



Figure 1. Coachella Audience (Young, 2015).

### **Introduction to Coachella**

As a communication studies student and music fan, I wanted to combine the knowledge from my coursework with an artifact that would help me learn more about how and why people form fan cultures centered around music events. This then led me to study Coachella Valley Music and Arts Festival (colloquially known as "Coachella") as an object of music fandom. Since Coachella is extremely popular amongst my friends and people who are around my age, I wanted to do an ethnography where I could experience one weekend at Coachella and participate in a popular music event. Though I have seen and heard numerous live performances, I had never attended Coachella, one of the most popular music festivals in the United States. Each year that I wanted to attend, I either could not buy tickets on time or could not find a group of friends that

were committed to make the weekend trek. Then two weeks before Coachella 2015 took place, my friend Peter told me that he had an extra ticket and asked if I wanted to join him and 65 of his "close" friends at their campsite. I said yes with little hesitation because I knew that Peter was not only a fan of music but also a fan of Coachella.

During the festival, I observed how the fandom of Coachella as a cultural space distracted people from fully engaging in music performances. Thus, I connected my ethnographic research with studies of popular culture, fandom, music, and performance to give insight into how and why Coachella fans continually perform certain norms within the cultural space. In the first portion of my paper, I discuss theoretical implications that can apply to a music festival setting. I then offer examples from Coachella where I felt that the fandom of the festival overshadowed the quality of music performance communication between the artist and audience.

## **Method**

Throughout this paper, I used an ethnographic style of research to gain a deeper understanding of Coachella. Ethnography is where researchers experience another culture or event and then write about their observations (Conklin, 1968). Music ethnography specifically allows researchers to understand a culture better by experiencing music events. For this project, I adopted an ethnomusicologist approach, since it can help us understand the significance of doing music ethnography. Ethnomusicology has its foundation in understanding folk or indigenous music, but it has been widely defined as "the study of music in or as culture" and "the study of all musical manifestations of a society" (Nettl, 2005, p. 13). Bruno Nettl also explains in *The Study of Ethnomusicology* that researchers need to have "direct confrontation with musical creation and performance, with the people who conceive of, produce, and consume music" in order to

understand that culture (2005, p. 223). Music ethnography is a way in which ethnomusicologists can gather information, but it is not the only way to do such research. Music ethnography is an entryway into understanding the complexities of the music subject as a whole in the context of its history (2005, p.238). Instead of considering music ethnography as a quick snapshot, we can think of the fieldwork as a contribution to understanding how music cultures change over time.

### **Context of Coachella**

The background of Coachella's formation is significant because while it was originally established as an art and music festival, many people - regardless of whether they view the event positively or negatively - now understand Coachella as much more than a music event. Coachella is a bi-annual, three-day music festival in Indio, California that Goldenvoice, a concert and festival promotion company, began the festival in 1999. The announcement for the first Coachella came just one week after the riots at Woodstock '99, which led to negative commentary that Coachella would be just a messy and expensive repeat of Woodstock '99 (King, 1999). At the time, Bumbershoot and Lollapalooza were the big names in the U.S. festival industry. However, Coachella's festival producers wanted to create a larger, multi-day American festival that did not tour around the country, similar to England's Glastonbury Festival. Originally, the producers wanted Coachella to focus on music, "not commerce," because they did not want the festival to be aggressive like the last Woodstock (Boucher, 1999). When discussing the festival, producers rhetorically utilized the concept of *kairos* (an opportune moment), where they could offer people an event that had its foundation in artistic expression (Sipiora & Baulmin, 2002). They successfully communicated through mediated messages that Coachella should be an event that is worth people's money and time. They originally did so by emphasizing that the festival is exclusive - since tickets are expensive and difficult to obtain. Over the last fifteen

years, Coachella slowly moved past its purely artistic roots, and became known for experiences beyond simply the music performances. Coachella became a place where we can drink and do drug with strangers, where we can wear anything or nothing, and where we can rub shoulders with celebrities and say, "Yeah, I saw Madonna make-out with Drake." So although Coachella's producers may have intended the event to be a space where people can discover and enjoy music performance, that is no longer how Coachella's is known in popular culture. The festival is now filled with images of countless sponsors trying to sway us to buy their latest water supplement or t-shirts, because they know that the festival is marketable and draws people from all over the country and abroad.

### **Popular Culture**

The study of Coachella is also significant because of the remarkable way Internet communication has helped the festival gain significance in U.S. American popular culture. Popular culture has been defined as cultural products that most people recognize such as music, television, or magazines (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 361). However, popular culture is also a *process* of how people gain meaning in a social context (Fiske, 1989). In Coachella's context, we can understand this process through the medium theory of how an environment can impact society. The medium theory also implies that people have patterns of access to information that overlap through the Internet (Meyrowitz, 1997). Therefore, it is difficult to avoid Coachella's prevalence from the countless news articles, blogs, photos, and social media statuses. Even after the festival ends, news sources produce content about Coachella's best and worst moments or speculate which artists will be on next year's lineup. Since Coachella is widely known, many artists in popular music perform at the festival, which then draws endless numbers of people who want to witness all the "big name" acts in one weekend or see a celebrity ("Celebrity sightings,"

2015; "Tyga, Skrillex & more," 2015; Marcus, 2015). These articles are examples of "media priming" where they stimulate people's desires to attend an exclusive event in the future (Nabi & Oliver, 2009, p. 179). Furthermore, when a mass of online news sources publish articles about celebrities at Coachella, it adds to how the festival satisfies the media effect of use and gratification (Nabi & Oliver, 2009, p. 149). In Coachella's online festival space, individuals look at image-heavy articles about celebrities who attended Coachella in order to feel included. These articles act as "cultural texts" which legitimize Coachella as an important event in the public sphere. If all authoritative news sources are focused on this one cultural event, people will actively "decode" or interpret texts to give them meaning (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 364). Coachella fans decode these celebrity-centered articles as essential tools to help them feel like they are a part of the collective.

In addition to reading online articles to feel involved, people can also listen online to the artists on Coachella's lineup prior to the festival weekend. For instance, I looked up all of Coachella's artists on Spotify and made of playlist of tracks from artists whom I wanted to see. The act of choosing my own music to map out my Coachella schedule is also a type of "aural good" that Ivan Paleo and Nachoem Wijnberg describe as one of the core elements to a popular music festival (Paleo & Wijnberg, 2006, p.50). The researchers describe how "aural goods" in music are both phonograms and live performances: "Whereas phonograms allow for the repeated, uniform and location-detached consumption of music, live performances take place at a specific time and location and can be listened to only once"(Paleo & Wijnberg, 2006, p.50). Coachella was able to gain significance in popular culture because it produces both kinds of goods - live performances during the festival itself, and location-detached music online at any time.

Another uses and gratifications activity is how fans post comments on online forums such as Coachella's website. Prior the festival, I found myself on random forums about what to pack and what to wear because I did not want to show up on the campgrounds unprepared. Coachella's online presence further allows a fan community to engage in "participatory culture" where fans collaborate to shape and form texts through discussion forums (Cormany, 2015; Duffett, 2013, p. 251). Fans can feel empowered through the internet because they are engaged with the music community (Duffett, 2014, p. 27). Diane Cormany's recent article on Coachella's online space also helps us understand how the seemingly-endless user-generated comments contribute to the perspective that the festival as an "annual pilgrimage, worthy of unquestioning dedication" (Cormany, 2015, p. 184). I saw this devotion first-hand in the determination that my friends showed in obtaining tickets. Even though presale tickets were the same price as general admission tickets, all my friends bought these "early-bird" tickets a year in advance. When presale tickets become available, even the lineup of bands is not yet announced, but people often buy these passes because of the difficulty of snagging tickets when they officially go on sale later to the public. For instance, users on Reddit even created forums to discuss views on the matter, and the majority has strongly suggested waiting at the computer the second presale tickets go on-sale ("2016 Presale price," 2015; "The official: I bought my ticket during the presale and im just relaxing," 2015). There was also controversy last year when a user received a presale link from a Coachella employee and subsequently shared the link on Reddit (Rs510, 2015; Rodriguez, 2014). Rs510 wrote, "Is it immoral, yes, but i see it as leveling the playing field. With my experience of getting tickets the past 3 years I feel like im entitled to this opportunity" (Rs510, 2014). What is interesting about Rs510 comment is that the user felt "entitled to this opportunity," which suggests that she/he felt like an integral part of Coachella. More Reddit users thanked and

praised Rs510 after the user posted the link. This Reddit forum demonstrates how Internet communication can be based on social capital where people can bond, build relationships, and be a part of the greater Coachella collective (Nabi & Oliver, 2009, p. 54).

## **Cultural Space**

In popular culture media, there are endless articles that have criticized how fans of Coachella have focused on everything but the music - such as fashion, drugs, and drinking. Yet what connects these themes is how the festival acts as its own cultural space. Cultural spaces are defined as "social and cultural contexts in which our identify forms" (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 274). Coachella acts as a cultural space where audience members can feel a sense of belonging. They also have the pride of telling other people that they have been a part of an event that seems omnipresent in popular culture. This space also allows people to experience what Emile Durkheim describes as a "collective effervescence" where people come together to participate in an important event or ritual (Durkheim, 1954). Durkheim wrote about this communal experience through the lens of religious studies, but we can apply the theory of collective effervescence to a musical ritual like going to Coachella.

*Tonight's "party set" was Run the Jewels. It was loud, hot, and crowded - my worst nightmare type of show. I've only listened to them once or twice on Triple J, but the fact that my whole camp met front center of this crazy crowd made the performance so much fun.*

Run the Jewel's performance was one of my best experiences with collective effervescence. I felt an emotional surge while I danced and pretended like I knew all the lyrics with my friends. A "party set" at my campsite was a designated performance where everyone agreed to meet up in the evening to see a show together. These party sets are excellent examples

of how my friends encouraged times for collective effervescence. Party sets were also successful because of how they affected campers' internal communication of cognitive consistency (Martin & Nakayama, 2009, p. 398). Each morning at my Coachella campsite, we would all vote on the performance for the party set and agree to show up. With this agreement, campers wanted to be cognitively consistent by attending the party set instead of missing out and going back on their word.

While this is an example of how Coachella functions as a physical cultural space, Coachella fans have also created virtual cultural spaces online by reading and sharing articles and posting on chat forums where they can experience these emotional highs of collective effervescence. A sense of how Coachella has come to be one of the most successful U.S. festivals will help us further understand its fandom.

## **Festival Demographics**

### **Millennial Generation**

In addition to studying how Coachella works in popular culture, we should also study the types of people who attend the festival. According to a music festival study from Eventbrite (a global marketing agency) the majority of U.S. festival goers are ages 15-29 and talked "significantly more about the experiential nature of these events and less about the specific artists and performances" ("Music festival research", 2014). This allows us to further conclude that Generation Y, or Millennials, view music festivals as a social experience and can be distracted by their fandom of the event from the music itself ("Music festival research", 2014). On Coachella's chat forum, a user took an informal survey in 2014 asking those who were "going to Coachella FOR SURE" about how old they were. Roughly 479 users answered the question and



the results were that 27% of people were ages 20-24 years old, 25% were ages 25-29, and 16% were ages 15-19, making 68% of the convenience sample ages 15-29 ("Going to Coachella," 2014). Even in my personal experience at Coachella, I noticed that everyone looked like they were around my age (22 years old). The age range of Coachella is significant because it can further show how different generations form within cultural space. For instance, my friend Peter added me to a Facebook group where all his friends could talk about the festival prior to going. People would then add more friends to the group who also wanted to make the pilgrimage to Coachella. Since the Internet is a core source of information and the primary medium through which Coachella fans communicate, it makes sense that the online aspect of Coachella draws Millennials to the physical space of the festival. From a media effects perspective, the parasocial interaction of emotional ties from online communities further contributes to how the demographic looks during the festival weekend (Nabi & Oliver, 2009, p. 151-152). For instance, when I commented in this Facebook Coachella group, strangers would reply back as if they knew me for years. This then made me feel more comfortable about going to Coachella for the first time, because these online interactions made me felt accepted.

### **Socioeconomic and Racial Privilege**

Coachella attendees are similar not only in age, but also in socioeconomic status, as the majority are middle and upper class. The cost of attending the festival can be prohibitive, which includes expenses for travel and camping, on top of a pricey admission ticket of \$375. While the exclusivity of Coachella is a large part of what draws people to the event and contributes to the fandom, the cost precludes many people from attending. The result is that only privileged classes of people can experience these music performances. In addition, I argue that Coachella attendees are further homogeneous in that they are predominantly white. Though no formal record of the

racial demographic of Coachella exists, I can attest to the presence of a white majority through my own experience this year. Furthermore, the amount of cultural appropriation at Coachella demonstrates a lack of diversity and sensitivity towards minority groups. Since 2010, festival goers have frequently appropriated Native American culture by wearing headdresses, feathers, and warbonnets (Keene, 2010). For the past two years, there has been a trend where non-Indian women have worn bindis on their foreheads, which incited followers of movements such as "#Reclaimthebindi" and "#Coachellashutdown" (Bruculier, 2015). This lack of cultural sensitivity and ethnic diversity at Coachella deters people from experiencing different cultures in a space where people form identities. Paradoxically, this adds to how the fandom of Coachella's social experience works. If people are economically and racially similar, they will also have the same type of ideology or way of living (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 183). During the weekend, most people can comfortably communicate their needs of majority identity development because they are all similar (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 179). Though Coachella may enhance people's majority identity development this then discourages minority groups from experiencing the festival.

### **Neo-tribalism**

Another aspect of understanding Coachella's demographics is how the festival environment encourages the creation of what sociologist Michel Maffesoli calls "neo-tribes." Neo-tribes are created where an environment encourages people to come together based on their emotions, or "empathetic sociality" (Maffesoli, 1996, p. 11). Cornel Sandvoss further describes how a music event allows for this type of fleeting neo-tribe to quickly form (Sandvoss, 2014, p. 124). Neo-tribalism should also not be confused with "youth subculture," which is a popular term that describes young music fans from the 1970s and early 1980s. People in youth subculture

wanted to rebel against the traditional working class and the constraints of its conformity (Bennett, 1999). They also worked towards building a music community based on opposition. In contrast, neo-tribes have more fluidity in how people gain their identities (Bennett, 1999). People who go to Coachella are not necessarily opposing adult culture, since the festival is widely accepted as a notable event. Instead, Coachella's cultural space allows for such neo-tribes to form since there is no fixed opposing culture, but rather people who are fixated on popular culture.

### **Music Fandom and Space**

Within these neo-tribes at Coachella, many people are also avid music fans who attend the festival to see multiple performances and gain valuable first-hand knowledge of these famous bands. Mark Duffett describes in *Understanding Fandom* that "a fan is a person with a relatively deep, positive emotional conviction about someone or something famous, usually expressed through a recognition of style or creativity" (Duffett, 2013, p. 18). Gathering information about the object of fandom is also similar to Bourdieu's notion of gaining "cultural capital," or having a wealth of knowledge (Duffett, 2013, p. 130). Thus, music fans at Coachella can develop their cultural capital by attending performances and proving to others that they have more first-hand experience and knowledge than other music fans.

For the past decade, researchers in psychology and sociology have researched how music fans can feel deeply connected with popular music artists and genres. For example, John Fiske asserts that Madonna fans in the late 1980s marveled at her image instead of paying more attention to what she sounded like (Fiske, 1991). Researchers have also discussed how fans of Morrissey have struggled to represent themselves as "apostles" or dedicated admirers instead of the term "fanatics," which poses a negative connotation (Martin, 2011, p. 75). Mark Duffett

wrote that the sporadic nature of research on popular music fandom is the result of focusing on a wide range of music and its effects on people cognitively (Duffett, 2014). Duffett further expanded in *Popular Music Fandom* that fandom can be "a cultural conviction" ('I love Led Zep') that combines a threshold of affective engagement with, variously or in combination, musical appreciation, music practice, celebrity-following, social networking, dancing, collecting, and self-expression" (Duffett, 2014, p. 7). In the context of Coachella, I witnessed all of the fan practices that Duffett explained in his definition of a cultural conviction. There were music fans, festival goers playing music, friends following celebrities' Twitter accounts, people dancing, and devoted fans who waited in long lines to buy Coachella t-shirts.

What is lacking in the study of music fandom is how it plays a role in physical spaces. Cornel Sandvoss has written about how the island of Ibiza, known for its nightlife and electronic dance music shows, is not only a setting for music fandom, but is a part of the fan object (Sandvoss, 2014, p. 116.). His study on Ibiza's fandom illustrates how the voluntary communities of fans have various *habitus* or norms that they understand. One of these norms is the understanding that while people cannot meet everyone at Ibiza, they can still individually "claim membership by drawing on [their] own individual readings of the values and attributes [they] imagine that these members share in common" (Sandvoss, 2014, p. 128). With Sandvoss' study of a particular place in mind, researchers should further expand on the fandom of music spaces as not a part of the fan object but as the object itself. For example, fans of Coachella can feel like they have a "space that offers the protection and privacy needed for genuine self-expression" (Zubernis & Larsen, 2012, p. 12). Though Coachella is hosted in a public space, it can still be a private space in the sense that it is restricted to people who can afford tickets or for those who

have a connection to the festival producers. Festival goers can then feel safe in this cultural space to express themselves in various ways that they could not show in everyday life.

### **Fandom of the Social Experience**

#### **Coachella Camping**

*There are like 65 people at camp and I know maybe three or four of them. I'm going to have to mingle if I want to find friends who will join me at shows. God I hate small talk. I always act like "nice girl Vanessa" instead of the usual "advanced bitch Vanessa."*



Figure 2. SCC Campsite (Winters, 2015).

I went to Coachella with a group of 60-70 people who called themselves SCC, or the San Clemente Campers. My friend Peter started this annual Coachella pilgrimage five years ago with his friends and since then, have had a longstanding tradition to make their Coachella weekend a

spectacular event. At least two months prior to the festival, Peter and his main festival cohort Hilary, plan spreadsheets full of carpool lists, camp meals, and decorations for the campsite. The fact that SCC had such a high reputation amongst my friend group made me feel as if I had passed some sort of test when Peter asked me to be a part of this group. Weeks before Coachella started, I joined the SCC Facebook group, which was the first step of entering into the cultural space of this neo-tribe. I was already engaging in the online cultural space, which influenced my "emotional gratification" to belong to a group that was distinct from other Coachella campers (Packer & Ballantyne, 2011, p. 171). Furthermore, my excitement was also a result of my "imagined memory" of the SCC's Coachella extravaganza. Music researchers have described imagined memory as a product of fandom, where an individual feels a deep longing to experience a performance. This differs from a fantasy in that the imagined memory is based on real instances of when other people have experienced the event, although the individual in question has not (Duffett, 2013, p. 229). Thus, the countless stories and photos I have seen of Coachella enhanced my desire to experience the festival with the SCC.

The SCC group demonstrated a neo-tribe where members shared "specialist forms of knowledge, and activities of collecting and sharing which define the boundaries of a community and space" (Wall & Dubber, 2010, p. 161). This community was also a neo-tribe where people demonstrated "empathetic sociality" and became friends much quicker than daily life (Duffett, 2014, p. 124). When Peter invited me to be a part of SCC two weeks prior to the festival, I immediately said yes because I knew that Peter was a big fan of Coachella and that he and his friends would also be going for the music. When I arrived at the campgrounds, I felt a sense of togetherness as we set up a large wedding tarp, which provided us with shelter for sleeping and partying. The spectacular campsite added to my "separation experience" where I had a "new

social context" that was free of the routines of daily, normal life (Packer & Ballantyne, 2010, p. 170). Nonetheless, Hilary led a decorating crew that brought rugs, chairs, and a hanging art installation to make the campsite feel like a home. Drawing upon Kimberley Hodgson's research on helping people feel engaged in public spaces, Hilary's intention of making camp look "home-y" helped "connect the spaces of everyday activities" (Hodgson, 2011, p. 6). For the SCC camp, "everyday activities" meant communal breakfast, morning dancing, and dinner together.

*10:30 pm - I hid in the car to take a nap. I was already exhausted from setting up camp all day. After half an hour of undisturbed slumber, Peter and Hilary opened the passenger door because it was time for Peter to wear his party hat and gold chains for his birthday. I didn't want to miss out on celebrating Peter so I hopped out of the car and slide right onto the dance floor.*



Figure 3. SCC Campsite Annual Dance Party (Winters, 2015)

The night before the festival began, the SCC had their annual dance party. The campsite even had flashing lights, speakers, and two DJs. The event was so phenomenal that people from the surrounding tents also joined the party. Though I felt overwhelmed by the extravaganza, I understood the "cultural convictions" of Coachella's fandom and felt compelled to participate. I understood that this weekend held great significance for my friends, as evidenced by their months of planning. Though my campsite is just one example of people's fandom of Coachella as a social experience, I observed many other campsites that had similarly organized their own decorations and stereo systems.

### **Music Preferences and Liking**

At Coachella, I felt a sense of belonging, and unprecedentedly comfortable discussing what music I enjoyed. For example, I felt at ease discussing which artists to prioritize seeing without having to give small descriptions of each artist because my interlocutors were similarly familiar with the artists. This connects with Packer and Ballantyne's research where they found that music festivals satisfied people's needs for "social integration" because they could bond with others who had similar music preferences (2010, p. 171). Furthermore, the notion of "social integration" also draws upon communication theories of similarity and attraction in atypical environments such as Coachella (Sunnafrank, 1984). Because I was immersed in a setting that was unlike everyday life, I felt a stronger attraction to strangers who wanted to see the same performances as me. However, while my social experience often felt positive because of connections fostered by similar music preferences, there were some instances when I felt frustrated whenever I interacted with people who did not share my music preferences.



For example, I met a camper named Kyle who, on a Saturday full of different performances, was only interested in seeing one artist - an electronic musician known as Jon Talabot. When I learned this, I was in disbelief that Kyle did not want to explore other artists before that one performance. Since I gathered that he was a fan of deep house music, I tried to offer some suggestions of other artists that he should see. However, he was so set in his dedication to that one artist that he was not interested in seeing other artists (Packer & Ballantyne, 2010, p. 171). One explanation for Kyle's decision to only see this one performance is that perhaps he wanted to further develop his need for social integration by drinking all day with strangers. Another reason might have been connected to theories of how music fans have negative stereotypes of those who do not enjoy the same genres of music (Lonsdale & North, 2009, p. 322). Since Kyle did not recognize any of the artists whom I said were similar to his favorite musician, he might have assumed I had different music tastes. He, therefore, could have had a negative stereotype of me for not being part of his particular "ingroup" and could not have given much credence to my suggestions (Lonsdale & North, 2009, p. 325). Lonsdale and North have expanded on how music fans have "ingroup favoritism," where they think more positively about others who they feel share music tastes. Drawing from the expectancy violation theory, Kyle did not react the way in which I had expected. I then had an even stronger negative perception of him throughout the entire weekend (Burgoon, 1993).

My encounter with Kyle was not the first time that I received this nonchalant response when I tried recommending artists whose performances I believed would be worth someone's time. Throughout the weekend, I asked people at the camp whether they were familiar with the artist Stromae, a singer from Belgium who is incredibly famous throughout Europe. I was disappointed that no one even recognized his name since he had such a large impact on European

popular culture. I felt a negative disposition towards people who did not even care to listen about how Stromae's performances were spectacular because they were not in my "ingroup." Yet when I did eventually find one person who was familiar with Stomae, I automatically evaluated her more favorably (Lonsdale & North, 2009). My example also demonstrates how people in the U.S. "are rarely exposed to popular culture outside the United States" (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 359). This lack of knowledge from other countries' popular cultures stems from American cultural imperialism (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 359). In the United States, American popular culture dominates over other countries so much that people rarely see the need to explore other cultural products.

### **Alcohol**

*I'm going to throw up if I drink another can of toilet water beer. Aka Kirkland Signature Lights.*

The drinking aspect of camping at Coachella also added to the social experience that people desired and expected. This was evident in all of the campsites I observed, where I was certain to find cheap beers and tables full of beer pong throughout the day. Each morning at my own campsite, the SCC would play a drinking game together as part of our own Coachella ritual. I thought the games were fun since it presented an opportunity to bond with other people at the camp. However, the game did not satisfy my personal social needs, since my main objective was to see as many artists as I could fit into my schedule, and possibly get to know a few people. Throughout the whole weekend, my friends insisted that I help drink the cheap beers, but on some mornings, I was incredibly disinterested in drinking because I was already physically exhausted from staying up so late the nights beforehand. It was clear that my motivation for

Coachella differed from those of many people at the campsite who wanted to fill up on Coors Lights. Each morning, I considered going into the festival grounds alone, but I felt like I needed to start off the day with friends in order to have a positive Coachella experience. I felt that staying with the camp was a "communication rule" where everyone had a shared understanding that she or he should play the drinking game and dance each morning (Wood, 2013, p. 390). I essentially wanted to communicate that I was similar to the rest of the camp so that people would like and accept me.

### **Fashion**

*Vogue was right. It's all about the denim booty shorts with the frayed edges and cropped tops. I also saw the classic EDM leg warmers in all of their fuzzy-fringe glory. How are these people not dying from the 100 degree heat?*



Figure 4. Coachella Fashion at DoLab Stage (Victorio, 2015)

Fashion is an integral part of Coachella fandom, which further adds to how the festival creates a cultural space. To many people, planning their ensembles is as important, if not more, than planning which musicians they want to see. In the months leading up to the festival, major fashion magazines like *Vogue*, *Elle*, and *InStyle* offer suggestions on what women should wear to the event. This year, *Vogue* even published articles on finding the best swimsuit or the best friendship bracelet to complete a Coachella outfit (Satenstein, 2015; Taufield, 2015). Even music-centric publications like *Rolling Stone* had articles such as "What Fans Wore to Coachella 2015" (Rodgers, 2015). At Coachella, fashion is an important component to the music community, where online articles help "define the boundaries" of fandom (Wall & Dubber, 2010). Before I went to Coachella, I remember talking to my friend Isabelle who had been to Coachella in the past. She could only talk about how excited she was to buy clothes for the "perfect Coachella outfits." Isabelle was less concerned about which artists were playing because she just trusted that it was going to be fun.

In some respects, fashion has become even more important than music, which can be explained by the performative aspect of clothing. Major websites and magazines publish fashion images that produce guidelines that people can easily follow, promoting a "free-spirited" or "bohemian" aesthetic. Paradoxically, however, this media coverage may limit the scope of how people can express themselves. Such recommendations may influence fans' identities because they can feel that if they conform to these guidelines and dress "appropriately," they will belong to the cultural space. By following the trends of "festival-wear," people can feel like they are an important part of a greater whole. This connects to Goulding, Shankar, and Elliott's research on how people go to "music events in order to construct or express a sense of identity" (Ballantyne, Ballantyne, & Packer, 2014, p.65). Victor Turner borrowed the grammatical tense of the

subjunctive mood to describe how individuals can express their desires and fantasies. Similar to the Carnival in Rio, Coachella is a space where people can use costumes to performatively communicate their identities (Turner, 1988, p. 123). Overall, while fashion at Coachella provides another opportunity for the expression of the self, it ultimately deters people from fully focusing on Coachella's music performances.

### **Drug Use**

*It was Saturday morning of Coachella, and I randomly bumped into Isabelle near my campsite. She couldn't "survive today" unless she found someone who could give her Adderall. I wasn't surprised that she was looking for her drug of choice at 11am, but I was upset that she couldn't talk to me for at least five minutes because we had magically crossed paths.*

Drug use at Coachella is notable because it is another influential element of the festival's fan culture. Though there is little research about drug use at American musical festivals, Australian researchers have found that music festival attendees use drugs at higher rates than the general population (Lim et al., 2010). The conclusions of this study are likely true of Coachella as well, where drugs are easily attainable and morally acceptable. Drug use is not a surprising phenomenon at music festivals and is especially not foreign to fans of EDM events where people find solidarity and connectedness through drugs (Kavanaugh & Anderson, 2008). In the same way, Coachella fans can feel like they are part of their neo-tribes by accepting drugs from neighbors at their campsite or from friends whom they have met at the performances.

*I felt so bad that Peter's little sister had to carry Tammy back to camp right in the middle of AC/DC's set. No one really knew what mixture of drugs Tammy took before the show. I'm going to guess that she took Molly while she was already drunk. Actually, at that point, I was*

*already sick of Tammy because people had to take care of her so often. It was night one of Coachella.*

MDMA - also known as "ecstasy" or "Molly" - is a common festival drug that people use to heighten their experience because they have a sense of euphoria when they dance to the music (Kavanaugh & Anderson, 2008, p. 182). Though MDMA is a common drug that fans of dance music festivals abuse, people at rock music are more likely to use cannabis (Van Havere, 2011, p. 7). I note this distinction in the drug use of different music fans because Coachella encompasses both dance and rock genres. Therefore, many types of drugs are normalized at Coachella. These drugs function similar to religious totems or sacred objects that people use when they feel a deep connection to a ritual (Durkheim, 1957, p. 87). With a collective mindset of doing drugs with new and old friends, the festival experience becomes centered on changing one's physiological state instead of taking in a performance at face value.

### **Sponsorship Images and "Free Stuff"**

In addition to drugs, the presence of sponsors at music festivals detracts from the music performances themselves. For popular music festivals, sponsors are vital because they invest money into their events, and Coachella is not immune (Anderson & Getz, 2008). But with this boost in financial aid, festival producers need to agree to make the sponsors' product visible either backstage or available for the public. In entertainment marketing, festivals must incorporate brands into the audience's experience so that the consumer believes that specific products are part of their lives (Rowley & Williams, 2008). Banners, tents, and giveaways are just a few of the ways sponsors promote their brand, but this distracts people from engaging with performances. At this point in time, Coachella is so connected with its primary stakeholders that

the festival may have seriously shifted its focus away from musical appreciation towards furthering commercial objectives.

*The first thing Kayla wanted to do when we got into the festival was get free makeup testers at the Sephora tent. I was all about the free merchandise the day before but going a second time felt a bit excessive. I convinced Kayla to see Parquet Courts with all our friends instead of heading straight to the free lipstick. Excellent decision on my part.*

Sponsor tents were strategically placed between all of the stages at Coachella. On my first day at the festival, I thought it was great that I could get free merchandise. Yet by the second day, I couldn't care less about waiting in line for "just stuff." I was only concerned about seeing all the artists I had planned on watching. The presence of sponsors at Coachella is yet another area that distracts people from fully experiencing the music performances. Anything labeled "free" will grab anyone's attention, but what is most problematic is how the images of sponsor tents and banners become an integral part of Coachella, equal in importance to the music. For example, Heineken has sponsored the festival for the past 14 years and has had its own "Heineken House" where people who are 21 and up can enjoy a beer (or three). Randall Roberts from the *LA Times* even described the tent as "a grand, modernist structure where beer is celebrated." In Roberts' Coachella recap, he concluded at the end of his article that Coachella was no longer a place where music is celebrated, but has become a place "where beer is celebrated." Roberts also highlights:

In case of a makeup emergency, a Sephora tent stands at the ready. Looking to update your Samsung phone? There's a tent for that. There's even a JBL Speakers tent in case you were looking to up your system during the festival. The goal, it seems: to further

alleviate the discomfort of spending the next 36 hours in a hot desert beneath merciless sun rays and EDM beats (Roberts, 2015).

I emphasize Robert's article because it depicts how people now think of Coachella predominantly as a space for sponsor activities and free accommodations.

### **Personal Performance**

*Hilary's tacky red lipstick was coming right at me. She drew a giant "V" on my forehead because I was a "Coachella Virgin." I hated this because I didn't want anyone to know that this was my first time at Coachella. Other first-time SCC campers had "V"s on their heads too, but I still felt so embarrassed. I've been to concerts and music festivals before and felt totally at home. At Coachella, I felt like I was being initiated into a sorority and literally marked as a newcomer.*

Although it was my first time at Coachella, I felt that I had a reasonable grasp of what the festival would be like. Nonetheless, I was still somewhat of an outsider. Victor Turner describes this state as "liminality" - a phase in cultural performances where one feels stuck in between the threshold of the sacred ritual (in this case, Coachella) and that of mundane life. My first day at Coachella felt like I was in a liminal state where I was close to completing the ritual of the festival but not quite there (Turner, 1988, p. 21). I had to perform for the other campers and act happy that I was moving through a rite of passage.

### **Festival Etiquette**

*I had my boots laced up to tackle the main stage crowd. Tame Impala and AC/DC corralled the masses. I realized that all my friends were aggressive and would do anything to get to the front. I wouldn't have been able to see or hear anything if my friends didn't pull me into*



*the crowd and snake me past sweaty bodies. Before the Tame Impala set, Kayla cursed at people to get both of us closer to the front. Then when AC/DC started setting up, we found the rest of the SCC crew starting a mosh pit, which gave me room to get to the front. I couldn't complain after feeling the stage's explosion of fire on my face during "Highway to Hell."*

Another aspect of my own personal performance and state of liminality was learning how to navigate through a crowd. On my first night, I watched the headlining bands with a flurry of awe, confusion, and stress. These mixed feelings stemmed from the conflict between my desire to get a excellent view of the performers and my reliance on my taller, more aggressive friends to push through the crowd to get such a view. Connecting with Leon Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, my initial attitude and subsequent behavior were not aligned (Festinger, 1954). I felt conflicted between what I have called as my more passive concert etiquette versus a confrontational concert etiquette. At concerts and festivals that I have attended in the past, most people usually do not push their way to the front. Those who do wiggle their way up are unilaterally frowned upon. At Coachella, however, I experienced conflicting reactions towards this kind of confrontational concert behavior.

*I wasn't sure if I wanted to disassociate myself from the mosh pit that Peter and Jake started. They were having so much fun bumping into each other but I didn't join because I knew my toes would be crushed. There was a couple who inched to the side to avoid flailing arms and legs from hitting them. Me: "Yeah sorry. Those are my friends in the pit." Them: "Whatever! We don't care." But then other people looked at us in disdain.*

Music performance etiquette is certainly debatable. For example, *NPR Music's* Stephen Thompson addressed the issue of whether it is acceptable to ask people to be quiet at an outdoor

performance. As someone who traditionally has a more passive etiquette, I could have applied Thompson's advice in my Coachella scenario by "stick[ing] to 'I' statements as much as possible ("I'm having trouble hearing the show..."), and try[ing] to be as brief and direct as possible" (Thompson, 2014). However, such an approach may not have worked at all, since there seemed to be no rules at Coachella. In that context, everyone had different standards about what they thought was appropriate behavior. Judging from both the nonverbal and verbal reactions of strangers, some concertgoers felt that it was really rude for people to mosh or push their way to the front and center. Others were not perturbed and were just happy to be there. For me, I felt that since I had paid a large amount of money to attend Coachella, it was not fair that I could never see the performers fully and had to resign myself to watching them on huge screens. If I wanted to watch bands on screens, I would have saved my \$375 and viewed them from the comfort of my home.

### **Performances at Large Stages vs. Small Stages**

With the exception of getting to the front of AC/DC's set, I did not have the best music experiences at the larger stages due to the sheer amount of people in the crowds. The difficulty of getting a decent view at a performance at Coachella stems from the amount of people on the festival grounds each day. Last year, Coachella had 96,500 attendees and a total of 579,000 (Waddell, 2014). Though there was plenty of open space in the middle of the Empire Polo Grounds where Coachella was held, the viewing area in front of each stage was usually full of people. Kenneth's Burke's pentad of dramatism can also be applied to music performance situations such as Coachella (Anderson & Enoch, 2013, p. 143). At the larger stages where I was far from the performers, I was unable to experience the agent (popular musicians), act (performing music), purpose (performance communication), and agency (artists playing different

instruments or singing) all due to the scene (large stages and crowded viewing pits). However, when I attended performances at smaller stages, such as Mojave and Gobi, I was pleasantly surprised that I could fully engage with performances. Relating to the expectancy violation theory, I had an even more enjoyable time at these smaller performance because I thought that all shows at Coachella would be horrifically crowded. However, at the stages where lesser known artists performed, I could easily see the performers and was able to hear better because the sound was more contained. Through my experience in watching performances on these stages, I argue that smaller numbers of people in confined spaces allows festivalgoers to fully engage in the performance communication.

### **Stromae in the Mojave**



Figure 5. Stromae on Coachella's Mojave Stage. (Kempin, 2015).

*I tripped flat on my face when I ran to Mojave as the lights went down for Stromae. Kayla couldn't stop laughing at me. I was just so excited. Like Stromae is the shit everywhere except here, and I couldn't contain my fan girl joy. I'm glad I decided to skip St. Vincent to watch all of Stromae. Best performance and audience engagement of my weekend. WOW.*

My first example of where I could fully focus on a performance was Stromae's set in the Mojave tent. Stromae is a Belgian pop star whose name is recognized all throughout Europe. Yet in the United States, only a handful of people have heard of his music. With this in mind, Stromae rallied a small crowd who were aware of his significance in European pop culture. I did not have to push my way to the front and could easily be in close proximity to the stage, where I had a complete view.

Stromae began his performance by asking the crowd to turn to the right, left, and center as if we were marching in the military. He then transitioned into one of his most meaningful songs called "Humain à l'eau," which weaves together themes of globalization, Western hegemony, and disrespect for indigenous people groups. Since I had a deep knowledge of the song's meaning before coming to Coachella, I fell within the minority fan culture of Stromae. I was a part of an "ingroup" where I felt comfortable dancing and singing short phrases of French lyrics. Many of the people around me also knew the lyrics to Stromae's songs and would jump around with Kayla and me. The exhilaration I felt during the performance may not have been the same if Stromae had played the main stage. If thousands of people at Coachella wanted to see Stromae, I would have either had to experience the uncomfortable feeling of pushing past people to position myself at the front or watched him from afar via a passive screen. I was thankful that I could fully take in his theatrical performance with a group that seemed to appreciate Stromae

with me.

### **Performance Hopping**

*I "lost" Kayla on Saturday because I knew it would be faster to see all the artists I had lined up on my schedule if I went on my own. I got to see a little bit of Chet Faker, Yelle, Toro y Moi, and Clean Bandit without feeling any social obligations.*

Making a heartbreaking decision between watching two, three, or even four artists who had conflicting performance times was a dilemma that many people at Coachella experienced. For example, I described earlier that I thoroughly enjoyed Stromae's performance, but I was also upset that I missed St. Vincent and Jamie xx who played on different stages at the same time. Throughout the entire weekend, I had to assimilate to the freeform culture of performance hopping. Everyone at the camp said that they thought Coachella was worth the money for the amount of artists she or he could see. I thought the same when I realized I could easily dip in and out of performances to catch four more. However, when people asked me about my favorite performances each day, I could only describe the ones where I stayed for most or all of the sets. Bouncing from one performance to another was not "worth the money" because I was not fully present - both mentally and physically - for any of the shows where I caught only a few minutes of each set.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The different aspects of Coachella that I have identified, especially the commercialization and influx of corporate sponsors, have eclipsed Coachella's original intent of being a festival dedicated to music and artistic expression. Coachella's producers originally wanted the festival to be about the music and not about the commerce; however, with the festival's significance in

popular culture, the fan now emphasizes social aspects aside from music performances. From my first experience at the festival, I felt a sense that people including my friends, were there to party and see famous acts. Though I enjoyed performances at smaller stages, many of those performances never made headlines in the news and were simply buffer performances until the main acts debuted each night. From an academic standpoint, Coachella was worth the money to do ethnographic research. The festival was an excellent example of a fan object in popular culture, and I could only fully understand and empathize with Coachella fans by attending a full weekend.

## Works Cited

- Anderson, D., & Enoch, J. (2013). *Studies in rhetoric/communication: Burke in the archives: Using the past to transform the future of Burkean studies*. University of South Carolina Press .
- Anderson, T., & Getz, D. (2008). Stakeholder management strategies of festivals. *Journal of Convention & Event Tourism*.
- Ballantyne, J., Ballantyne, R., & Packer, J. (2014). Designing and managing music festival experiences to enhance attendees' psychological and social benefits. *18(1) 65–83*
- Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style, and musical taste. *3(33)*.
- Boucher, G. (1999). If you build it, will they come?. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/oct/07/entertainment/ca-19554>.
- Bruculieri, J (2015). #Reclaimthebindi is proof that cultural appropriation Isn't trendy. Retrieved from: [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2015/04/13/reclaim-the-bindi\\_n\\_7056266.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2015/04/13/reclaim-the-bindi_n_7056266.html).
- Burgoon, J. (1993). Interpersonal expectations, expectancy violations, and emotional communication. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 12(1-2)*, 30-48.
- Coachella 2015: Celebrity sightings. (2015). Retrieved from: <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/gossip/la-et-mg-coachella-2015-celebrities-pictures-photogallery.html>.

- Coachella 2015: Tyga, Skrillex & more celebrity Instagram pics from the festival. (2015, Apr 15). Retrieved from: <http://www.billboard.com/photos/6531474/coachella-2015-celebrity-instagrams?i=0>.
- Conklin, H. 1968. "Ethnography." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D.L. Sills, 115–208. New York:Free Press.
- Cormany, D. (2015). Coachella fans, online and translocal. *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, 27(2), 184-198.
- Devereux, E., Dillane, A. & Power, M (2011). Morrissey. In E. Devereux, A. Dillane, & M Power (Eds.), *Fandom, representations, and identities*. Bristol: Intellect Books.
- Duffett, M. (2013). *Understanding fandom*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Durkheim, E. (1957). *The elementary forms of the religious life*. London, UK: George Allen & Unwin LTD.
- Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fiske, J. (1989). *Reading Fiske and Understanding Popular Culture, (2nd ed)*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Fiske, J. (1991). Madonna. *Reading the Popular*. Abingdon: Routledge .
- Fiske, J. (2013). *Understanding Fandom*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hogdson, K. (2011). Community engagement. *American Planning Association*.



- Horner, B., & Swiss, T. (1999). *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture.*, Massachusetts, Malden: Blackwell Publishers, Inc.
- Kempin, J. (Photographer). (2015). Stromae on Coachella's Mojave Stage [digital image]. Retrieved from: <http://www.gettyimages.in/detail/news-photo/singer-songwriter-stromae-performs-onstage-during-day-3-of-news-photo/469534352>>
- Sandvoss, C. I <3 IBIZA. In M. Duffett (Ed), *Popular Music Fandom*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kavanaugh, P. & Anderson, T. (2008). Solidarity and drug use in the electronic dance music scene. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 49(1).
- Keene, A. (2010). Hipster headdress abounds at Coachella. Native Appropriations. Retrieved from: <http://nativeappropriations.com/2010/04/the-hipster-headdress-abounds-at-coachella.html>.
- King, S. (1999). "Arts and entertainment reports from the times, news services and the nation's press." *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from: <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/jul/29/entertainment/ca-60554>.
- Lim, M., Hellard, M., Hocking, J., Spelman, T., & Aitken, C. (2010). Surveillance of drug use among young people attending a music festival in Australia, 2005-2008. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 29(2), 150-156.
- Lonsdale, A., & North, A. (2009). *Musical taste and ingroup favouritism*. Group process and intergroup relations, 12(3) 319–327.

Marcus, S., (2015). Vanessa Hudgens isn't going to Coachella, so who will usurp her crown to become Queen. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from:

[www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/26/vanessa-hudgens-coachella\\_n\\_6948306.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/26/vanessa-hudgens-coachella_n_6948306.html).

Martin, J., & Nakayama, T. (2013). *Intercultural communication in contexts*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Maffesoli, M. (1996). *The time of the tribes: The decline of individualism in mass society*. London: Sage.

Meyrowitz, J. (1997). Shifting worlds of strangers: Medium theory and changes in "them" versus "us." *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(1).

Music festival research (2014). Eventbrite. Retrieved from: [http://eventbrite-s3.s3.amazonaws.com/marketing/MusicFestivalResearch/EventbriteStudyMusicFestivals8\\_25\\_14.pdf](http://eventbrite-s3.s3.amazonaws.com/marketing/MusicFestivalResearch/EventbriteStudyMusicFestivals8_25_14.pdf)

Nabi, R., & Oliver, M. (2009). *The SAGE handbook of media process and effects*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Nettl, B. (2005). *The Study of Ethnomusicology : Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

The official: I bought my tickets during presale and now im just relaxing thread." (2015). Reddit. Retrieved from:

[https://www.reddit.com/r/Coachella/comments/2rnj4f/the\\_official\\_i\\_bought\\_my\\_tickets\\_during\\_the](https://www.reddit.com/r/Coachella/comments/2rnj4f/the_official_i_bought_my_tickets_during_the).

Paleo, I., & Wijnberg, N. (2006). Classifications of popular music festivals: A typology of festivals and an inquiry into their role in the construction of music genres. *International Journal of Arts Management*.

Packer, J., & Ballantyne J. (2010). The impact of music festival attendance on young people's psychological and social well-being. *Psychology of Music*, 39(2), 164-181.

2016 Presale Price. (2015). Reddit. Message posted to:

[https://www.reddit.com/r/Coachella/comments/32hrql/2016\\_presale\\_price/](https://www.reddit.com/r/Coachella/comments/32hrql/2016_presale_price/)

Sunnafrank, M. (1984). A communication-based perspective on attitude similarity and interpersonal attraction in early acquaintance. *Communication Monographs*, 51(4), 372-380.

Rodriguez, S. (2014). Reddit user lets other virtually cut in line for Coachella tickets. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.latimes.com/business/technology/la-fi-tn-coachella-reddit-presale-tickets-cut-line-20140516-story.html>

Roberts, R., (2015). Coachella 2015, Day 1: Early arrivers face heat, massive caterpillar. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/music/posts/la-et-ms-coachella-2015-day-1-art-bathrooms-caterpillar-20150410-story.html>.

Thompson, S. (2014). The Good Listener: Can I ask loud talkers at outdoor concerts to (please) shut up?. *NPR*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.npr.org/sections/allsongs/2014/08/22/342485296/the-good-listener-can-i-ask-loud-talkers-at-outdoor-concerts-to-please-shut-up>.

Rodgers, C. (2015). Fashion Weekend: See what fans wore to Coachella 2015. *Rolling Stone*.

Retrieved from: <http://www.rollingstone.com/culture/pictures/fashion-weekend-see-what-fans-wore-to-coachella-2015-20150413/short-cuts-20150413>

Rowley, J., & Williams, C. (2008). The impact of brand sponsorship of music festivals.

*Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 26(7).

Rs510. (2015). Try this. Just bypassed standby. Reddit. Retrieved from:

[http://www.reddit.com/r/Coachella/comments/25q6uf/try\\_this\\_just\\_bypassed\\_standby](http://www.reddit.com/r/Coachella/comments/25q6uf/try_this_just_bypassed_standby).

Sipiora, P., & Baumlin, J., (2002). *Rhetoric and Kairos : Essays in History, Theory, and Praxis*.

New York, NY: State University of New York Press.

Satenstein, L. (2015). Festival style solved: Meet the perfect Coachella swimsuit.

Taufield, E. (2015). Festival-ready friendship bracelets are the perfect Coachella arm candy.

*Vogue*. Retrieved from: <http://www.vogue.com/slideshow/13253169/friendship-bracelets-coachella-festival-style/>

Turner, V. (1988). *The Anthropology of Performance*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins

University press.

Van Havere, T. & et al. (2011). Drug use and nightlife: more than just dance music. *Substance*

*Abuse Treatment, Prevention, and Policy*, 6, 18.

Victorio, C. (Photographer). (2015). Figure 1. Hot fashion at Coachella 2015 [digital image].

Retrieved from: <http://www.laweekly.com/slideshow/hot-fashion-at-coachella-2015-5493386>

If you are going to Coachella for sure, how old are you? Age on April 11, 2014. (2014).

Retrieved from: <https://www.coachella.com/forum/showthread.php?68792-Coachella-Age-Demographics-for-2014>.

Waddell, R. (2014). Coachella Breaks Boxscore Record (Again). *Billboard*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.billboard.com/biz/articles/news/touring/6150327/coachella-breaks-boxscore-record-again>.

Wall, T., & Dubber, A. (2010). Experimenting with fandom, live music, and the internet:

Applying insights from music fan culture to new media production. *Journal of New Music Research*, 39(2), 159-169.

Winters, B. (Photographer). (2015). Figure 2. SCC camp [digital image]. Retrieved from:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=994989203846198&set=t.540491644&type=1&theater>

Winters, B. (Photographer). (2015). Figure 3. SCC annual dance party [digital image]. Retrieved

from: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=994989203846198&set=t.540491644&type=1&theater>

Wood, J. (2013). *Interpersonal communication: Everyday encounters* (7th ed.). Boston, MA:

Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Young, L. (2015). Coachella Audience. Retrieved from:

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/bigpicture/2015/04/17/coachella/YoomsR1Zgk9uKM68Y37HhN/story.html>.

Zubernis, L. & Larsen, K. (2012). Fandom at the crossroads: Celebration, shame and

fan/producer relationships. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.