavior (...) (1980).

The “festival mode of listening” inscribed meaning into the IFCW, and this included the festival stage. According Rodrigo Romaní, a member of *Milladoiro*: “musicians were also infected by that excess (...) I remembered that feeling of disorder, of absolute disorder that fueled us all and even climbed up the stage” (2013, interview

with author). Although for musicians like Romaní, the party-like environment of the festival put music in a second place, for audience members like Quique Costas (then a student but later manager of *Milladoiro* in the 1990s), the music was still a priority: “[for me,] music was not the pretext but the main context” of the IFCW (2013, interview with author). For festival organizers, audience members had the lead in the construction of the IFCW as a youthful and fun space, and even though they differentiated themselves from the visiting young audience members, some young people from Ortigueira would often dressed as festival-goers, or sat down on the floor, imitating festival-goers’ poses and bodily gestures, as a joke to fellow citizens (Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author).

### **II.3.2. The Perception of the IFCW as a Space of Freedom**

In the analysis of both interviews and informal conversations with festival organizers, musicians, and audience members of the first years of the IFCW, the festival appeared ubiquitously defined as a space of freedom. Inquiring about the meaning of such freedom, participant agents highlighted six main points:

1. The IFCW meant a pause, a break with everyday life, with personal pressures to comply with social constraints and personal obligations. At the festival, lax behavior was allowed without restraint from peers or any kind of authority figures in such a way that excess, nakedness, making a fool of oneself, or experimenting with dress and hair styles was openly and publicly practiced. In terms of political and cultural ideas and ideals, flags from different minority regions (such as Galicia, the Basque Country, or Brittany, among others) or political organizations were openly displayed even if at a state level these were actually prohibited. Living spaces were designed and erected by festival-goers depending on the materials available and their own designing preferences, but frequently including camping tents. These mobile, temporary constructions were evoked with phrases like “our self-made towns” (Belho 2013, interview with author), emphasizing the importance of such structures on the experience and construction of alternative lifestyles on the space-time of the festival. The novelty of spatial design opportunities offered by the open architecture of the IFCW had a considerable impact on

festival-goers' perceptions of the festival as a space of freedom. Finally, dancing together to music in "altered states" was also explained as a signifier of the freedom of the IFCW. In the phrase "alternate states" I have included descriptions of out of the ordinary listening practices (that is, of the "festival mode of listening" described above), including moving together with thousands of people to the same tune, publicly dancing unclothed or semi-naked (*i.e.* without t-shirts), and listening while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol.

2. At the IFCW, festival-goers felt free for being able to exteriorize hidden feelings and beliefs for the first time in their life time. In the first part of the IFCW, this was closely linked to the censorship imposed during Franco's regime, as well as to the control exerted by the dictator on public behavior in both the public space and the public sphere. Agents said to have felt free at the IFCW for the festival was a site of initiation in a diversity of fields including sexual and affective relationships, drug consumption, Galician musicking. In this particular field, festival goers like Quique Costas, recalled the novelty of relating collectively as Galician and in Galician language at the IFCW, and of getting to know "traditional" (his term) performing practices that "*neo-falantes* (Galician urbanites who had just recently started to speak Galician language)" like him and his fellow group of festival-goers had actually ignored (2013, interview with author).
3. At the IFCW festival-goers experienced a feeling of unity, brotherhood, or collective belonging the axis of which was musicking. Inquires on freedom at the IFCW lead to agents' recollection of being a part of a massive audience which they felt as if "being one," as being a big body cohabiting in "harmony" for and through music, in "peace and love" (Ferreirós 2013, interview with author). When asked about the role of music in this particular experience, Vitor Belho said he felt that "the majority of people were there for the music. We cohabited and there was this feeling among us because we were linked together by our love for music" (2013, interview with author). Celia Pía said that "music was the seed of the IFCW, you could get together with a bunch

of people for other reasons but as music was the reason why most of us were there, that really glued you to others” (2013, interview with author).

4. For some agents, freedom was also felt by the perceived favorable ratio of festival-goers and policing authorities. Although in reality, Civil Guards were enough in number to exert power over the audience as it happened in the third and fifth editions of the IFCW (1980 and 1982), for some members of the audience Ortigueira was under less surveillance than other known and experienced spaces. For Manuel Domínguez, a journalist and music entrepreneur from Madrid who paid jail time at the Carabanchel prison for participating in a pacific student protest during Franco’s dictatorship, at the IFCW

you could either smoke or not, drink or not, it clearly was a space of freedom. (...) We were accustomed here in Madrid to be more policed, under more surveillance, and everything was so conservative, but not there [at the IFCW], it was an ideal site (2013, interview with author).

5. For Ortigueiran people, including the festival organizers, the audience of the festival had a transformative power over both the festival space and the town itself. The arrival of festival-goers to Ortigueira announced the beginning of a particularly different annual dynamic, a socio-musical set of practices described with words like “youth” and “freedom” (Bermúdez 2013, interview with author; Fernández Polo 2013, interview with author; Mera 2013, interview with author; Marías 2012, interview with author; Pérez Ojea and Fernández Polo 2013 interview with author). Although elder people (Grozdanova 2014) as well as children (Celia Pia, interview with author 2013; Mauro Sanín interview with author 2013) related their memories of their first experiences at the IFCW with fear, for those who were young things felt differently:

People came to have a good time, on the weekend, in the countryside, in freedom. They would wear customs (...) and anything they wanted. We [festival organizers] almost demanded

people to have fun (laughs). I felt that there was a freedom that did not exist anywhere else. There were not many festivals like this at the time, all of them were very strict. If it were not by the audience, [the festival of] Ortigueira would not exist (...). People down there, off the stage, and their attitude, made the festival (Marías 2012, interview with author).

6. The experience of freedom at the IFCW was remembered by some festival-goers as a point of inflection in their personal lives. Described as a “vital baptism” (Vitor Belho 2013, interview with author), the IFCW was for some a space where significant and new personal, and musical experiences took place. The festival is remembered as a life-changing event as well as an opportunity that allowed national and international personal and musical connections to emerge.

### **II.3.3. Ortigueira at the Center of a “Celtic World”**

As already mentioned, the first edition of the IFCW took place within the Patron Saint Fiesta of Saint Marta of Ortigueira. Although separate from the fiesta, the festival included some elements from the former celebration including the initial sitting plan and the opening of the event with a *pregón* (an inaugural speech given by an important figure that recalls the importance of the event that is being celebrated, and brings in past or present news and histories into the narrative statement). In terms of time, space, and also form, the IFCW seemed like an opportunity to transform a long held local summer event, opening it up for the *Escola de Gaitas* and its invited international music crew. The *pregón* of the IFCW, the only one given in the entire history of this first part of the festival, was offered by Xosé Filgueira Valverde (see Chapter 1). In his Galician language speech, Filgueira Valverde evoked the figure of archeologist and former mayor of Ortigueira Federico Manciñeira, as well as his found lithic forts, classified (not without controversy) as Celtic archeological remains (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, August 4, 1978, 5). Filgueira Valverde also said that

We [Galician people] have taken part in navigations through the Atlantic Ocean. In the first navigations we received the fertile contribution of the Celtic ethnic group; (...) Galicia can have the clue to fertile exchanges between Hispanic



people, and Portuguese and Brazilian people, but it cannot forget its inclusion into the vibrant [Celtic] world that is being evoked here today [at the IFCW] (ibid).

Filgueira Valverde's collaboration with the IFCW highlighted the festival organizers' capacity, and thus, the capacity of the *Escola* itself, to forge ties of cooperation between cultural agents from different ages and with different political agendas. To do this they leaned on their mutual compromise towards the Galician bagpipe and to Galician music in general terms. Besides helping to actually erect, organize, and develop the IFCW, the *Escola* served as an overall point of engagement for all, Galician and international musicians and other music-related agents with the festival. In Galicia, the project of the *Escola* was already known when the IFCW started in 1978. Its mode of management, its ambitious goals, and the early average age of its members caused admiration, and built up a sense of solidarity in the Galician music realm that had a positive impact on the IFCW. Contrastingly, the IFCW was key for the international recognition of the *Escola*.

At the IFCW the *Escola*, and therefore Ortigueira, was placed at the center of a transnational Celtic world. In organizational terms, the *Escola* did not only act as a local host to guest groups and musicians, but it also performed (separately but on the same stage) and parade through Ortigueira with invited groups from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Asturias, Brittany and Galicia (these last two places, were always present at the IFCW as shown in Figure 2.13). A deep sense of hospitality was felt by musicians and guest journalists beyond lodging and food. In socio-musical terms, the *Escola* built up bridges with invited bands by performing tunes from Brittany, by allowing flags and political causes to be expressed by them within the festival space, and also as their mode of management and their actual attitude towards music and music education, generated, once again, solidarity and admiration. For instance, in 1979 invited Irish musicians were surprised by the lack of public funding given to the IFCW, and so they volunteered to help to change this situation by talking to the Irish ambassador in Madrid (Palmeiro, 1979:38). Breton journalists and musicians became also "friends" of the project of the *Escola*, given the repeated invitation of Breton groups to the IFCW (see Figure 2.13), and the performance of the Breton anthem by the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (Vari Floc'h, 1979). In the Breton publication *Armor* journalist Yann Vari Floc'h

wrote, in an article focused on the IFCW, that “Galician people are Celtic brothers even though less known, [who are] isolated within the Celtic [realm]” (1979). A final example can be given by the distribution of pro-IRA political flyers and the wearing of pins denouncing the death of IRA member Bobby Sands, by members of the Irish music group Na Casaidigh in the IFCW of 1981 (Figure 2.14).



**Figure 2.13** The fiddle player of group Na Casaidigh performs at the IFCW 1981 wearing a pin showing the then recently deceased member of IRA Bobby Sands (Photograph by Álvaro Fernández Polo, from Fernández Polo’s archive).

At the IFCW Galician music, made both in and outside Ortigueira, was placed at the center of a transnational “Celtic” music realm. According to Galician journalist Xosé Palmeiro, the festival was an exceptional opportunity to contrast the music that was made in regions that had to live within a centralist state, but that were “now being united by a thirst for recovering, studying, and sharing their popular music, their history, and their culture,” things that were all “dyed” with the color of the conceptualization of Celticism (1979:38). Beyond contrasting and learning from other musics, a process also

highlighted as a quality of the IFCW by Galician instrument maker Antón Corral (2013, interview with author and Pinheiro), playing at the IFCW served to compare and earn confidence on the quality of emerging Galician musical projects. This was reinforced by the general positive comments of both the national and international press, by the positive feedback from the audience of the festival, and by the experiences and impressions of musicians themselves. According to Galician musician Xosé María Ferreirós, with the IFCW people felt as if “a window had been opened in a place that was closed for a long time” (2013, interview with author). With the festival “people starts seeing new things, groups like Boys of the Lough, and they start saying look, this group [*Milladoiro*] is from here [Galicia] (...) and it is making things at the same level, and they can be in the same stage without a problem” (*ibid*). This positive feeling regarding the quality of Galician groups was reinforced by audience members’ reactions to on stage performances, favoring local and guest groups alike. International press comments were also important, especially as they were amplified, being re-edited in multiple publications by the Galician press. Such is the case of a letter sent to Xavier Garrote by the Belgian producer of the television channel BRT3 Herman Vuylsteke, in which he said to be impressed by the high quality of the Galician groups he saw at the festival (Vuylsteke, 1980: 2) (Carballo 1980).

On November 14, 1980 Ortigueiran newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*, wrote that “Ortigueira, in spite of being the farthest land up north of the entire Spanish territory (...), is today the center for everything related with bagpipes, bagpipers, *zanfonas*, and *zanfona* players” (1980). The article was written to inform local citizens about the release of a double LP entitled *Escola de Gaitas*, a work recorded live in the context of the IFCW of 1980, and later re-edited in a mixed version as *Celtic Nocturne* (including Breton, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish groups) by Manuel Domínguez’ label Guimbarda. The role of the media and this particular instance of the music industry played an important role in representing Ortigueira as a point of cultural production, one of vital importance for a transnational Celtic music world. Under the lead of Xavier Garrote and the *Escola de Gaitas*, the IFCW put “Ortigueira on the map,” a phrase that a diversity of Ortigueiran citizens told me during fieldwork. For the first time in the history of the town, Ortigueira was thus in the national and international news. Visiting journalists and published

articles were all listed and some of their texts re-reproduced in the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*, which became an important source of information for visiting journalists covering the festival. The IFCW put Ortigueira, its music, and its own media, in the public sphere.

When I asked Ortigueiran musicians and former members of the *Escola de Gaitas* about their most cherished places at the IFCW, all of them centered on the dining room of the festival. At the dining room, all guest musicians got together to have their daily meals. Such meals were cooked and served by members of the *Escola*, most of them young female girls, under the direction and menu design of Jesús Lozada Outero. During the last part of lunch or dinner, and simultaneously with the closing dessert and coffee time, a kind of “jam session,” with exchange of melodies and musical instruments would take place. For Xavier Garrote, who had first envisioned the IFCW as a pedagogical need for the *Escola*, this was the essence of the festival (2013, interview with author). In the dining room you would get to know the different groups invited to play at the IFCW “because you would spend time eating with them, talking with them, and playing with them” (Pérez Ojea and Fernández Polo 2013). Jaime García remembers that:

(...) at the dining room we would eat all together and at the same time. When it was time to drink the coffee and the *chupito* (an after meal liquor shot) some groups would form. Today, we would call this a jam session. So it was like a Celtic jam session, and it was really beautiful. It was really mixed, the Scottish and the Bretons, and the Irish (...) we all had that thirst of learning about each other's music, they wanted to learn what we were doing here in Galicia (...) to play our bagpipe as much as we wanted to play theirs (2013, interview with author).

At the dining room, members of the *Escola* had the opportunity to put into practice what Garrote had envisioned for the IFCW. Irish gigs would be danced like Galician *muñeiras* and vice versa, as musicians and dancers recognized their common, though differently accentuated, 6/8 meter (Marías 2012, interview with author; García 2013, interviewed with author). A musical and dance socio-musical Celtic space was thus forged at the dining room with guest musicians from places like Germany, Wales, Galicia, Scotland, Brittany, Ireland, and Asturias. And that place was housed at the dining room of the public school of Ortigueira.

Audience members, socially constructed the IFCW as Celtic and communicated meaning through symbolic forms such as musicking, dancing, building (mobile living spaces), and personal fashion/grooming. The display of flags from the so called Celtic world, played an important role in such construction. Furthermore, a somehow exotic view on Galicia as a far away green and magical place, and the actual embedding of isolation into both the built environment and the road infrastructure of Ortigueira, contributed to festival-goers' experience of the IFCW as "Celtic." According to a festival-goer, the festival was felt by him as a Celtic experience for while

(...) going to Ortigueira I was afraid of seeing one of those fairies, how are they called? It took so long to get to Ortigueira, and the trees, [it was] so far from everything. (...) And you would stay in the town or in the mountain, and we would go to have breakfast and then we would see the countrymen and someone would tell them: come on, prepare us some barnacles (laughs). They were like savages, but everything was wonderful (anonymous 2013, interview with author).

In the quote above, the stereotype of Galicia as a "happily underdeveloped" land, a producer of seafood, with a beautiful and green natural landscape, located far away from "civilization" is loudly present. A softer idea resonates behind, and it speaks about ideas on Celticism as a symbol of a young, pro-ecologist lifestyle, something openly promulgated by the Red Guard of Spain (Domínguez 2013, interview with author; Montero, 1979). The exotic eye and the ecological revolutionary ideas and ideals, mixed in the ground and influenced the fact of being at the IFCW. Together with the public gathering of an empowered youth, the celebration of Galicia, and an extended passion for the music presented at the festival, the IFCW served as a space to live in a temporal alternative reality while getting to know, and learn about both Galicia and Ortigueira.

#### **II.4. Conclusions**

Galician music was placed at the center of the IFCW by agents linked to the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. Together with volunteer citizens from this town they were able to produce a music festival and to construct a Celtic music world. The social production and construction of the IFCW underscored processes of autoconstruction of an international music space, and the location of Galician and international music in

Ortigueira and for the benefit of Ortigueira. The IFCW was taken as a collective triumph, a successful enterprise made by a group of young people. The IFCW brought development to Ortigueira as it allowed participant producers, and other people beyond these group, to see the value of their own town, and to discover personal and collective capabilities. They also defy the actual lack of roads and public transportation, by “tacitly” demanding festival-goers to look for ways of overcoming the lack of infrastructure.

In my view, the festival could have transformed the reality of the Ortigueiran youth if support had not been systematically denied, leading to the suffocation of the entire organization in 1983. Xavier Garrote’s vision for the festival was pioneer in the region. His mix of non-profit enterprise and music education could have offered employment and local training to a youth, that today, as then, has a few options but to leave the town to make a living.

## Chapter III

### A “Public” Corporate Enterprise: The IFCW, 1984-2013

#### III.1. Introduction

In my view, Galician music festivals are defined by repetition. A temporary space-time, the festival is expected to reenact previous editions in a repeated spatial layout that recurrent festival-goers already know how to navigate.<sup>60</sup> At the IFCW, old time festival-goers have a routine, developed through the years, which relies on a mix of old and new spaces, musics, friends. The social production of the festival has thus an impact on the social construction of this socio-musical space, and vice versa. Festival-goers' expectations of the IFCW have to be at least partly fulfilled by festival organizers in order for them to have a positive evaluation of the festival (thus assuring their return in the following year) and, concomitantly, festival organizers decisions' have the power to affect festival goers' experiences at the festival space. But, what happens when there is a rupture between these two mutually influential actors (festival organizers and festival goers) so that their processes (organizing the festival and going to/being at the festival) exclude the expectations of the other?

Between 1984 and 2014 the social production and social construction of space at the IFCW, turned into increasingly divided and unconnected processes. Produced by the Government of Ortigueira as well as by hired (private) companies and individuals, and constructed by a diverse group of musicians, residents of Ortigueira, and festival-goers, the division unveiled issues of power extended to other spheres of the Ortigueiran social, cultural, and political realm. In this chapter I show how the festival producers' views on “professionalization” (as explained below), lead to the disassociation of production and construction processes. By disregarding the importance of a particular way of “musicking at the IFCW” for festival-goers, and by simultaneously limiting the extent and quality of the engagement of Ortigueira's

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<sup>60</sup> Repetition within the IFCW and other music festivals, can be looked at as a potential strategy “for producing ritualized acts” (Bell 1992, 92). Indeed, as Catherine Bell has written “formalizing a gathering, following a fixed agenda, and repeating that activity at periodic intervals, and so on, reveal potential strategies of ritualization because these ways of acting are the means by which one group of activities is set off as distinct and privileged vis-a-vis other activities” (Bell 1992, 92).

residents with the production of the festival, the institutional producers of the festival failed to contribute (as previous producers did) to “enhancing and guaranteeing the substantive freedoms of individuals, seen as active agents of change, rather than as passive recipients of dispensed benefits” (Sen 1999, XIII).

Apart from the appropriation of the IFCW by the Government of Galicia, a distinctive aspect of the recent history of the festival is its sponsorship by Galician beer company *Estrella de Galicia*. The sponsorship of music festivals by beer (and other kind of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks), tobacco, and cigarette brands is common around the world, as shown by Pier’s analysis of the Senator’s Festival in Uganda (Pier 2009), Arlene Dávila’s analysis in the Puerto Rican context (Dávila 2007), or Guss’ analysis in Venezuela (2000).<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, the link of brands with “local” cultures is also a global phenomenon. In fact, brands, as ethnomusicologist David Pier writes looking at the Senator’s (a locally brewed beer) Festival in Uganda, are increasingly seeking “to contact people on their own home turf, speak to them in their home languages, and involve them as bodily participants in sensually pleasurable activities” (Pier 2009, 100).

As this chapter shows, the government-led association of the IFCW with beer company *Estrella de Galicia*, has been perceived negatively by a large number of festival-goers, including people in Ortigueira. As Pier’s findings in Uganda, at the IFCW “techniques from the government and techniques from the world of advertising were thoroughly intertwined” (2009, 14). Nevertheless, in other contexts, commercial sponsorship has proved to be an important tool to spatialize music, countering governmental and/or elite-driven constrains and views on what is and is not musically valuable. Writing about commercial sponsorship and cultural politics in Puerto Rico, Arlene Dávila states that

far from eroding national culture, these [cigarette and beer] companies are another source that local groups tap in the ongoing struggle over defining and representing Puerto Rican culture. In this process, people draw on corporate funding to highlight aspects that are excluded due to their more popular and less "cultural" outlook (Dávila 2009, 206).

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<sup>61</sup> These studies were brought to my attention by Pier’s work (Pier 2009, 14-15).



All in all, these authors are well aware of the complicate balance of commercial and political sponsorship, and of their impact for the representation of music and musicians, as well as of David Guss, looking at the sponsorship of a tobacco company to a festival in Venezuela, explains as the pervasive use of music festivals and music concerts by commercial sponsors, to portray themselves as “producers of culture” (Guss 2000, 126).

### III.2. A Historical Account

The official accounts on the history of the IFCW (1984-2013) are full of silences. A quick look at the book entitled *Festival de Ortigueira* signed by Galician photographer Xurxo Lobato, and released in 2003 by the Governments of Ortigueira, A Coruña, and Galicia to celebrate the Festival’s 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary, provides evidence. In this book, which contains pictures and personal memories of different agents involved in the IFCW throughout the years, there is not a single face or a word printed from any of the founders or original collaborators of the IFCW. Six years of hard work and collective effort to erect a pioneering musical project, have only led this book’s editors to include a short and concise dedication written in the Spanish language “to the founders of the Festival of Ortigueira” (2003). Nothing, really, resounds with the original drive of the festival: the importance of local musics and agents, the Galician language, or the name of the festival, which from the year 2000 was stripped away from its words “Celtic World” to improve its corporate impact (Rivera 2013, interview with author).<sup>62</sup>

The same silences are present in other kinds of documents such as the festival Webpage (2000-2016)<sup>63</sup> and its press/promotional materials (2004-2005).<sup>64</sup> In the first one, the present festival is described as “an authentic cultural enterprise” that was recovered by the Government of Ortigueira in 1995 (“Historia,” 2000), as this reopened it following seven years of closure, later turning it into a *professional* festival from 2000 onwards. The Webpage only mentions the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* and Xavier Garrote very briefly, and it states that there is little left in the present IFCW from the

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<sup>62</sup> See page 172 for Rivera’s explanation on the change of name.

<sup>63</sup> The official festival Website has been recently changed (2017). Older versions can be fully accessed through the *Way Back Machine* of the *Internet Archive* Website ([https://web.archive.org/web/\\*/www.festivaldeortigueira.com](https://web.archive.org/web/*/www.festivaldeortigueira.com)).

<sup>64</sup> These materials were given to me by Francisco Rivera.

original “handcrafted” festival (*ibid*). In a similar vein, the promotional and press dossiers of the festival include a page entitled “They Were Here” (which also appears as a tab on the festival’s Webpage), where the groups performing at the IFCW since 1978 are listed (“Dossier de Prensa,” 2004; “Dossier de Prensa,” 2005). In this list, the *Escola de Gaitas* is not mentioned at all (in the Website it is listed as a performance group from 2004 onwards), in spite of both having been yearly present at the IFCW and having been the engine and center of the festival from its creation up to 1983.

It is easy to understand why the situation that led to the closure of the IFCW between 1988 and 1994, a situation for which the Government of Ortigueira was at least partly responsible as I will show here, is absent from both the Webpage and other official documents of the festival, all of which are now produced by the government itself. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see why these official narratives insist on erasing the local agents’ role in the production of the first years of the festival as well as the relevance of that past into the present IFCW. Why not be proud of their local cultural producers and musicians? What is gained from silencing their presence in the IFCW and by undermining the extent of their widely demonstrated musical and cultural management capacities? Why not rather profit from having a strong and historically grounded local music event?

Available evidence points to a simple and single answer to the questions posed above. From a public management point of view and within the specific context of the current IFCW (1999-2014), Galician music, made locally, does not matter. Local music and musicians are not seen as profitable; although nothing has been gained from silencing them or from silencing their historical role at the IFCW, festival organizers have failed to understand what is lost in doing this. Such silences, thus, have been caused by either carelessness, or by a well-intentioned assessment led by corporate interests, for which the local is meaningless. Unlike the original IFCW, which served as a platform for locally made Galician music and complimented the yearly musical activities of the *Escola de Gaitas*, the “current” festival (up to 2014), managed as a publicly funded corporate enterprise, functions more as a wall. For instance, the official narratives of the IFCW emphasize the increasing professionalization of the festival. This contrasts with both the festival organizers’ views on local music and musicians as amateur, and with these musicians’ link to the “handcrafted” past of the festival from which they (organizers)

want to get away. Due to this, local musicians have now great difficulties to reach a stage historically created by them and for them. In this way, as public resources have been set to discursively and materially improve a three-day long music enterprise, the potential of having a strong and well developed local Galician music scene, connected and empowered by the festival, has been ignored (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

<a href="#">Sanidad</a>	8.000 €	1 €	0,69%	
<a href="#">Educación</a>	103.470 €	15 €	8,98%	
<a href="#">Cultura</a>	868.531 €	125 €	75,41%	■
<a href="#">Deporte</a>	171.800 €	25 €	14,92%	■

**Figure 3.1** Analysis of the 2011 municipal budget of Ortigueira. The analysis was made and presented in the site [gobierno.es](http://gobierno.es). Analyzed data was taken from the official budgets released online by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Finances. The particular Area of Expenditure shown here is called “Production of Public Goods of Preferential Character” by the Ministry. From top to bottom we can see expenses on health, education, culture, and sports in the *Concello de Ortigueira*. In this particular area, public investment in culture is clearly the highest. Nevertheless, this data is complicated when one looks at figure 3.2.

<a href="#">Administración General de Cultura</a>	17.614 €	3 €	2,03%	
<a href="#">Bibliotecas y Archivos</a>	71.445 €	10 €	8,23%	■
<a href="#">Promoción cultural</a>	57.000 €	8 €	6,56%	■
<a href="#">Artes escénicas</a>	94.472 €	14 €	10,88%	■
<a href="#">Instalaciones de ocupación del tiempo libre</a>	8.000 €	1 €	0,92%	
<a href="#">Fiestas populares y festejos</a>	620.000 €	89 €	71,38%	■

**Figure 3.2** In this table, which proceeds from the same Website mentioned in figure 3.1., the public expenses on culture for the year 2011 are itemized. From top to bottom, one can see investments in general cultural management, libraries and archives, the promotion of culture, dramatic arts, infrastructure for free time leisure activities, and popular fiestas and celebrations. The IFCW is included, and it surely gets most of the expenses mentioned in this last item. This data shows that a three-day festival sucked up the annual cultural of the Consello of Ortigueira in 2011 (this is, including Santa Marta de Ortigueira and the other twenty-one parishes that are under its jurisdiction). This issue is repeated in the local annual budgets between 2010 and 2014.

As I expound on here, it is the relationship between festival producers and locally made Galician music and musicians which gives rise to my periodization of the recent history of the IFCW: 1984-1987, 1995-1998, 1999-2014, and 2015 onwards. The “recent past” of my research corresponds to the period between 1999 and 2014, and the questions and arguments I have made so far referring to the “current” festival, are also situated in this period. An alternative periodization that dialogues with this is given by the length of the government of each elected mayor of Ortigueira. Overall political interests seem to be connected with changes in the festival, even though all the mayors of Ortigueira from 1984 to 2014 belonged to the same political party (the center-right Popular Party). Indeed, the recent and unprecedented election of Juan Penabad Muras, a politician affiliated with the center-left Socialist Party, in 2015, has already had an impact on the IFCW. Such changes, that include, for instance, a deal with the beer company *Estrella de Galicia* to sponsor not only the IFCW but also a year-round music calendar of events in Ortigueira (Manso, 2015), are not part of this dissertation for they succeeded the time of my research in this town.<sup>65</sup>

### **III.2.1 A Fading Festival: 1984-1987**

In 1984 the Government of Ortigueira took over the organization of the IFCW. Initially reluctant, the mayor of Ortigueira José Antonio Franco agreed to organize the festival after a meeting with the then director of the *Xunta de Galicia* (that is, the Government of the autonomous community of Galicia) Luis Álvarez Pousa (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 27, 1984, 2). In order to do this, the *Xunta* offered six million *pesetas* (approx. thirty-six thousand euros) to the Government of Ortigueira, plus the help of professor, film producer, and journalist Ramón Varela Salgado (a.k.a. Moncho Varela) as director of the festival (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 27, 1984, 2). The *Xunta* and the Government of Ortigueira agreed to make the IFCW free of charge as had been done in the previous year by Xavier Garrote and his team, in order to avoid potential public disorder (see Chapter 2). The Government of Ortigueira, furthermore, committed to

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<sup>65</sup> The changes that have been taking place in the IFCW from 2015 onwards reflect some of the petitions and suggestions made by former festival collaborators throughout the years. They also are in accord with their long term work of musical resistance, a process that I explain in detail in the last chapter of this dissertation.

improve the infrastructure of the festival, setting up public toilets in both downtown Ortigueira and in the camping zone at the beach of Morouzos, among other things.

Between 1984 and 1987 the festival was thus lead by the Government of Ortigueira with the support of the *Xunta de Galicia*. Financially, the *Xunta* contributed with an annual grant (of, as mentioned above, five, and sometimes six million *pesetas*). When needed, the expenses of the festival were completed by the Government of Ortigueira with sums ranging from three to five million *pesetas*. Public funding was clearly not a problem for the yearly realization of the IFCW in Ortigueira. Although Moncho Varela was sent every year by the *Xunta de Galicia* to help with the organization of the IFCW, in 1985 the *Xunta* started to criticize the Government of Ortigueira for having that “human dependency,” and for not being able to name a leading figure from their own work team (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 19, 1985, 6). As explained below, tensions between these two public institutions grew, due to their polarized opinions regarding the realization (*Xunta*) or the closure (Government of Ortigueira) of the IFCW. In the summer of 1986 the mayor of Ortigueira announced the celebration of a referendum (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 25, 1986, 1-2) for the residents of Ortigueira to decide whether to continue or not with the IFCW. The referendum never took place and the mayor’s promise was transformed by the Ortigueiran Housewives Association<sup>66</sup> into a survey, the results of which were overwhelmingly in favor of continuing with the festival (Sueiras, 1988: 2).

On June 10, 1988 the Government of Ortigueira officially announced the end of the festival (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, June 10, 1988). Conflicts between the Government and the *Xunta* were made evident with the emerging contradictory versions explaining the causes of such closure. According to the Government of Ortigueira, the festival was closed due to, first, the lack of funding from the *Xunta de Galicia* (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 22, 1988, 2) and second, for a supposed lack of interest of the *Xunta* in Celtic music, something they claimed the *Xunta* had said to be in decline (*ibid*). Contrastingly, the *Xunta* stated that the Government of Ortigueira never presented a project for the

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<sup>66</sup> The *Asociación de Amas de Casa* (“Housewives Association”), still in existence today (2017), is grouped as a “cultural association” in the current Webpage of the *Concello de Ortigueira* (<http://www.concellodeortigueira.com/facemos/intro2b.php?txt=asociacions&lg=cas>).

upcoming edition (1988) of the festival. Moreover, they asserted that, as the founders of the festival had argued before, the City Hall of Ortigueira was not interested in celebrating the IFCW. Finally, the *Xunta* criticized the lack of investment in the infrastructure needed for the successful realization of the festival, and, additionally, they informed their dissatisfaction with the Government of Ortigueira as their submitted accounting report of the IFCW of 1987 had been unclear (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 22, 1988, 3).

After Xavier Garrote and his collaborators quit producing the IFCW in 1983 the festival declined. In Ortigueira, there was a mixed feeling of affective attachment to the festival, and of disappointment for the lack of support that the IFCW had received during its grassroots years from the Government of Ortigueira. “The local power, the local government, was unable to get into the chariot of the future by supporting the festival from the beginning” wrote a resident of Ortigueira in an article published in the local newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira* (FLR 1985, 3). The majority of people in Ortigueira wanted the continuation of a festival that, “among other things, was able to turn the more or less two thousand inhabitants of this town [Ortigueira] into more than thirty thousand listeners of wonderful Celtic music” (Blas 1986, 4). The Ortigueiran public opinion that appeared printed in the local media made a claim for “the continuation of the festival, but with good organizers” (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 27, 1984, 3), and, also, for both a “return to Xavier Garrote’s vision” of the IFCW (Alonso Santiago 1987, 1), and the same modus operandi used “before, [when] the festival was made by putting love in every detail” (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 27, 1984, 3).

For some non-Ortigueiran festival-goers, the change in management was probably unnoticeable. The *Escola de Gaitas* continued playing in the festival, although in some years there were conflicts between the aforementioned music institution and the Government of Ortigueira, for the latter did not ask the former whether it wanted to perform or not (Blas 1986, 2). Also, the large budget growth of the IFCW from 1984 onwards allowed the organization of the festival to finally bring musicians like Alan Stivell to the IFCW. This Breton musician, famous for his musical and political support of the transnational cultural union and the political independence of stateless nations with a claimed common Celtic past, was repeatedly invited by early IFCW organizers but he

declined due to the financial conditions, or lack thereof. He then played in 1986, receiving the highest fee among all participant musicians: 1,124,981 *pesetas* (approx. six thousand eight hundred euros). The number alone does not say much, but it highlights that from 1984 onwards, and unlike previous editions of the festival, equal pay for local and international, new and experienced musicians, was no longer part of the ethos of the festival. Although one could argue that equal salaries in the previous editions of the IFCW were the result of a necessity (for there was actually no salary for anyone), the founders of the IFCW did have a clear egalitarian treatment for all musicians. This ethos of egalitarianism is actually something common in folk music festivals. The legendary Newport Folk Festival in the United States, for instance, had a system to avoid large salary gaps among participant musicians. Proposed by Toshi Seeger (Pete Seeger's wife), "no musician [playing at the Newport Folk Festival], whether a star or an unknown" was paid more than fifty dollars (Martin 2013).

In fact, as shown in Chapter 2, the idea of the creation of the IFCW was to put local music, and Galician music in general terms, at the center. This change in attitude, reinforced by statements like that of the mayor of Ortigueira, who said that for the edition of 1988 (eventually canceled) there were only going to be local (Galician) groups for there was no money to celebrate the festival (Alonso Santiago 1988, 1) marked a line of differentiation with the past festival organization (1978-1983). Whereas for new festival-goers this change was probably difficult to perceive, for long term festival-goers, including the residents of Ortigueira, it was evident. As resident Luis Alonso Santiago stated in the newspaper *La Voz de Ortigueira*: "when the festival was taken over by the official government it declined, in spite of the money [available to produce it]" (Alonso Santiago 1988, 1).

Between 1984 and 1987 attendance at the IFCW dropped considerably. With the evidence at hand it is difficult to determine what caused that decline. Available data, taken from estimates published in *La Voz de Ortigueira*, show a change from twenty thousand attendees in 1984 to three hundred in 1987.<sup>67</sup> At the time, such decay was

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<sup>67</sup> Given the fact that, from 1983, the festival has been free of charge and no tickets are thus needed to gain access to the festival (*i.e.* to Ortigueira), estimating the number of festival-goers at the IFCW has been extremely difficult. As members of the present festival organization have anonymously told me, the official number of festival-goers is often exaggerated for the benefit of the festival (to assure financial

attributed by some critics to the Government of Ortigueira's poor publicity and promotion of the festival (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 27, 1984, 2; *La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 19, 1985, 5). Although between 1984 and 1987 there were clear lines of continuation with early editions of the IFCW in terms of the distribution of the festival space in Ortigueira and the overall music programming lines, its design (which, for instance, changed from being a wooden autoconstructed structure to a metallic industrialized one) and the relationship between festival producers and the festival and its music, did change. It is possible to assert that these changes affected the festival goers' experience at the IFCW, and that the low cost of the festival (the fact that it was free of charge) did not replace the qualities that facilitated living the festival as a way to experiment with new or different ways of being human and musically sharing with others.

### **III.2.2 Re-making the IFCW: 1995-1998**

When the end of the IFCW was announced, an alternative activity was proposed by the Government of Ortigueira: The Festival *Ortiga de Oro* (Spanish for "Golden Nettle Festival"). This was planned as both a showcase and a contest for different kinds of music groups including symphonic bands, bagpipe bands, and choirs (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, June 10, 1988). The festival never took place and it was replaced by another initiative: The Summer Popular University of Ortigueira. In Spain and the rest of Europe, Popular Universities are publicly financed open education centers (*i.e.* that do not require an entrance examination, do not have an age limit, and that do not lead to a certificate or degree). "Popular universities are concerned with both education and culture. They are open to anyone who wishes to attend courses either on general or vocational subjects. These institutions also help adults to acquire vocational and life skills" (Boeru 1996, 86). The first Summer Popular University of Ortigueira took place in 1989. The project was initially rejected when it was proposed in a plenary session by the political representative of the Galician national party BNG (Galician Nationalist Bloc) Manuel López Foxo, but it was later approved as the mayor of Ortigueira and other town

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support, sponsorships, to benefit the impact of the publicity of the IFCW on the media). The number of assistants is approximated through a system that calculates how full is the space in Ortigueira known as *alameda*, and then subtracts that calculation from the estimate number of people that can fit in full in this space.



councilors from the Popular Party (who had first voted against it) abstained from voting (Sueiras 1988, 2).

The Summer Popular University took place in July (1989-1994). The budget of the first one (1988) was around seven million *pesetas*, an amount out of which 2,600,000 *pesetas* were for music and theater groups, 1,775,000 for an average of eighty invited experts and professors, and the rest of the money was used for materials, infrastructure, sports events, and advertisement campaigns (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, November 11, 1988, 4). The project was proposed in response to the closure of the IFCW, the failure of the Festival *Ortiga de Oro*, and as an acknowledgment on the part of the political representative of the BNG in the Government of Ortigueira that the “government’s work on culture can’t ever be reduced to a few days of the year or to a single [cultural] activity” (López Foxo 1989, 1). From the outside, and given its organization into panels and the reading of academic papers, the Popular University looked like a conference. All the topics of the program of its first edition were focused on Galicia. These included Galician Economy, Agriculture and Maritime Activities, the Historical and Cultural Past of Ortigueira, the Media, and Galician Literature and *Galeguismo* (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, May 26, 1989, 5).<sup>68</sup> Although music was not included as a discussion topic it played an important role in performance. Invited groups included *Milladoiro*, *Os Raparigos*, and the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, all of which had performed on previous editions of the IFCW. The university also sponsored a Rock Music Festival, where the local rock group *The Perdidos al Río* (one of which members was Marías) was featured (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 7, 1989, 3).<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Galician scholar Helena Miguélez-Carballeira describes *galeguismo* as “a political movement defined by its promotion of Galicia’s uniqueness within Spain” (2014, 37).

<sup>69</sup> The *Perdidos al Río* was a trio formed by Marías (bass and voice), Ramón Peña (drum set and voice), and Fernando Pía (leading voice, guitar, and composer). Marías is mentioned in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4 in this dissertation. As explained in Chapter 1, he was my main collaborator and the person who introduced me to everyone in Ortigueira. Fernando Pía, a leading musical figure in the small but active local rock music scene, died young. And Ramón is now the owner of the *A Escondida Café Concerto*, a beautiful café located in Espasante with views to the Atlantic Ocean, and one of the only two places in Ortigueira where music could (up to 2013) be legally performed (it has the required license). In 2012, I stayed in Espasante and I was frequently with Ramón at his Café. One of the most famous songs of their group is called “The Desert of Ortigueira.” Its lyrics make fun of the slow pace of the Ortigueiran socio-cultural life. The first verse and the chorus say: “I am riding with my horse through the desert of Ortigueira/ And I see nothing: no trace! /How boring is the *ría* (“sea inlet”) of Ortigueira” (Pía 1980?).

The Summer Popular University of Ortigueira, described by his proponent as “a point of encounter with space for everything and everyone” (López Foxo, 1989: 1), was well-received by people in Ortigueira. As also happened with the IFCW, there were conflicts between the Government of Ortigueira and the organization of the event, due to the use of public space. This was the case of the photography exhibit (part of the program of the Popular University of 1989), which had to be presented at the bars Galaripo, Bértigo, and at the New Club, for the public *Teatro de la Beneficencia* (“Theater of Beneficencia”) was not lent for this activity (*La Voz de Ortigueira*, July 21, 1989, 1). During my field-work in Ortigueira, inquiries on this transition of the history of the IFCW yielded short answers, all of which were limited to tell me that the Popular University had taken place in absence of the IFCW. The event was thus seen as something completely separate from the festival although not as less memorable or important.

Unlike the IFCW the Popular University did not attract many outside visitors, which affected the diversity of public encounters and social relations. The festival was still missed. In spite of the chaos linked to it, people in Ortigueira longed for the ambience of youth, and the transformative power of the IFCW. The festival allowed people in Ortigueira to experience their town with their neighbors, but also with diversity of people, in a way and under social norms deeply distant from their every-day-life. This contrast, which was also used as an argument against the festival by local detractors for whom the IFCW meant a break from the calm of the town and the inconceivable tolerance of what they saw as improper public behavior (Blas 1986, 4), was explained with the following words by a local resident identified as F.L.R in *La Voz de Ortigueira*:

[During the IFCW] Ortigueiran people had to make an effort to tolerate, in their traditional mentality, the contrast given by this new generation's way of seeing things. This psychological (...) confrontation between two different value systems put a dark shadow on the festival pretending setting it aside not as a countercultural act but as a marginal demonstration (F.L.R. 1985, 3).

In 1995 the Government of Ortigueira decided to bring back the IFCW to the Ortigueiran summer calendar. The decision was taken and implemented in the last four-year period of the elected mayor of Ortigueira Jesús Varela Martínez (Popular Party).

The organizing team was composed of three people: The Town Councilor of Culture's wife, María Dolores Pérez López (a former member of the *Escola de Gaitas*), Galician cultural entrepreneur Raul Piñero, and, in representation of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, Juan Cao. The team's job finished when Varela Martínez' time in office came to an end (1998). According to Maria Dolores Pérez "people were desperately asking for the festival to come back (...) we did it in 1995. We had a lot of problems but the City Hall of Ortigueira was very supportive" (2015). There is not much information about this period of the festival. Indeed, one of the main sources of information on the IFCW in the past, David Fojo Rivas' *La Voz de Ortigueira*, was shaken after Fojo died on May of 1995. Fojo Rivas, son of the founder of this local newspaper, was a tireless supporter of the festival and of everything related with the *Escola de Gaitas*. Although, after his passing,<sup>70</sup> the newspaper continued under the direction of David's daughter Maricarmen Fojo, the depth and detail with which the IFCW was covered since, were never the same. This is not aimed as a critique to Maricarmen Fojo, who has been able to continue with the newspaper, and whose immense generosity allowed me to access the private but well-kept archive of this publication, but rather, as a praise to a journalist who both supported and left rich data on the cultural, and particularly the musical endeavors of the Ortigueiran youth.

Between 1995 and 1998 the organizers of the IFCW concentrated on pushing the festival forward.<sup>71</sup> In this new stage, the financial and political support needed to both fund the festival and to celebrate it in public space were dependent on the Government of Ortigueira. Nevertheless, there was political will to allow its organizers to work independently, following guidelines drawn earlier by the founders and early makers of the IFCW. For instance, as mentioned before, the *Escola de Gaitas* was included as part of the organizing team. There was a focus on bringing in music groups from the so-called "Celtic nations" with an especially strong presence of Brittany. And finally, the stage of the festival was centered on Galician music and, in addition to the *Escola*, it was opened

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<sup>70</sup> Founded by Jesús Fojo Díaz in 1916, *La Voz de Ortigueira* is locally known as *la verza* (Galician for "cabbage leaf"). This is due to the green color of the paper on which the newspaper had to be printed during the Civil War years, due to a lack of both money and supplies.

<sup>71</sup> See Appendixes 2, 3, 4, and 5 for a detailed list of the directors of the IFCW, year by year, between 1984 and 2013.

for emerging Ortigueiran folk music bands such as *Bágoa de Raiña* and *Domine Cabra*.<sup>72</sup> During this period of time, locally made Galician music, and Galician music in general terms, were not a token. That is, they were not treated as groups invited to play when public budgets were low but restrained from playing when money was available. When asked by her daughter, María Quintiana (journalist and former member of the *Escola de Gaitas*), what she considered to be the three most memorable moments of the IFCW 1995-1998, organizer María Dolores Perez López mentioned: “to see the new generation of the *Escola de Gaitas* to step on the stage [of the IFCW] (...), to hear bagpiper Ronsel playing the [emblematic Galician music piece] “Muñeira de Chantada” (...), and to hear *Bágoa de Raiña*” play on the stage of the IFCW, before the popular Irish bagpiper Davy Spillane (2015).

Whereas López and Cao focused on choosing the Ortigueiran music groups and bagpipe bands, Raúl Piñero was in charge of choosing and bringing the rest of the groups. The early and unexpected death of Raúl in December of 2012, and the (partly related) lack of documentation left on his role as a cultural promoter in both Galicia and Brittany, contrast with the high praise of the impact of his musical endeavors by those who knew him. María Dolores Perez López has set Raúl as the head of the IFCW 1995-1998 (2015). According to her, he was well connected with the European folk music realm and his friendship with leading folk music figures such as the Irish bagpiper Mick O’Brien or the Breton Molard brothers, among many others, benefitted the festival (*ibid*). These musicians also benefitted from Raúl’s leading position in a number of festivals such as the IFCW and the Interceltic Festival of Moaña (Galicia).

Coinciding with Galician music expert and producer Ramón Pinheiro, bagpiper Carlos Núñez has described Raúl as “a free (...) traveler that followed his instinct, always looking for a new dream to fight for. He worked as an authentic Don Quixote of the *finis*

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<sup>72</sup> During fieldwork I met and spent time with members of both *Bágoa de Raiña* and *Domine Cabra*. Several of their members were members of the *Escola de Gaitas*. From the former *Domine Cabra* I only met Juan Barcón, musician, arranger, director of the bagpipe of Ladrado, and professor of bagpipe at the relatively recently open Music School of Ortigueira (from 2000). From the also former *Bágoa de Raiña* (and besides Juan, who also played in this group) I met Marías (bass), Jaime García (flute), Alfredo López (bass drum), and Rodrigo López (bagpipe). Rodrigo is the current director of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. Jaime was its president when I interviewed him in 2013, and his two sons had been members of the *Escola*, and Alfredo is the owner of the Bar de Fredi, a pub in Espasante where concerts are frequently held (with the required legal permit).

*terrae* for a love history between Brittany and Galicia” (2013). Raúl’s work as a cultural promoter was centered on culture. This means, as it was unanimously stated in the different obituaries written by prominent Galician and Breton cultural agents such as Ugía Pedreira, Uxía, Alfonso Pato, Patrick Molard, or Didier Dreó among others, that for Raúl, cultural interests were well beyond financial ones (2013). He dedicated his life to opening up space for music in Galicia (with his jazz Pub Alma in Vigo, his music production company Deltaine, or with the different record labels he interacted with). Raúl also aimed at building up musical and cultural bridges between Brittany and Galicia (Pinheiro 2017, personal communication with author). Indeed, as Breton bagpiper Patrick Molard has said:

I met Raúl in the eighties when I played with Gwerz at the festival in Ortigueira. Breton musicians loved Raúl. They were deeply grateful for having invited them to the festivals in Galicia and for having helped to approach the two countries [Galicia and Brittany], which [had] only a few contacts before the actions lead by Raúl (2013).

In my view, Raúl’s role was closer to that of a cultural activist, struggling to help musicians and musics he valued to gain access to relevant music stages, and, to simultaneously connect artists with listeners through both live performance and the distribution of recordings.

An analysis of available data evidences that Raúl Piñero used the stage of the IFCW to showcase Galician and international musicians that were either part of his roster or personal acquaintances. For example, in addition to the Molard brothers Piñero opened the doors of the IFCW to a then (1995) unknown Galician bagpiper Xosé Manuel Budiño and his group Fol de Niu, which he managed. This complicated entanglement between public cultural spaces (like the IFCW) and private and personal interests became a common thread, a definite characteristic of the organizational team of the festival in the years to come. Although Raúl’s particular approach to culture, and specifically to music, does not excuse the conflict of interests (which can make it impossible for musicians to access the stage of the IFCW), it did allow him to lead the festival having a critical understanding of its socio-musical characteristics, its listeners’ expectations, and its history in spite of that possible conflict of interests. Raúl’s activities

and cultural sensitivities, together with those of the Ortigueiran organizers Maria Dolores Pérez López and Juan Cao, contributed, in Pérez López' view, to "keep the festival in context" (Perez López 2015); this means, in her own words: to program music that represented that of the "Celtic nations" and to understand that "the festival did not belong to either the PSOE, PP, or BNG [political parties] but to the people of Ortigueira" (*ibid*).

From the point of view of the non-Ortigueiran audience of the IFCW these issues (*i.e.* the particular production team's visions, strategies, political pressures, and ways of interacting) were experienced through their materialization in space. These were thus seen *in* the festival, and through the festival's spatio-temporal layout, music programming, and its material environment. Let's look for instance at Mauro Sanín's memories of these years of the IFCW (see "Mauro Sanín" on Appendix 8). Mauro's account of the IFCW dates back from an interview we had in 2013. Mauro's view of the past of the festival was described in contrast to the changes made to the IFCW from 2000 onwards, changes that eventually lead him to stop visiting this socio-musical space. This way of remembering the festival for what it wasn't or what it was lacking, was a common thread among the festival-goers that I was able to speak with or read about on the online IFCW forum (see page 231 for more on this forum). The festival was thus remembered as a cumulative number of repetitive experiences, often set in a particular point in time through the location of a musical (*e.g.* what group played in a given edition) or personal event, and divided into periods depending on the appearance of things or issues that disrupted the festival-goer's set routine and expectations at the IFCW.

Mauro Sanín was born in 1979 in Ferrol, a city about sixty-three kilometers away (to the west) from Ortigueira.<sup>73</sup> When he was a child, Mauro visited the IFCW as part of a trip organized by his parents, but he does not remember anything from this experience. Mauro came back to the IFCW in 1995, the year in which it was reopened. He was fifteen years old at the time. Mauro "always liked folk music" (2013, interview with author). He first went to the IFCW because he wanted to listen to the music that was featured at the festival. He was also attracted to the idea of camping out for two or

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<sup>73</sup> For my relationship to Mauro and his role in my fieldwork please see the Introduction.

three days with his friends and without his parents. In this way, the festival was for him “an experience of freedom” (*ibid*). For Mauro, the festival started with the preparation of all the things needed to camp out, to protect him and his friends from the rain, and it included the train trip to Ortigueira. Although Mauro and his friends played musical instruments, they did not go to the IFCW to perform but to listen to the concerts. In our interview, Mauro described his teenage-self (and his group of friends) as “folky.” According to him, being folky entailed, first and foremost, to listen, almost exclusively, to folk music. This was also defined by his “taste for hand-made handicrafts, loose clothing, environmentalism, moderate consumerism, and good karma” (*ibid*). During the festival “I often bought bracelets with a triskelion and I felt that that symbol represented what I was in favor of” (*ibid*). Folk music, one of the main aspects of being folky, referred then for Mauro “to music from or with an influence from Ireland and Scotland, and also a little of new age” (*ibid*). Folk music was music “more or less traditional, more or less Celtic, and definitely acoustic” (*ibid*). For Mauro, the perception of the IFCW as folky was crucial for his attachment to the festival space.

From 1995 to 1999 Mauro felt that the ambience of the IFCW was in fact folky. First of all, it featured acoustic music, “everything was acoustic. The music in Ortigueira and in the camping zone, in the spaces that were formed among the camping tents” (*ibid*). For Mauro, the festival was about being able to listen to the music you loved all night long, and to be convinced “that music was possible” (*ibid*). The *folkiness* of the IFCW was then given by Mauro’s knowledge of its musical line-up and by the coincidence of such line-up with his everyday life playlist or music repertoire. At the IFCW, Mauro expected to see groups that he knew about, and “to listen to good quality music” (*ibid*). For him, before 2000, the IFCW showcased folk music groups that “people listened to at the time, a lot of Irish groups, Scottish groups, always a Breton group, Galician groups, something very Celtic” (*ibid*). Also, for the IFCW to be folky in Mauro’s terms, its listening space (and for him, especially, the main stage), had to match certain characteristics that resembled that acoustic quality he searched for in the music. During Mauro’s years at the IFCW, the main stage of the festival “did not have side screens” (*ibid*); the stage, he remembers, was big but it was not even half the size of what it is today. “There were fortunately not so many lights and not so much publicity” as it presently happens (*ibid*).

“I remember the year when *Estrella de Galicia* came to the festival, that was the year when everything changed” (*ibid*).

For Mauro, the renaming of the main stage of the festival to *Estrella de Galicia* Stage and its ornamentation with this beer company’s banners (and beer commercials featured in between concerts on its side screens), coincided with what he considered to be the “decline of the festival” (*ibid*). This included the diminishing quality of the invited music groups (for in his view, they were not folky), out of which he knew almost none, its commodification, and the overcrowding of the festival. In his memory, from that moment onwards the IFCW started to be “full of people who were not with the music of the festival,” it started to have an “audience which did not have a particular spirit” or life style (*ibid*). Before, he said “there were a lot of European people, of hippies with their vans and their entire family,” and the absence of these families was something noticeable for him after the *Estrella de Galicia* period started.

In short, Mauro’s personal account of the IFCW defines the period between 1995 and 1999 as folky, and that from 2000 onwards as the commodification of the festival (something he critical of). His memories reflect changes that were, in fact, implemented in the festival and that were felt by many other festival-goers (in my research, depending on their level of attachment to the music presented on the main stage, this transition was placed by festival-goers somewhere between 2000 and 2006; the greater the attachment the earlier it was dated). Another important marker for that transition of the IFCW into a commodified public space was the emergence of an ongoing Electronic Dance Music (EDM) party, with live DJs and relatively large amplifying equipment, at the camping site of Mourozoz during the days of the festival. This space for EDM within Mourozoz was opened by festival-goers themselves, who liked the ambience of the camping zone but were not interested in folk music. As the festival was a space of “freedom,” they claimed, they were “free” to play their own music. The EDM party at the camping zone took place between 2001 and 2012. As we will see in the following period, the idea of the IFCW as a space of freedom, and the meaning of that freedom itself, became a center of dispute between the residents of Ortigueira, the festival organizers, the EDM party-goers, and the folky and long-time festival goers.



### III.2.3 The Commodification of the IFCW: 1999-2014

The commodification of the IFCW was planned and implemented during the government of the Ortigueiran businessman Antonio Campo Fernández, elected mayor of Ortigueira for three consecutive terms between 1999 and 2007. Campo resigned as mayor of Ortigueira during the first year of his third term, leading the way to Rafael Girón Martínez, who was the mayor of Ortigueira until 2014 (winning the municipal elections of 2011). Both politicians were members of the center-right Popular Party.

As a businessman and politician, Campo was a highly popular yet controversial figure in Ortigueira. During my time in this town, informal conversations with both acquaintances or strangers at coffee shops, bars, and restaurants, linked my mention of Campo's name to either the big, free concerts he organized as a mayor for the Patron Saint fiestas (with famous musicians such as Julio Iglesias), his involvement with the controversy of the City of Culture of Galicia, and his appearance on a television program with Pocholo Martínez, Francisco Franco's relative and a famous T.V. celebrity in Spain. In the latter, Campo was showcased in Ibiza pulling out a bud of money in Pocholo's bar, as he said that he was the mayor of Ortigueira and that he was going to pay for everyone's bill. A bagpiper from the public Music School of Ortigueira (opened in 2000) was accompanying him together with a young drummer, both dressed with the bagpipe attire and visibly playing Galician music under the mayor's orders (*Pocholo Ibiza 06*, September 26 2006). In contrast, the former controversy was connected with the destruction of a part of the protected Ortigueiran natural site known as Serra do Xistral (Galician for "Xistral Mountains") by Campo's family's business, the Muras Natural Stone LTD (Pontevedra 2013). In this place, the company illegally extracted, until exhaustion, a mineral rock called quartzite which was needed for the façade of the Gaias Museum, one of the buildings of the publicly financed, multimillion complex known as the City of Culture. The complex, designed by U.S. architect Peter Eisenman, was built in Santiago de Compostela between 1999 and 2013, with a budget overrun of about two-hundred million euros, reason why, the initial plan, was left unfinished.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> In terms of research, it would be useful to develop empirically based analysis of the financial procedures used for the erection of big construction sites such as the Galician City of Culture. Also, an ethnography of corruption in Spain is definitely needed.

It is interesting to note that the IFCW (1999-2014) and the City of Culture represent a common thread in publicly-led cultural management strategies in the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century Galicia (something also present throughout the Spanish state, starting in the 1990s). Both of them have transformed central cultural sites (the festival, in Ortigueira, and the public library and public archive of Galicia, now housed at the City of Culture, in Santiago de Compostela) into difficult to access, monumental cultural spaces. Below, I delved into the issue of accessibility in relation to the IFCW; but with respect to the library and the archive of Galicia, this refers to their displacement from the city center to the outskirts of Santiago de Compostela. This process of over-sizing both cultural spaces was financed with public money, something that had a direct negative impact on public cultural, and even general budgets.<sup>75</sup>

Between 1999 and 2014, the IFCW followed a process described by its different producers with the word “professionalization” (Rivera 2013, interview with author; Balboa 2011, interview with Cámara Landa). In this context, professionalization was both used and implemented as a synonym of commodification, but also as an antonym of amateur and handmade. A “professional” person, object, or organization, referred, in these producers’ views, to someone or something with a niche in a particular market, and able to develop an assigned task in an efficiently and timely manner in order to maximize gains. As I show here, the so-called professionalization of the IFCW distanced the festival from its history, its original pedagogic aims, and its long-term (Ortigueiran and none Ortigueiran) audience. Furthermore, the space for local (Ortigueiran) musicians to engage with the IFCW was reduced, as they were considered to be unable to fit the bill of “professionalism” set by the festival organization, something different from but insistently and discursively put forward in terms of musicianship. Although the commodification and professionalization of the IFCW were a common thread through the 1999-2014 period, their implementation varied depending on the mayor in charge and the appointed festival director. In the following pages I will show these lines of

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<sup>75</sup> Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the case of the IFCW, and in relation to the City of Culture, journalist Manuel Cheda has argued that “in some instances,” its construction “used up to two thirds of the total annual budget for culture of the Xunta [of Galicia]” (2015). Furthermore, as Cheda has explained, in Galicia it has been difficult to come to terms with the fact that the three-hundred million euros used for the construction of an unfinished City of Culture “are equal to the cost of ten years of school-meals for the entire [Galician] public school system” (Cheda, 2015).

difference and continuity, divided into two main sub-periods: 2000-2006 and 2007-2014 (1999 was a year of transition).

In the year 2000, the mayor of Ortigueira Antonio Campo and his production team, led by Antón Reixa (punctually and privately hired) and Fran Rivera, announced that Campo was looking to professionalize the festival, and that he was therefore going to enlarge its budget to fifty million pesetas. As Antón Reixa explained: “the mayor, a man coming from the business sector, is pushing for a bolder management strategy for the festival (...). He is opening a public process to invite [public and private] investment [into the IFCW]” (2000). The professionalization of the IFCW was pushed forward by Antonio Campo’s government and it continued during Jesús Varela’s administration. It was thus initially implemented by Francisco Rivera, artistic director of the festival from 1999 until 2008, and it continued with Alberto Balboa, who, initially, coordinated the IFCW together with Rivera (from 2004 until 2008), later passing to be the only head of the festival from 2009 until 2014.

Both Rivera and Balboa were public servants of the Government of Ortigueira. That is, they were holders of a work position popular in Spain for its ample employee benefits, usually acquired for life through a competitive, state regulated system of recruitment (a mixed evaluation of knowledge and previously acquired skills). Since the IFCW was directed by the Government of Ortigueira, the mayor of Ortigueira named the core of its festival production team from among public workers, combining it also with privately hired companies and individuals. Under these working guidelines, Fran was assigned in 1999 to add the role of Artistic Director of the IFCW to his duties as Technician of Culture of the Government of Ortigueira. He had no previous experience with either festivals or music, and he had never visited the IFCW prior to his appointment to lead it (Rivera 2013, interview with author). This was also the case of Alberto Balboa, named by Campos in 2004 to coordinate the IFCW against his own will (Balboa 2011, interview with Cámara Landa). In the Government of Ortigueira, Balboa was in charge of the sports facilities and youth leisure programs, activities he had to combine from 2004 with his job in the production of the IFCW. Neither Rivera nor Balboa were from Ortigueira and they did not have a particular taste for, or previous knowledge of, the

music of the IFCW (Rivera 2013, interview with author; Balboa 2011, interview with Cámara Landa).

Rivera and Balboa, therefore, were assigned to “professionalize” the IFCW even though they both learned to produce the festival while doing so (*i.e.* following a knowing by doing ethos).<sup>76</sup> Beyond relying on their gained experience, they leaned on hired companies and individuals (Raúl Piñeiro and his company Deltaine in 1999, Antón Reixa in 2000, Víctor Belho and his company Nordesía in 2000, and Actos Management between 2007 and 2014) and people they trusted to successfully fulfil their roles. But, even if ordered from above, what did this process of “professionalization” of the IFCW entail from the point of view of those having to put it into practice?

### **III.2.3.1 The Commodification of the IFCW: 2000-2006**

For Rivera, professionalizing the festival meant to produce it following standards similar to those set by U.S. music stars like “Bruce Springsteen and Madonna” (2013, interview with author). As Rivera started to compare the production of the IFCW with other concerts and festivals in Galicia and abroad, he noticed that

other [Galician] festivals had the same problems that we had here [at the IFCW]. So we thought that it was possible to have a production similar to that of a rock music concert, which moves masses of people, even if here [in Ortigueira] we had very different artists and musics (2013, interview with author).

In Rivera’s view, the problems that the IFCW shared with other Galician traditional and folk music festivals in terms of professionalism, included not having “a proper music stage with either a security pit or clear entrance and exit zones, having no decoration, no corporate image, no logo, and no Webpage” (*ibid*). Furthermore, for Rivera, a professional stage also involved having “professional” technicians and musicians on top of it, for sound checks and changes between the different groups’ appearances to be organized, effective, and quick.

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<sup>76</sup> By “knowing by doing” I mean that they learned how to do a particular task, such as organizing the IFCW, through years of experience (including working as organizers, personal research, going to festivals, or talking to other festival organizers, among other things).

In 2000, and as part of this initial process of professionalization, the festival was presented with a new and enlarged main stage (Figure 3.3), a new logo, a new Webpage, and a new space/contest called *Runas* (Galician and Spanish for “Runes”), dedicated to “novel” folk music groups from the Iberian Peninsula (excluding Spain’s Canary and Balearic Islands but including Portugal without its islands<sup>77</sup>). Later changes included, first, the substitution of the original name of the festival (International Festival of the Celtic World of Ortigueira) with Festival of Ortigueira (2003) and second, the modification of the name of the Main Stage of the festival to *Estrella de Galicia Stage* (Figure 3.4). According to Fran Rivera:

*Estrella de Galicia* was giving a lot of money [to sponsor the IFCW]. I also wanted to give a lot of importance to the [new] *Runas* stage, and people were talking about the [IFCW music stages as the] Main Stage and the *Runas* Stage. The Main Stage, well, it was in fact the main, as the main artists were staged there at night. But psychologically it sounded bad (...), these are things that are in the language (...), but if you call one stage the main stage, then, indirectly, you are calling the other one secondary [stage]. So this is what I wanted to avoid and [when I offered the stage to] *Estrella de Galicia* they were very pleased (2013, interview with author).

As an Artistic Director Fran had the intention of improving the festival by turning it into a “more professional” space. Nevertheless, for Fran and his team “professional” meant marketable, a product fit to be massively consumed and to attract both private and public investors, for whom the festival was dissected into a binary of audience size and potential profit. As seen above, sponsorship was treated as a favor, and the space of the festival was ceded to consolidate, free of charge, commercial relations. Following these guidelines, Fran and his team aimed at maximizing gains by drawing the greatest possible number of festival-goers to the IFCW, a goal for which they inadvertently

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<sup>77</sup> This delimitation responded, according to Fran Rivera, to the budget available. This made it impossible for the organization of the IFCW to pay for the traveling cost of groups coming from outside the Iberian Peninsula (2013, interview with author) Nevertheless, Spanish residents from the Canary and Balearic Islands, as well as from the regions of Ceuta and Melilla (Spanish territories located within Morocco in Northern Africa), can count on air-travel grants to flight to the Spanish peninsula (see [www.fomento.gob.es](http://www.fomento.gob.es), “Subvenciones para Residentes de Canarias, Baleares, Ceuta, and Melilla”).

compromised the collective symbolic meaning of the festival as well as its history, music, and audience's expectations. For instance, the focus of the IFCW on "Celtic" music was opened as an attempt to reach a wider and thus larger audience. According to Fran, the festival "turned into something more than Celtic music. Let's say that we had four artists in a day, if you pushed one [artist] that was not Celtic, then you had more influx of people [at the IFCW]" (*ibid*). In this way, the Government of Ortigueira attempted to turn the IFCW into a World Music Festival (*ibid*). The new name of the festival (Festival of Ortigueira), something neither accepted nor implemented in Ortigueira,<sup>78</sup> was part of this plan.



**Figure 3.3** Main Stage of the IFCW 2000 (photographs from [www.ortigueira.com](http://www.ortigueira.com)).



**Figure 3.4** *Estrella de Galicia* Stage 2011 (photographs taken by author).

The professionalization of the IFCW implied a growing distance with the past of the festival. This happened in terms of the music and the reasons for existence of the

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<sup>78</sup> Even during my fieldwork, ten years after the name change, people in Ortigueira referred to the IFCW with the name *Mundo Celta* (Galician and Spanish for "Celtic World"). The poster of the IFCW 2017 has recovered the initial name of the festival.

festival, both of which were highly unpopular changes among Ortigueiran citizens and long-term festival-goers. Their openly expressed critiques made Fran Rivera felt misunderstood and intimidated:

whereas some of my musician friends liked the changes that I was making, I was receiving so many critics from folkies for whom I was killing the festival (...). They were so close-minded, so tribal,<sup>79</sup> they thought that the festival was being invaded. I was scared, some changes worked but then the flamenco thing was a failure (...) (2013, interview with author).

Fran's "opening" of the IFCW ended up working against itself, exemplifying David Harvey's views on the commodification of culture as something that "tends to destroy the unique qualities [of cultural objects] (particularly if these depend on qualities such as wilderness, remoteness, the purity of some aesthetic experience, and the like)" (2012: 396). The strategies of the Government of Ortigueira to turn the festival into a massive, free of charge party, or, in their own words, into "a savage mix of tribes" and nature (IFCW Press Kit, 2004: 3) did succeed in attracting masses of people, as it did the musical openness of the "most powerful party of the Spanish summer brake (...) with the best Celtic music hand in hand with the rest of the sounds of the world" (IFCW Press Kit, 2006: 4). However, this had three direct consequences:

1. The IFCW became overcrowded, and so the "magic ambience of the camping area" ("IFCW Press Kit," 2005, 14) and the "sharing in open nature with young people coming from half the world" ("IFCW Press Kit," 2006, 3) became unattainable. The camping site in the Beach of Mourozozos was small, its area was not enclosed, and it had a very limited infrastructure. As a result of this, the pine woods, beach, and the protected sand dunes of Mourozozos were all filled with tents. Neither fire hazards (Rivera 2013, interview with author) nor the ecological impact that a large crowd could have on Mourozozos, a protected natural area

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<sup>79</sup> In Spain the word tribe or "tribu" (often accompanied with the adjective urban), refers to a youth group and it often implies a derogatory tone. According to Catalan anthropologist Manuel Delgado, "it is a term that has led to a particular taxonomy which ingredients are mostly fabricated, and that is inspired in a folklorizing perception of a determined youth style. The classification of tribal divides the youth into subgroups that are stratified according to their danger to other citizens" (Delgado 2016).

where residents of Ortigueira “were not even allowed to walk their own dogs” (Marías 2012, interview with author), were taken into consideration.

2. The promotion of the IFCW as a free party open to sounds from all over the world, was taken seriously by its young visitors. Uninterested in the music staged at the IFCW, some young people called by the low price of the IFCW and the scenery of Mourozos, started to bring their own music. An Electronic Dance music party, with DJs carrying their own equipment, emerged in the camping site of the IFCW in 2001, and it returned annually until 2012.
3. The importance of the music for the audience of the IFCW was underestimated, and so tensions arose between festival-goers and the festival organization. The incorporation of electronic music into the musical scope of the festival was highly controversial, even to those liking the music and flexible with the incorporation of new sounds into the IFCW, as the non-stop, loudly amplified music made sleeping in Mourozos something extremely difficult. Moreover, the transformation of the IFCW into a world music festival, was also highly criticized, particularly as the transition was sold as subtle and meaningless:

(...) when we tried to change things, critiques were really negative. For instance, when I invited Bottine Souriante [from Quebec], I tried to argue that we were united by the Atlantic Ocean. Using the Webpage, I stated that their rhythmic bases were similar [to those of Irish music], that they made traditional music (...), but there was a revolution [against it]. The forum of the Webpage was on fire; people were saying that the festival was ruined (Rivera 2013, interview with author).

The changes in music had a particular negative reception in Ortigueira. According to Loli Pérez Ojea, a resident of this town and former member of the *Escola de Gaitas*:

all musics are good, Peruvian, Japanese, salsa, but (...) they [the organizers] were taking advantage of the festival; maybe young people don't like folk music anymore but then they should have changed the name of the festival to something like “The Union of Cultures” (laughs) (2013, interview with author).



In 2006 the Government of Ortigueira completely ceded the stage of the IFCW to corporate interests (to my knowledge, for no fee), for the one-night celebration of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of beer company *Estrella de Galicia* on the stage that, following Fran's suggestion, carried this company's name. The venture was so unpopular that in 2007 the festival was advertised as "returning to its origins, reinforcing the presence of Galician and Celtic music" (Obelleiro 2007) and, two years later, Fran Rivera stepped down from the artistic direction of the festival. The beer company's musical plans, were completely disconnected from the IFCW. Hiring Javier Limón as a music producer, *Estrella de Galicia* envisioned a night of fusion between Galicia and the world, both staged at the IFCW and recorded live for subsequent distribution. Limón, renowned in Spain for his work as producer of Cuban pianist Bebo Valdez' and flamenco singer El Cigala's album *Lágrimas Negras* (Latin Grammy Award of 2004 for Best Album of the Year) did not listen to people listening at the IFCW. Instead, he chose to showcase artists that he had previously produced himself (such as Spanish singer Buika and flamenco guitar player Niño Josele), putting them together with Galician bagpiper Budiño, Galician singer Uxía, and the female group Leilía, among others. Limón's fusion encountered particular resistance when it incorporated Galician and flamenco musics. More than the mix, I think, staging flamenco music on the IFCW crossed the line, as it was an unmistakable sign that the festival was going somewhere else. It is important to say here that, in the recent past (especially after 2010)<sup>80</sup> for some people in Galicia, the Spanish government use of flamenco music as a symbol of the entire state has generated animosity against the music. Such use, is perceived to give a unilateral, state-led vision, of Spanish culture, as well as to silence the plurality of the cultures of the state, including that of Galicia. This can be seen in Fran Rivera's memory of the aforementioned event:

[It] was wonderful but the audience did not like it because, when [flamenco musician] Niño Josele went out with his flamenco guitar, the booing was wild, people were furious (...). Perhaps it was too early for a project like that, the audience was not prepared (2013, interview with author)

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<sup>80</sup> flamenco was inscribed in UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2010.

The remembrance of this 2006 spectacle as a misunderstood attempt of musical “experimentation” (“2006: A Experimentación”) highlights, on the one hand, that the festival organization realized there were boundaries to their commercial endeavors (if they were to avoid eliminating, through marketing strategies, the same cultural object they were trying to commodify), and that, on the other hand, they failed to grasp the relevance of listening to people listening at the IFCW as a path to manage the festival like a culturally meaningful site. In other words, Fran and his team did not succeed in understanding the festival as a complex assemblage of socio-musical relations, for which musicking and repetition were central. Listening to people listening did not actually imply a populist approach, in the sense of doing what a majority of agents involved with the festival wanted the organization to do, but to carefully attend to the multiple voices and sonic engagements of those agents (including musicians, former festival producers, founders, and festival-goers) with the present and pasts of the IFCW.

The professionalization of the IFCW and its resultant distance from the festival’s past had an impact on the accessibility of the main stage of the IFCW for local musicians. The pedagogical function of this stage, an important motor for its creation as it has already been expounded on Chapter 2, was at stake for the sake of its “professionalization.” According to Fran:

(...) we tried to bring more professional groups (...). In that moment, in Galicia, folk music groups were just emerging, they did not have experience [playing] on many stages or in festivals, so you could see the difference with an Irish music group that was able to do the sound-check in five minutes. [Beginners] turned the sound check into a concert (...) we changed that (2013, interview with author)

Originally, the stage of the IFCW was open for young people from Ortigueira and the rest of Galicia to learn to play on an international music space, in front of thousands of people, and next to Galician and international artists of different ages, and with different levels of experience. With the so-called professionalization of the IFCW, nevertheless, the possibility of learning on the stage was largely limited. After 2008, this changed slightly mostly due to impact of the Spanish economic crises on the budget of the IFCW.

### III.2.3.2 The Commodification of the IFCW

In 2009, Alberto Balboa became the head of the IFCW. Musically, Alberto followed a different idea than Fran, based on what he called “*caña folk*” (2011, interview with Cámara Landa) and supported by the Asturian music agency Actos Management, led by Marcos Valles. For Alberto, “*caña folk*” (*caña* is a Spanish slang meaning “energetic”) was folk music “but a little different, with a stronger electric element and from places that were unknown” (*ibid*). Alberto and Marcos Valles coincided on the idea that, as the audience of the IFCW consisted of mostly young people listening while standing, its music needed to have a regular and fast pulse to avoid making the youth bored, thus inviting them to jump (Balboa 2011, interview with Cámara Landa; Valles 2013, interview with author and García Flórez). This “*caña folk*” music, was music

unlike the Breton thing, that follows a more traditional line, like the Molard brothers. They play things that do not have a pulse or anything, you know. [With things like that] people need to know a lot about music to really understand it (Valles 2013, interview with author and García Flórez).

As I see it, between 1999 and 2014, the two government teams in charge of organizing the IFCW displayed an overly simplified view on the youth, their engagement with the festival, and their relationship with music. Compared with the foundational years of the festival, the youth was (unintentionally) not treated as a force of change deeply involved in music making, and avid to learn new things. For example, according to Alberto Balboa, during the festival

everything is a party, it's the end of the schoolyear, so we have the entire product [the IFCW] set in that way (...). We still have to fix the camping site because we see that there is a lot of people, it's out of control, but well, as we say, it's self-managed (...). There are dance and hip-hop- tents there all night long, but people don't mind, they go to other places (...). We have a chatroom on the Webpage for people to get there, talk, get angry, discuss, say bad things about the festival, but they talk about the festival anyways, do you understand me? (2011, interview with Cámara Landa).

The statements above expose what Catalan anthropologist Manuel Delgado has argued to be the increasing “distancing between public institutions and the youth” (2007). The idea of “self-management” as a justification for the lack of an institutional response in Mourozozos, or the treatment of the youth’s complains on the festival forum as vacuous, as statements institutionally valued only to their extent as free of charge publicity for the IFCW, evidence a gap between a public sphere led by the youth and a public space managed by an institutional power.

Alberto Balboa’s statements, furthermore, contrast with the steep controversy derived from the presence of the electronic dance music party at the Beach of Mourozozos within the IFCW, something that the local administration eventually acknowledged in 2013, as the Government of Ortigueira forbade the admission of large amplifying equipment into the camping site of the festival, justifying this to the public in terms of the potential risk of fire hazard related to the use of such equipment, and the required electricity power plants, in the area. A quick search in the forum of the official Webpage of the IFCW under the keywords “*carpas dance*” (Spanish for “dance [music] tents”) shows the different views and feelings of dissatisfaction brought in by both the presence and the rejection of such tents. In general terms, discussions were centered on the meaning of freedom. For some, like forum discussant Pablo Santiago, the IFCW was a free festival, and as such, it had to be open to all musics including electronic dance music (EDM). Santiago proposed to accept EDM at the IFCW although relocating it away from the camping zone of Morouzozos (July 27 2007). For a majority of forum discussants, however, the camping tents had to go, as, in their view, EDM had no space at the IFCW, and a few proposed to replace the electronic dance music tents with folk music tents (“Solución a las Carpas Dance, Techno, Rave,” July 27, 2007, 1-3). As we will see in Chapter 4, Marías, one of the founders of the festival, defended this later argument for years, and he actively sought to persuade the festival organization to implement this, something he was finally allowed to do in 2013 after paying a rental fee to the Government of Ortigueira. Marías’s slogan was “Folk music comes back to Mourozozos” (Marías 2013, interview with author).

Alberto Balboa’s time as leader of the IFCW was characterized by an authoritative management style, something moved perhaps by the economic crisis that

hit Spain in 2008, and which had an impact on the budget of the IFCW. For instance, although Alberto included the *Escola de Gaitas* as part of the Organizational team, back in 2009, he made sure to keep it under control. According to Alberto: “I have to direct the festival, I cannot let them [the people of the *Escola*] bring what they want, they have to bring something they wish but fitting to what I say” (2011, interview with Cámara Landa). Alberto coordinated everything in the festival. His own idea of professionalizing the festival included similar guidelines to those followed by Fran: “we changed all the system of the festival, we professionalize it, we did this by hiring specialized companies, increasing the budget, increasing gains, and planning it more” (*ibid*). In my view, although Alberto and Fran thought of their festivals as very different, there was a clear line of continuity with respect to their ideas on “professionalization,” on local music as amateur, and on their failure to take the history of the IFCW, its agents, and their proposals seriously. Furthermore, in both cases, music programming choices were clearly guided by financial interests:

(...) I tell the *Escola* to bring bands from different autonomous communities. “What, what, what?” They tell me. “Yes!” I answer, “don't get distracted.” Why? because I take that [proposal] to the Ministry of Culture and I say, look, [I have] seven autonomous communities, and then I get a grant, [in that way] I get money [for the IFCW] (2011, interview with Cámara Landa).

This is also clear if one looks to the *Runas* contest. The *Runas* space/contest was initially proposed by Fran Rivera. *Runas* started in the year 2000, as a project intended to include novel folk music groups outside the “professional” musicians stage. For some years, the *Runas* stage<sup>81</sup> was located in front of the City Hall of Ortigueira and it offered concerts in the afternoon, preceding the night concerts of the *Estrella de Galicia* stage. As the stage became difficult to manage, due, in part, to its growing audience, it ended up getting closed by the festival organization. *Runas* was thus turned into a contest, with a first phase held online, from which three winners were selected according to the votes given by online users. These three winners then had the opportunity to be at the second

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<sup>81</sup> Between 2000 and 2008, the *Runas* contest was celebrated in this separate *Runas* stage (the second large stage of the IFCW in addition to the *Estrella de Galicia* Stage). From 2009 onwards, the *Runas* stage was eliminated and the *Runas* contest, which remained, was thus celebrated on the first day of the IFCW on the *Estrella de Galicia* Stage.

phase of the contest. This involved playing (for free and paying for their own trips to Ortigueira) at the *Estrella de Galicia* stage, while being judged by a group of people designated by the festival organization to choose a winner. For the winner, the prize consisted of playing for a fee at the next edition of the IFCW. Over the years, the jury for the *Runas* contest consisted of people from the organization of the IFCW, music journalists and journalists in general, Ortigueiran bagpipers, and more recently the owner of the Actos Management company, Marcos Valles. The parameters for choosing the winner varied according to the views of the members of the jury, but they included issues like tuning, musical technical skills, the ability of choosing an adequate repertoire for the IFCW, and the capacity of playing live and connecting to the audience:

you judge their performance on stage, the way they present their songs (...). [I prefer] groups that sound as they do in the recordings, groups able to play *caña* (energetically) from the beginning to the end, that are able to play an upbeat repertoire without letting death times in between songs (Juan Barcón 2013, interview with author).

In other words, in order to win *Runas*, emerging bands had to have ample experience playing on stage, as the parameters under which they were judged were very demanding. “Emerging” groups were primarily evaluated in terms of marketing, for they were expected to display an advanced (or “professional”) knowledge in both live performance and musical skills but having an emerging position (in terms of CDs produced, their concert fee, and record sales) in the music market. In this sense, the focus on marketing that increasingly characterized the *Runas* contest, put Ortigueiran and Galician folk music groups in disadvantage with their international peers. As Marcos Valles has explained:

[If a local band wins,] the contest doesn’t have the same international [impact than if an international band wins]. Let’s see, if the Japanese [music group] is bad it is not going to win, but if it is as good as the group from Galicia, they [the Japanese group] have that plus (2013, interview with author and García Flórez).

The link between the festival organization and Marcos Valles’ Actos Management enterprise, benefited both parties for, whereas Actos contributed to “professionalize” the IFCW following Alberto Balboa and his team’s vision, the IFCW and

its sole reliance on Actos to hire its international music groups consolidated the company as a business able to offer a big stage to the bands under its roster, plus it helped to enlarge the company's international market. For example, two of the latest winning artists of the *Runas* contests are now (or were previously) related to Actos Management. Harmonica Creams, the Japanese winner of *Runas* in 2012, is now (2017) part of the roster of the company (this was not the case when they won *Runas* in 2012). Its members' active involvement in the "Japanese Celtic music scene" (Harmonica Creams 2012, interview with the author) opened up a window for Actos in what Valles calls "the Orient" (2013, interview with author and García Flórez). Furthermore, Basque musician Xabi Aburruzaga, who was part of the roster of Actos when he won *Runas* in 2014 (with Valles being part of the jury of *Runas*) assured Xabi and Actos a space on the stage of the IFCW 2015.

Between 2009 and 2014 private interests had an impact on the spatialization of music on the stage of the IFCW. Alberto and his team reliance on Actos as its only international music link, gave monopoly advantages to Actos, even though the aim was to improve the music contract system of the IFCW. According to Alberto Balboa "some years ago we started to hire the groups a year in advanced (...). It's the only way to get a [good] price (...). So music does not come to us, we choose the groups" (2011, interview with Cámara Landa). Getting the international music groups exclusively through Actos, turned the stage of the IFCW into a "kaleidoscopic" space. This is, by relying on a unique private company to hire the international groups for the IFCW, and by setting up a focus on using the *Estrella de Galicia* stage as a music marketplace to maximize gains, the stage of the festival was turned into a kaleidoscope, repeatedly presenting the same musicians even though mixed up in different formations and invited in consecutive years. Furthermore, as Actos Management started to get hired by related nearby festivals, the realm of the folk/traditional music festivals in Galicia (e.g. IFCW, Carballeira de Zas) and Portugal (Sendim) started to reproduce that same kaleidoscopic feature.

In present day Spain, the kaleidoscopic stage is not unique of the IFCW (or of Galician and traditional/folk music spaces) but it is present in different festivals and music genres, such as jazz or classical music. My idea of the kaleidoscopic stage was

inspired on Brazilian economist Pedro Abramo's concept of the "kaleidoscopic city" (2011). Although the concepts are essentially different, as I simply take the visual aspect of the kaleidoscope as an object which multiple mirrors repeatedly reflect the same image with only slight variations, both concepts touch on aspects of accessibility to land under the influence of the market, and on the relationship between the accumulation of capital and land supply and demand.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, land, in the particular case of the IFCW, refers to a performing stage, an essential space for music, musicians, and music listeners.

The presence of a kaleidoscopic spatial layout at the IFCW stage and performing space, was particularly clear in the editions of 2011 and 2013. In 2013 Irish flute and whistle player, Brian Finnegan, a renowned musician and one of the artists on the roster of the Actos Management company, was invited to play at the IFCW. Finnegan had played on the IFCW of 2011 with his Brian Finnegan Big Band (on the *Estrella de Galicia* Stage) and with the John Joe Kelly Trio, in front of the City Hall of Ortigueira ("IFCW Music Program" 2011). Finnegan also played on the Interceltic Festival of Sendim (also linked to Actos Management) of 2012 before coming back to Ortigueira in 2013. In this year, Finnegan played with a group of musicians divided in two different formations called Kan (an Irish music quartet) and another one called Dán (an Irish-Scottish-English-Breton big band). From within Dán, the Sylvain Barou Trio played on Saturday at the Ortigueiran *Teatro de la Beneficencia*. There was, therefore, a re-ordering of musicians within a large band such as Dán to fill in the gaps needed for the festival. As Marcos Valles put it in simple words, "it was a matter of saving [money]" (2013, interview with author and García Flórez).

As I show in Chapter 4, the open architecture of the IFCW allowed Ortigueiran musicians to use the space of the festival to play and to locate the music they considered

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<sup>82</sup> For Abramo, the Kaleidoscopic city is produced by the "dynamics of valorization of the real state capitals" as "the segmentation of the supply, promoted by the capital, and the search for fragmentation (spatial distinction) of the demand, are functionally articulated, and define a form of acting of the real state capitals in the large Latin American cities." In other words, "a segmented structure of residential supply in socio-economic terms, promotes a fractioned spatial structure in socio-spatial terms" (Abramo 2012, 58). According to Abramo "the formal market has a kaleidoscopic dynamic, where the localization of some capitals can generate a series of related effects from the top to the bottom, and in most cases from the top of the pyramid (the super-rich) downwards (towards the poor)" (Abramo 2011).



that the festival was leaving out. Furthermore, led by the *Escola de Gaitas*, Ortigueiran musicians also found ways to share the few space available to them on the *Estrella de Galicia* stage, with neighboring dance and music performing groups. The difficult accessibility for local musicians to the main stage of the IFCW, boosted the importance of alternative performing spaces within the festival, which in spite of both being located within the festival space and having a growing musical reputation, were never placed on the map (nor on the schedule) of the programs or posters of the IFCW. As I explain in Chapter 4, these spaces included the Bar Caracas, in Ortigueira, the Beach of Mourozos, and Fredi's Bar in neighboring Espasante.

### III.3 Alternative Locality: The Youth's Views

During my fieldwork in Ortigueira (2011-2013) there was a generalized feeling of pessimism among the Ortigueiran youth. For them, Ortigueira was futureless, a place in decadence. In Borja's eyes, a nineteen-year-old, avid listener/dancer of reggaeton music and a self-declared nightlife lover "I like to party, and so [I opened a bar during the IFCW] to try to do something here in Ortigueira, because this town is ruined" (2012, interview with author). According to him, on a regular weekend, young people leave Ortigueira, "nobody is here because there is nothing to do" (*ibid*). For Cynthia and Teresa, two sixteen-year-old girls from Ortigueira, their town is "a ghost town, I wish there were more people here, but like there is nothing here people leave the town, we are going to have to do that very soon" (2012, interview with author). Celia, a native from Ortigueira in her mid-thirties, agrees, for her "Ortigueira is dead. You should have come here before, the summers in Ortigueira were great, we had a night club, people visited the town, and it was like going out on a summer vacation but in your own town" (2013, interview with author).

For the youth I talked to, the IFCW was a special site. Although not all of them were aware of the history of the festival, their experiences at the IFCW were evoked as a significant occasion of transformation of their own town, into a place where diversity, difference, and youth were readily accessible. According to Borja "I have been going to the IFCW all my life. It is a different day here in Ortigueira, there are people [in town]" (2012, interview with author). In Cynthia and Teresa's view: "everyone likes the festival, a lot of people comes here, the best of the festival is the *Escola*, it is a group from here

(...). If I could, I would make it [the IFCW] longer and extend it throughout the year” (2012, interview with author). For Ortigueiran blogger Donnie Rock:

When I was a teenager, even if I liked rock music and heavy metal better, the festival was a site of opportunities. You could lean in front of the *Runas* stage drinking beer and listening to new groups, you could be in the first line of the big stage listening to music (...), you could walk through the crafts market and buy a nice leather bracelet or a cool t-shirt, I could go out of my house without seeing the same faces that I see every day. Some people would not value these things, but in a small town were you generally get really bored, were you never like the music played in the bars, were most of the people label you as weirdo, (...) that [the IFCW] was an oasis of happiness and freedom (“Ortigueira: Gloria y Caída,” 2011).

Very often, the importance of musicking in this festive space was sounded out in interviews and private conversations through a dialectical argumentation that juxtaposed a generalized view on the institutional-led commodification of the IFCW against the musical quality of this socio-musical space. The perceived decadence of the festival, in terms of the music, was seen as resultant from its extended commercialization:

The music was attracting a lot of people [to the IFCW] but an even larger mass of people was attracted to the festival by the idea of a macro-drinking party (...). A decent organization would have tried to (...) give more weight to the music. But with a government like that of the PP [political party], obsessed with maximizing benefits (...), the idea that was reinforced [about the IFCW] was that of the festival as a huge party (Donnie Rock, “Ortigueira: Gloria y Caída,” 2011).

In a group interview, “current” (2011-2013) members of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* stated that:

S1: [before] the festival was more centered on music. S: Now it is larger (...) it is more commercialized (...). People don't come to listen to music. S1: A lot of people only stay in the camping zone and know nothing about Celtic music (...). S: it is a shame but now the importance [of the IFCW] is only economic. (...). H: in

Ortigueira there is no way of surviving without the festival, a lot of families make a living from the festival. (...) S1: the other day the town councilor [of culture] said in the radio that Ortigueira does not only make its living from the festival. But, then, she should tell us, what can we make a living from? (2013, interview with author)

In these youth's narratives of the IFCW, the commodification of the festival is depicted as negative, as an aspect that has gone in detriment of the music, due to a particular management style guided by political interests but also connected with their experience of the Ortigueiran social and economic crisis (e.g. unemployment and depopulation). A re-centralization on music is seen by the Ortigueiran youth as an essential, though to the eyes of some, unattainable possibility: "S: In the world that we live in, and with our economic situation [it's impossible] (...); there are a lot of interests. H: it's impossible to give more importance to the musical [side of the IFCW]" (*Escola de Gaitas* 2013, interview with author).

Despite this pessimism, for the Ortigueiran youth musicking was a central feature of the IFCW (even for non-regular listeners of folk and Galician musics). Even though they were reluctant to conceive the possibility of a change in the public management of the festival, towards a more cultural/musical focus, this youth's own value of the space lay in the music. In other words, to the eyes of the Ortigueiran youth, both festival and music were mutually embedded. For the members of the *Escola*, the IFCW was first and foremost a performance space with a particular mode of festive listening, through which their town was transformed, once a year, into a large performing space. In this space, they were agents of transformation. Unlike the rest of the year, during the IFCW, the members of the *Escola*, and other Ortigueiran youth, trusted in their capacity to make their voices heard: "H: when we play [at the IFCW] we play for everyone, but when we play in the Patron [Saint] fiesta, S: we play for the town, we are at home (...), S1: when you go out [to the stage of the IFCW] it is, pffff, it's indescribable, S2: it's exciting" (*Escola de Gaitas* 2013, interview with author).

Unlike the early years of the IFCW, the current festival organization has been unable to put Ortigueira, for Ortigueiran people, as a central cultural producer. Its inclusion in the short list of music festivals mentioned by the state-driven *Marca España*

(Spanish for “Brand of Spain”), or the Ministry of Energy and Tourism nomination of the IFCW as a Fiesta of International Touristic Interest in 2005, have gone unnoticed in Ortigueira as they have not had any impact on the local cultural realm. The festival organization did not integrate its citizens as part of its production team. Nevertheless, in spite of this, people in Ortigueira are still struggling to keep the transformational value of their festival alive: this is, to annually turn Ortigueira into a large group of people bounded by playing, listening, and, listening to people listening (Chapter 4).

#### **III.4. Conclusions**

Musicking is at the core of the IFCW. Having fun and enjoying the festival as a ludic space, as a place set apart from everyday life routines and responsibilities, is definitely an important aspect of festival-goers’ experience at the IFCW nowadays. Nevertheless, for returning festival-goers, current and former members and collaborators of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, Galician music fans, and Galician musicians altogether, the music presented at the festival, together with the way in which it is put on stage are both crucial; these two aspects play the main role in the shaping of individual and collective relationships with the festival space. In my view, Galician folk and traditional musics as well as musics from the so called “Celtic” nations are embedded into the symbolic meaning of the festival as practices rooted in a particular history that still today, resists bland and uninformed processes of commodification. Listening to and playing music at the IFCW has thus a special connotation in this particular historical sense. Playing in the context of the IFCW entails, for the groups of people mentioned above, to construct and reconstruct musical meaning in a space-time felt to be simultaneously situated in past and present times. Festival organizers, aware of such particularity through the voiced complaints of festival-goers and the growing dissatisfaction of the audience of the IFCW with their management strategies, have been forced to understand and implement at least some of the music demands of the listeners, founders, and former producers of the festival space.

At the IFCW, music production is not collateral to musicking. The social production of space, in this particular context, has an impact on the social construction of space. Throughout the years, as the festival has entered into an increasingly commodified production dynamic, consumption levels and “consumers” (*e.g.* festival-

goers') responses, have become important for the producers of the IFCW. Production attempts to turn the IFCW into a music market have generated conflict but they have also evidenced the festival vulnerability to the "consumers'" engagement with the festival space. The disneyfication (Harvey 2009, 95-96) of the IFCW has thus turned into an inappropriate production strategy, as stripping off musical markers that have set the festival apart from other performing spaces, has only lead to "consumers'" pressure to return to such markers.

Professionalization has been conceived and implemented, in the context of the IFCW, from a strictly corporate perspective. Narratives of the festival, such as those presented on its current and past Webpages, describe the IFCW as increasingly "professionalized." These online accounts, use the argument of the professionalization of the festival as a point that differentiates the current IFCW from its autoconstructed beginnings. The change is set as an improvement, as evidence of the successful role played by a certainly small group of festival organizers. From my perspective, the idea of professionalizing music in a corporate sense has been normalized through different mechanisms in such a way that not only festival or music producers, a labor group evidently interested in the commercial success of the music they work with, but also musicians, music aficionados, and festival-goers mention it as a strictly positive quality that benefits music, music listeners, and music makers. The idea of the professionalization of a socio-musical space like the IFCW is so ingrained that different groups related to the IFCW (producers, artistic directors, festival-goers, and festival founders) believe that charging an entrance fee for the festival will improve its socio-musical status. In their view, ticket buyers would really focus on listening to the music presented on the stage rather than on drinking or inattentively having fun.

Corporate views on the professionalization of the IFCW have transformed the stage into an equally corporate space, in which the act of playing in that structure as part of a crucial pedagogical experience for musicians has been practically eliminated. Furthermore, the use of the festival space as an alcohol market, something easily perceivable from the adds surrounding the festival stage and the commercials reproduced on its lateral screens in between concerts, have not been evaluated as aspects that may affect the music-focused professionalization of the IFCW, due to the

increasing disneyfication of festival space. Also, in terms of technical aspects (a factor recurrently used to rank the professionalization or lack, thereof, of the IFCW), the use of particular acoustic parameters that seek to favor the audiovisual recording of music concerts rather than live-listening within the festival space, has to be also taken into account as a factor influencing audience members' poor listening practices at the IFCW. Although the music of the recorded concerts of the IFCW can be heard clearly, live-listening was often blurred during field-work by excessive bass amplification, a loss of high frequencies due to weather conditions, and high volume.

The spatialization of Galician music at the IFCW unveils a complex relationship between the public and the private realms. Whereas grassroots initiatives such as that behind the creation of the IFCW have tended to seek public funding and support to develop music projects with short, medium and long-term goals, publicly managed initiatives have increasingly relied on private funding. Furthermore, the partisan interests of those in power, focused on obtaining gains from cultural initiatives during their four-years governing period, have affected the impact and viability of long-term cultural projects. A focus on political and financial rather than on cultural gains, has led to the appropriation of cultural spaces such as the IFCW and their increasing closure to local cultural agents in favor of private and corporate interests. Difficulties in accessing public funding for publicly designed grassroots projects has, paradoxically, led small cultural enterprises to seek private investors. Even if some compromises have to be made with the private sector, these are often preferred to the political pressures feared to follow public funding agreements. Keeping control over one's cultural initiative in present Galicia, entails in most of the cases, to cope with pressures in terms of leadership, state taxes, state fees, and finding enough capital to sustain a stable long-term and manageable project.

A cultural management strategy such as that used to produce the IFCW during its initial stage (1978-1983), together with the support they were requesting in terms of public funding can successfully sustain projects of different scope in the long-term. Supporting grassroots initiatives with public funding and developing adequate strategies to detach public funding from partisan interests, can contribute to both local development and local growth. Involving local actors and supporting the production of

new areas for professional and personal development can have long-term benefits in rural areas such as Ortigueira. These may include building trust in public institutions, improving the conditions of negotiation between the public and private realm, and creating new opportunities (pedagogical, cultural, social, financial) for the local youth.

As this chapter has shown, the audience's musical taste does not always go with the market. At the IFCW, the collective symbolic meaning of the festival has a considerable weight on the audience's music programming expectations. Therefore, the artistic director of the festival should be aware not only of the latest trends of the international music market, but she or he has to be able to combine this with the music that is embedded into the festival itself.

## Chapter IV

### **New Strategies of Spatialization: Galician Music and Local Performers at the IFCW, 2011-2013**

#### **IV.1 Introduction**

The spatial geometry of the “current” IFCW heightens the lack of access of local (Ortigueiran) performers of Galician music to the means of musical production. For these social actors, accessibility at the festival is discontinuous in a variety of locations (as access to that zones is either closed or restricted for them) including the main stage of the festival, the Beach of Morouzos, and the *Teatro de la Beneficencia*. Access discontinuity is a general characteristic of music festivals in Galicia and the rest of the Spanish state. Indeed, access to both the music stages and the organizational teams that have the power to program the music to be presented in music festivals, is often limited and asymmetrical. What is particular, thus, of the access discontinuity of the IFCW?

Historically, the accessibility-inaccessibility spectrum of the space of the IFCW was more nuanced. The foundational years of the festival (1978-1983) were marked, as shown in Chapter 2, by a process of autoconstruction through which a large group of volunteers from Ortigueira, led by the members of the *Escola de Gaitas*, were included and felt so included as to identify themselves as festival makers. As repeatedly asserted in interviews and informal conversations, the IFCW was thought (as it still is today) by these festival makers as collectively belonging to them, or in their own words, to the people of Ortigueira. Access to the means of musical production was considered to be widely open, for even if sometimes exclusively granted to a reduced number of people in spaces such as the music stage and among the music programming team, these agents were seen as representatives of the group, and their decisions were supported by collective consensus.

From 1984 onwards, when the organization of the IFCW was taken over by the Government of Ortigueira, accessibility to the means of musical production became increasingly uneven, through a process that I inquire into in Chapter 3. In this closing fourth chapter, I want to show what local performers of Galician music, including former festival makers and current members of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, have done



to strive for accessibility within the IFCW. I argue that in addition to the local agents' socio-musical strategies to counter the lack of (and regain) access to certain festival sites, the spatial form of the IFCW has been crucial for the implementation (that is, for the spatialization) of those actions.

Despite the changes of power and people comprising the organization of the IFCW from its creation to the present, the main features that characterize the festival's spatial design have been reproduced from year to year with only few variations (Figure 4.1). This repeated use of the original spatial configuration of the IFCW has had two main consequences. On the one hand, it has given the IFCW a unity, for this has allowed former festival makers, and Ortigueiran people in general terms, to recognize (and recognize themselves in) the festival throughout the years, setting their memories of festival experiences as if belonging to the same festival regardless of its different directors, music aesthetics, or its temporal itinerancy. On the other hand, the location of the IFCW *on* Ortigueira, a geographical choice linked to the autoconstructed past of the festival, has ensured the openness of a free-of-charge festival without a bordering fence. Ortigueiran performers of Galician music, and Ortigueiran people in general terms, have been able to enter the festival space and to move and musick freely. It is in fact, the irruption of this capacity "to move and musick" (or to practice and to locate those socio-musical practices) within a festival location *as done in previous editions*, and the strategies developed by local Ortigueiran performers of Galician music to counter that irruption, what is at stake in this chapter.

Autoconstruction is thus central to this last part of my dissertation. In the first chapter, the initial autoconstruction process, and the autoconstructed spaces erected by the members of the *Escola de Gaitas*, dialogued closely with Ricardo Toledo-Castellanos' understanding of the term (autoconstruction), as a "pressing need to open up a place in the world" for a particular kind of existence (2013, 3). In this chapter, the focus is more on how (and by whom) autoconstructed spaces and practices pertaining Galician musicking, are sustained within the IFCW. In dialogue with scholar Esther Wiesenfeld's findings on her work on autoconstructed homes in the Venezuelan neighborhood of *La Esperanza*, the IFCW entails, for its autoconstructors (the members of the *Escola* and its collaborators), an "active" mode of being. According to Wiesenfeld,

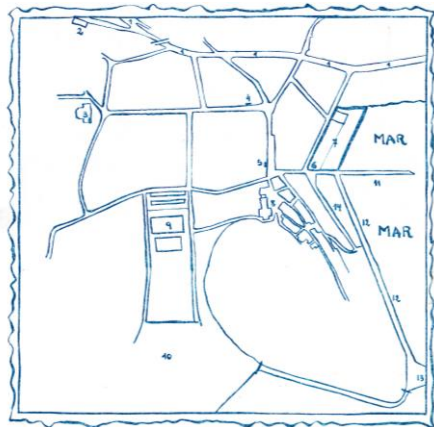
“the autoconstructed house is not passively inhabited, but it implies an active occupation, (...) each improvement stimulates participation both within the house and the [autoconstructed] project” (Wiesenfeld 2001, 184). Autoconstructors, thus, engage with the spaces they autoconstruct; they strive to take care of these spaces and, when possible and to their own eyes, they try to make them better and more complete. In order to sustain that engagement through time, autoconstructors rely on resources such as telling the story of the autoconstruction process, and inviting “neighbors” (Wiesenfeld 2001) to both respect and “be a part” of that story (ibid, 270). In the specific case of the IFCW, autoconstructors are former and current members, and collaborators, of the *Escola*. Although not all the young members of the *Escola* are aware of the details of either the autoconstruction of the IFCW or the *Escola* itself, they have been told that the festival, as the *Escola*, is *theirs* (is Ortigueira’s) and, through musicking, they have been taught how to *make it* theirs.<sup>83</sup>

In the following sections, I show how local, Ortigueiran, music agents have struggled to spatialize Galician music at the IFCW, thus reproducing autoconstruction strategies, and re-appropriating the festival space (2011-2013). I start by depicting the festival, walking the reader through its main spaces, and situating myself in the field. I do so for, unlike the preceding chapters, this is one is written from my positions and movements from within the IFCW/Ortigueira. In this vein, I briefly address *the crowd*, the large mass of people that characterizes this and other music festivals, bringing in ethnomusicologist Luis-Manuel García’s use of the term “liquidity” (2011). I then focus on four spaces where autoconstruction strategies have been implemented: the main stage of the IFCW, the Bar Caracas, the Beach of Morouzos, and Fredi’s Bar in Espasante (Figure 4.2). In all these cases, I argue that local agents have attempted to locate both musical practices and social relations that they considered essential for, but actually

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<sup>83</sup> This particular link between the autoconstructed space and its autoconstructors, together with the kind of social practices embedded in the autoconstructed space, are similar to Holston’s idea of “insurgent citizenship” (2008) and Corsín’s idea of the “right to open infrastructure” (2014). It also resonates with the large body of Latin American literature on autoconstruction (and on the work of autoconstructors), which is rarely included in like-minded research by “northern” scholars, as well as with projects such as that develop in the San Diego/Tijuana border by Guatemaltecan architect Teddy Cruz.

absent from the official program of the IFCW. The “Escola as a Family” managing strategy (see Chapter 1) has been crucial for the development of these endeavors.



**Figure 4.1** Above: IFCW 1983 map (same as the IFCW 1978 map). Taken from the official festival program (from Francisco Bermúdez’ archive). Below: IFCW 2009 (same as the 2011 map). Taken from the official festival program. (From Francisco Bermúdez’ archive). I have modified the orientation of the most recent map to match that of the oldest map.



**Figure 4.2** Maps of Santa Marta de Ortigueira (above and below) and Espasante (below). The red ovals show, clockwise from Espasante (below): **1.** The approximate location of Fredi’s Bar. **2.** The Beach of Morouzos. **3.** The Bar Caracas. **4.** The main stage of the festival in the space known as *alameda*. The map above is part of the official program that was distributed during the IFCW 2004 (From Francisco Bermúdez’ archive). I modified the map below from a shot-screen of Google Maps.

## IV.2 Walking at the IFCW

If one inadvertently comes to Ortigueira during the IFCW, the town would be transformed. The trip itself would be different and definitely more crowded than usual in spite of the extended services offered during the festival by both the Spanish-run FEVE trains, and the only operating bus company in this area, the German owned Arriva. As the town is pedestrianized during the IFCW, cars without a local permit would not be allowed to drive through Ortigueira, and they would have to be placed in one of the large, temporary parking lots especially set-up for the IFCW.

During my three years of research at the IFCW, I accessed the festival in three different ways:

1. In 2011 I came from Lisbon a day before the festival, in a long but beautiful bus ride that implied bus changes in the Portuguese city of Oporto, the Galician city of Vigo, and the Galician capital Santiago de Compostela. From Santiago to Ortigueira, the two-floor bus that I was assigned to, became full of people in their twenties wearing comfortable clothes, fashionable hairstyles, and carrying heavy backpacks. My hotel room was located in the neighboring parish (to the south west) of Cuiña, a forty-minute walk to down town Ortigueira.
2. In 2012 I rented a room at Marina Oural's house, a poet and former cultural entrepreneur temporarily living in the neighbor parish of Espasante (to the northeast). I arrived to Espasante a month ahead of the festival. Transportation to Ortigueira was difficult without having a car, as bus and train services at night, when the concerts of the festival took place, were extremely limited. Walking to Ortigueira took an hour and a half so I either took a taxi, got a ride from a friend, or hitch-hiked.
3. And finally, in 2013 I rented an apartment in down town Ortigueira a month before the festival. I thus lived in Ortigueira and literally stayed in the middle of the IFCW. The apartment was not only comfortable for me, but its convenient location made it an ideal place for some musicians to take naps while waiting to

play, late at night (musicians would sometimes start to play as late as two in the morning), on the main stage of the festival.<sup>84</sup>

Walking to and through the extension of Santa Marta de Ortigueira before/after or during the IFCW afforded slightly different levels of accessibility to public space. For pedestrians, accessibility was only interrupted in relation to the means of musical production, and particularly to performing space areas such as the main stage at the *alameda* (in down town Ortigueira) and, from 2013 onwards, to the Beach of Morouzos. Although walking through the audiences' area of the main stage was possible (since there was no fence delimiting it), entrance to the stage itself was restricted to the festival production personnel, to sound and light technicians, red cross workers, security workers, authorized workers from the Government of Ortigueira, journalists, and musicians with an official identification card.

Entrance to the Beach of Morouzos, where the camping site of the festival was placed, was completely opened if one walked the forty-minutes coastal path line from down town Ortigueira. Coming from a considerably shorter way, walking in a straighter line through small roads and farms to Morouzos, security personnel would be present to stop cars but also people with particularly large-sized luggage, as amplification equipment and portable electric plants were forbidden in that area from 2012 (see section IV.4). Temporarily inhabiting in camping tents at Morouzos was only allowed during the days of the festival. The absence of visible security personnel throughout either the pine tree forest or the beach of Morouzos (with the exception of two life guards and the security forces and firefighters located at the entrance of this natural protected area) gave a sense of collective freedom that de-inhibited the open commercialization of hallucinogenic drugs, drug and alcohol consumption, and the lighting of bonfires.

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<sup>84</sup> Not all musicians stay in Ortigueira after playing at the IFCW. Some of them, from nearby towns, prefer to play and go back home (such as the members of the Galician band *Os Cempés*, to whom I am referring here, and who I met, initially, in Ortigueira). Other musicians, such as the members of Galician group *Luar na Lubre*, sleep in a "tour bus," a bus specially conditioned for people to sleep in while traveling long distances, as they have a hectic performing schedule, thus having to play several times, in distant places, during the same week.

In socio-musical terms, walking through Ortigueira before/after or during the IFCW was a completely different experience. Before and after the festival the sonic space of downtown Ortigueira was mostly silent. Interrupted by the sound of the bells of the parish church, sonically announcing the passing of time every fifteen minutes, were the sounds of birds, the wind, cars, and motorbikes. The murmur of people talking during the day was almost exclusively on the market day on Thursdays and the church day on Sundays. Live music performances were not part of the public everyday life of Ortigueira, and music was practiced indoors at places such as the building of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, the Music School of Ortigueira, the parish church, and the *Teatro de la Beneficencia*, among others. At night, Latin American salsa music and Spanish and U.S. pop music from the 1980s were amplified at the Pub Galaripos (a meeting and dancing space in downtown Ortigueira), or at other nearby bars, but walking away from this small bar zone entailed to quickly coming back to silence.

During the IFCW, contrastingly, sound came from everywhere. Coming by foot from Cuiña, for instance, I could hear the sound of bagpipes as long as ten minutes prior to my arrival in Ortigueira. During the day, street musicians, the murmur of people talking, the sound of dress rehearsals at the main stage of the festival, of bagpipe band parades, organized street concerts, or of friends drinking a beer while relaxingly playing their instruments together on the porch of a bar, all were part of the complex sonic scape of this festive Ortigueira. At night, the sound of loudly amplified concerts filled the entire sonic space of the town. This was mixed with the ongoing sound of folk and Galician music played by street musicians, musicians sitting at bars, the murmur of people talking through the crafts fair or food and beer tents specially set for the IFCW (Figure 4.2), or the loud sound of the of drums of the spontaneous samba-inspired *batucada* parade, followed nightly by a large crowd of energetic dancers. Compared to the Patron Saint fiesta, also loud and lingering through the night for several days in the calendar of Ortigueira, the sonic scape of the IFCW and the “festival mode of listening” (Chapter 2), contrasted with the highly controlled sonic pallet, known and expected in a given order and at a certain time of the day, by the mostly local public of the fiesta.

#### IV.2.1 The Crowd

Writing about “alternative” music festivals in England, Alice O’grady introduces the idea of “festival community” to refer to the festival’s audience, as she asserts that “festival communities, although temporary, are opportunities through which some individuals and groups may access the experience of belonging that is denied to them elsewhere” (2003, 83). In my experience and learning process at the IFCW, community is not a term that serves to inquire into the audience of the Festival. As I see it, the conceptual cohesiveness implied by the phrase “festival communities” does not match the “vagueness” (García 2011, 147) and mutability of the festival *crowd* that I, as a researcher/festival-goer, became embedded in on the field. In some way I could say that that crowd, myself included, was also the field. Being at the IFCW either alone, with a group of acquaintances, or with friends, entailed a sense of togetherness, of being with a crowd, whose shared socio-musical experience elicited certain attitudes and behaviors. Nevertheless, such togetherness, borrowing ethnomusicologist Luis-Manuel García’s term, was “liquid.” According to him, and in contrast to the idea of solidarity, liquidarity “describes how we can feel connected without explicitly articulating the terms of those relations; it thrives on its vagueness, which allows a diverse group of strangers, acquaintances, and friends to act as if they were a solid group” (2011, 147-148).

In this “liquid” sense, it can be said that being at the IFCW elicited certain attitudes from festival-goers, including people from Ortigueira, which could or not be followed at their individual will. These included being cheerful and expressing “happiness.” For instance, even in spite of some festival-goers’ disagreements with aspects of the current festival organization, or despite their own personal family or work-related issues, bringing themselves to be “joyful,” and so contributing to the liquid ambience of cheerfulness of the IFCW, was an important social aspect of the IFCW. Also, some festival-goers expressed to have come to the IFCW to “disconnect” or be “unplugged” from everyday life preoccupations as intimate as the death of a friend or family member, a loved one’s illness, or unemployment.



#### IV.2.2 Temporal Employment Opportunities

As an activity that attracted a large number of visitors, the IFCW offered a unique opportunity to earn money. Bars, restaurants, bakeries, supermarkets and shops in general had especially large sales compared to the rest of the year. They therefore tended to hire temporary employees, often young people from Ortigueira, to be able to cope with the steep increase in customer service demands. At the beach of Morouzos, informal food, crafts, and drinks (and drugs) stands gave the possibility to festival comers to earn some money while attending the IFCW (Figure 4.3).

In downtown Ortigueira, where the official food, drink, and craft stands were placed, interested entrepreneurs were able to earn a temporary contract through a public tendering process, in which a space was granted to the selected candidates in exchange for a renting fee. This was the case of Javi, a crafts maker and seller from Málaga, southern Spain. According to him, the IFCW was part of the route of festivals and celebrations that he followed every year to sell his crafts (2011, interview with Grozdanova).<sup>85</sup> He liked the festival because he felt that his crafts were appreciated by his festival-goer clients, although he was critical of Morouzos, as he felt that the space and its unauthorized stands, were taking away potential customers and festival attendees from the IFCW in downtown Ortigueira (*ibid*). Other economic arrangements, like that of Marías (a resident of Ortigueira and one of the founders of the IFCW; see Chapter 1), were possible. Marías worked in partnership with the owners of the Bar Caracas to sell beer there, sharing a percentage of the earnings while helping to transform the Bar into an important center of music production within the IFCW (see section IV.4).

Besides the food and crafts stands, the Government of Ortigueira made an annual temporary job offer for unemployed adults. Targeted to residents of Ortigueira who were registered in the Galician Service of Public Employment, the offer consisted of temporary jobs linked to the celebration of the IFCW, in either the catering sector, cleaning public toilets, assisting patrons in the festival parking lots, or working as

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<sup>85</sup> This particular interview appears in minutes 22'41''-26'15'' of Biliiana Grozdanova's film *Ortigueira*.

“general [festival] assistants” (Girón Martínez 2013, 1-2).<sup>86</sup> Without overestimating the importance of offering jobs for locally unemployed citizens, the *conditions* under which that employment was offered (*i.e.* temporary positions without stable benefits) in the context of the institutionalized IFCW, contrasted sharply with the social engagement elicited by the co-existent autoconstructed festival. Whereas the former outlined a particular kind of social arrangement that portrayed individuals as what economist Amartya Sen describes as “passive recipients of dispensed benefits” (Sen 1999, 14), the latter engaged them as “active agents of change” (*ibid.*). This last type of engagement, and its articulation by the *Escola de Gaitas* and its collaborators through Galician music making, is the focus of the following sections.



**Figure 4.3** A cardboard, hand-made sign hangs in Morouzos to promote an unauthorized stand selling drinks and cannabis: “Pub Karra. There is Mary Jane” (photograph by Kiko Delgado).

### IV.3 The *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* at the IFCW

In an analysis of her work in the neighborhood of *La Esperanza*, Esther Wiesenfeld identified five parameters that characterized the process of autoconstruction developed by its inhabitants (a process labeled by her with the phrase

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<sup>86</sup> Unlike other festivals, the IFCW did not have openings for volunteers to help with its different, music-oriented needs, between 2011-2013. This was actually proposed to the festival organization by the former *Escola* member María Quintiana, in an interview published in the Galician newspaper *La Voz de Galicia* (Cuba 2016).

“community autoconstruction”) (Wiesenfeld 2001, 141-142). Whereas point five (below) has already been touched upon in Chapter 3, I want to inquire now into the other four points, as they are also present in the IFCW as produced by local, Galician music performers, in their struggle to gain a more continuous access to the means of music production. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I look at four spaces (in the light of each of these four points outlined by Wiesenfeld, where the open architecture of the IFCW, together with the agency of the musicians linked to/collaborating with the *Escola de Gaitas*, have made it possible for an autoconstructed IFCW to co-exist with the current, Government managed festival:

1. Autoconstruction is a plural process (it adapts to different conditions and different agents) / *Escola* on the main stage, and as organizer of the bagpipe band parade of the IFCW.
2. Autoconstruction implies co-management (with institutions, professional workers, government financial offices) / Beach of Morouzos.
3. Autoconstruction entails a process of (personal and/or collective) transformation, through which each individual assumes her or his destiny as his or her own responsibility / Bar Caracas
4. Autoconstruction is a personal choice to solve problems related to people’s access to a house, or in this case, to the means of music production/ Fredi’s Bar: IFCW in Espasante.
5. Government solutions are often seen as impositions (by autoconstructors).

Although these five points intertwine in all four spaces, co-management has been essential for almost all of them. For instance, the insistence of former and current members of the *Escola* to historically claim the festival as belonging to them, has made it possible for them to presently spatialize Galician music at the IFCW through the Government of Ortigueira’s recognition of the right to a stage for the *Escola de Gaitas* within the festival. In this way, in addition to a yearly performing spot on the main stage, and the freedom to choose their own music program, the Government of Ortigueira, as discussed in Chapter 3, has granted leadership to the director of the *Escola* (from 2009) to choose the bagpipe bands for the parade of the festival, and the teachers for the music and dance workshops, even under the supervision of the festival organization.

I will start talking about the *Escola de Gaitas* and its different autoconstruction strategies as organizer of the bagpipe band parade and on the stage of the IFCW. In both cases, as we will see, the members of the *Escola* and its director, Rodrigo López, had striven to spatialize Galician music in an inclusive way, even risking criticism by choosing controversial bagpipe bands, or slow tempo musical pieces. On the stage, the *Escola* has shared its time and space with “neighbors,” so as to complement their instrumental performance with Galician dance and voice interventions. This sharing of the stage, in addition to create important socio-musical bonds with other, nearby, Galician music groups, has allowed the *Escola* to act as an “alternative programmer” within the forty-minute spot they have available on the main stage of the IFCW. All in all, the role of the *Escola* organizing the bagpipe band parade, the workshops of the festival, and the presentation on the main stage, illustrate the plurality of the autoconstruction process used to gain access to the means of music production, and thus, to spatialize music at the IFCW.

#### **IV.3.1 The Bagpipe Band Parade of the IFCW**

In the context of the IFCW, invited bagpipe bands play throughout the festival in set street concerts celebrated during the morning (see Figure 4.4), in the closing Sunday bagpipe band parade, and, exceptionally, in the nocturnal concerts of the main stage of the festival (to fill for absent groups or as a response to budget cuts). Bands are selected by the *Escola de Gaitas*, and particularly, by both its director and ex-director, Rodrigo López and Javier Pena Louzao, respectively. According to Rodrigo the festival must serve as a showcase of what is being done, each year, in the realm of Galician music (2012, interview with author). In the case of the bagpipe band selection, Rodrigo thinks that in order to offer a comprehensive showcase there ought to be a band from Scotland, Brittany, and Asturias, as well as several bands from Galicia (including bands from Ladrado, Ourense, and the *Escola*) (*ibid*).



**Figure 4.4** Bagpipe bands at the IFCW 2012-2013. **1.** Oban Pipe Band from Scotland (2012) playing in front of the Consello of Ortigueira. **2.** Bagpipe Band Agarimos from Ferrol playing in front of the Estrella de Galicia stage (2013). **3.** Bagad Glazik Kemper from Brittany (2012) playing in what is known in Ortigueira as “the gardens.” **4.** Rodrigo López walking with the *Escola* during the parade, on the soon to be called Street of the *Escola de Gaitas*.

Musically, in Rodrigo’s view, the *Escola* has the responsibility of “guiding a path for Galician bagpipe bands” (*ibid*). Although, for him, Galician bagpipe bands are not considered to be traditional music formations, due to their recent history and to his understanding of traditional practices as those that were developed over a minimum period of one hundred years (*ibid*), his sub-division of current Galician bagpipe-band-trends include “traditional bands”, “concert bands”, and “Ourense bands” (*ibid*). According to Rodrigo, “traditional bands”, like those from Ladrido (a neighboring town on the northern border of Santa Marta de Ortigueira), are characterized by the use of Galician bagpipes and, in the percussion section, double skin drums, with wooden frames and animal skin drum-heads. “Concert bagpipe bands”, contrastingly, like the *Escola de Gaitas* bands, also perform with Galician bagpipes but their percussion section uses tenor drums or squads instead of wooden drums. For Rodrigo, tenor drums, or as he calls them, “mid-tension drums” (*ibid*), have an ideal response as they allow

performers to play with a wide range of dynamics, allowing the group to sound more “musical” (*Ibid*) and covering up for the small volume response of an instrument like the bagpipe (*Ibid*). And finally, Ourense bands, or as they are also called “martial bands,” are characterized by the use of “martial bagpipes” (Figure 4.5 and 4.6), and snare, or “high-tension” drums (López 2012, interview with author).<sup>87</sup>



**Figure 4.5** Pictures shared on the wall of the Facebook page of the group “Say No to the False Galician Tradition at the [Galician Radio and TV Channel] CRTVG,” Left, clockwise: images depicting the “martial bagpipe or bagpipe from Mars,” the “Scottish bagpipe,” and the “Galician bagpipe.” Right top: image depicting the “original” “Galician model [band]” and the “copied” “Scottish model band” (the Royal Band) from Ourense (bottom).



**Figure 4.6** “Camiño de Ortigueira” by Luis Dávila’s. Two men talk to each other: Man L: “I don’t know, but...” Man R: “it might be the [martial band from] Ourense. [On their way to Ortigueira.” The cartoon was published by Dávila in his blog *O Bichero* (July 24, 2014).

<sup>87</sup> Hand percussion instruments, such as shells and tambourines, which divide the percussion section of the *Escola* in three, are not taken into account, in either direction, in the classification of Rodrigo’s bagpipe bands.

“Ourense” bands are extremely controversial throughout Galicia, and it is not surprising that, according to Rodrigo, critiques have poured on him in Ortigueira for including these type of music groups in the bagpipe band parade of the IFCW. This conflict with the “Ourense” bands is known throughout Galicia as the *Guerra de Gaitas* (Galician and Spanish for “bagpipes war”) (Campos Calvo-Sotelo 2007, 217-224). It entails, according to Dulce Simões, the confrontation of bagpipe associations throughout Galicia against the Provincial Bagpipe School of Ourense (2013). Bagpipe bands linked to this school use “martial bagpipes”, also known as “bagpipes from Mars” as they are derogatorily called by its detractors. They are “an adaption of the Scottish highland bagpipe” (*ibid*) and are accompanied by drums with synthetic drum-heads. The main friction caused by these bagpipes is given by the Ourense school’s successful attempts to represent Galicia and musical heritage throughout the world, something that they have been able to do extensively due to the considerable financial and political support they count with (see Campos Calvo-Sotelo 2007, 217-224; Castro and Castro 2014; Castro and Castro 2016; Simões 2017)

Beyond Rodrigo’s critical views of these bands, he has defended his decision to include them as for him, their presence was essential to fulfill his goal of showcasing current trends in Galician music at the festival’s parade. Ourense bands are politically and financially powerful institutions. I do not know whether or not there were further interests or pressures guiding Rodrigo’s choice. Nevertheless, what is important to note here is that, even if former and current members of the *Escola* have disagreed on this particular point (and they have actively expressed their disagreement) they also accepted difference and divergence within the *Escola*. In fact, the current attire of the *Escola* (with a clear predominance of black) and its exclusion of skin-membrane drums from its percussion section, have been both criticized by former members of the *Escola* for its visual and sonic aesthetic resemblance to the bands from Ourense (Figure 4.5). Nevertheless, the *Escola*’s young members, and the directors of the group while these changes took place (Javier Pena Louzao and Rodrigo López) have defended their choices which are both related to their own perceptions of “elegance” and “refinement” (in clothing as well as sonically) (Escola de Gaitas 2013, interview with author; Pena Louzao 2011, interview with Castelo-Branco and Moreno Fernández; López 2012, interview with

author). That decision has been respected, keeping the unity of the *Escola*, by former members of the *Escola de Gaitas*.



**Figure 4.7** *Escola* performing during the Patron Saint fiesta of Ortigueira in 2013. In the front row, kids with red garments wear the original attire of the *Escola* (lent by former members). In the back, young people from the *Escola* wear their chosen new attire (Children faces are covered in compliance with the use of children's photographs in the Spanish legislation).

Invited bands are chosen by Rodrigo and Javier from a pool of known bands, and from bands they get to listen to and learn about on the Internet. Their final selection, nevertheless, is often not reflected in the actual program of the IFCW, as the organizing team of the festival may challenge their selection depending on the budget available, on financial interests, or on their vision of a particular edition of the festival, among other things (Balboa 2011, interview with Cámara Landa; López 2012, interview with author).



On the day of the parade, everyone is concentrated on walking<sup>88</sup> and playing correctly. Invited bands walk one after the other with their respective attires, behind their own directors. Bands go through the soon to be called Street of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (currently Street of General Franco), although a pause is made when a band has finished walking the extent of that street (to continue with the rest of the circuit), for authorities try to make way for a few cars to pass, diminishing the traffic jam resulting from the parade taking place on a town street that is also highway AC-862. After the first go-through, cars are thus incorporated into the parade. As the parade takes place in the morning of the last day of the festival, audience members are mostly comprised of residents from Ortigueira, family groups, and older festival goers. Young people camping in Morouzos tend to be exhausted towards the end of the festival from the long days of heavy partying. Audience members get a place on either one of the adjacent sidewalks and from there, they cheer the bands, one by one, as they pass by. The *Escola* is the last one to go, and it is usually cheered for longer and louder.

#### **IV.3.2 The Music Repertoire**

Although the bagpipe band parade and the music workshops (offered for free during the IFCW and which are both proposed by the *Escola*), are important for its members, they consider their concert on the main stage of the IFCW as their central and most salient performance. Unlike the concert on the main stage, both the workshops and the bagpipe band parade have to be approved (and they can be changed) by the organization of the IFCW. Galician and international dancers and musicians are hired to teach workshops. These teachers are sometimes selected from the groups invited to perform at the festival. Between 2011 and 2013 workshops included activities like Irish dance, Galician dance, Galician music composition, and Galician bagpipe reed making. In 2011 I took the bagpipe reed making workshop and in 2013 the Galician music composition workshop. They were taught by Javier Pena Louzao and Ernesto Campos, respectively. Assistants to the bagpipe reed making workshop were mostly from the Spanish region of Aragón (where a distinctive type of bagpipe, the *Gaita de Boto*, is from), but also from Galicia and Madrid. Assistants to the composition course were

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<sup>88</sup> I use the verb “to walk” instead of “to march” as it is the verb that members of the *Escola*, both present and former, use to describe the action of moving while playing their instruments in a music parade.

mostly from Madrid but there were also people from Andalucía and Galicia. I did not coincide with anyone from Ortigueira in either workshop. In spite of the challenge posed by having to wake up relatively early for the classes (as concerts and festival activities went well into the night and sometimes up to the early morning), there was a regular level of assistance. Most assistants were already involved in musical activities in their towns/cities of residence, and they took the taught material very seriously. The majority of workshop participants came in private vans or cars, and they camped outside the area of Morouzos to avoid the noise and the crowds. For participants, the relationship between the *Escola* and the workshops was not clear, and the *Escola* was actually unknown to most of them.

The performance of the *Escola de Gaitas* on the main stage of the IFCW was not only of prime importance for its members because of its large audience; this was also meaningful to them, for, in my view, it was their chance to represent their group (the *Escola*) on their own terms. Their name was everywhere: on the festival program, the side screens of the main stage of the IFCW as they started to play, the banner held (on the proscenium left) throughout their concert by a member of the *Escola*, and the name of the group was also announced from the beginning to the end of the concert by the *Escola's* presenter. The approximately forty minutes long concert of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* can be seen as an instance of the reproduction of the model of autoconstruction linked, as explained in Chapter 2, to the first years of the IFCW. For, using the available time and space, the members of the *Escola de Gaitas* managed resources following the “*Escola as a family*” strategy to spatialize Galician music (on the main stage of the festival) according to their own priorities and parameters. That decision implied coordinating efforts, sharing their time and space with neighbors, and relying on communal ties and interpersonal relations.

According to the members of the *Escola*, the main goal of their year-round rehearsals is to prepare for the presentation on the main stage of the IFCW. That is, in their own words, a space that “they already have secured” (2013, interview with author), an opportunity to make themselves and their music known to the public but

also to music agents with potentially exiting opportunities (*ibid*).<sup>89</sup> As the presentation on the main stage of the IFCW approaches, an especially intense rhythm of daily rehearsals is implemented. In addition to getting the chosen repertoire completely ready in terms of the memorization of the notes, rhythm and tempo of the pieces, coordination with the group, and tuning, the days before the festival are an opportunity to listen to the *Escola* collectively, including all the members who are only able to come for the IFCW.

Following the working ethos of the *Escola*, the repertoire to be performed at the IFCW is selected by collective consensus:

Student 1: Rodrigo is who really looks for the songs [for the IFCW].

Student 2: He proposes the repertoire, to put it in some way, and then if there is something that we don't like we go for it! (all laugh) And we try to change it.

Student 3: But it is him who knows the most about repertoire, you know? (*Escola de Gaitas* 2013, interview with author).

As with the bagpipe band parade, Rodrigo's goal for the concert (and for the festival) is to make it into a "showcase of what is being done today" in the realm of Galician music (2012, interview with author). The festival, and the concert, must include, in his view, traditional music formations as well as fusion explorations (*ibid*). This particular vision can be heard in the yearly performance of the *Escola de Gaitas* on the main stage of the IFCW. As the *Escola* is free to choose the repertoire, their particular selection often alters musical expectations, as, for instance, they include pieces with a slow tempo, a choice that is sometimes criticized as not appropriate for the IFCW by the current festival organization.

Beyond the repertoire per se, the *Escola* shares the stage with guest artists to produce a performance that responds to their vision of the IFCW. During the three years that I observed the festival, the *Escola* shared the stage with dancers and musicians from neighboring cultural associations. In addition to their bagpipes group, the *Escola* made

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<sup>89</sup> During the IFCW of 2013 the *Escola* was watched by one of the persons in charge of organizing the bagpipe band parade of Saint Patrick's day in New York City. The *Escola* was thus invited to play in New York city during the Saint Patrick day parade in 2014.

sure to include smaller Galician music formations such as bagpipe quartets (2011), Galician music danced pieces (2011-2013), and *cantareiras* (female singing groups) (2012-2013). In 2012, Cuban percussionist and seasonal resident of Espasante, Celestino López, was invited to play the Cuban *timbales* to accompany the *Escola* in a Galician rumba included in their music program. The presence of musicians from nearby towns in the shared presentation of the *Escola*, serves as evidence of the close relationship that exists among these groups, and of the efforts made by their members to carry on their activities prioritizing their mission to contribute to the advancement and continuation of Galician musical practices in the region, in spite of their different views.

#### **IV.3.3 On Stage Performance**

In 2012 the *Escola* was allowed to play at night on the main stage of the IFCW. On the commodified IFCW, the night was reserved for what the festival organization considered to be the most popular groups. Playing at night was assumed with proudness by the members of the *Escola*. They were motivated by this and prepared a repertoire they considered to be “special.” So, as the members of the *Escola* aligned on the stage of the IFCW 2012 to start their presentation, dressed in their attires and with the banner of the *Escola de Gaitas* permanently held on the stage proscenium, the presenter of the *Escola* started to explain in the Galician language:

We are the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. And we are here one more year to make you have a good time in the name of Galician music. This year, the schedule changed [ for we are now playing at night] and therefore the concert is going to be special. Today, [ Galician musician] Ernesto Campo is here with us both as a piano player [on the stage] and as a composer. He has composed the *Ortigueira Suite*, a group of pieces especially made for us. Among them, is the Muñeira Orticéltica, which we hope will become the festival’s anthem. Tonight we have a lot of guests. We are playing with Francis Olivier on the *trompa galega* (Galician for “Galician mouth harp”), with Celestino a Cuban Percussionist, and the Cantareiras who are going to sing with us (2012, recorded by author).

The repertoire chosen for their 2012 performance was especially composed by Galician musician Ernesto Campos, who that same year offered a free of charge composition workshop at the IFCW. This particular selection shows the vision of the

current members of the *Escola* of pushing for and striving to keep Galician music sounding out loud in Ortigueira but without a stiff or conservative attachment to a musical past. Also, the statement (above) about the anthem in this edition was remarkable. Mari Cruz Sabio, then the Town's Councilor of Culture, had previously forbidden the *Escola* to present *Orticéltica* as the festival's anthem. Nevertheless, in a very diplomatic move, the *Escola* used the stage of the IFCW to state their intentions to the audience, defying authority even though simultaneously refraining from declaring the piece as the actual anthem of the festival.

The *Ortigueira Suite* was challenging to learn. Although based on well-known Galician dance rhythms such as *muñeiras* and *jotas*, Campo's use of counterpoint varied the two-voice dialogue which the members of the group of the *Escola* were used to. The percussion section had to coordinate accent displacements and repeated syncopations, something that they were not accustomed to play in their already established music repertoire. The entire suite was performed by heart, and it was taught by ear to the members of the *Escola*. In addition to Campos' suite, the *Escola* performed a Galician rumba with Celestino, and the anthem of Galicia, a piece they always play at the IFCW.

For their 2012 performance the *Escola* counted on a group of thirty-nine people including its director Rodrigo López. Gaitas were divided into three and sometimes four voices, and both girls and boys were part of this group. Whereas the *Escola* was popular in the region for having been one of the first music groups including both female and male bagpipe players, the percussion section followed a strict gender division. The boys played the drums and the girls "hand percussion," namely, *cunchas* (Galician shells) and *pandereitas* (Galician tambourine). Although the division was not encouraged by its director nor by the *Escola's* regulations (actually, Rodrigo had tried to create an early education program for children where they had to play all the available instruments at the *Escola* prior to choosing their instrument for the group) perhaps tacit social gender roles had an impact in this particular choice.

Although the 2012 performance was momentarily interrupted by a failure of the electricity supply, the presentation was flawless. They took risks performing pieces with a different harmony and rhythmic variations. The presentation was shared with a group of *cantareiras* or female singers, led by renowned Galician musician Xavier Díaz. The

*cantareiras* played *pandeiros*, or square double skin hand drums, hit, in this particular performance with a stick. The *cantareiras* were invited on the suggestion of the *Escola*, to accompany the dancing group of *Gamelas e Anduriñas*. Rodrigo López, director of the *Escola*, relied in this choice on Cristina Pico. Cristina sang with this group of *Cantareiras* and she also danced with the advanced group of *Gamelas e Anduriñas*. Their performance together, just as the performance of the *Escola*, was enthusiastically received by the audience.

In 2013, the members of the *Escola* continued performing at night. They took some pieces from their early repertoire, including the anthems of Brittany and Galicia, and mixed them up with the compositions made for the *Escola* by Ernesto Campos. Like the previous year, the presentation was received with excitement from the audience, a mix of residents from Ortigueira, former members of the *Escola*, family members, and festival goers. The stage, this time, was also shared with *Gamelas e Anduriñas* and also included Galician dances and singing. These practices are strongly linked and for the members of the *Escola*, they were badly represented at the IFCW. In fact, with the exception of an occasional dance group from Ireland, dance was absent from the stage of the IFCW. Galician singing was sometimes present, but *cantareiras* groups rarely performed on the main stage, with the exception of the group Leilía. In opening up their stage, and sharing their time with Galician dance and vocal practices, the *Escola* used the power it had within its own time to propose and present what they thought was a more complete representation of Galician musicking.

#### **IV.3.4 *Gamelas e Anduriñas***

When *Gamelas e Anduriñas* stepped up to dance on the stage with the *Escola*, they were introduced by the *Escola*'s presenter as "our neighbors" (Field notes 2011-2013). *Gamelas e Anduriñas* is a cultural association located in the town of Espasante. Throughout the year, they rehearse on the first floor of a building in front of the sea line of the port of Espasante. Classes are given for free by Fredi (Alfredo) López (he teaches dance to children, mostly girls), Cristina Pico (Galician voice lessons), and the former director of the *Escola de Gaitas* Javier Pena (bagpipe and percussion). All these teachers have day jobs with which they make their living. Cristina works as a chemist in Ortigueira, Fredi owns Fredi's Bar, which opens at night and is one of the two spaces with a legal

permit to offer concerts in the town of Espasante, and Javier is the bagpipe teacher of the Professional Conservatory of Viveiro. Fredi entered *Gamelas* as a student and is now its president.

He was, though, successful in recruiting me and other summer visitors into his international Galician dance group, to which he gives Galician dance lessons every summer for free (in 2013 there were people from different parts of Spain, Brittany, Latin America, the Philippines, Ireland, and England). As I did field work, I often sat to see the rehearsals of the beginning dancing group of *Gamelas* (2012 and 2013), comprising five to seven girls between the ages of eight and twelve. Fredi, who was always trying to get people to be active participants (either dancing or playing a musical instrument), invited me to join the lessons every time. In 2013, he wanted me to dance with the girls in their presentation of the Festival Entre Mareas. He and the girls found me the attire for this purpose, something that was easy given that my height and body size blended perfectly with that of the girls. Fredi and the girls were patient with my very basic dancing level, but they certainly appreciated the effort (Figure 4.8).



**Figure 4.8 1.** Fredi at the Gamelas' space in Espasante with part of his 2013 international Galician dance class (Belén, from Ortigueira is wearing a yellow shirt). **2.** Fredi and the girls from *Gamelas* dancing in Ortigueira (2013). **3.** Fredi playing the bass drum with the *Gamelas* bagpipe quartet in Ortigueira (2013); the bagpiper on right side is Javier Pena Louzao; the bagpipe in the middle was a former member of the *Escola de Gaitas*; the little girl dancing is Fredi's student's sister. **4.** *Gamelas* advanced dance group at the *Escola de Gaitas* building, it includes some members from the *Escola*, they are practicing for the IFCW 2012.

Fredi was deeply committed to keep Galician music and dance present in Espasante through the work done by Gamelas. He was constantly trying to enroll new girls, boys, teenagers, and adults in Gamelas. He constantly tried to get his students' parents into dance or bagpipe lessons. In addition to the lessons, Fredi strived to spatialize Galician music throughout his town (and in neighbor towns), by making



festivals, participating in festivals, and celebrating festivities such as Christmas with Galician music street concerts. In general terms, it could be said that Espasante was a very active town, musically speaking. Without any financial support from the Government of Ortigueira, neighbors from Espasante organized the *Gamelas e Anduriñas* Festival, the Entre Mareas Festival, and the Canción de Tasca Festival (Pub Song Festival), among others. *Gamelas* participated in all these festivals for free with both the girls dance group and the advanced dance group (which is the same that performs at the IFCW). Javier Pena always accompanied the dance groups with musicians from *Gamelas*, with his own daughter, or with other musical acquaintances.

Within the *Gamelas* advanced dance group, there were people from different neighboring towns, including Viveiro, As Pontes, Ortigueira, and *Espasante*, among others. Most of them had to drive, after work, to meet in rehearsals. As the IFCW approached, the advance dancers of *Gamelas* met daily, and they changed their rehearsal location from the space of *Gamelas*, in Espasante, to the *Escola de Gaitas* building in *Ortigueira*. In the following section I will describe their presentation in the IFCW of 2013. The advanced dance group of *Gamelas* is directed by a teacher who chooses the repertoire. The Performed choreography is, as *Gamela's* dancers call it, "collected" (López 2012, interview with author), meaning that it is either learned "in the field" or learned from someone who learned in the field" (the field being, also in their words, "rural" areas of Galicia).

Musicians from Espasante are usually recorded, and their presentations are uploaded on YouTube, by user Ppatatin. He does not only record all the musical presentations that take place in Espasante, but he often edits the videos, putting the name of the group and the date and other relevant information, in such a way that he carefully collects and archives this material. For people in both Espasante and Ortigueira these shared presentations are of primary importance, as shown by their assistance and their active sheering and voiced encouragement to local performers while on the stage. In some ways, Galician music as performed on the stage of the IFCW, serves to create socio-musical bonds between neighboring towns that are sometimes divided by rivalries driven by the unequal distribution of governmental resources, and by the uneven exertion of political power, among other things. These presentations are thus an

important way to represent, to people from their own towns but also from “abroad,” that they are able to come together with a particular aesthetic vision for Galician music, in spite of all the difficulties faced. This capacity to achieve something together with effort, is an important aspect of the process of autoconstruction (Wiesenfeld 2001, 210), and it dialogues with anthropologist James Holston’s statement, when he says that “in the politics and in the esthetics of autoconstruction,” autoconstructors “construct images and identities to counter those that subjugate them” (Holston 1991, 462).

The strong link between *Gamelas e Anduriñas* and the *Escola* has led the latter to share stage space with the former, and to work together to create a concert in which their vision of Galician music is portrayed. They are not only neighbors, but their goal as a cultural association is shared, as well as their aim to offer free of charge classes to children to spread Galician music and dance in the region. The history of the *Escola* is an inspirational example for *Gamelas*, even though unlike the *Escola*, *Gamelas* does not have any government grants. However, finances in both groups are tight and the teachers and adults involved in the daily functioning of these groups make a great effort, with a sense of sacrifice, to keep the associations functioning. The members of *Gamelas* and the *Escola* are also united by interpersonal ties. Javier Pena, bagpipe teacher of *Gamelas* is always present to support the dancing troupe of this cultural association, and he also was the director of the *Escola de Gaitas* before its current director Rodrigo López. In 2011 Javier and Rodrigo played during the presentation of the IFCW to showcase a Galician bagpipe quartet, a music formation that they considered essential but absent from the IFCW. Within these groups, personal relationships range from friendships, to family affiliations and romantic partnerships, and particular members of these groups may belong to more than one cultural association, something to which they devote their time without expecting any financial reward.

In the following paragraphs I show how a performer such as Cristina Pico organizes and coordinates her vocal performance on the stage of the IFCW next to the advanced dancing group of *Gamelas e Anduriñas*. Cristina Pico is a native from As Pontes (a town located thirty two kilometers south from Galicia) and a resident of Ortigueira. She lived and worked there as a chemist. Cristina started to sing in different cultural associations of As Pontes after she graduated from high school and started studying

Chemistry at the university. In this cultural association, she started to learn how to sing. Additionally, she strived to develop a daily routine of music practice (2013, interview with author). According to Cristina, she was one of the few young people who was singing in such cultural associations, often filled in with people who had already retired or who were close to their retirement age (*ibid*).

The IFCW had a substantial influence on Cristina's path as a musician (2013, interview with author). When Cristina knew about *Gamelas e Anduriñas*, and she saw their group dancing, she became interested in the association and eventually registered there to dance with them. In *Gamelas*, Cristina met Rodrigo López, the current director of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*, and so that relationship linked Cristina to the *Escola*. Rodrigo started to rely on Cristina to present the *Escola* in their concerts at the IFCW, something that Cristina remembers as a difficult moment for her as she felt very shy to talk in front of so many people, and specially, to so many people she knew. Getting access onto the stage of the IFCW, nevertheless, was something special for Cristina. That space allowed her to meet and to get to talk with musicians she deeply admired such as Galician singer and bagpiper Guadi Galego. The shrinking of that distance between herself and those who she saw as music stars, made her feel that "music was possible" (2013, interview with author). Seeing these musicians on stage, sharing in some way the stage with them, and talking to them, stimulated her to want to improve her musical and singing skills. When she knew that a school was opened in Lalín (Galicia), an hour and a half drive from Ortigueira, she registered, encouraged partly by a friend from Ortigueira who was already taking lessons over there. In Lalín, Cristina started to take voice lessons with Guadi Galego and Ugia Pedreira. Cristina started thus an exploration with her voice, to try to find different resonators and possible timbres.<sup>90</sup> Cristina remembers that experience at the Conservatory of Traditional Music of Lalín as a very important moment in her musical education, which later continued in Santiago de

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<sup>90</sup> Cristina told me that she made an effort to get away from using her nasal resonators to give her voice a sound that was not "nasal" (2013, interview with author). During fieldwork, as I took voice lessons with Galician singer Davide Salvado and with Polish singer Paulina Ceremuzynska in the Galician music school *Escola de Música Popular* of A Central Folque (Santiago de Compostela, 2013) this was a common issue. Voice coaches insisted on finding an "earthy" sound by directing the breath to the stomach and by emitting sound from there, "grounding the voice to the soil" and making the music, consequentially "rooted" (field notes 2013). Nose resonators were to be avoided, and imagination should be used to propel the voice's sound from the stomach through the top of the head (*ibid*).

Compostela, when the school moved over there, changing its name to A Central Folque (directed by Ugía Pedreira and Ramón Pinheiro). Cristina continued working in Ortigueira as a chemist and driving for her weekly music lessons, first to Lalín and later to Santiago.

For her presentation in 2013 Cristina was proposed to sing alone, while accompanying *Gamelas* in a dance that the teacher had “collected” from the area of Coristanco (Pico 2013, interview with author). The dance was a weavers’ dance and so Cristina started to look for an appropriate music/lyrics combination to go with it. According to Cristina, she looked into what had turned in recent years in her primary source for lyrics, music pieces, and performances: YouTube (*ibid*). Cristina told me that, even if she was a frequent user of the Galician songbooks, and particularly of those by Swiss folklorist Dorothé Schubarth,<sup>91</sup> people were now uploading rich material into YouTube, especially competitions, where it was possible to find pieces and lyrics absent from such books (*ibid*). Cristina then found a jota from Coristanco on a video, one she thought went well with the dance to be performed by *Gamelas*. She then arranged the lyrics herself, adding lines to highlight while singing the weaver’s “origin” of the dance (*ibid*).

According to Cristina the big audience of the IFCW terrified her. In our multiple conversations, including a formal interview and a myriad of other more informal encounters, she said that she felt more comfortable singing in small places and among friends than stepping onto the stage of the IFCW. She was very critical of herself and rarely listened to recordings of her own performances (2013, interview with author). As we will see in the following section, Cristina and the members of the *Escola* were active participants at the *repichocas*<sup>92</sup> of the bar Caracas. In recent years, Cristina and her group of *cantareiras* from As Pontes, directed by Xavier Díaz, gained great popularity

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<sup>91</sup> See Schubarth and Santamaría 1982; Schubarth and Santamaría 1984, volumes 1 to 7.

<sup>92</sup> *Repichoca* is a Galician word that refers to “any activity (namely a dance or a music piece) that two or more people spontaneously decide to develop together” (Díaz Pardo et al 2007, 1785). In the context of the IFCW it usually refers to spontaneous and informal music performances that take place in bars among friends and sometimes, also, among, unknown musicians with knowledge of a common music repertoire.

and so she has been singing on different stages of varied sizes. I am sure that the experience at the IFCW has been very important for her in this new musical venture.

In 2013, in the middle of the concert of the *Escola* on the main stage of the IFCW, the members of the *Escola* stopped playing. They stepped back, standing on the stage but clearing up the center as the female presenter of the *Escola* took the microphone to announce, in the Galician language:

now you are going to see the Cultural Association *Gamelas e Anduriñas* from Espasante, our neighbors [members of the audience clap]. Today they are going to dance the “Muñeira of Arabexo” and the “Maneo of Coristanco,” accompanied by Cristina Pico’s brilliant voice. Enjoy with them (2013, recorded by author).

Although members of *Gamelas* wore their own attire, the girls who belong to both groups danced with the attire of the *Escola*, visually blending the two groups together. As Carlos Alba, from the *Escola de Gaitas* joined Javier Pena Louzao, from *Gamelas*, to form a bagpipe quartet that included two other players (a former member of the *Escola* and members of *Gamelas* on both the bass drum and the *caixa* respectively), the dancers walked slowly to the stage proscenium forming in two lines, one for women, and one for men. The two bagpipes played an introduction in free rhythm as this process took place, and a member of the audience shouted “do it bragging!” and the dancers smiled. Towards the end of the bagpipes phrase, the bass drum marked the pulse in a fast tempo (beats one and four, of a 6/8 meter) and the couple in front, were Marta, a bagpiper from the *Escola de Gaitas*, was dancing, took out the *punto* or “stitch,” name given in this context to the step chosen by the dancers in front which ought to be simultaneously repeated by the rest of the female and male dancers.

Throughout the *muñeira*, Cristina accompanied the dancers and the bagpipe quartet with her tambourine. As that piece finished she approached the microphone and started to sing solo, in a slow, tempo rubato: “*aqui tens o meu corazón/ fechadiño c’una chave/ abrelo e métete nel/ qu’aquí soliño ben cabes*” (Galician for “here you have my heart/it is locked with a key/open it and get into it/ here, alone, you fit). Towards the end of the phrase Cristina started to play the tambourine, holding it with the right hand and hitting it with the left (the usual performance technique in Galicia). With this

percussion instrument she marked beats one and three, of the first measure, and beats one, two, and three of the second measure, indicating also the fast tempo of the piece and its 3/4 meter. The piece had a strophic form (Intro ABABABAB) highlighted in both sonic and choreographic terms. Verses were danced in two lines (one for men one for women) facing each other, and the chorus was danced in a circle (half for men and the other for women), with identically repeated steps each time. The lyrics sang by Cristina were thus in charge of differentiating the successively sung verses, weaved in together by a repeated chorus, the lyrics of which consisted of a vocalization with the syllable "le." As the piece finished, the dancers approached the proscenium, and happily applauded the audience as the audience enthusiastically applauded them. On YouTube, the collaboration of *Gamelas* and the *Escola* on the main stage of the IFCW 2013 is "present," and properly labeled, thanks to the archival efforts made by user Ppatatin ("*Gamelas* Baila con la Escola de Gaitas" 2013). On the official channel of the IFCW, there is a video uploaded containing "the full" concert of the *Escola* in 2013. However, both the presenter of the *Escola* and the entire participation of *Gamelas* have been removed, and are thus not part of the official online version of the Escola at the IFCW ("2013. Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira" 2014). As of today, there is no comment highlighting such absence.

#### **IV.4 The Beach of Morouzos**

Co-management was essential for the autoconstruction strategy implemented at the Beach of Mourozos. As I show below, a co-management strategy between the Government of Ortigueira and Marías, was requested by the latter, an IFCW founder, and it was actually the only path he took in this particular zone of Morouzos to spatialize Galician music. Co-management implied an agreement with the festival organization to allow Marías to manage the space, and to musick there following his own criteria (linked with his views on the past, present and future of the IFCW), although always under the conditions, or negotiating the conditions, set by the festival organizers. In order to make Marías project possible, neighbors' and friends' cooperation was crucial. Marías deep attachment to the festival, together with the economic opportunities of this particular venture, moved him to insist until reaching an agreement to be able to spatialize Galician and folk music at the camping site of Morouzos.

Sonically speaking, the beach of Morouzos was the space of the festival with the most striking transformation I was aware of during the time of my research. In 2011 the camping zone at the beach and the pine forest of Morouzos resounded with loudly amplified *carpas tecno* (Spanish and Galician for “techno music tents”), a term used by festival goers to refer to the electronic dance music, reggae, and bass and drum musics mixed by “spontaneous” DJs (*i.e.* not hired by the festival organization) under mobile, tent-like structures. One of my classmates at the Galician bagpipe reed making workshop (IFCW 2011), a young man from Zaragoza, Aragón, and the only one in the workshop camping in Morouzos, confirmed to us the generalized complaints about the difficulties of sleeping in that area due to the high volume of the non-stop electronic dance music party. In 2012, the festival organization started to respond to the growing voices arguing against such tents (through different Internet platforms and forums), and it forbade the entrance of large amplification and electricity supply equipment in Morouzos (Figure 4.9). The measure was aimed at impeaching DJs from mounting their mobile, electronic dance music tents (and at simultaneously forbidding the spontaneous crafts and food/drinks/drug market) in Morouzos during the IFCW.



**Figure 4.9** Billboard announcing in the Spanish language the 6<sup>th</sup> of July law that forbade the presence of electricity generators, grills, gas bottles, loudspeakers, amplifiers, and “other products” in the area of Morouzos (Photograph taken by author during the IFCW of 2013).

Although the measure certainly reduced the presence of electronic dance music DJs in the area, it was not until Mariás was allowed to musically intervene in Morouzos, that such tents were completely ruled out. They were replaced by a medium-size tent paid by Mariás, with a small wooden stage at the center, and food and drink carts on the sides. The kinds of music that were amplified and performed live at Mariás' tent comprised, exclusively, folk and Galician musics. Mariás called this process *Vuelve o folk a Morouzos* (Galician for “folk music returns to Morouzos”) and he promoted it through a Facebook page that he opened under the same name, as well as through the official forum of the IFCW. In spite of having paid a fee to the Government of Ortigueira for using the space and implementing his idea during the IFCW of 2013, his planned music program for Morouzos was not featured on either the official program or the Webpage of the IFCW.<sup>93</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Electronic Dance Music party took place in Morouzos between 2001 and 2012. Discussions on the forum of the Webpage of the IFCW can be traced back to this first year through the *Wayback Machine* of the Internet Archive online platform (<https://archive.org/web/>). An analysis of the discussions carried out in the forum by festival goers identified with online user names throughout these eleven years, highlights three main arguments: 1. The IFCW is known as the festival of freedom and, therefore, it must afford the freedom of entrance to all musical practices regardless of people's musical taste. 2. People involved in DJing or listening to the dance music tents are inconsiderate of fellow camping mates. Conversely, people unable to sleep with the music are criticized from the opposite side of the discussion for not bringing earplugs or getting away from the sound sources so as to avoid the selfish act of getting angry and thus harming the positive, happy, and chill out ambience of Morouzos. 3. The IFCW is a folk music festival and, consequently, no other music but folk and Galician musics should be let in.

As I see it, points 1 and 3 were both at the root of the conflict. Fiestas and summer celebrations throughout Spain are extremely flexible with noise emission levels, and there is a generally high level of tolerance towards long, loudly amplified sounds (or

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<sup>93</sup> I currently ignore what was the motivation, or the particular conditions that motivated this.



acoustic sounds such as firecrackers') during these special occasions. Point 2, therefore, could have gone unnoticed if it were not for the issue of which music was being disrupted and by whom. The collective symbolic meaning of the IFCW for different groups of listeners and its relation to the actual socio-musical history of the festival were both at stake. Furthermore, a conflict of power and the spatialization of music at the IFCW, were also brought to light by the techno-tents placed at Morouzos for eleven years.

From the festival goers' point of view, discussions on the techno-tents focused on the meaning of freedom and power. For some, freedom meant to be able to do whatever a person wants to do in the context of a space like Morouzos during the IFCW. That vision of freedom demanded a high level of mutual tolerance and patient conflict resolution. It also downplayed the role of individuals' respect for others and their own responsibility, as temporary inhabitants of that socio-musical space, to learn about the past of that space and to position themselves and act accordingly on the basis of such knowledge. Anti-techno-dance festival goers, including a majority of people from Ortigueira, thought that the freedom of ravers was silencing bagpipes in Morouzos, as the latter were unable to compete in terms of decibels with the former. According to Marías:

[In Morouzos] some professional [DJs] were taking advantage of the number of people that, through the years, the festival was able to gather in Ortigueira with a folk music event, they were using the [IFCW's] crowd to promote their techno sounds. They were competing with technological means, and advanced amplification equipment that were unbeatable for bagpipers, and so they were appropriating a space that did not belong to them (2013, interview with author).

In addition to freedom, the issue of power was central in these discussions. Both anti and pro techno-dance festival goers felt that the Government of Ortigueira was behind the spatialization of techno or folk music in Morouzos. User Peter Griffin, a pro-techno tent, wrote at the festival forum on June 9, 2013:

I think that the fact that you [the festival organization] want us to listen to folk music in the morning, in the afternoon, and in the evening, in the concert zone and in the camping zone is a bad idea. The camping zone belongs to all of us who

were camping, (...). You are not deciding to eliminate what is bothering you but to bother us with the music that you think is correct and in the schedule that you want. Furthermore, you also forbade people to sell things in Morouzos so you can guarantee to take over the gains (...). You could have [placed the techno tents] in a different part of the large pine forest that you have but no, it has to be what you say, in the way you say it, when you say it, and to the price that you want to set. And you are calling this [Morouzos] our project? It is curious, our project but with your conditions (“Re: Carpas de Música,” 2013).

The spatialization of music in Morouzos evidenced issues of power at the IFCW. Residents of Ortigueira and former festival collaborators (1978-1983) did not understand why the techno-tents were allowed for so many years at the camping site of the IFCW. They were let in, for no fee, as “they did not harm anyone” (Balboa 2011, interview with Cámara Landa). Nevertheless, local residents of Ortigueira wanting to set up a folk music tent were not able to get permission, although to my knowledge they did not attempt to do it without a proper permit. Before Marías’ *Folk Music Returns to Morouzos* initiative, he had previously presented a project for the realization of MAS or Morouzos Arena Festival (Morouzos Sand Festival) to former mayor of Ortigueira Antonio Campo. The proposal was rejected even though Marías justified it saying that this was already done during the first years of the IFCW (2013, interview with author). For Marías to get an official permit to spatialize Galician and folk music in Morouzos he had to invest in the festival. Unlike electronic dance music or reggae music, Galician and folk musics resounded in Morouzos for a price.

Marías’ strategy consisted in applying for the public tender, opened yearly by the Government of Ortigueira, for food and drinks stands in Morouzos. He got support from a close friend and was then able to gather the amount of money needed to win the tender.

I am engaged in musical activities, with the festival, not with its official management but with the festival, I belong to the festival, the festival and I are united for life. So I did not want to limit myself to sell sandwiches and beer (at Morouzos during the IFCW), but I decided to set a music stage, to bring sound

equipment, to have a sound technician twenty-four hours a day there (2013, interview with author).

The festival organization did not oppose Marías' initiative to spatialize Galician and folk music in Ortigueira. Marías, nevertheless, had to find ways to cover all the expenses and to fill the space with the music he envisioned. He and his team had to also take care of the daily cleaning of the area as the official cleaning team of the festival took care of the entire zone of Morouzos except for Marías' area.

For Marías, the experience of Morouzos was both financially positive and musically rewarding. According to him:

Morouzos is wonderful, is a beautiful area, there is a fantastic relationship among people. But most of them do not go down to the concerts in Ortigueira. So I decided to do this in order to take them close to the spirit of the festival within their own space (*ibid*).

To spatialize Galician and folk music in Morouzos, Marías had to rely on neighbors and friends such as Fredi, from *Gamelas e Anduriñas*, friends from cultural associations in the neighboring town of As Pontes, and friends from the *Escola de Gaitas*, among others. They all worked together for free to support Marías' initiative to bring folk music back to Morouzos (Figure 4.10). According to Marías:

I had to ask for the help of a lot of friends. I also pretended to invite the young groups participating at the Runas contest of the IFCW, to help promote them and sell their CDs, and invite them to eat and drink because that was the only thing I was able to offer them, but the festival organization did not allow the Runas groups to play in my tent.

Although Marías did not encounter any resistance from the festival organization to his plans of staging local music groups in Morouzos, his intention of inviting musicians already scheduled to play on the official festival program was more complicated. Although festival organizers were reluctant to accept this, they ended up allowing the performance of the only group that responded positively to Marías' invitation (despite the organization negative views on this): the Japanese group Harmonica Creams (they were allowed to play in Morouzos only after their performance on the main stage). In

total, during the three days of festival Marías invited seven music groups and three DJs to perform in his tent. Marías, and all the local participants were proud of their musical achievement of re-locating folk music in Morouzos:

(...) the financial part went well but the important thing is that folk music returned to Morouzos. So many years had passed since electronic music equipment had silenced the flutes and the bagpipes, and we succeed in bringing them back. We had the support of the audience, it was amazing, we did not have even one problem with people asking for other kinds of music (...) We can say that we succeeded in reaching our goal (2013, interview with author).

The spatialization of Galician and folk music in Morouzos was implemented following autoconstruction mechanisms, where music neighbors produced the space together, while working towards a common goal and supporting a long-time friend and music partner. They did not only support Marías' initiative as musicians but also as dancers and audience. For instance, during Celestino's presentation, neighbors from Espasante stepped in to dance breaking the ice, and inciting participation from other audience members. Marías spontaneous turning from "I" to "we" in the quote above evidences the mindset and felt support of close music agents as a group tied in by music production and construction processes.



**Figure 4.10** Mariás' Galician and Folk music tent. **1.** Handwritten schedule (including neighbors from different nearby towns) for Saturday 13, 2013. **2.** Carlos Alba, Pablo, and Rodrigo López (out of the photo), all members of the *Escola de Gaitas* Performing with their group *Brétemas*. **3.** Celestino López paying. Two posters of the Festival *Entre Mareas* of Espasante hung on the stage. **4.** A cultural association from As Pontes. **5.** Members of the audience dancing. On the upper right corner of the photo one can see neighbors from Espasante and Ortigueira dancing. **6.** Bottom left: Mariás taking care of the mixer before the concerts (photographs by the author).

#### IV.5 The Bar Caracas

Literature on the collective autoconstruction of homes in Venezuela (Wiesenfeld 2001), Brazil (Holston 1991, 447-465), Chile (Astudillo 2011), Mexico (Romero Navarrete, Hernández Rodríguez, and Acevedo Dávila 2005,107-131) and Colombia (Centro Interamericano de Vivienda y Planeamiento 1961), all delve into the autoconstructors' personal and collective transformation, identified by the autoconstructors themselves, through the autoconstruction process. Autoconstructing is highlighted in all these cases as a means to acquire new skills, and to make "old skills" more valuable for individuals, for they are put into use to effectively reach personal and collective construction-related goals. As Holston puts it, house transformations have a "twofold significance as they politicize residents (...), exposing them to new kinds of political identities and actions," and they "provide them with a kind of cognitive map of change itself, calibrated in terms of aesthetic judgments about house architecture and interior decoration" (1991, 451.452).

In the case of the IFCW autoconstruction has been transformative. It has been a way through which members and collaborators of the *Escola de Gaitas* have gained awareness of their "right to a music stage;" they have come up with different strategies to exercise their socio-musical right, including a particular festival architecture such as that of the IFCW, and with particular aesthetic visions on Galician musicking. In this section, I want to show how the spatialization of Galician music at the Bar Caracas is transformative in socio-musical terms, as it serves as a learning experience and it makes it possible to musicians to contact colleagues and, together, to sound out loud what they think is musically missing from the IFCW official music programming. I want to do this by introducing the story of the Bar Caracas, and then, by referring to its role within the IFCW.

Inquiring into the history of the Bar Caracas unveils the family history of its owners, the Mera Hermida family, but it also offers a micro-historical vision of Ortigueira. Although absent from the official festival program, the Bar Caracas is an important space for musicians and music listeners at the IFCW, frequently referred to by the media as the "temple of folk" (Corral 2016). The Caracas is currently run by the youngest son of the family, Antón Mera Hermida. The bar has beautiful ocean views and

it is attached to the Mera Hermida's family house. It has an adjacent garage, usually closed to the public but transformed into a beer bar and musical instruments' safe during the IFCW (Figure 4.11). It also has a covered porch with a carefully kept garden where Ortigueiran friends meet to talk, if the weather allows, all year around, and where musicians sit to play their instruments during the IFCW.



**Figure 4.11 1.** Members of the *Escola* playing at the Bar Caracas during the IFCW 2012. **2.** Mariás keeping instruments and instrument cases in the garage of the Caracas Bar. **3.** Mariás at the beer bar in the garage. Hanging from the back wall is the poster of the first IFCW (left) and a flag of flags of the “Celtic Nations.” **4.** Antón (right), Mariás (center) and Mariás’ friend (left) sharing dinner with me at the covered porch.

According to Antón, the history of the bar starts with its construction by a family from a nearby town in the early 1940s (2013, interview with author). Coinciding with the end of World War II and influenced by the active maritime influx from Germany and other foreign places that characterized the Ortigueira of the time, the “bar” was named Potsdam. The Potsdam was not only a bar but a shop-bar, a place “where you could buy things from a kilogram of sugar, to a ham, or a sip of wine” (*ibid*). In 1953 the Potsdam was bought by Antón’s parents, Ms. Olga Hermida and Mr. Mera or simply Mera, as he

was called by his customers, when the original owners immigrated to Argentina. Antón remembers that his parents had the shop-bar for about six or seven years before immigrating themselves to Venezuela. They were there for a number of years, leaving the bar closed and their four children continuing their school life while staying with a friend's family in Ortigueira. When Ms. Olga and Mr. Mera returned, they re-opened their shop-bar, renaming it Caracas after the capital city of Venezuela, and adding the option of ordering seafood. Antón remembers how his father, whom he describes as a very calm man, would go to catch seafood in the ocean every time an order was made by a customer, securing both a fresh dish and a timely wait. His mother would be at the house taking care of both the children and the attached bar-shop, with the additional complications brought by the lack of running water, public service for which was only available in Ortigueira from 1970 onwards.<sup>94</sup> Nowadays the Caracas, although keeping his sign "Bar Caracas. Wines. Seafood," works mostly as a bar providing hot, cold, non-alcoholic, and alcoholic beverages, as well as packed snacks, and finger food. With the end of Ortigueira as a port, something that in Antón's view is linked to both the increasing shallowness of the port and the emergence of new ports in nearby areas, the number of customers decreased dramatically (*ibid*).

During the IFCW, however, the Caracas is full of sounds and people. When the IFCW started in 1978, Antón was 17 years old. He and his brother Jesús helped their parents during the festival, taking care of the exterior bar they set up in the porch, while the mother and the father took care of the interior part of the bar (2013, interview with author). In Antón's memories, the Caracas has been a musical gathering point within the IFCW from its second or third edition. At the beginning, music came from a small turntable where a collection of folk music, but also rock music LPs were played. Folk music records, Antón remembers, were difficult to find in the Ortigueira of the late 70s and so the collection of the Caracas consisted of records bought by Antón's older brother and records lend by friends. Antón thinks that throughout the years, people increasingly changed their role from listening to playing at the Caracas, although as

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<sup>94</sup> Antón's memory coincides with that of other residents from Ortigueira at the time, according to a personal communication exchange between myself and members of the Facebook group *Somos Ortigueira* ("We are Ortigueira") (2013).



taking care of the bar during the IFCW was so intense, he is unaware of the details of this transformation (2013, interview with author).

The collaboration between Antón and Marías probably began in the late 1980s or early 1990s. Marías and Antón help each other during the IFCW. Marías takes care of the beer bar in the garage and Antón takes care of the interior.<sup>95</sup> Marías allows musicians to keep their instruments and instrument cases safe in the garage as they perform and enjoy the festival. Before the IFCW, Antón and Marías prepare, making sure to have enough supplies, bringing special hand food, and taking care of the music. Marías prepares a playlist to keep the Caracas filled with folk and Galician musics throughout the entire duration of the festival. When live music takes over, the volume of this music is turned down. Even though the Caracas is a well-known space among musicians, before each edition of the IFCW Marías checks which groups have been invited to play at the festival, and he looks for their contact information on the Internet. Once this has been gathered, he writes an email to them inviting them to the Caracas to play, to listen, and to leave their instrument cases if needed. In 2012, Marías asked me to translate this email into English before sending it to the invited musicians.

During the IFCW the Caracas is a meeting point for friends, returning festival goers, and returning musicians. During the three years that I was there, the bar was always packed and filled with music. The interior of the bar was usually taken by Irish, Welsh and Scottish musicians to play sessions with the fiddle, whistle, flute, bodhrán, guitar and/or bouzouki with the doors to the exterior part of the bar closed. In front of the garage and on the porch of the bar, Galician musicians sat, with musicians from other parts of the world to play Galician music and/or Irish, Scottish, or Welsh tunes. Although it was common for new groups of friends/musicians to come to the Caracas to perform together, there were two large recurrent groups performing throughout the day and night. One was linked to the band Boj and other musicians tied to the nearby city of Ferrol (such as Fernando Barroso and the members of *Alén dos Ancos*, also from Ferrol), and the other was comprised by members of *the Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira*. Whereas the group from Ferrol played little Galician music and focused largely on Irish,

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<sup>95</sup> This changed in 2013 as Marías had the opportunity to have his stage, food and beverage stands at the Beach of Morouzos. A person was thus hired to collaborate in the bar.

Welsh, and Scottish music repertoire, the *Escola* played mostly Galician tunes. They frequently played simultaneously from different points of the external part of the Bar Caracas.

Former and current members of the *Escola* work hard to ensure the musical activity of the Caracas. It could be said that they act as hosts, taking the lead to locate Galician music but opening up the space to other musics and musicians. I have never, though, heard people playing rock or pop musics, or any musics other than Galician and folk music at the Bar Caracas. In 2012 Rodrigo learned, in fact, that it was important to “respect the freedom of the space [at the Caracas]” (Rodrigo López 2012, interview with author). He had the idea of playing a concert on the porch of the bar with his group Zarambeques, an experience that he remembers as

(...) not very cool. It was not cool because [what we played] was prepared, it was prepared! And so in the middle of the concert we had to stop because we realized that we were not letting other people play, (...) and everyone started asking me if they could play [their tunes] but, you know, there is space for all, and people could have started to play with us if they knew the tunes, but there has to be space for all (2012, interview with author).

Young musicians from Ortigueira and other parts of Galicia and Spain, see the Caracas as an opportunity to play, and to learn while playing with advanced performers. Carlos Alba, for instance, who collaborates with the *Escola de Gaitas* remembers that:

when I learn about it [the Caracas] I did not want to leave. I always come; there are so many good musicians here, and that is what musicians are after. Musicians seek to play with good musicians in order to improve. You know that musicians come here, I am not sure how they know that this exists, or why are there so many musicians. For instance, this year [2013] I saw the musicians that accompanied the Irish dancers [from the Dominic Graham School of Irish Dance] playing here. They were here, playing, but how did they know about this? Perhaps it is already known: if you go to Ortigueira go to the Caracas (laughs) (2013, interview with author).

The Bar Caracas was a space to learn. To learn new tunes, to learn to play with others, to learn to play while letting other people play, to learn to deal with tensions caused, for instance, when sharing space with musicians or musics one did not like or thought worthy. In this sense, the Caracas paralleled the dining room of the first years of the IFCW back in the late 70s, and it could be thought like a continuation of Xavier Garrote's vision for the festival as a pedagogical space. Another important function of the Caracas was to connect with people and to forge friendships among participant musicians by making music and performing together a shared repertoire. This was the case of the Japanese music group Harmonica Creams. Toshi Bodhrán (bodhrán), Yoshito Kiyono (harmonica), Aiko Obushi (fiddle), and Koji Nagao (guitar) played at the Caracas with the members of Boj and *Alén dos Ancos*, from their first festival in 2012 (they participated in and won the Runas contest). Their friendship took them to perform in Ferrol, and they got in touch with Mariás and Fredi López being thus invited to play the following year at Fredi's Bar and at Mariás venture stage on the Beach of Morouzos. The Caracas, is thus the place where local musicians are active as music hosts, performers, listeners, and learners.

#### **IV.6 Fredi's Bar**

The last space I want to describe here is located in the town of Espasante (Figure 4.2); even though Espasante is sixteen kilometers north from Ortigueira this space is connected to the festival for the reasons outlined below (also between 1995 and 1998, during Raul Piñeiro's time as director of the IFCW the festival sometimes included activities in Espasante). The use of Fredi's Bar within the IFCW illustrates that autoconstruction is a choice for individuals to solve socio-musical problems. In relation to the IFCW, Fredi, his neighbors, and friends from the *Escola*, spatialize Galician music and make it possible for the IFCW to close in a way that follows their own visions and terms.

Fredi López owns Fredi's bar, a space he had had built in the 1990s as a personal response to the lack of concert and rehearsal spaces available in both Ortigueira and Espasante: "everyone thinks that here in the rural [areas] we have a lot of space to play but it is not like this. There are no circuits, there are no rehearsal spaces. Young people don't have anywhere to play here" (2013, interview with author). Fredi also opened the

bar with the idea of bringing people together, and to avoid creating divisions, something he said to have learned from Ortigueiran musician Fernando Pía and his rock group *De Perdidos al Río*. During the first ten years of the bar, Fredi was able to open it five days a week. People would start coming at eight at night and leaving at one in the morning. Nowadays, he told me, young people won't start coming in to the bar before midnight. This change has not been easy to cope with, and it has made his business harder, together with the depopulation of both Espasante and Ortigueira, which has had a direct impact on the number of customers coming to Fredi's Bar.<sup>96</sup>

During the IFCW, which coincides with the start of the school and universities summer vacations in Galicia and the rest of Spain, Fredi opens the bar to interactions with the festival. For people from Ortigueira, Espasante and other neighbor towns, it is known by word of mouth that Fredi organizes a concert to close the festival in his bar. On some occasions, Fredi and other musicians close the night, playing there in a mix of shared concert and late night *repichoca*. In order to get to these concerts, one has to know at least one of the local musicians such as Marías, Fredi, the current or former members of the *Escola*, or their neighbors and friends. The closing of the festival at Fredi's Bar is not connected with the festival organization, nor is it announced in any kind of printed form. This musical gathering, however, represents an effort by local musicians to close the festival in their own way, spatializing Galician music and being together, while giving what they see as a proper farewell to the festival, and a big welcome to the summer fiesta season that is about to start throughout the region.

In 2012 the end of this festival at Fredi's Bar was led by the Galician group of *Os Cenpés*, a renowned music formation of with the majority of members from towns relatively close to Ortigueira (such as Ferrol, Cariño, and San Sadurniño). The bar was full of people, including the members of the Galician bagpipe quartet *Os Devotos*, of which Marías (bagpipe) and Fredi (bass drum) are part (and which rehearses at Fredi's bar throughout the year), the members of *Boj*, the older members of the *Escola de*

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<sup>96</sup> Ramón Peña, the owner of the other bar with a permit to offer concerts in Espasante (A Escondida Café Concierto), has to face the same issues. His place is only opened in the summer as, during the rest of the year, the low number of customers forces him to look for work outside Espasante. In 2012-2013 Ramón traveled to Germany, thanks to a connection he made in his bar, and worked as a construction worker during the winter season.

*Gaitas de Ortigueira* including Rodrigo López, members from *Gamelas* including singer/dancer Cristina Pico, and neighbors from both Ortigueira and Espasante. After the concert of *Os Cenpés*, in which people listened to their music and danced in a warm and intimate concert, assistants got their instruments ready to play together at the *repichoca* that went well into the next day. Even though, as the Bar Caracas, Fredi's bar is a private enterprise, there was a sense of a public space that is open to the needs of local musicians and flexible enough to respond to their demands. Fredi and the members of Gamela's work as Galician dancers in Espasante, and his connection with visitors from different places, has assured the presence of dance in these celebrations. It is common thus to see Breton visitors dancing a dance from Brittany to the sound of a Galician *muñeira*, members of *Gamelas* dancing a *muñeira* with an Irish gig, and so on and so forth. Music and dance are performed in these spaces with an ethos of autoconstruction, of opening up spaces to spatialize Galician and folk music collectively, leaning on inter-personal relations to respond to collective socio-musical needs and aspirations.

#### **IV.7 Conclusions**

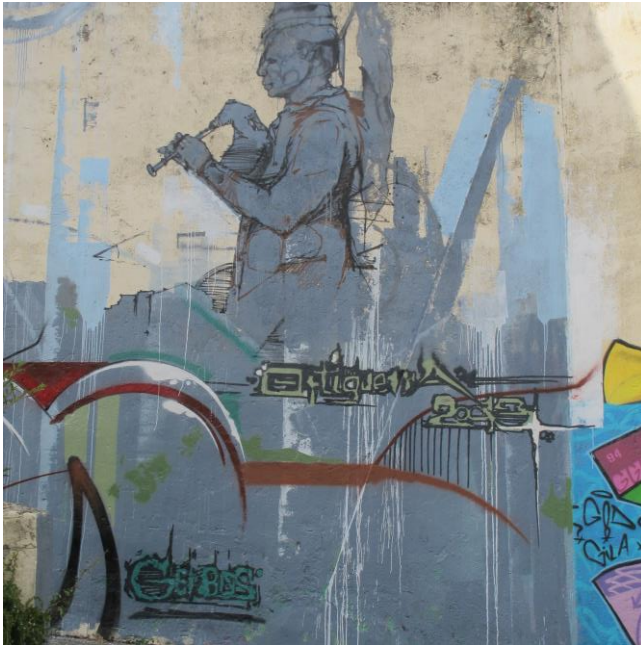
As it was the case in 1975, musicians in Ortigueira today have reverted to mechanisms based on collective effort, coordination, planning, and "family" like resources management to reach their socio-musical goals. Such a way of musicking can be seen as an act of resistance that seeks to act in the face of political indifference towards needs of primary importance, sometimes ignored or considered by those in power as unimportant. In spite of the transformations that the IFCW has undergone throughout the years, the space of the festival and its actual lack of traced border lines, have been important to incorporate socio-musical spaces into the program of the IFCW in a way distant from but parallel to the official festival organization. Thinking with an autoconstruction mindset, furthermore, private spaces had ended up offering a space inaccessible in public sites for regular, everyday citizens.

By spatializing Galician music through autoconstruction related strategies, the social agents involved have been able to reproduce, to a certain extent, an autoconstructed IFCW. Looked in this way, it could be possible to say that two different but interconnected festivals co-exist and that they both have benefitted from the other.

Marías efforts in Morouzos, for instance, have help the IFCW organization to regain credibility from older, long-term festival goers, even in the midst of a music controversy. The members of the *Escola* and its collaborators' struggle for the continuity of access to the means of music production, have contributed to enrich the programing of the festival, and to get musicians, uninterested on the music programed on the stage, to return yearly to the IFCW. This has been possible due to the open architecture of the IFCW as well as to the agreements reach between the Government of Ortigueira and local musicians. Through their compromise with the festival, local performers of Galician music have thus been able to participate as decision-makers, and not just as mere recipients or spectators of this particular musical project.

## Chapter V

### Conclusion



**Figure 5.1** Photographs (taken by the author) of Ortigueira’s bagpiper (2012) sculpture and graffiti (2013).

I want to start this concluding part of my dissertation with these two images from Ortigueira. I took the photograph on the right in June of 2012 while walking downtown; the sculpture of the bagpiper, wearing similar clothes to the initial attire of the *Escola* but holding a Scottish bagpipe, struck me every time I went to Ortigueira. The image on the left is from 2013, and it was located in the plaza adjacent to the current building of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* (above the Bar Caracas); the graffiti was not there in previous years. There are qualities in both objects, the graffiti and the sculpture, that serve as metaphors for the different, autoconstructed and institutionalized IFCWs that I learned about “in the field.” The graffiti, like the autoconstructed festival, requires action from graffiti makers to “be there” and to remain there in case it is erased (or painted over). Its existence in the built environment of Ortigueira implies a citizen(s)’ will to put it there and also a citizen(s)’ defiance of normative uses of public space. Contrastingly, the sculpture of the bagpiper required previous consensus from the

governmental authorities. The work's safety is assured (for instance against vandalism) through different institutions and institutional mechanisms; its cleaning and maintenance is also coordinated in this way. However, unlike the relationship between the institutional and the autoconstructed IFCW, both the bagpipe and the graffiti have their own space; there is no graffiti on the sculpture nor a sculpture on the graffiti. This latter image, I think, serves as a good representation of the existent spatial conflict within the IFCW.

In this vein, the spatialization of Galician music in Ortigueira, and its mechanisms of autoconstruction, can be looked at in this concluding statement as a practice of non-violent, civil lead resistance. Although such practice and its tactics have changed throughout the years as I have shown, two long-term goals, dating back to the first years of the *Escola*, have remained: the commitment of present and former members of the *Escola de Gaitas* to keep local music (this is, Galician music made by Ortigueiran residents) sounding out loud at both the IFCW and Ortigueira, and a collective dedication to keep the *Escola* open. The strategies of resistance, then, have been adapted to the equally changing strategies of power. In this way, for instance, whereas the initial struggle of the *Escola* (1975-1983) was focused on defying the political immobilism that supported, simultaneously, the lack of cultural infrastructure and institutions, and the exclusion of Galician national culture from the public realm in Ortigueira, a most recent struggle (2001-2013) was set to respond to the use of both the IFCW and other local festivities as political and corporate, rather than cultural arena.

In the case of the *Escola de Gaitas*, resistance practices were conscious despite not being referred to as such by the agents involved. In general terms, it can be said that in this particular socio-musical context, resistance meant two different but interconnected processes: "refusing not to have space" and "refusing to lose space" (space to play Galician music in their own town, to teach/learn Galician music, to teach/learn in the Galician language, and to teach/learn under their own terms). Resistance, thus, was not fueled to act against an established power per se but to actually act together to attain set goals following the *Escola's* own parameters.



If one looks at the only two projects of the *Escola* that are still in existence (the *Escola* itself and the IFCW) a complex relationship between spatial form, spatial framing, and long-term resistance emerges. The *Escola*, to begin with, was framed as a free-of-charge afterschool activity for Ortigueiran children and youth. Centered on music education, and arguing to fulfill particular (material, practical, spatial) needs based on the advancement of their own pedagogical endeavors, the *Escola* succeeded in refurbishing and/ or occupying space in Ortigueira. Being framed as what, in my view, was perceived by local authorities as a useful yet naïve activity, granted members of the *Escola* permission to occupy both outer and inner public space to teach, rehearse, and play as well as to earn performance space in annual local celebrations. In this way, after four decades of annual performances and street parades in Ortigueiran yearly festivities, the *Escola* has been able to ingrain Galician music in the local socio-cultural fabric. The re-naming of the “Street of General Franco” for “Street of the Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira,” as mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, is evidence of such process.

Besides the framework, spatial form was also crucial in the success of the *Escola* to spatialize Galician music in Ortigueira in the long term. Unlike a music conservatory, where the material setting is equivalent to the music school in such a way that there wouldn't be a conservatory without an actual building, Xavier Garrote produced the space of the *Escola* in terms of its student and teaching body. The *Escola* was, and it still is, the group of people who have studied, played, and taught there. Therefore, spatial form corresponds with both division of labor and the organization of the *Escola* as (what they call) “a family.” This includes a director, the “older students (in terms of age),” the “younger students (age),” and the performance group of the *Escola* (also called *Escola*, in agreement with this logic). This is a non-pyramidal organization where the older students and the director participate collectively in the leadership of the school, in such a way that when temporarily absent, the director can be replaced by older students. Additionally, former members of the *Escola* are part of the “family” and their affective attachment to this institution has ensured not only a steady social and financial support, but also the continuing registration of students, as they have tended to enroll their own children and younger family members in the *Escola*. In my view, this particular embodied

spatial form has been crucial for the long lasting existence of the *Escola* amid political and/or financial pressures and difficulties. The *Escola's* body, together with the extended support of students' parents and other citizens of Ortigueira, have struggled to ensure that the *Escola* "does not loose space." And even if they have not always succeeded, they have been able to keep the *Escola* opened, performing locally made Galician music in and outside Ortigueira, and with their own internal leadership and managing strategies.

Resisting practices lead by the *Escola* can be looked at as a form of contestation carefully woven into Ortigueiran everyday social life. Through daily musical practice and the development of music education activities for children and young adults, the *Escola* contested the historical absence of local, regional, and national investment in arts, music, and cultural education and infrastructure in the rural realm. During their first eight years, members of the *Escola* were able to carry out projects that prove innovative (Antón Corral's Workshop-School, the IFCW) and turned Ortigueira into a center of music production. Furthermore, the *Escola* insistently requested financial support from the local, Galician, and Spanish governments to carry out their plans (to be led by members of the *Escola* themselves), framing a vision of public institutions as entities responsible for the support of local initiatives and cultural necessities. In this way, the *Escola* also defended their right to decide both what to include as publicly supported culture and what to perform publicly, inverting the top-down model perpetuated by Franco's (and post-Franco's) political regime.

Within the IFCW, resistance practices partly coincided as the festival was initially produced as a pedagogical activity, needed, and therefore, developed by the *Escola de Gaitas*. Additional issues and modes of resistance were practiced in the IFCW for both its framework and spatial form differed (from the *Escola*). To begin with, its framework as an "international music festival" celebrated during the summer and in the open air, set it up as a transnational youth-centered cultural space, where modes of listening could be easily exploited to gain financial and political capital. Although such transaction was never considered during the first six years of the IFCW, it has been an important part of the festival from 1984 onwards. For instance, a mode of listening common to open-air rock, pop, jazz, and folk music festivals could be characterized by the focus of

the listeners' sensorial apparatus towards a live music performance, as listeners' bodies resonate to loudly amplified music coming out from a large, elevated stage, while either standing or sitting next to other listeners, possibly drinking alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages in plastic cups or other containers. This listening-drinking pair, important to endure the particular climatic and social conditions of a massive, long, summer music event, has been exploited by both beer and soft drink beverage enterprises worldwide. Companies like Coca-Cola or local/multinational beer companies, therefore, have been competing to gain space as sponsors of these events (to assure a monopoly of sales) and so they are now tightly linked to music festivals worldwide (and sometimes, making it possible for state-rejected cultural initiatives to gain space). In public festivals such as the IFCW, political negotiations are needed to gain sponsorship privileges, and private/public agendas are thus spatialized in and beyond the "local" festival space.

From my perspective, it could be said that the members of the *Escola* were strategically pushed out as directors and organizers of their own festival due to political and economic interests. Although it is not easy to prove whose interests were actually behind this situation, this fact is undeniable if one contrasts the six-year governmental denial to properly support the IFCW (1978-1983), with the immediate problem-solving strategies found by the Government of Ortigueira to run the festival in 1984 after the *Escola* abandoned it. Its members, unable to secure essential financial and logistic resources following the festival's 1983 edition, chose to protect the *Escola* from the IFCW's growing economic and security-related risks. As founder Álvaro Fernández Polo told me, the economic failure of the IFCW could eventually end up compromising the entire project of the *Escola*. Furthermore, security threats during the festival were becoming frequent and louder and, as members of the *Escola* acted as security personnel during the IFCW, festival organizers did not want to risk the security of people from and beyond the *Escola* (2013, interview with author).

Although the framework of the IFCW facilitated its transformation into a site focused on the production of political and financial (rather than on cultural) capital, it also afforded the temporary positioning of Ortigueira as a spatiotemporal center. The IFCW, erected initially around a loosely sketched idea of a "Celtic World," staged Ortigueira as a musical actor, representative of Galicia, within a wider network of "Celtic

nations.” I have not found convincing evidence of why the phrase “Celtic world” was used to frame the IFCW in Ortigueira beyond festival founders’ views on the widespread use of the bagpipe in this transnational region and, also, a sense of “brotherhood” (*hermandad*) towards Brittany, Irelands, Scotland, and Wales, grown from personal travel and/or migratory experiences.<sup>97</sup> However, that particular framing of the IFCW was effective in symbolically transforming discourses of isolation that portrayed Ortigueira as a *finis terrae* (Latin for “Land’s End”) in which the sea appeared as a divisive and impassable frontier, into a town connected to other places in Europe united by an ocean that supported and allowed socio-cultural exchange. Furthermore, beyond the realm of the symbolic, the IFCW allowed Ortigueira to represent itself, as such, to the eyes and ears of thousands of young people, and through the local, Galician, Spanish, and international media. The IFCW resonated with the youth, attracting the largest amount of non-Ortigueiran citizens ever seen in the history of Ortigueira. Therefore, also new to this town, the festival was constructed by audience members as a collective site for the youth, where particular tactics and behaviors were boldly displayed (drug and alcohol consumption, romantic and sexual relations, nudity, political symbols like flags) transforming Ortigueira into a completely different town for the duration of the IFCW. After forty years of Francisco Franco’s dictatorship, with his regime’s censorship apparatus and its control of both public behavior and public space, the site of the IFCW was thus constructed and portrayed by festival-goers as a site of “freedom.”

Once the IFCW was appropriated by the local government, the spatial form of the festival proved important for the members of the *Escola* to continue with their process of spatialization of Galician music within the festival space. Two of the more striking differences between the organization of the IFCW by members of the *Escola* and by employees of the Government of Ortigueira (besides the actual change in the management team), were, first, that with the latter the programmed space for Galician

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<sup>97</sup> Although politics, in my view, definitely present in this choice, I was unable to get anyone in Ortigueira stating this (I did not force it either). Perhaps my perception is definitely wrong or a longer period of research is needed so as to build the necessary rapport to touch upon delicate political and personal issues.

music progressively shrank <sup>98</sup> and, second, that the festival organization privatized its publicly owned spaces. In this way, for instance, the main stage of the festival acquired the name “*Estrella de Galicia stage*” from 2001, after the Galician beer company. The commercialization of this and other music festivals, which turns these musical festivities into massive marketplaces where success is measured, and festivals are nationally ranked (SGAE), in terms of sales and therefore, in terms of the number of festival-goers present at the event (seen under this logic as consumers), has been detrimental, in the particular case of the IFCW, for local Galician music. In general terms, local music has not been perceived by the programmers of the IFCW as capable of dragging the massive number of listeners that they feel the pressure to draw, in order to satisfy both private and public investment. Only in times of economic instability, or sudden contract cancellations, has “local music” been taken into account, as a cheap and handy resource to fill in empty programming slots.

Former and present members of the *Escola* have contested these programming transformations, perceived negative changes (for differing from the ethos of their original project, still felt as their own), through different means: 1. Talking directly to festival directors and programmers (like Alberto Balboa or the former Francisco Rivera) to propose groups and possible improvements to the IFCW; 2. Sharing allotted stage time/space with other Ortigueiran and Galician musicians and dancers, using the embodied relation between the IFCW and the *Escola de Gaitas* (which has secured its permanent inclusion in the IFCW) to ensure the presence of a wide range of Galician music within the festival; 3. Paying a fee charged by the Government of Ortigueira to allow them to exert desired changes (like in the case of festival founder Mariás’ intervention on the Beach of Morouzos as described in Chapter 4); and 4. Playing locally made Galician music all over the festival space.

As an autoconstructed technology, the IFCW has generated an intimate and entangled relationship between autoconstructors and the autoconstructed space. In contemporary Spain, it is particularly important to remember and understand such a

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<sup>98</sup> This statement is only through up to the “present” of this dissertation, which coincides with the end of my research on the IFCW in 2013.

process of autoconstruction. Both the force of its memory and the procedures that it has entailed, can serve to push forward similar projects, to encourage their respective agents, and to help them foresee, avoid, and/or cope with common difficulties. Seen from a Latin American perspective, autoconstruction is a useful lens. It shows that theoretical approaches conceived in the south (in this case Latin America) can contribute to the decolonization of the Social Sciences and Humanities in the global north (see, for instance, Escobar 1995; Grosfoguel 2003).

Since the 2008 Spanish economic crisis, the Spanish youth and cultural sector have been highly affected financially. This has been due, in part, to the growing levels of unemployment, the loss of work-related benefits, the increase in taxes, and the cuts in national, autonomic, and regional budgets especially in the sectors of education and culture. Portrayals of the youth as “sin, sin” (Spanish for “without [studies], without [a job]”) have increased in the media, and an overall feeling of hopelessness can be felt among the youth. This was, in fact, the case in Ortigueira during my field work. In these times, it is thus important to offer empirically based images of the Spanish youth, something to which I hope this dissertation contributes. In Spain, and in Galicia, youth have been an important political, cultural, and economic force, a social group historically active and critical for the establishment and implementation of Spanish democracy. Far from being a luxury item, furthermore, culture (and music) has been instrumental in that youth-led process. Even though initially requiring financial investment and/or governmental support, cultural projects produced for and by youth can be important assets for local development, just as the *Escola de Gaitas* and the first years of the IFCW demonstrate.

The process of spatialization of Galician music in Ortigueira unveils a fluid, diverse, and mutually nurturing relationship between the rural and urban realms. Far from being geographically bounded or clearly defined by invisible socio-political borders and economic criteria, the location of the rural and the urban in music are inter-linked, as mixed-up shades of a wide-range spectrum. Given the collective, spatial, and experiential qualities of live music performance (as in the IFCW), practices (like youth music festivals or fusion musics) and material objects (like the Galician bagpipe) stereotypically defined as either urban or rural, are socially produced and constructed

as a complex continuum. In general terms this dissertation thus shows that the youth, in the context of Ortigueira, defy and re-define spatial boundaries (as those defining a rural/urban divide) through musicking.

The research for this dissertation has elucidated different approaches to the “public” in relation to public performance space. What did the “public” denote and entail for music making agents, practices, and spaces? In the particular case of the IFCW of Ortigueira, the “public” was defined through two perspectives: bottom-up and top-down. The bottom-up perspective, resulting from the work done by the members, friends, and collaborators of the *Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira* produced a public performing space defined by spatial openness and accessibility to the means of music production, especially to music performing and music programming spaces. Given the actual accessibility of the space, and the concomitant potential for any producer of this performance space to occupy different positions within the festival organization, this vision of the “public” entailed acquisition of new skills and knowledge. The public dimension of this particular space, implied, furthermore, collective ownership and a focus on the potential cultural rather than financial gains. Contrastingly, the top-down approach to the IFCW as a public performing space was defined by its relation to the institutions with the power to organize and finance it. In other words, the festival was “public” for its organizers were civil servants. Labor division within the IFCW was then given by both the labor assignments and the hierarchies occupied by selected workers within the Government of Ortigueira, and their working strategies reflected the governments’ bureaucratic *modus operandi*. The idea of collective ownership or engagement within the IFCW was ornamental rather than instrumental for either the social production or the social construction of the space. This approach to the “public” also equated the government’s financial investments and political agreements with power to decide over the IFCW, something further influenced by its interactions with private capital and interests. The public, therefore, led in this case to hiring specialized enterprises through “public” or government-led processes, all of which, shaped the aesthetics of the music spatialized at the IFCW.

The *Escola de Gaitas* and its Ortigueiran collaborators have made a valuable statement, pioneering for their time, regarding the place of the music stage in the

context of music education. Their social production of the IFCW as a response to a particular pedagogical need did not only put out the fact that playing live can be more effective than being taught and learning can take place through the act of live performance. It also highlighted the importance of mixing scales in artistic educational contexts, in such a way that music students benefited pedagogically from the possibility of sharing a performance space with professional musicians.<sup>99</sup> If set in this way, as the IFCW has shown, music festivals and music stages (at least those financed either totally or partially through public funds) can support and consolidate valuable local music projects or a local music scene, with a positive cultural and economic impact.

The process of working on this dissertation has opened up new questions. Due to the scope and focus of the work presented here, these have been left unanswered, and are thus markers of avenues for future research. It is important, first of all, to expand the scope of my research beyond the specific case study of Ortigueira. A multi-sited study developed by a group of researchers from different points of the European Union would prove extremely useful to question, for instance, how local (civil or government led) public performing spaces are impacted by European policies, grants, and political alignments. Furthermore, a comparative framework for the “public” aspect of such spaces, for how this is defined and what such a powerful adjective entails for music agents throughout the Union, might help to initiate discussions and empirical evaluations of certain urgency in the region, regarding, for instance, the implementation and implications of neoliberal practices in public cultural institutions.

Finally, there is the question of the youth. As I advanced through the different steps of my research, I became increasingly aware of the commercialization of music festivals and their related targeting of the youth as a major consumer group. This is something I did not deal with in this dissertation as it was not directly related to my argument or to the IFCW. Festival related advertisements start to fill out the European media from May each year. National newspapers or fashion magazines such as *Elle*, *Vogue*, or *Cosmopolitan* (based in France, Italy, Spain and the UK among others) give

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<sup>99</sup> It is important to highlight here that, in this dissertation, I have examined how this particular goal of sharing the stage of the IFCW with professional musicians, was still a reality in the commercialized phase of the festival, despite the difficulties, in (and thanks to) the spaces explored in Chapter 4.



young people shopping ideas, in their own language, for the perfect festival outfit and their matching accessories. Beyond an anti-consumerist approach, empirically-based social science and humanities research could contribute to compliment, if not counteract consumerism with a vision of the European youth as producers and cultural agents. An evaluation of cases similar to the autoconstructed IFCW and its subsequent appropriation by the Government of Ortigueira, could lead to important insights into how public institutions interact with locally built and managed socio-musical projects.

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APPENDIX 2

IFCW 1984-1987

(Groups from St. Marta of Ortigueira and Espasante in red)

YEAR FROM	IFCW 1984		IFCW 1985 (program)		IFCW 1986		IFCW 1987 (program)	
	IFCW Web		Festival Program		IFCW Web		Festival Program	
	4 YN Bar	Wales	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Alan Stivell	Brittany	Ubiña	Asturias
	Muxicas	Galicia	Milladoiro	Galicia	Xarabal	Galicia	Llug	Galicia
	Na Lúa	Galicia	Ar Bleizi Ruz	Brittany	Lembranzas Galegas	Galicia	Robaleira Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	The Battlefield Band	Scotland	Xorima	Galicia	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Semente Nova <i>Escola</i>	Galicia
	Xiada	Galicia	Folla Revirada	Galicia	Oskorri	Euskadi	Diputación de Ourense Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Fiadeiro	Galicia	Joe and Antoinette Nackenna	Ireland	Tannahil Weavers	Scotland	Murgados Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Pennou Sokoulm	Brittany	Bagad de Questembert	Brittany	Bennston Pipe Band	Scotland	Raparigos	Galicia
	Bishop Br. Pipe Band	Scotland	Shegui	Scotland	Belida	Galicia	Miro	Scotland
	Milladoiro	Galicia	British Airways Pipes and Drums	UK	Lliberdón	Asturias	Arco da Vella	Galicia
	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Os Pequeños	Galicia	2 Bagpipe Bands	Galicia	Kormoran	Hungary
			Xaramugo	Galicia			Brath	Galicia
			Villanova Symphonic Band	Galicia			Yeusin	Brittany
			Terra Meiga	Galicia			Fairport Convention	England
			Skolwan	Brittany				
			Beleño	Asturias				
MAYOR	Jose Antonio Franco		Jose Antonio Franco		Jose Antonio Franco		Jesús Varela Martínez PP	
DIRECTO	Moncho Varela		Moncho Varela		Moncho Varela / Saa			

APPENDIX 3

IFCW 1995-1998

(Groups from St. Marta of Ortigueira and Espasante in red)

YEAR	IFCW 1995		IFCW 1996		IFCW 1997		IFCW 1998	
FROM	Festival Program		IFCW Web		Festival Program		Festival Program	
	Fol de Niu	Galicia	Gwerz	Brittany	Xavier Díaz	Galicia	Berrogüetto	Galicia
	Alain Genty	France	Xequete Mate	Galicia	Glaz	Brittany	Skeduz	Brittany
	Na lua	Galicia	Shooglenifty	Scotland	Kern	Brittany	Danú	Ireland
	<b>Bágoa da Raiña</b>	Galicia	Os Cempés	Galicia	<b>Bágoa da Raiña</b>	Galicia	Feelpeyú	Asturias
	Luetiga	Spain	Callino - Mick O'Brien	Ireland	Peatbog Faeries	Scotland	<b>Dómine Cabra</b>	Galicia
	Davy Spillane	Ireland	Kepa Junkera	Euskadi	Pat Kilbride Band	Ireland	<b>Bágoa da Raiña</b>	Galicia
	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Llan de Cubel	Asturias	Lliberdon	Asturias	Mac Umba	Scotland
	Xose Maquieira	Galicia	Dervish	Ireland	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia
	Semente Nova Bagpipe Band	Galicia			Bagad de Concarneau	Brittany	Bagad Landi	Brittany
	Robaleira Bagpipe	Galicia			Neilston & District Pipe Band	Brittany	Neilston & District Pipe Band	Brittany
	Cea Bagpipe Band (Foxo)	Galicia			Ronsel	Galicia	O Son do Sor Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Estelas da Noite Cultural Association	Galicia			Budiño	Galicia	Airiños dos Carris de Cerdido Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Chévere (theater)	Galicia			Castro Bergidum Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Candás Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Mauchline and District Pipe Band	Scotland	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Airiños dos Carris de Cerdido Bagpipe Band	Galicia	O Barqueiro Bagpipe Band	Galicia
					O Son do Sor Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Cacharela de Covas Bagpipe Band	Galicia
					Didier Dreau	Brittany		
					Kristen Nikolaz	Brittany		
					Ian McDonald	Scotland		
					Antonio Rodríguez Bustabad	Galicia		
					Note: Queimada in Espasante			
MAYOR	Jesús Varela Martínez PP		Jesús Varela Martínez PP		Jesús Varela Martínez PP		Jesús Varela Martínez PP	
DIRECTO	Raul Piñeiro María Dolores Perez L. Juan Cao		Raul Piñeiro María Dolores Perez L. Juan Cao		Raul Piñeiro María Dolores Perez L. Juan Cao		Raul Piñeiro María Dolores Perez L. Juan Cao	

## APPENDIX 4

### IFCW 1999-2006

(Groups from St. Marta of Ortigueira and Espasante in red)

YEAR	IFCW 1999		IFCW 2000		IFCW 2001		IFCW 2002		IFCW 2003		IFCW 2004		IFCW 2005		IFCW 2006	
FROM	Festival Program		Festival Program		Festival Program		Festival Program		Festival Program		Festival Program		Festival Program		Festival Program	
	Stow Pipe Band	Scotland	Susana Seivane	Galicia	Kalman Balogh	Hungary	Carlos Núñez	Galicia	SonDeSeu	Galicia	Galod del Formu	Asturias	Madialeva	Galicia	Vila de Gijón Bagpipe Band	Asturias
	Skolvan	Brittany	Leilía	Galicia	Väsen	Sweden	Aquelarre Agrocelta	Spain	Marta Sebestyen & Muzikas	Hungria	Supervivientes	Spain	Dazkarieh	Portugal (Lisboa)	Ladrido Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Luética	Spain	Milladoiro	Galicia	Mercedes Peón	Galicia	La Musgaña	Spain	Alexander Belenescu		Lavanderas	Spain	Ialma	Galicia	San Antonio Bagpipe Band	Spain
	Bleizzi Ruzz	Brittany	Capercaillie	Scotland	Sharon Saannon	Ireland	Anubia	Galicia	Altan	Ireland	Els Groullers	Catalonia	Driade	Galicia	Bellón/Maceiras/Blanco	Galicia
	Escola	Galicia	Budiño	Galicia	Fia na roca	Galicia	Lian O' Flynn	Ireland	Hevia	Asturias	Ergom	Spain	Xera	Asturias	Linho do Cuco	Galicia
	Cristina Pato	Galicia	Michael McGoldrick	Ireland	Luar na Lubre	Galicia	Bela Fleck	USA	Bal Tribal	Brittany	Karma	Brittany	Kukuma	Euskadi	El Espíritu de Lúgubre	Spain
	Deaff Shepherd	Scotland	Värttinä	Finland	Oskorri	Euskadi	Berrogëtto	Galicia	Hedningarna	Sweden	Capercaillie	Scotland	Xochimilca	Galicia	Session A9	Scotland
	Zucurrundullo Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Dun Na Si	Ireland	La Bottine Souriante	Canada	Os Carunchos	Galicia	Shooglenifty	Scotland	La Boutine Souriante	Canada	Cunningham/Bain	Scotland	Berrogüeto	Galicia
	Mick O'Brien Band	Ireland	Lothian and Border Police Pipe Band	Scotland	La Bruja Gata	Spain	Taraf de Häidouks	Romania	Budiño	Galicia	Susana Seivane	Galicia	I Muvirini	Corsica	Four Men and a Dog	Ireland
	Mos Pontevedra B	Galicia	Zucurrundullo	Galicia	Na lúa	Galicia	Kepa Junkera	Euskadi	Rare Folk	Spain	National Youth Pipe Band Scottish	Scotland	Lunasa	Ireland	Gwendal	Brittany
	O Padrón Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Candás Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Akelarre Agrocelta	Spain	Rapabestas	Spain	Faltriqueira	Galicia	Nova Galega de Danza	Galicia	Os Diplomáticos	Galicia	Escola	Galicia
	Augas de Xuntansa Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Roqueme-troque	Galicia	Antubel	Spain	Birimbao	Spain	Fanfarria Ciocartia	Romania	The Chieftains and Carlos Nuñez	Ireland Galicia	Luar na Lubre	Galicia	Gamelas e Anduriñas	Galicia
	Mieres Bagpipe Band	Asturias	Escola	Galicia	Árdelle o Eixo	Galicia	Maféck	Spain	Wolfstone	Scotland	Quempallou	Galicia	San Antolo Bagpipe Band	Spain	Lous Tchancayres	France
	Kevrenn Brest St Mark	Brittany			Druadán	Galicia	Rapabestas	Spain	Mar del Norte	Spain	Fons Fuécánra Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Radio Tarifa	Spain	Dominic Graham School of Dance	Ireland
	Gamelas e Anduriñas	Galicia			Roixordo	Galicia	Tradicional Galega (dance)	Galicia	Quempallou	Galicia	Concello de Barvo Bagpipe	Galicia	Terrafolk	Slovenia	Annborough Pipe Band	Ireland
	Ronsel	Galicia			Taditional group of Celma (dance)	Galicia	Nantes Bagad	France	Atlántica	Spain	Bagad du Moulin Vert	Brittany	Escola	Galicia	Budiño + Buika +	Javier Limón
	Domine Cabra	Galicia			Escola	Galicia	Escola	Galicia	Guezos	Galicia	Devatar Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Gatos del Fornu	Asturias	Leitia +	Javier Limón
	NOTE: There are two different programs, each with different information.								Keympa	Catalonia			Ladrido Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Niño Josele + Hip Hop Roots +	Javier Limón
					Coldstream Pipe	Scotland	Boiro Bagpipe Band	Galicia			Ladrido Bagpipe Band	Galicia				
					Tejedor	Asturias	Villa de Mieres Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Brigantia	Euskadi	Escola	Galicia	Stow Pipe Band	Scotland	Uxia + La Negra +...	Javier Limón
							Cacharela de Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Escola	Galicia					Verin Bagpipe Band	Galicia
					DJ Lord Sassafras	Galicia?		Galicia			Alan Stivell	Brittany	Bagad Kemper	Brittany		
							Neilston & District Pipe Band	Scotland					Kila	Ireland	Romano Drom	Hungary
							DJ Simon Emerson	Galicia?					Os Cenpés	Galicia	Dominique Graham School	Ireland
							Lume Fauto	Galicia					Lous Tchancayres	France	Korrontzi	Euskadi
							Brandanja	Spain					Miranda Bagpipe Band	Asturias	Nao d'Ire	Galicia
							Rare Folk	Spain							Irtio	Galicia
															Original Kokani	Romania
															Llan de Cubel	Asturias
															Solas	USA
							La Hermana Cruel	Spain							Xoximilca	Galicia
MAYOR	Antonio Campo PP	Galicia Galicia	Antonio Campo PP		Antonio Campo PP		Antonio Campo PP		Antonio Campo PP		Antonio Campo PP		Antonio Campo PP		Antonio Campo PP	
DIRECTOR	Fran Rivera		Antón Reixa		Fran Rivera & Victor Belho		Fran Rivera		Fran Rivera		Fran Rivera & A. Balboa		Fran Rivera & A. Balboa		F. Rivera & A. Balboa	



APPENDIX 5

IFCW 2007-2013

(Groups from St. Marta of Ortigueira and Espasante in red)

YEAR	IFCW 2007		IFCW 2008		IFCW 2009		IFCW 2010		IFCW 2011		IFCW 2012		IFCW 2013	
FROM	Festival Program		IFCW Website*		Festival Program		IFCW Website*		Festival Program		Festival Program		Festival Program	
	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	17 hippies	Germany	Aran	Spain	Afterhours	Ireland	Ultrqüans	Galicia	<b>Grupo Celta Mnicipal Music School</b>	Galicia	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia
	<b>Ladrado Bagpipe Band</b>	Galicia	Banda das Crechas	Galicia	Battlefield band	Scotland	Anxo Lorenzo Band	Galicia	Stolen Notes	Spain	Avelaína	Galicia	<b>Ladrado Bagpipe Band</b>	Galicia
	Centro Coreográfico	Galicia	Blima	Asturias	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Celtas Cortos	Spain	Oscar Ibáñez & Tribo	Galicia	Rastrexos Project	Galicia	Manxadoira Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Folixa d'Aviles		Coanhadeira	Galicia	Fred Morrison	Scotland	Cristina Pato	Galicia	Skerryvore	Scotland	Alén de Ancos	Galicia	Soto Rei Bagpipe Band	Asturias
	Pepe Vaamonde	Galicia	Divertimento folk	Spain	Judith	Spain	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Harmonica Creams	Japan	Os Blancos Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Flook	Ireland	Eliseo Parra + Tactequeté	Spain	Korrontzi	Euskadi	Gaelic Storm	USA	Berrogüetto	Galicia	Oban Pipe Band	Scotland	Agarimo Bagpipe Band	Galicia
	Zarambeques	Galicia	Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira	Galicia	La Bottine Souriante	Canada	Krêposuk	France	Brian Finnegan big band	Ireland	Crema de Gaita	Galicia	Bagad Glazik Kemper	Brittany
	Scottish Power Pipe Band	Scotland	Fía na Roca	Galicia	Michael McGoldrick band	Ireland	Leilía	Galicia	David Pasquet group	Brittany	Rua McMillan	Scotland	Birimbao	Galicia
	Pauliteiros de Sendim	Portugal	Malvela	Galicia	Pablo Seoane Grupo	Galicia	Marful	Galicia	The Urban Folk Quartet	England	Electric Céilí	Ireland	Kan Ireland	Galicia
	Bagad Kemper	Brittany	Moving Hearts	Ireland	Qui Hi Ha?	Catalonia	Molard Brothers	Brittany	Rua Macmillan Tríó	Scotland	Bagad Glazik Kemper	Brittany	Guidewires	Brittany
	Kepa Junkera	Euskadi	National youth pipe band of Scotland	Scotland	Sog	Spain	Orion	Belgium	Luar na lubre	Galicia	Stolennotes	Spain	Riobó	Galicia
	Bellón/Maceiras/Blanco	Galicia	Odaiko percussion group	Galicia	Susana Seivane	Galicia	Oysterband	England	The Elders	USA	<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Crebinsky Band	Galicia
	Verín Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Ophiusa	Galicia	Tiruleque	Galicia	Qui Hi Ha?	Catalonia	Searson	Canadá	Blazzin' Fiddles	Scotland	Bagad Glazik Kemper	Galicia
	Candás Bagpipe Band	Asturias	Pradairo	Galicia	Wolfstone	Scotland	Rare Folk	Spain	The Crass	Galicia	Jamie Smith's Mabon	Wales	Dán	Brittany
	San Antonio Bagpipe Band	Spain	Sog	Spain	Budiño	Galicia	<b>Ladrado Bagpipe Band</b>	Galicia	<b>Ladrado Bagpipe Band</b>	Galicia	<b>Ladrado Bagpipe Band</b>	Galicia	Gwendal	Brittany
	San Xiao do Trebo Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Sondeseu	Galicia	<b>Ladrado Bagpipe Band</b>	Galicia			Verín Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Oban Pipe Band	Scotland	Harmonica Creams	Japan
	Rosa Cedrón	Galicia	The Boys of the Lough	Scotland	<b>Gamelas e Anduriñas</b>	Galicia			Terras do Cigarrón Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Verín Bagpipe Band	Galicia	Guezos	Galicia
	Milladoiro	Galicia	The Dubliners	Ireland	Agarimo Bagpipe Band	Galicia			Robaleira	Galicia	Avellaneda Bagpipe Band	Spain	Folk en Crest	Spain
	Mercedes Peón	Galicia	Uxía (Senlle)	Galicia	Johnstone Pipe Band	Scotland			<b>Gamelas e Anduriñas</b>	Galicia			Boc	Spain
			Värttinä	Finland	Reina de Truebano Bagpipe Band	Asturias			Brisas da Croa	Galicia			Ruaille Buaille	Euskadi
			Xúa	Galicia	Deputación de Ourense Bagpipe Band	Galicia			Ronsel	Galicia			Os Cempés	Galicia
			<b>Escola</b>	Galicia	Casa de Galicia L'Hospitalet Bagpipe Band	Catalonia			Tarabelos quartet	Galicia				
			<b>Ladrado Bagpipe Band</b>	Galicia	Xarabal Bagpipe Band	Galicia			John Joe Kelly Trio	Ireland				
MAYOR	Antonio Campo		Rafael J Girón		Rafael J Girón		Rafael J Girón		Rafael J Girón		Rafael J Girón		Rafael J Girón	
	Rafael J Girón		PP		PP		PP		PP		PP		PP	
	PP		<b>Former member of the II</b>											
DIRECTOR	Fran Rivera & A. Balboa		Fran Rivera & A. Balboa		Alberto Balboa		Alberto Balboa		Alberto Balboa		Alberto Balboa		Alberto Balboa	
			"caña folk"		caña folk		"caña folk"		"caña folk"		"caña folk"		"caña folk"	

APPENDIX 6

Escola's Music Repertoire at the IFCW 2011-2013

	Title	IFCW 2011	IFCW 2012	IFCW 2013
<b>Composed for Escola</b>	Regueifas da Gaita (Xose Lois Foxo)			
	Ledicias da Vila Ortegán (Roxelio de Leonardo Bouza)			
	Os Garabullos de Ortigueira (Antón Corral)			
	Ortigueira Suite (Ernesto Campos)			
<b>Ortigueira Suite</b>	Marchiña de Santa Marta (marcha)		✓	✓
	Brandariz (polca)		✓	✓
	Muiño de mareas (vals)		✓	✓
	Alborada do vello hospital (alborada)		✓	✓
	Morouzos (xota)		✓	✓
	Orticéltica (muiñeira)		✓	✓
<b>Muiñeiras</b>	A6			
	A Cova da serpe	✓	✓ with Francis Olivier (mix with An Dro)	✓ with Francis Olivier (mix with An Dro)
	Albariño	✓		✓
	Bergantiños			
	Brétemas Betanceiras			
	Muiñeira de Allazo			
	Muiñeira de Arabexo			
	Muiñeira do Chao			
	Muiñeira do Morrazo			
	Muiñeira de Visantofia			✓
	Muiñeira dos doce refaixos			
	Muiñeira Cascarexa			
<b>Pasodobles</b>	Durmindo co Demo			✓
	Na beira do Mar			
	Pasodoble de Chouteira			
	Pasodoble de Corrido			
	Pasodoble de Dorita (Daniel Orizales, Escola member)			
	Pasodoble de Mendiña			✓
	Quen teña viño			
<b>Xotas</b>	Muiños			✓
	Xota do Vals (Daniel Orizales, Escola member)			
<b>Rumbas</b>	Aires de Rumba		✓ with Celestino López	
	Rumba das Catro e Media (Orizales e Romero)			
	Rumbatón			
	Baitucada (rumba gallega)			
<b>Polka</b>	María Manuela			✓
	Polca para Pucho (Autor. Ernesto Campos)			✓
<b>Others</b>	An dro	✓	✓ with Francis Oliver	✓ with Francis Oliver
	Hevia Busindre Reel			
	Galician Anthem	✓	✓	✓
<b>with Gamelas e Anduriñas</b>		✓	✓ Rodrigo López and Javier Pena (duo); Xavier Díaz e Pandereteiras; Germán Díaz (zanfona).	✓ Cristina Pico: solo voice

APPENDIX 7

Music Festivals in Spain: 1976-1979

(Survey of digitalized articles available at the online archive of the Spanish newspaper *El País*)

YEAR	PLACE	NAME	ISSUES	REASONS	LINK TO SOURCE
1976	Madrid	Recital de Pueblos Ibéricos	Almost cancelled	Lyrics, duration, publicity	<a href="https://goo.gl/uxe3zF">https://goo.gl/uxe3zF</a>
1976	Vasque Country	Festival Internacional de Música Vasca	Cancelled	Flag, police intervention	<a href="https://goo.gl/YPTETd">https://goo.gl/YPTETd</a>
1976	Madrid	Festival Carabanchel	Cancelled	To prevent public disorder	<a href="https://goo.gl/0pivwH">https://goo.gl/0pivwH</a>
1976	Catalonia	Festival de Verano Jazz			<a href="https://goo.gl/x2onsA">https://goo.gl/x2onsA</a>
1976	Galicia	Festival da Canción Galega	Militarized		<a href="https://goo.gl/QoK26Q">https://goo.gl/QoK26Q</a>
1976	Catalonia	Festival Canción Catalana Canet	Organizers and some musicians fined	Illegal flags, public disorder	<a href="https://goo.gl/W0h17P">https://goo.gl/W0h17P</a>
1976	Santander	Festival de los Pueblos Europeos	Cancelled	Unknown	<a href="https://goo.gl/3WFxIE">https://goo.gl/3WFxIE</a>
1976	Valencia	Trobada dels Pobles	Cancelled	Anauthorized flags and signs used	<a href="https://goo.gl/pNjfGP">https://goo.gl/pNjfGP</a>
1976	Asturias	Primer Festival de la canción Popular del Valle del Nalón	Censorship, flags prohibited	Lyrics of duo Jesus Pedro y Manolo	<a href="https://goo.gl/B4ikN7">https://goo.gl/B4ikN7</a>
1976	Navarra	Recital de Ana Belén	Organizer fined, censorship	Anauthorized song performed, flags	<a href="https://goo.gl/fvPp5n">https://goo.gl/fvPp5n</a>
1976	Andalucia	Festival de la Canción de Alhama	Major quites	Song improperly censored	<a href="https://goo.gl/e3xXDj">https://goo.gl/e3xXDj</a>
1976	Navarra	Encuentros con la Canción Popular	Cancelled	"Conflictive" musicians programed	<a href="https://goo.gl/Audiv6">https://goo.gl/Audiv6</a>
1976	Castile and Leon	I Encuentro de Música Joven de Valladolid	Singer arrested	Use of illegal propaganda	<a href="https://goo.gl/7RI2OM">https://goo.gl/7RI2OM</a>
1976	Asturias	I Encuentro Asemeyu. Cancios pal Pueblu. Noreña,	Militarized		<a href="https://goo.gl/vt7zd5">https://goo.gl/vt7zd5</a>
1977	Madrid	Galeuska	A roundtable on the Amnesty Law suspended		<a href="https://goo.gl/FVrT9q">https://goo.gl/FVrT9q</a>
1977	Galicia	Festival Folk de Arousa	Suspended by organizers (pro-Franco organization)	Festival is no longer an interest	<a href="https://goo.gl/Tn2GwT">https://goo.gl/Tn2GwT</a>
1977	Mallorca	Selva Rock			<a href="https://goo.gl/IVB2cf">https://goo.gl/IVB2cf</a>
1977	Catalonia	Canet	Militarized		<a href="https://goo.gl/yG3l5Y">https://goo.gl/yG3l5Y</a>
1977	Vasque Country	Kulturgintza			<a href="https://goo.gl/84yk46">https://goo.gl/84yk46</a>
1978	Catalonia	Canet Rock	Organizer fined	Poster was "indecent"	<a href="https://goo.gl/WuVitB">https://goo.gl/WuVitB</a>
1979	Madrid	Festival Celta-Ecológico (organized by the Red Guard)	Militarized		<a href="https://goo.gl/PUeY7B">https://goo.gl/PUeY7B</a>

## APPENDIX 8

### Ethnographic Interviews and Interviewed Collaborators

NAME	DATE	PLACE	OCCUPATION 2011-2013	NOTES ABOUT INTERVIEW
Alba, Carlos.	August 3, 2013	Bar Carcas, Ortigueira	M.A. Music Student in Barcelona	Interview in: Spanish language
Barcón Peña, Juan.	June 9, 2012	Restaurant of Orillamar Hotel, Espasante	Bagpipe teacher MMS, musician, Director of Ladrado Bagpipe Band	Interview in: Spanish language
Barroso Sanjurjo, Fernando.	July 12, 2013	Bar Carcas, Ortigueira	Musician	Interview in: Spanish language
Bermúdez, Francisco.	July 8, 2013	Club Náutico, Ortigueira	Unknown	Interview in: Spanish language
Borja.	June 7, 2012	Estación FEVE, Ortigueira	Bar owner	Interview in: Spanish language
Cao, Emilio.	April 10, 2013	Coffee shop near park Alameda, Santiago de Compostela	Musician	Interview in: Spanish language
Corral, Antón.	April 14, 2013	Antón's workshop in Tui, Galicia	Instrument maker	Interview in: Galician language. Done together with Ramón Pinheiro
Costas, Quique.	April 20, 2013	Casino (coffee shop), Santiago de Compostela	Cultural Management	Interview in: Spanish language
Díaz, Xabier.	May 9, 2013	Coffee shop near student residencies, Santiago de Compostela	Musician	Interview in: Spanish language
Diéguez, Carlos.	June 11, 2012	Municipal School of Ortigueira	Director MMS & Symphonic Band of Ortigueira	Interview in: Spanish language
Domínguez, Manuel.	September 5, 2013	At his office in Madrid	Music Producer ("World Music")	Interview in: Spanish language
Escola de Gaitas de Ortigueira.	August 5, 2013	Escola	School students/university students/workers	Interview in: Spanish language
Farinha, Quim.	May 14, 2013	In his house	Musician	Interview in: Spanish language
Fernández, Oscar.	June 15, 2012	A Escondida Café, Espasante	Musician, Zanfona teacher at A Central Folque	Interview in: Spanish language
Fernández Polo, Álvaro.	July 4, 2013	Registrar's Office, Ortigueira	Ortigueira's Registrar's Office	Interview in: Spanish language
Fernández Polo, María del Mar, and Loli Pérez Ojea.	July 13, 2013	Pub Galaripos, Ortigueira	Teacher/Furniture Business Owner	Interview in: Spanish language
Ferreirós, Xosé María (a.k.a. Pepe).	May 25, 2013	Casino (coffee shop), Santiago de Compostela	Teacher, Musician	Interview in: Galician language
García, Jaime.	July 18, 2013	Club Náutico, Ortigueira	Manager of Club Nautico	Interview in: Spanish language
Garrote, Xavier.	July 17, 2013	Port of Cedeira, on board	Teacher/researcher	Interview in: Galician language
Harmonica Creams	July 14, 2012	Bar Carcas, Ortigueira	Musicians, Record label owners	Interview in: English language
López, Alfredo (a.k.a. Fredi)	June 20, 2012	Fredi's Bar	Owner of Fredi's Bar, Galician dance teacher, President of Gamelas e Anduriñas	Interview in: Spanish language
López, Celestino.	July 15, 2012	Bar Carcas, Ortigueira	Cuban Percussion, music teacher in Brittany	Interview in: Spanish language
López, Rodrigo.	July 18, 2012	Bar Carcas, Ortigueira	Musician, director of <i>Escola</i>	Interview in: Spanish language
Marías.	June 13, 2012	Escola	Musician, music entrepreneur	Interview in: Spanish language
Marías.	July 25, 2013	Restaurant above Gamelas e Anduriñas, Espasante	Musician, music entrepreneur	Belén was present. Interview in: Spanish Language
Mera Hermida, Antón.	July 22, 2013	Bar Carcas, Ortigueira	Owner of Bar Carcas	Interview in: Spanish language
Pedreira, Ugía.	June 16, 2012	O Café do Tempo, Espasante	Musician, a founder of A Central Folque, Galician music teacher	Interview in: Galician language
Pia, Celia.	June 7, 2013	Coffee shop in downtown Santiago de Compostela	Musician, artist, teacher	Interview in: Spanish language
Pico, Cristina.	July 20, 2013	Port of Espasante	Chemist, teacher (voice) at Gamelas e Anduriñas	Interview in: Galician language
Rivera, Francisco.	July 16, 2013	Concello de Ortigueira ( <i>alameda</i> )	Civil Servant Government of Ortigueira	Interview in: Spanish language
Romaní, Rodrigo.	June 11, 2013	E-Trad, Vigo	Musician, teacher	Interview in: Spanish language
Romero, Beito.	January 24, 2014	El Hangar (auditorium), Burgos	Musician	Interview in: Spanish language
Saburrido, Marcos.	June 17, 2013	A Trisca, Socio Cultural Center, Santiago de Compostela	Galician percussion teacher, musician	Interview in: Spanish language
Salvado, Davide.	June 21, 2013	Casa das Crechas, Santiago de Compostela	Galician voice teacher, musician	Interview in: Galician language
Sanín, Mauro.	June 26, 2013	A Central Folque, Santiago de Compostela	Musician, in charge of the communication of A Central Folque	Interview in: Galician language
Teresa, Cintia, Fran	June 7, 2012	Public Library, Ortigueira	Highschool Students	Interview in: Spanish language
Vallés, Marcos.	October 21, 2013	Actos Management office, Oviedo, Asturias	Owner Actos Management	Interview in: Spanish language. Done together with Llorián García Flórez
Velho, Vitor.	June 30, 2013	Casa das Crechas, Santiago de Compostela	Owner Casa das Crechas and co-owner of music production company Nordesía	Interview in: Spanish language
**Pinheiro, Ramón	February 2012-2017	Various	Researcher, a founder of A Central Folque, Music Production, Musician	Talks to me in: Galician Language
**Pico Orjais, Jose Luis	February 2012 and April 2013	Rianxo, Galicia	Researcher, musician, teacher	Talks to me in: Galician Language
<b>NOTES:</b> MMS= Municipal Music School of Ortigueira I always spoke Spanish Language		** Ramón is a person I frequently talk to when in doubt of issues or sources pertaining Galician music research.  ** Jose Luis is Ramón's friend. I did not interviewed him but asked him questions about Galician music and research.		