

The Children of the Revolution, the Nation's Future: Understanding the Multigenerational Audience of the Rock in Rio Music Festival

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This article presents the results of a two-year research project on the Brazilian music festival Rock in Rio. The research consists of an analysis of the particular circumstances that led to the formation of the festival's multigenerational audience. Rock in Rio was held for the first time in 1985, soon after the end of the military dictatorship in Brazil, which lasted for more than 20 years (1964–1985). Meanwhile, Brazilian youth cultures were experiencing the emergence of a new local rock music scene that highlighted some of the country's most relevant social and political issues at that time. Since then, the festival's various editions, held in its hometown of Rio de Janeiro, have brought together wide audiences from different age groups.

Keywords: Rock in Rio, Brazilian music, Brazilian rock, music festivals, generation, multigenerational audience, youth cultures

We are the children of the revolution . . . we are the nation's future. This article borrows its title from the verses of a 1980s song by Brazilian rock band Legião Urbana,² whose work was widely inspired by the punk movement that had just become popular among a group of young musicians in Brazil (Dapieve, 2015). They allude to the generation³ of Brazilian youngsters who experienced, throughout that

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Date submitted: 2019–0218

¹ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments; the PUC-Rio Faculty of the Communication Postgraduate Program for their incontestable support—in particular, Professor Cláudia da Silva Pereira; the interviewees who agreed to tell part of their life stories; and the photographed audience members at Rock in Rio for the images that are presented in this article. This research was financed in part by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - Brasil (CAPES) - Finance Code 001.

² The song is entitled *Geração Coca-Cola* [The Coca-Cola Generation or The Coke Generation]. A fair translation of the full lyrics is available at <https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Legiao-Urbana/Geraçao-coca-cola/translation/english>.

³ I take into account the idea of generation as a set of individuals of a similar age, whose life trajectories were somehow marked by their experiences of historical, social or cultural events. This is based on Groppo's (2000) interpretation of Mannheim's (1952/1982) work, which attests that a generation can be

decade, the energy of a brand-new and national rock music scene: Songs were sung in Portuguese and addressed subjects generally intrinsic to youth cultures, such as love, sex, and urban life, but merged with strong protest lyrics on issues such as ethics, politics, and social justice that related to their local environment.

Bands and solo artists embraced it and often mixed their guitar chords with beats and instruments considered authentic symbols of the local musical culture. The second half of the 1980s also hosted one of the most important moments in the recent history of 20th-century Brazil: the election of the first civilian president after 21 years of military governments (1964–1985) that had led the country under strong cultural censorship. It was precisely in this context—meaning the end of a military dictatorship, together with the appearance of a new Brazilian rock scene—that the Rock in Rio music festival was held for the first time, in the city of Rio de Janeiro in January 1985.

Even in its first edition, Rock in Rio was already considered one of the world's largest live music festivals; it brought together more than 1,300,000 people for 10 days of music concerts (Carneiro, 2011). It was a pioneer in uniting in South America icons of the international music scene, such as AC/DC, Iron Maiden, Queen, Rod Stewart, and Ozzy Osbourne, in addition to promoting the emergence of local bands performing on the same stage and to such large audiences. From the international artists' perspective, the relevance of taking part in Rock in Rio's first edition may be exemplified by AC/DC's biographical statement on the band's performance in front of an impressive audience of 250,000 people (Engleheart & Durieux, 2006/2016, p. 333), and by the following description of Queen's performance: "In 1985 they [Queen] were the headlining act at Rock in Rio, the biggest festival to be held anywhere in the world." (Queen Official Site, 2018)⁴

Rock in Rio has also taken place in different cities in three other countries: Lisbon (Portugal), Madrid (Spain), and Las Vegas (United States),⁵ but this article focuses specifically on the festival's context in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It summarizes a two-year academic research project that aims to identify the ways by which the festival has maintained its popularity for more than 30 years (1985–2019),⁶ promoting several editions that joined wide-ranging multigenerational audiences. In this sense, I argue that Rock in Rio has become one of the world festivals that demonstrate the most longevity because of the establishment of an "affective alliance" (Grossberg, 1983, p. 104) with the various generations of youth cultures that have experienced it over time; such an alliance is favored by the relations existing between music and the local and temporal contexts in which it is inserted. I also argue that Rock in Rio has successfully joined multigenerational audiences by seriously considering music—especially rock, in its different strands—as an element of

represented by a common repertory of individuals' social experiences, on a singular or daily basis, situated in the same age groups—especially during the transition to a level of maturity, such as youth.

⁴ Thirty years later, Queen performed again at Rock in Rio's 2015 edition, held in Rio de Janeiro. Adam Lambert replaced the former bandleader Freddie Mercury, who passed away in 1991.

⁵ An English written summary of Rock in Rio's history is available at <http://rockinrio.com/rio/en/history>.

⁶ Local media has already announced the confirmation of Rock in Rio's 2021 edition, to be held in the city of Rio de Janeiro (<https://g1.globo.com/pop-arte/musica/rock-in-rio/2019/>).

generational integration (Pais, 2003, p. 127) through bringing together musical artists who appeal to individuals belonging to different age groups.

My personal involvement with Rock in Rio has been limited to attending all the editions that have taken place in Rio de Janeiro from 2001, in addition to two others held in Lisbon, Portugal, that do not form part of this particular study. It was precisely as a member of the festival's audience that I first noticed its age-related diversity. In fact, it seemed to me that not only were individuals of all ages attending the festival, but they were also doing it together, meaning that many of the groups I had observed among the audiences seemed to unite individuals of various ages. But was there, in the 2000s, a considerable part of the audience who had attended Rock in Rio's debut edition back in 1985? If so, what circumstances had encouraged them to return to the festival after such a long time? And why were they attending the festival together with much younger people? Were these youngsters their own children? And what would be the festival's appeal to the youth of today? Unlike most of the places young people usually go for leisure and fun, why did they not seem to mind attending Rock in Rio together with an older audience who possibly included their own parents? These were the questions I set out to answer when I started the research.

What would be the importance of delving into a study on a particular music festival as a site of intergenerational convergence?

This article aims to highlight such relevance in at least three different meanings. First, the article suggests that music has the ability to integrate individuals from various generations, and it demonstrates how they interact with the logic of music festivals—here taken as one of the most relevant forms of contemporary entertainment and socialization. In this sense, the longevity of a festival, as well as the careers of some artists, may contribute to such integration, and may promote intrafamilial participation of individuals who belong to various age groups. Second, it illustrates the current absence of strict social boundaries among some stages of life (Bennett, 2013)—adolescence, adulthood, and senior years—that have defined aging lifestyles in the past; such a circumstance may point to a broader contemporary trend of intergenerational convergence that would lead people of any age to eventually adopt behaviors and lifestyles typically associated with youth cultures (Rocha & Pereira, 2009). I claim that such a trend may largely be observed through Rock in Rio's audience members. Finally, it demonstrates that the return of older festival goers to an iconic music festival attended during their youth may be attributed not only to the feeling of nostalgia, but also to the fact that music continues to relate to their daily lives (DeNora, 2004), even if differently from when they were younger (Bennett, 2013). Interviews with such Rock in Rio participants also showed that they returned to this particular festival with their own children; they wanted their children to have an unforgettable first music festival experience, just as they did when they attended the festival's first edition in 1985.

The article starts by presenting a literature review on contemporary live music festivals. The aim is to draw attention to some of the festival's features, highlighted by scholars from different parts of the world, which I also observed in the context of Rock in Rio and which will be described throughout the article. An example is the possibility of representing dual functions for audience members: breaking their

routines while reinforcing values that are deemed intrinsic to their daily lives, or, still, following global standards at the same time that they express many aspects of local cultures.

The theoretical review is followed by a brief presentation of Brazilian political and cultural backgrounds, which provides readers with some additional information about a set of local circumstances that favored the appearance of a music festival such as Rock in Rio, and the formation of its multigenerational audience.

The main findings of the research's fieldwork will then be presented. It encompassed two different stages in which distinct methodological approaches were applied. First, I conducted in-depth interviews with multigenerational groups of individuals who attended (or still attend) Rock in Rio together, and I considered at least one participant from the festival's debut edition in 1985; the major interests in this fieldwork stage were to verify (a) whether the festival is indeed currently attended by members of its first audience, (b) the existence, among such groups, of a considerable number of parents who attend the festival together with their own children, and (c) the motivations for the members of various generations to be a part of Rock in Rio's audience. The second fieldwork stage consisted of participant observation that took place at the festival's 2017 edition; the aim was to certify the effective existence of extended multigenerational audiences over its various days of music concerts, possibly identifying particular forms of sociability established among their members.

It is important to clarify that this article does not intend to go deeper into possible definitions, differentiations, or peculiarities inherent to the term *rock*. On the contrary, *rock* here refers to a musical genre that has been connected to distinct generations of young people since the second half of the 20th century and shows itself to be broad enough to foster the (re)discovery of beats and rhythms (Pais, 2003); "Its musical limits are defined, for particular audiences at particular times and places, by the alliances constructed between selected sounds, images, practices and fans" (Grossberg, 2013, p. 131).

The songs of Legião Urbana can still be heard at Rock in Rio,⁷ even though the band itself has never performed at the festival. Still, "The children of the revolution, the nation's future" reflects the context described here: Besides alluding to 1980s Brazilian youngsters, such verses represent the idea of youth as an eternal hope for better days to come; therefore, they end up referring to a type of interaction, even continuity, among different generations of youth cultures. This is discussed throughout this article.

Music Festivals in Contemporary Times

Live music festivals have gained the status of being among the most significant forms of entertainment and sociability in contemporary times, capable of revealing important aspects of both local and global cultures (Bennett, Taylor, & Woodward, 2014). As the observed findings show, such a statement seems appropriate to Rock in Rio: Following the broader international standards of large crowds, worldwide popular musical attractions, various food and drink options, and parallel entertainment

⁷ For instance, Brazilian singer Dinho Ouro Preto played Legião Urbana's song *Que país é esse?* [What type of country is this?] during his performance at Rock in Rio's 2017 edition.

activities, this particular music festival, created in Brazil in the 1980s, has demonstrated its capability to maintain its heritage and national identity through the performances of iconic local bands and by the current attendance of audience members from its first edition—now placed side by side with younger festival goers.

Academic researchers from different parts of the world have been engaged in developing studies focused on other various aspects of such festivals; therefore, this section is meant to provide a literature review of those related, at some point, to the arguments presented throughout the article regarding the context of Rock in Rio. These will be of particular concern to music festivals in terms of (a) well-marked geographic territories that facilitate face-to-face encounters; (b) opportunities to reaffirm values and beliefs shared by their participants; (c) temporal ruptures of daily life that legitimize alternative forms of individual and collective behaviors; and (d) events directly connected to the concept of youth that transcend specific age groups.

For Herschmann and Queiroz (2012), face-to-face encounters such as live music festivals help legitimize values and forms of behavior generally shared by their audience's members, providing them with a relevant sense of belonging—an idea also explained by Duffy (2014):

Enabling an individual to connect with a shared collective identity is a significant aspect of participating in a festival. Music is one means to provide participants with possibilities to (re)connect with each other, sustaining or generating a shared sense of belonging in and through the festival space—a belonging that then may spill out into helping individuals make sense of their everyday lives. (p. 245)

While corresponding to an "intensification of the everyday" (Duffy, 2014, p. 240), contemporary music festivals, on the other hand, establish liminal spaces away from the most common activities of everyday life (Bennett & Woodward, 2014): Once providing a break in the routine, music festivals would enable their participants to express themselves differently and in ways that would not have a place on a daily basis—whether in the form of dancing, dressing accordingly, enjoying music, protesting, or socially fraternizing.

Hobsbawm (2014) notes, "Festivals are multiplying like rabbits. Their number has been soaring since the 1970s and nothing suggests that this growth has come to an end" (p. 34). His analysis on staging festivals in the 21st century mentions their significant increase in Great Britain in only three years (between 2003 and 2006). Guerra (2017) equally reports a notable increase in the number of live music festivals in Portugal from the beginning of the 21st century, and she describes what she chose to call a festival way of life: a combination of particular social activities intrinsic to participating in a music festival that would communicate something meaningful about its audience members. Those would encompass the definition of the group that will attend together, among friends, family, boyfriends, and girlfriends; the choice of not-to-be-missed musical attractions and entertainment activities; the decisions involving appropriate dress codes; and the tickets purchased through individual or collective processes.

The festival way of life (Guerra, 2017) seems inherent to the set of practices geared toward leisure and sociability that generally defines the essence of youth cultures (Pais, 2003); it is through leisure and social spaces and activities that youth cultures find a place to (a) attest to the individuality of their lifestyles, (b) sustain the importance given to the time enjoyed in a collective way, and (c) guarantee a certain autonomy in contrast to other domains (family, school, work) where adult authority usually predominates. In this sense, a music festival may be considered an occasional activity (Pais, 2003, p. 134) capable of reinforcing such practices intrinsic to youth cultures.

But what were the circumstances that led to the expansion of music festivals over the last decades in different parts of the globe?

Hobsbawm (2014) suggests that there is a direct connection between the rise of music festivals and the ascension of youth cultures that occurred shortly after World War II (1939–1945). That would be when “a particular generation was identified with ‘youth’ and invested with a certain power by a broad range of social discourses” (Grossberg, 2013, p. 171)—in other words, when youngsters, mostly in Western countries, were placed into a new socially constructed category and were expected to engage in the development of a prosperous future. To achieve such purpose, they could count on the support of a set of social circumstances—for instance, the creation of child labor protection laws, the increase of middle-class purchasing power, and the expansion of college education opportunities—that ended up generating them more money and free time, among other benefits, to explore leisure activities (Haenfler, 2014). An example, I argue, is being part of music festivals. In this sense, it is of interest to this article that the incredible capacity of this new concept of “being young” is spread throughout the world, and in rock, one of its main representations is found (Hobsbawm, 1995)—in addition, the ways by which certain music festivals became representative of tastes, beliefs, and aspirations associated with it.

The next section aims to outline the existing connections among the Brazilian historical and cultural backgrounds, the emergence of Rock in Rio, and the formation of its multigenerational audience. Continuing on, the fieldwork reports, taken during the festival’s 2017 edition, explore most of the contemporary festivals’ features described in the presented literature review. An example is the ways by which intergenerational (more particularly, intrafamilial) groups find a place to reinforce their affective connections while escaping from their daily lives; still, the observed findings are meant to evidence Rock in Rio as a site where music brings together people of various age groups who establish some of the social practices here described as typically associated with youth cultures.

The Prehistory of Rock in Rio in Brazil

Dapieve’s (2015) argument synthesizes the particular circumstances to be described here, which facilitated the appearance of an extended music festival such as Rock in Rio in Brazil: Rock only conquered Brazilian citizenship in the 1980s, overcoming decades of ideological distrust thanks to its participation in the re-democratization process (p. 13).

Such an argument does not intend to disregard any musical movements that might have emerged in the country before the 1980s under the influence of rock and its large-scale

internationalization process; indeed, it sustains that, until then, rock was either subjected to a significant criticism at local level (coming also from a considerable portion of youth cultures) for not reflecting the important social and political issues the country was going through, or it was simply taken as a foreign musical genre whose popularity would not last long, considering its lack of local cultural elements. The protest songs that suffered from the censorship established by the military governments, for example, were considered samples of what should be called authentic Brazilian music.

The national rock music scene would then have a turning point in the 1980s, (Dapieve, 2015), mostly encouraged by (a) the process of redemocratization, given that it was deemed impossible to conceive a new Brazilian musical genre that connected youth cultures to social causes under a political system that had imposed wide censorship, and (b) the influence of the punk movement and its DIY (do-it-yourself) philosophy, introduced in the main urban centers of Brazil by a group of local musicians, as a new reference—both in music and attitude—that was coming from abroad. Do-it-yourself, even if you cannot sing, even if you cannot play, because rock does not have to be virtuosic (Dapieve, 2015, back cover). Under this flag, this movement became locally known as BRock. Some bands started mixing their guitar chords with regional rhythms and instruments, which seems aligned with the presented idea that particular audiences may define the boundaries for what can or cannot be considered a rock song (Grossberg, 2013).

It was precisely at this time of the emergence of a new democratic government, together with the popularization of a national rock scene, that the first edition of Rock in Rio took place between January 11 and 20, 1985, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The festival was a private initiative—like the internationally known Woodstock Festival⁸—and took place on an empty piece of land, called Cidade do Rock [City of Rock]. At the time, the city seemed far more distant than the 20 miles that separate it from other famous neighborhoods, such as Copacabana and Ipanema. To point out another particular fact about the festival: On January 15, 1985, during the first edition of Rock in Rio, the first Brazilian civilian president was elected after the country had been ruled by military governments for more than 20 years.⁹ The election process was broadcast on some of the festival's big screens, part of the audience painted their faces green and yellow (the main colors of the Brazilian flag), and many national bands, even some foreign ones, talked about the importance of this during their performances (Carneiro, 2011).

⁸ See Bennett (2004) and Tiber and Monte (2009). The audience members' interviews, presented in the next section, enhance the comparison sometimes made between Rock in Rio's 1985 edition and the Woodstock festival held in 1969 in the American town of Bethel, New York.

⁹ Some facts inherent to the 1980s Brazilian historical context are presented in this article with the singular objective of establishing their connections with the emergence of Rock in Rio and its multigenerational audience. In this particular case, it seems implied that the festival was planned during the military dictatorship, and this may require more clarification: Most Brazilian historical literacy indicates that there was a very gradual political and cultural opening that started during the final years of the military dictatorship; this possibly allowed, for instance, the organization of a such a music festival as Rock in Rio.

Finally, Rock in Rio was important as a shock of professionalism to Brazilian bands; also, the festival's accomplishments raised the industry & commerce awareness to a previously unknown market share: the youth market share. (Dapieve, 2015, pp. 206–207)

This brief description of Brazilian 1980s historical and cultural backgrounds was presented to highlight its connections to the emergence of Rock in Rio and the formation of its multigenerational audience: I follow Dapieve's statement (2015) that it would not have been possible to create either BRock or a mega-music festival such as Rock in Rio under a military dictatorship and cultural censorship. It was also the end of such a political system that allowed Brazilians, for the first time, to have access to a music festival with, in their conception, similarities to the emblematic Woodstock festival—even if it was only 16 years after Woodstock took place. Yet, as it will be explained, some audience members' experiencing, for the first time, a sense of freedom through attending the first edition of Rock in Rio provided them with a type of shared generational memory that was passed on to their children through their life stories. As a result, their children were eager to participate, and parents urgently wanted to take them to a new edition of Rock in Rio; parents wondered if their kids would have an experience similar to their own when they were young. This, I claim, would have been the beginning of the affective alliance established by Rock in Rio across generations that was mapped during the fieldwork, the results of which will now be presented.

“Meant for the public. Not just for the youngest”: Rock in Rio by Multiple Generations

A salient point was the significant number of current parents I contacted who were part of Rock in Rio's debut edition in 1985 and more recently returned to the festival with their own kids. It was such a nice surprise to notice that nearly everyone I spoke to about this research mentioned having close friends or family members who fit this profile and would probably agree to being interviewed.

As a matter of fact, this was considered an important research finding because no family bonds were requested for them to take part during the research fieldwork stage of in-depth interviews; indeed, when I started looking for audience members of diverse ages who had attended the festival together, I expected to find situations such as people in their 50s or 60s who attended the festival's debut edition and recently returned accompanied by workmates in their 20s, or still, someone who witnessed the arrival of Rock in Rio and agreed to take a friend's child to the festival. However, the reality I truly found was that all the feedback I received referred to the intrafamilial participation in Rock in Rio. These findings clearly relate, I argue, to the ideas of affection and continuity, in what have formed the festival's multigenerational audience over time.

The criterion I used was simply to meet in person the first three families who were willing to schedule interviews. They occurred between September 2 and 8, 2017—a week before Rock in Rio took place that year. All interviewees lived on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro and chose to speak in their own homes. Each interview lasted from 50 to 120 minutes.

A brief description of the interviewed families' profiles may help identify their respective testimonials to be further expanded on.

Family 1: 51-year-old mother and 21-year-old daughter. The mother is a schoolteacher who attended Rock in Rio in 1985, aged 19, and returned to the 2011 edition with her daughter, then 15 years old. An interesting fact about this interview was that the family's father, who was also home at that moment, ended up joining the interview. He mentioned that he went to the festival's 1991 edition, and again in 2011 with his wife and daughter. So, despite not being part of the festival's audience in 1985, the father ended up contributing to the interview by helping his wife and daughter remember certain moments from the family trip to Rock in Rio in 2011. The daughter also attended the festival in 2013 without parents.

Family 2: 54-year-old mother and 21-year-old son. The mother is a biologist and was part of the Rock in Rio audience in 1985 at the age of 22. In 2011, she returned to the festival in the company of her son, then 16 years old. The family's father also went to Rock in Rio in 1985 (without yet knowing his wife, also the mother), but unfortunately could not attend the interview. The mother has not returned to the festival since 2011, but her son has been to all the festival's editions held in Rio de Janeiro since then (2013 and 2015, and he had already purchased his ticket for 2017).

Family 3: 68-year-old father/grandfather, his 43-year-old son, and his 14-year-old granddaughter. The father/grandfather is an advertising professional. He took his son, then 11 years old, to Rock in Rio's debut edition in 1985. His son, in turn, took his daughter to the festival for the first time in 2015, when she was 12 years old. Those were the three family members originally scheduled to be interviewed, but I ended up inviting the son's wife, who was also at home, to join the session (which she seemed pleased to do). This was because she mentioned that she too had attended Rock in Rio in 1985 and 1991. The grandfather had only been once, to the 1985 edition. His son has attended all editions held in Rio de Janeiro throughout the festival's history, and he was preparing to go in 2017, as tickets were already purchased. The daughter was also due to attend the 2017 edition accompanied by her aunt.

Among the many cited aspects of the interviewees' lives particular trajectories were a number of shared major common points in what constituted their perspectives of the festival's history. At first, the perspectives of those who went to Rock in Rio in 1985 unanimously revolved around the festival being a pioneer in Brazil: a wide open space housing a huge and varied audience whose members were eager to watch the coming together of national and international bands—something that had never been seen in the country before. All interviewees also mentioned that they felt free to have fun in a way they had not experienced before. Still, the reference to Rock in Rio as a type of national version of the Woodstock festival frequently came up: "We had never had anything like this in Brazil. Gee, people were saying it was the Brazilian Woodstock. We even had the mud, just like Woodstock, we had the mud here too"¹⁰ (Mother, Family 1).

I ended up going to Rock in Rio for two reasons: first, because the kids [his son and his friends] were willing to go. . . . But there was also a curiosity from my side, which was that, in the 1970s, it took place, I guess, the king of festivals of that era, which was the

¹⁰ Many literal references to both 1969 Woodstock and 1985 Rock in Rio mention the appearance of rain and, consequently, mud that covered the entire sites.

Woodstock festival. I was fascinated by Woodstock, everyone in my generation was. . . .
Then it felt like, "I'll have a festival for me." A rock festival will take place in my country.
(Grandfather, Family 3)

All interviewees who went to the 1985 Rock in Rio also presented similar statements regarding the reasons they returned to the festival in the 2000s: (a) the feeling of nostalgia from an important event from their youth; (b) their children's desire to attend the festival¹¹; and (c) the desire to provide their children with an experience similar to their own memories from 1985. "She [his daughter] attended Rock in Rio for the first time at basically the same age I did. And it was exactly 30 years after the first edition. That felt so symbolic to me" (Father, Family 3).

My husband and I talked to him [their son] about Rock in Rio, when he [her husband] and I went, but the bands he saw were different from the ones I did. So, we really wanted to tell him: "Look how fun it [Rock in Rio] was for us. Let's see if you're also going to have this type of cool experience." (Mother, Family 2)

From their kids' point of view, one major common point remained throughout the interviews: It seemed symbolic for them to attend Rock in Rio accompanied by their own parents, the ones who told them the fun stories about the festival. A second common aspect among the children's statements was that all of them only went to Rock in Rio together with their mothers and/or fathers the first time they attended the festival, even though they all have returned to later editions (but then in the company of friends, boyfriends, girlfriends, or even other relatives). Most parents, on the other hand, exhibit thoughts of not returning to the festival; they mention, in their own words, that music is still relevant to them, and they still enjoy listening to their favorite bands, but now it is time for their kids to have their own life stories connected to Rock in Rio. The exceptions were the 43-year-old man and his wife (Family 3), who still attend the festival, although not in the company of their daughter anymore; both noted that this was a mutual decision due to their very distinct musical interests.

Pioneering and a brand-new feeling of freedom—the two features unanimously attributed to Rock in Rio by the "1985 generation" interviewees—did not appear to be sustained by their children's points of view. "Even though I went back to Rock in Rio in 2013, without my parents, and it was a 'cooler' experience, it was not a place that I could say, 'Wow, I feel so free in here'" (Daughter, Family 1).

In fact, there was no identifiable consensus around the values attributed to Rock in Rio by the younger interviewees, as compared with the clear way expressed by their parents. One of them, for instance, believes that the festival should reduce the number of private sponsored areas on one side while adding more spaces focused on collaborative activities on the other, to get closer to a larger set of younger fans.

¹¹ The minimum age to enter Rock in Rio without the company of an adult is 16 years (<http://rockinrio.com/rio/pt-BR/termos-e-condicoes-rockinrio>). One of the younger interviewees was old enough to go to the festival alone for the first time; however, he stated that he preferred to share this experience with his parents. The other teenagers interviewed also could have gone to the festival with any other adult, but they declared that they did not mind having fun in the company of their own parents.

Another younger interviewee, however, identified Rock in Rio as a festival that already mostly identifies with a younger audience. Meanwhile, a third stated her own point of view regarding the public's current interest in Rock in Rio:

I think Rock in Rio is not meant to approach only the young audiences. I think we have *Lolla* for that [referring to Lollapalooza, an international music festival also held annually in the city of São Paulo, in Brazil]. I think Rock in Rio is meant for young audiences to watch the [musical] legends. . . . It is not Rock in Rio that should approach us. We are the ones who must try to be part of its history; . . . Rock in Rio is meant for the public. Not just for the youngest. The young audience is simply going to be a part of it. (Daughter, Family 3)

Despite the diverse ways the festival seems to be viewed by individuals of different generations, interviewees of all ages spontaneously brought up an idea that was summarized by a statement from the Family 1 father: "Music is what really unites the crowd." Therefore, interviewees were unanimous when affirming that the musical attractions need to remain relevant if Rock in Rio continues its aim to conquer new audiences in the future; even if new forms of entertainment continue to be added to the festival's scope, they could be nice complementary activities, but will remain in the background.

Some Observations Regarding Rock in Rio's Audience

My Rock in Rio participant observation spans about 40 hours over four of the seven days of the festival's 2017 edition, held in Rio de Janeiro. I arrived at the festival site—which is still locally known as Cidade do Rock [City of Rock]—when the gates opened, at 2:30 p.m., extending my fieldwork until the end of the last performance on the Palco Mundo [Main Stage] in early dawn. I watched 18 concerts on the festival's various stages, basically wandering through the entire venue. I took in the performances of artists as varied as Aerosmith, Alice Cooper, Alicia Keys, Guns N' Roses, Maroon 5, Nile Rodgers & Chic, Shawn Mendes, and The Who; for national bands and solo artists, I also attended the performances from Blitz, Dinho Ouro Preto, Frejat, Scalene, and Titãs.¹²

I initially noticed through my personal experience as a festivalgoer the wide multigenerational audience throughout Rock in Rio's various editions. Therefore, such an observation needed to be attested by structured fieldwork. I also set out to ascertain whether this specific audience, formed by individuals of diverse ages, would be directly connected to only a few bands or to a singular musical genre. This is the reason that I watched as many varied concerts as possible. Finally, I also tried to identify if there were particular forms of social interaction established among those individuals of various age groups who were connected by their interest in being part of the festival's audience.

The most important finding to be highlighted is the existence of a wide and frequent multigenerational audience throughout the entire festival (see Figure 1), in which individuals of different age groups would socially interact in certain manners that seemed intrinsically connected to the festival's

¹² Blitz and Frejat are representatives of 1980s BRock, and also performed at Rock in Rio's debut edition in 1985.

environment. And, indeed, as far as I was able to observe, most of these groups clearly represented intrafamilial attendance. Also, the assumption that the plurality of generations could be linked to a particular musical style, artist, or band is not relevant in this case: Such an intergenerational feature was noted in most of the performances I watched throughout the fieldwork. In this regard, it was also interesting to notice that the claimed music's faculty of generational integration seemed to apply to either (1) bringing together shared generational memories of individuals of similar ages (for instance, while most parents were visibly thrilled by the performance of 1980s Brazilian band Blitz, and by its vocalist Evandro Mesquita's statement that "good music has no expiry date," their children sat right beside them, waiting mainly for Shawn Mendes's performance, which would start a couple of hours later), or (2) uniting individuals of any age group around the same musical performance, which was clearly observed at shows such as The Who, Guns N' Roses, Aerosmith, Maroon 5, and Frejat (a current solo artist who was a member of 1980s BRock band Barão Vermelho).



Figure 1. Examples of Rock in Rio's multigenerational audience.¹³

Certain behaviors, observed in Rock in Rio's audience, pointed exactly to the dual function attributed to contemporary live music festivals in the presented literature review. First, they would help reinforce the sense of community (Duffy, 2014) by facilitating, for example, joint expressions in favor of common causes; for instance, throughout Rock in Rio's 2017 edition, such an idea was conveyed by the

¹³ All pictures in this article are part of the author's personal collection and were taken during the participant observation conducted at Rock in Rio's 2017 edition held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Care was taken to protect people's privacy.

audience's protests against corruption in politics,¹⁴ or in favor of environmental protection laws and indigenous rights.¹⁵ On the other hand, as stated, festivals also represented a break in daily life (Bennett & Woodward, 2014), providing their participants with opportunities to express values, attitudes, and social bonds that would rarely find their place on a daily basis. Such a break seemed to be clearly materialized by dress codes and other types of body expression, which favored particular forms of communication and social interaction among the audience members (see Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5).



Figure 2. Self-made T-shirts that connect Rock in Rio's official brand with caricatures of the group members' faces.



Figure 3. Multigenerational family members who all dressed the same (including self-made T-shirts).

¹⁴ These occurred mostly at the national artists' performances.

¹⁵ American singer Alicia Keys gave voice to an indigenous local leader during her performance.

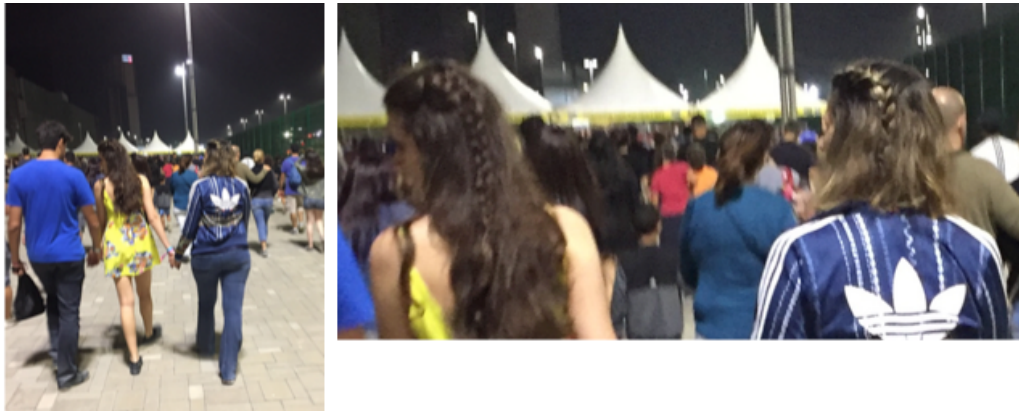


Figure 4. Women from different age groups (assumed mother and daughter) exhibiting the same hairstyle.



Figure 5. Unique hats that could identify a group among the whole audience.

Dress codes, accessories, hairstyles, and makeup seemed to effectively make part of what Guerra (2017) documented as a festival way of life. Still, through a highly productive and creative appropriation of these items (Miller, 2007, p. 47), some audience members established a process here understood as the construction of identities “as the product of situated social action” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 376)— in this case, attending an event away from daily life, such as Rock in Rio.

In addition, these alleged types of occasional identities turn out to favor social interaction among individuals of various ages as they attend the festival: Parents, grandparents, and children have similar appearances. Hence, these identities end up referring to the notion of youth as a concept, at the same time increasingly detached from a specific age group and closer to a set of lifestyle practices; if adults have established rules for youth before, today, youth is the rule. (Rocha & Pereira, 2009, p. 100)

The participant observation findings highlight Rock in Rio's particular quality of providing a large-scale intergenerational and intrafamilial coexistence, with music being a fundamental element.

Conclusions

Grossberg (1983) points to the articulation of local and temporal "affective alliances" (p. 104) provided by music, specifically taking into account rock's effectiveness at making sense to audiences from different social, historical, and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, I argue that the emergence of Rock in Rio in the 1980s illustrates precisely the establishment of this type of alliance, which was then favored by the following local circumstances: (a) the end of more than 20 years (1964–1985) of military governments that led Brazil under institutionalized cultural censorship; (b) the effervescence of the Brazilian rock of the 1980s, created and attested to by most of the country's youth cultures (Dapieve, 2015); (c) Rock in Rio's pioneering, as a widespread local music festival, capable of uniting national and international artists and referring to the standards of the emblematic edition of the Woodstock festival held in the United States in 1969; and (d) Rock in Rio's ability to symbolize a break in the norm, but also the sense of community and the feelings of freedom shared by youth cultures at that time.

That the interviewed parents took their children to Rock in Rio only once and then let them continue attending further editions in the company of friends (further affirming that music is still relevant to their lives) led me to consider that Bennett's (2013) concept of "affective scenes" (p. 60)¹⁶ would make sense regarding the ways in which they currently experience music, at more individualized and "deterritorialized" levels. However, I argue that Grossberg's (1983) theoretical model of affective alliances would still apply more accurately to this study of Rock in Rio's intergenerational—and more specifically, intrafamilial—attendance; it relies on the connections established between music and the local contexts experienced by each particular audience. Still, such claimed alliances seem to be renewed across generations at each new edition of Rock in Rio: For instance, some of the parents I interviewed took their children to the festival in 2011 and have not returned, but the participant observation at the festival's 2017 edition still evidenced a large-scale intergenerational and intrafamilial participation.

It was not part of this article's intention to delve deeper into an investigation of rock or rock and roll as a musical genre. However, it became important to make reference to its ability to continually reinvent itself, regardless of depending on a set of immutable elements that make it identifiable in different temporal and regional contexts (Grossberg, 1983; Muggiati, 1983; Pais, 2003). Rock is also faced here as an element of generational integration (Pais, 2003, p. 127) that has existed since the 1950s, when this musical genre began its spread worldwide as one of the most relevant icons of a new emerging youth concept.

Therefore, Rock in Rio's multigenerational audience is interpreted as the result of a well-succeeded articulation among the three concepts presented earlier: an *affective alliance* established with

¹⁶ Bennett (2013) draws parallels between his concept of "affective scene" and Grossberg's "affective alliance," when it comes to the notion that rock makes sense "among globally dispersed audiences" (p. 61).

its audience that has been renewed at each new edition for more than 30 years and for which the *versatile nature* and the *function of generational integration* intrinsic to rock have been fundamental for the festival to continually make sense to youth cultures over time.

Rock in Rio no longer relies on its 1980s pioneering period: The contemporary festivalization of culture (Bennett et al., 2014) may represent an opportunity for the festival to continually reinvent itself in the future, but also a challenge; the public's choice of so many festivals becomes increasingly spread out, especially in what attracts the younger audiences. However, there is this particular feature, intrinsic to the so-called affective alliance that might continue to distinguish Rock in Rio from other music festivals: the faculty of mediating large-scale intergenerational encounters and, more specifically, intrafamilial participation.

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