A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of the Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival Website: A Cultural Criminology of Peace- and Community-Building

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Katie Marie Highbaugh
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ABSTRACT

Social settings that are low in interpersonal crime offer an opportunity to understand social control and, moreover, peace-making. Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival held each summer since 2002 in Manchester, Tennessee, is a contemporary example of a peaceable provisional community. To analyze the culture of Bonnaroo, I undertook a multimodal discourse analysis, which is as a systematic analysis of all texts and images (Fairclough 2013; Machin & Mayr 2012). I paid particular attention to how the website was able to foster community via what they communicated and how – through overall website design or visual semiotics, and images, as well as verb processes, style of language, presentation of social actors, transitivity, and presupposition in the text. A cultural criminological framework can be used to understand the aesthetics of peaceful living and resistance that occurs on the festival grounds. Upon analysis of the festival website, three themes emerged: opposition to harm, extending and involving the community, and ethics of early childhood. The discourse of Bonnaroo encourages its community members to think beyond our current system to envision what is possible at the festival and beyond.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Criminologists investigate patterns of crime, including patterns of relative lack of crime. This thesis is concerned with the latter in relation to music festivals. I will explore the peaceable, provisional community of the Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival through a multimodal discourse analysis of the official festival website.

The number of large music festivals in the United States – Woodstock being the best known example – declined after the 1960s and 1970s (Waterman 1998). Since the year 2000, though, these events are increasing in popularity (Sharpe 2008). Music festivals vary, but generally they are social gatherings meant for celebration. In this regard they are similar to parades, carnivals, and fairs (Falassi 1987; Waterman 1998; Sharpe 2008). A music festival is a "cultural event consisting of a series of performances of works of fine arts, often devoted to a single artist or genre" (Waterman 1998:57). Festivals are mass gatherings, usually consisting of over 1,000 people (McQueen & Davies 2012). In addition, these events tend to take place in a specific geographic area (Falassi 1987). Music and arts festivals typically span several days (Futrell, Simi, & Gottschalk 2006).

The culture surrounding music festivals is evidently unique within modern Western society. Waterman (1998:55) states that "the arts is as a symbol of collective identity." Historically, festivals are recognized as spaces of protests and resistance (Sharpe 2008). Largely associated with the hippie movements of the 1960s and 1970s, music festivals embody the ideas of tolerance, peace, and love (Gee & Bales 2012). As the music festival culture becomes more pervasive there is an opportunity to analyze festivals as a window into peaceable living. Kommers (2011) argues that the ritualistic nature, and social solidarity that occurs among festival goers is a form of religiosity. In addition, Kommers (2011) makes a plea for research to

be done in this area because of the distinctive way in which patrons connect and experience this unique type of social gathering.

An increase in the number of music festivals means more people are experiencing these events (McQueen & Davies 2012). Generally, research concerning music festivals attends to a disparate array of topics, none of them broadly criminological. Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk (2006:275) point to a gap in the literature: "Few sociologists systematically consider how activists use the aesthetic, associational, and symbolic forces of music in their movement." Works published on music festivals include studies on solidarity and social movements, specifically, Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk (2006) study how musical movements, including song lyrics and festivals, increase solidarity among white supremacists. DeBano (2005) says that music and society are interconnected across the globe in ways that are not fully realized. As more support for music festivals grow, business scholars have seized the opportunity to further profits. Most published articles concerning music festivals deal with understanding visitor motivations to improve marketing strategies and the economic impact of festivals on their host community (Frey 1994; Gelder & Robinson 2009; Pegg & Patterson 2010; Hiller 2014). Medical professionals have also taken note of the health consequences of music festivals. Works published in this vein include information on how to deal with health and environmental risks associated with open air gatherings, while others comment on the abundant substance use (Earl, Parker, & Capra 2005; Botelho-Nevers & Gautret 2013; Hutton & Jaensch 2015). Professionals in Australia notice the substance use associated with music festivals; they argue that it has become normalized among "young Australians involved in music subcultures such as those attending nightclubs, raves, concerts and music festivals" (Lim, Hellard, Hocking, Spelman, & Aitken 2010:151). Work by Hesse, Tutenges, and Schliewe (2010) specifically examines the use

of tobacco and cannabis at music festivals, finding an increase in the use of tobacco and cannabis among festival patrons. There is literature to suggest substance use is prevalent at music festivals, however, most are concerned with addiction or health studies instead of crime and the meanings of that crime. Applying a criminological analysis to music festivals, specifically Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival, yields information on how these events are meaningful to festival patrons.

Started by Ashley Capps of A.C. Entertainment and Superfly Production in 2002, Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival is known for its peaceable culture (Gee & Bales 2012). Festival patrons, organizers, and musicians speak to the community building, peace-making, and lack of violence on the festival grounds (Gee & Bales 2012; George-Warren 2012; Bonnaroo 2016). Located in Manchester, Tennessee, this event spans across four days where 70,000 to 100,000 patrons gather for a four-day weekend focused on music and art (Gee & Bales 2012). Patrons camp on a 700-acre farm (owned by Sam McCalister) during the first Thursday through Sunday of June, where the festival plays host to a variety of musicians, musical genres, and artists throughout the weekend (Gee & Bales 2012). Originally based on the jam band genre (inspired by the Grateful Dead), the festival grew to include classic rock, hip-hop, jazz, country, soul, and folk (Gee & Bales 2012).

Few scholars have studied Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival *per se*. Gee and Bales (2012) analyze how local newspapers portray Bonnaroo patrons. Although this study focused on how the local community conceptualized 'the other' (other being Bonnaroo patrons), there is data relevant to the current study. Specifically, Gee and Bales (2012) corroborate claims of Bonnaroo's peaceable community. Although there is a public concern for narcotics abuse and trafficking, city and police officials are quoted as saying most arrests/citations were for minor

drug and disorderly conduct offenses (Gee & Bales 2012). This research supports claims of Bonnaroo's temporary peaceable community.

An Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis that I undertook further corroborates claims of Bonnaroo's peaceable community. The regression, located in the Appendix, Table A, utilizes secondary data from the Uniform Crime Reporting program (UCR 2014). These results support the overall idea that music festivals bring crime to communities, but population plays a substantial role. Narcotic violations explain the increase in crime rates for music festival communities, overall.

Coffee County has its own arrest numbers and when compared to national averages of counties with and without music festivals, it becomes apparent that Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival is somewhat unique. Descriptive Statistics, as seen in Table 1, compares Coffee County's number of arrests to those of all United States counties distinguished as counties that host annual music festivals and those who do not. The number of arrests for Coffee County is lower than the national average. Table 1 compares Coffee County's number of arrests to those of all United States counties distinguished as counties that host annual music festivals and those who do not. In every crime category except narcotics violations, Coffee County's incidence of arrest is lower than the average of all counties who do not host these annual music events. Narcotic drug arrests for Coffee County are only slightly higher than the averages of those counties who do not house an annual music festival. The overall difference in Coffee County's arrests compared to national averages is enough to spark a discussion on Bonnaroo's peaceable community.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics, Coffee County, TN and Other US Counties With Festivals

Variable Name	Mean	Variable Name	Mean
Grand Crime Total		Population	
Crime Total	3337.67	Population total	93000.80
CO w/o Fest	2978.53	CO w/o Fest	84701.07
CO w/ Fest	33408.54	CO w/ Fest	787935.00
Coffee CO	2713.00	Coffee CO	53222.00
Narcotic Violations		Violent Crime	
Narc Total	421.91	Total Violent	139.18
CO w/o Fest	371.01	CO w/o fest	120.42
CO w/ Fest	4683.84	CO w/ Fest	1710.60
Coffee CO	801.00	Coffee CO	111.00

It is worth asking what about Bonnaroo accounts for its relatively low offending rates. I look to Bonnaroo's official website for an answer in the culture that the website helps to construct. Although the festival website does not embody the whole Bonnaroo experience, I argue that it does begin to set up a culture that allows patrons to co-exist in positive ways. The website is an entryway to the festival. Almost all patrons will interact with the festival website before visiting the festival grounds through ticket sales and helpful camping/festival tips. Though tickets are marketed on sites like Ticketmaster, patrons are directed to Bonnaroo's website for the actual purchase.

I undertook a multimodal discourse analysis of the festival's official website (www.bonnaroo.com), which included all text and images across 33 total webpages. Discourse analysis is a systematic analysis of texts that seek to understand hidden, latent messages behind language (Machin & Mayr 2012). My project is concerned with how Bonnaroo's culture resists dominant forces of enacting power over others and indifference to harm. Multimodal discourse analysis allows for a systematic analysis of visual semiotics and images, in addition to text. Meaning is made through language, from grammatical choices made by the speaker to visual modes of communication (Machin & Mayr 2012).

The analysis highlighted three themes: opposition to harm, extending and involving the community, and the ethics of early childhood. The festival opposes sexual and environmental harms while encouraging patrons to care for themselves, while maintaining non injurious aesthetics. The website outlines a community justice system that emphasizes community interaction and solidarity among patrons, this system involves and includes all festival patrons and is outlined on the festival website. Lastly, Bonnaroo employs the ethics of early childhood through text and images in an effort to revive early childhood lessons (sharing, caring, tolerance,

etc.) that are necessary in cultivating a healthy community. These themes help construct Bonnaroo's commitment to peace- and community-building. This project gives greater insight into how peaceable communities could be constructed, and how aesthetics impact culture which influences crime.

I should note that the thesis has an autoethnographic sensibility. My own experience both inspired this research and gives insight into the Bonnaroo culture on the ground level. An analytic autoethnography is defined as a method "in which the researcher is (1) a full member in the research group or setting, (2) visible as such a member in the researcher's published texts, and (3) committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena" (Anderson 2006:373). Participating in Bonnaroo every year since 2009 qualifies me as a full member in this research setting. My personal experience with Bonnaroo's community-building inspired me to understand how this community is able to achieve peaceability while others foster more criminal behavior. My first Bonnaroo began with a tornado warning. The festival grounds were flooded. And I did not come as well prepared as I should have been. The first day, my cellphone took a tumble into a puddle of water and shut down completely. I was young, I knew my family would worry, and I was concerned I might have car trouble on the way home. Much to my surprise, my next door camping neighbors came to the rescue. Not only did they let me use their cellphone any time I wanted, they also shared their food and shade tents (extremely important when camping in the Tennessee summer heat). Since then, I have had the experience of support from the Bonnaroo community in times of need, and I have witnessed it many times over. Likewise, in 2015, a funky blues artist named Shakey Graves spoke emotionally from the stage about the unique culture of Bonnaroo. Shakey told a story of having seen a sick patron fall to their knees at which other Bonnaroovians

immediately ran to the patron's rescue with gallons of water and calling for help. I, too, had seen such acts of altruism. Over the course of my eight-year experience with the festival, I have yet to find a more community-minded social gathering of strangers.

CHAPTER 2: CONTROLLING CRIME, PROMOTING PEACE

In addition to, or more accurately as part of the project of explaining crime, criminological theories should be able to explain lack or low rates of offending. And newer, more critical criminological theories deconstruct the nature of peacemaking, hence the relevance of criminological theories to the Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival – a space that, as shown in Chapter 1, has had low interpersonal crime rates.

CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Theories of social control assume all people are hedonistic, or constantly pursuing self-pleasure, and as such they ask why persons do *not* commit crime (Vold, Bernard, & Snipes 2002). These theories would seemingly provide a clarifying theoretical backdrop for a study of low crime at music festivals. Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory refers specifically to controls on offending, these consisting in elements of the social bond a person has: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. Attachment refers to the social bonds an individual has with law abiding citizens; if an individual is concerned with their relationships, they are less likely to commit crime (Hirschi 1969). Commitment refers to a person's investment in social activities, including education. If a person pursues these goals, they are less likely to deviate from the norm and risk losing their achievements (Hirschi 1969). Involvement concerns the amount of time a person spends in socially acceptable activities; if a person's time is spent doing other activities, this leaves less time for deviant behavior (Hirschi 1969). Lastly, Hirschi's (1969) view of belief entails a person's level of belief in the norms; if a person strongly believes in the norms then they are less likely to deviate from them.

Social bond theory is concerned with people's behavior – that is, the question of what inhibits people from doing delinquency. It therefore has limited application to groups. It seems doubtful that Bonnaroo patrons quickly develop deep social ties with strangers in the space of a weekend. Hirschi's (1969) theory has hardly been applied to explain lack of offending. We must therefore turn to macro level theories that place less emphasis on sustained relationships. A criminology of Bonnaroo – or any other social space – ought not be focused on offenders, but rather a spatio-temporal interaction that results in lack of crime.

MACRO-LEVEL CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

Macro-level criminological theories address variations in offending across aggregates. Instead of understanding offenders, social disorganization theorists want to understand the setting in which crime transpires, highlighting characteristics of the place not the people (Vold, Bernard, & Snipes 2002). The major macro-level criminological theories are social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay 1942; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls 1997), routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson 1979), and reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite 1989). These have been applied to understanding inter-area and inter-national differences in crime rates, as well as changes in rates over time. They have not been applied to temporary communities such as Bonnaroo, though potential exists.

Social disorganization theory came out of the Chicago School of thought. University of Chicago, not only housed the first sociology department, but it was characterized by high levels of sociological activity described as being "vigorous and energetic" (Becker 1999:10). Sociologists of the turn of the 20th century in that urban area became concerned with the unequal distribution of crime and other social problems across neighborhoods (Bruinsma, Pauwels,

Weerman, & Bernasco 2013). Shaw and McKay (1942) observed that communities with higher residential instability, lower socioeconomic status, and higher levels of ethnic heterogeneity experience higher levels of crime. Communities with these characteristics lack the ability to organize themselves against problematic behavior. The social cohesion needed for social control in these neighborhoods is absent (Steenbeek & Hipp 2011).

Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) built on the original social disorganization theory, emphasizing that the relationship between social disorganization and crime is mediated by social solidarity present in a neighborhood. They present the concept of collective efficacy, or the capability of neighbors to self-police (Sampson et al. 1997). However, the idea of residential instability exogenous to social disorganization is not applicable to temporary communities: the theory leaves no room for this type of group. Steenbeek and Hipp (2011:834) likewise assert that "if neighborhood residents can organize themselves, this will result in 'informal social control' —the informal regulatory behavior of others—and therefore potential offenders will either refrain from offending or be stopped in the process." Yet, there is no mention of a community in which members voluntarily and temporarily participate

Routine activities theory was a response to rapid social change in the United States. It is consequently not only concerned with spatial organization, but also the temporal organization of social activities (Cohen & Felson 1979). The theory argues that crime rates are related to "changes in the 'routine activities' of everyday life," defined as patterned work, pursuit of life's necessities and leisure, and so forth (Cohen & Felson 1979:589). Any change in the structure of routine activities influences the opportunity for criminal behavior (Cohen & Felson 1979). Routine activities theory claims that crime arises because of "(1) motivated offenders, (2) suitable targets, and (3) the absence of capable guardians against a violation" (Cohen & Felson

1979:589). The theory acknowledges that these processes can happen outside of the home, neighborhood, or community, as long as there is a structural change in routine activities coupled with the intersection of all three conditions (Cohen & Felson 1979). Cohen and Felson (1979) found that groups who are married and secure employment are likely to spend evenings in the home, whereas if groups are unemployed, unmarried, or young they are more likely to spend time outside of the home where victimization is most likely to occur. According to the theory, a motivated offender must come across a suitable target that lacks a capable guardian (Cohen and Felson 1979). Bonnaroo patrons attend concerts and participate in various festival activities throughout the weekend, leaving camping gear, valuables, and food unattended. Although it can be argued that Bonnaroo patrons exhibit high levels of social control, the problem arises when a routine activities theory approach is coupled with the alcohol and substance use that can take place at Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival. Routine activities theorists might say that alcohol and drug use would render a guardian incapable of supervising an area, which would provide opportunities for crime. This theory does not provide an example of the disruption of routine activities, also making it difficult to apply to Bonnaroo (Cohen & Felson 1979). Bonnaroo patrons are outside of the home, where victimization is most likely to occur (Cohen & Felson 1979). Yet, the festival is known for its peace- and community-building.

Reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite 1989) is a micro *and* macro level criminological theory. Shaming that is reintegrative – by taking place within supportive relationships and coupled with gestures of acceptance – is said to inhibit offending at individual and group levels. In contrast, failure to condemn misconduct – that is, no shaming – or shaming that is stigmatizing are said to promote offending. Stigmatizing shaming pushes the offender toward criminal groups. If society is not accepting of offenders, it forces deviant groups to come

together, whereas if the community can positively integrate an offender back into the whole, then the individual is less likely to commit crime (Braithwaite 1989). Notably, the theory "moralizes qualities of social control" (Braithwaite 1989:9) meaning that communities with higher moral expectations of its members will have less crime because members embrace the law. Braithwaite (1989:8) claims that "crime is best controlled when members of the community are the primary controllers through active participation in shaming offenders…" He states that, "the rule of law will amount to a meaningless set of formal sanctioning proceedings which will be perceived as arbitrary unless there is community involvement…" (Braithwaite 1989:8). Essentially, laws are meaningless without community backing, and crime needs to be addressed by communities and not solely by criminal justice experts (Braithwaite 1989). Reintegrative shaming is characteristic of communities with low interpersonal crime rates. Interdependency among community members will increase the likelihood of the reintegration of offenders (Vold, Bernard, & Snipes 2002).

Braithwaite was concerned about relationships and peaceable societies, his theory fails to encompass all meaningful aspects of crime at Bonnaroo. Braithwaite (1989) makes an important distinction by claiming the theory does not serve in "…dealing with the small minority of criminal laws that are not consensually regarded as justified, as with laws against marijuana use in liberal democracies" (Braithwaite 1989:3-4). Meaning, this theory only applies to property and violent crimes. Scholars need to understand the drug crime pattern associated with festivals in addition to the inhibition of property and violent crime. The central claim revolves around a functional type of shaming that can be held with the offender, a facilitator, and people impacted by the offense (Braithwaite 1989). Simply, it is an idea of how crime can be repaired. Perhaps, the Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival community did not ever exhibit high levels of violent and

property crime from its inception. This would render the community incapable of reintegrative shaming. If these claims are true, reintegrative shaming would not explain the lack of crime on the festival grounds.

The major criminological theories that theorize macro level variation in offending attend to permanent neighborhoods. How is offending promoted or inhibited in temporary communities? Consideration of aesthetics might help provide an answer, for which I turn to cultural criminology.

CULTURAL CRIMINOLOGY

Cultural criminology is a relatively new framework which focuses on crime as a cultural phenomenon rooted in sociology, cultural studies, and postmodernism (Ferrell 1999). Started by Ferrell and Sanders (1995), cultural criminology is described as "an emergent array of perspectives linked by sensitivities to image, meaning, and representation in the study of crime and crime control" (Ferrell 1999:396). This theory is not simply an emphasis on how crimes and criminals are portrayed in culture, "rather a journey into the spectacle and carnival of crime, a walk down an infinite ball of mirrors where images created and consumed by criminals, criminal subcultures, control agents, media institutions, and audiences bounce endlessly one off the other" (Ferrell 1999:397). Essentially, the theory focuses on how meaning is constructed, and how this meaning impacts crime (Ferrell 1999).

I argue that it is the culture of Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival that is responsible for its lack of crime, moreover peace-making and community-building. The aspects of culture that cultural criminologists cite can be applied to Bonnaroo because of the theory's focus on

aesthetics and crime. The Bonnaroo website is a place where images, text, visual semiotics, and other cultural artifacts make social meaning that is carried to the festival grounds.

Cultural criminology moves beyond traditional legal frameworks, which allows for an analysis that makes meaning out of crime (Ferrell, Hayward, Morrison, & Presdee 2004). Ferrell (1999:403) acknowledges that "much of what we label criminal behavior is at the same time subcultural behavior." Furthermore, the theory states "deviance is a cultural product, and hence a product of cultural definition" (Ferrell, Hayward, & Young 2008:33). If crime is a function of mainstream culture, then lack of crime can be viewed as a function of culture as well (Ferrell 1995). The focus on culture includes how our media and other visual representations present cultural messages that influence crime and criminalization (Ferrell 1995). In addition, this framework invites consideration of the aesthetic aspects of culture, which are highly salient to Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival. "Subcultures of crime and deviance are defined by their aesthetic and symbolic organization" (Ferrell 1999:404). Cultural criminology, also, focuses on popular culture, analyzing pop music and art. This framework emphasizes the visual realm, the media, and community spaces, among other types of phenomenon. Cultural criminology recognizes how participating in certain musical subcultures can result in arrest and conviction because of the "public labeling of popular culture products as criminogenic" (Ferrell 1999:405). In addition, "…everyday popular cultural undertakings – those social activities organized around art, music, and fashion – are regularly recast as crime" (Ferrell & Sanders 1995:7). This allows the drug use present at music festivals, and more specifically Bonnaroo, to be viewed as a form of resistance against more dominant ideals. Cultural criminologists also recognize the power of music. In fact, Ferrell, Hayward, and Young (2008) take a particular interest in rap music, noting that there is a way in which music can meaningfully organize communities.

The theory says that the youth, and pop culture is a form of resistance to mainstream culture (Ferrell et al. 2008). Patrons' drug use is essentially their form of resistance to dominant ideologies, and music festival subcultures can be criminalized for this behavior. The focus for cultural criminologists include "criminalized subcultures and their resistance to legal control" (Ferrell 1999:398). Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival would be criminalized because of its position in popular culture; events like this and their attendees are considered part of deviant subcultures in media. Bonnaroo's negative media portrayal is acknowledged by Gee and Bales (2012). Presdee and Carver (2000) state that events like music festivals not only resist through drug use, but by perpetuating pleasure all through the weekend. It is a statement to stand outside of the rules; it's extending the buzz from drugs throughout several days which places people as an outsider to mainstream culture (Presdee & Carver 2000). Bonnaroo chooses to show their opposition to mainstream ideals in this manner. Young people use the body (dancing, feeling the music, drug use) to escape logical reasoning set forth by the brain (Presdee & Carver 2000). This focus on the body invokes a reaction from the state through drug laws: "drug laws are an example of this continuing criminalising of the body that is primarily aimed at young people" (Presdee & Carver 2000:123). Bonnaroo culture sees drug use a form of resistance against mainstream culture, not only does the festival website subvert dominant ideology through the website, but Bonnaroo patrons take a stand against it through drug use. Cultural criminologists also take a similar stance on music.

> Music, whether it be in the making of it, communicating it, listening to it or simply moving to it, has always played an important part in the lives of young people and has had the ability to incense mainstream culture to the extent that there have always been attempts to control and criminalise it in some way (Presdee & Carver 2000:115).

The arrests for narcotics possession is this very criminalization of music as it pertains to Bonnaroo. Cultural criminologists do recognize that youth music is a threat to mainstream culture, which is precisely why states have historically tried to control it (Presdee & Carver 2000). Drug arrests at Bonnaroo does not mean the community is crime-ridden, rather, drug use is a form of resistance. Outside of traditional legal frameworks, Bonnaroo can be considered a peaceable, provisional community.

According to cultural criminologists the mass media relies on the criminal justice system for their imagery and information, then turns crime into a source of entertainment (Ferrell & Sanders 1995). Bonnaroo's media, as represented by their official website, does something different. "Media and criminal justice organizations thus coordinate their day-to-day operations and cooperate in constructing circumscribed understandings of crime and crime control" (Ferrell 1999:406). Without traditional outlets of media constructing crime and crime control to festival patrons, the festival has an opportunity to present different cultural messages that encourage peace- and community-building.

Cultural criminology provides the framework needed to understand Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival. The theory allows room for an understanding of aesthetics and style, moves beyond traditional legal frameworks to understand some crimes as resistance, and recognizes the power of music, and how music can organize groups of people. Because of this, cultural criminology is easily applied to music festivals, specifically Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

This research seeks to understand the production of Bonnaroo culture through their online presence, specifically on their official festival website (www.bonnaroo.com). A multimodal discourse analysis was used to gain a greater understanding of the culture. This method allows for an analysis that goes beyond text to include images and visual semiotics, such as font, font color, and spacing. Both text and images work to cultivate a peaceable culture at Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival.

GETTING STARTED

This thesis, a multimodal discourse analysis of the Bonnaroo website, emerged from a previous study proposal. The initial project idea was to conduct and analyze interviews from festival patrons during Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival 2016. The main mode of inquiry the project would utilize is phenomenology. The project would attempt to understand the social construction of the culture, how patrons make it meaningful, and patrons' experience with crime. For patrons, interview questions would be directed towards understanding how they experience and understand festival culture, as well as how they might contribute to it. Questions presented would allow patrons the opportunity to provide a rich description of their experience, scenes patrons' witnessed over the years, and activities at the festival in which they may participate. The main focus would be to understand how Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival culture is understood and reproduced among festival goers, in other words, what activities might patrons engage in that contribute to the overall culture, how they understand/view the culture, how are their actions different and what is responsible for this shift in behavior. Interviews would consist of face to face semi structured interviews and open ended questions. The questions would allow interviewees to talk about their Bonnaroo experience as a whole, their experience (if any) to

crime on the festival grounds, and their understanding of Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival culture. Bonnaroo volunteers/workers/organizers would be prompted to speak more specifically about how the structures at Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival are organized and maintained, in addition to how they experienced the festival themselves. Follow up questions would be asked in order to better understand the themes previously highlighted in the analysis of the first round of interviews. The project was essentially designed to understand how Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival is able to achieve a peaceable community through its culture, and how it is understood and experienced by festival patrons. Unfortunately**,** Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval would not come in time to perform this study by the summer of 2016.

With the same ideas in mind, I began to mull through the festival website, the culture embodied on the festival grounds must be portrayed elsewhere. Upon review, the festival website portrayed the very ideals Bonnaroo patrons seemed to embody on the farm. Not only was a culture being created through text on the festival website, but the Bonnaroo logo, and various other images all seemed to communicate certain ideas. The project was reconfigured as a fine-grained study of the website. I reasoned that the website is a vehicle of the Bonnaroo culture. Thus, in February 2016, I sought IRB approval from the University of Tennessee. The project qualified for exempt review because of its minimal engagement with human subjects. Official IRB approval was received April 8, 2016.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS – TEXTUAL AND MULTIMODAL

Machin & Mayr (2012) describe discourse analysis (DA) as a systematic analysis of texts. Multimodal critical discourse analysis includes the analysis of images, which can communicate messages language simply cannot (Machin & Mayr 2012). Cultural criminologist,

Jeff Ferrell (1999), advocates that text and media analysis is one pathway in which fine details of culture can be understood; DA is one such analysis.

Inundated with online and televised images, people are subject to the power of non-textual signs as well. Multimodal DA incorporates these images into the analysis. This type of discourse analysis recognizes that messages communicated through images are indirect, but nonetheless communicate a certain message. Machin and Mayr (2012) note that images can communicate messages that cannot be stated outright through text, and these ideas are equally important. While image analysis techniques already exist within media studies, multimodal critical discourse analysis provides a framework necessary for a more precise description that results in a rich, more accurate analysis (Machin & Mayr 2012).

Although much of language analysis is usually left to critical linguistics, what separates critical discourse analysis is that language is viewed as a social practice (Machin & Mayr 2012). "Language is intertwined with how we act and how we maintain and regulate our societies" (Machin & Mayr 2012:2). This method maintains that text and images can "seek to shape the representation of events and persons for particular ends" (Machin & Mayr 2012:9). Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival's website represents the festival and patrons, techniques outlined by DA assists in understanding the particular ends of this representation.

My project is a multimodal discourse analysis of the Bonnaroo website (www.bonnaroo.com). All text and images were systematically analyzed and coded. My project is framed through Kress's (2010) approach of social semiotic theory of communication, according to which "visual elements and features do not just represent the world but constitute it" (Machin & Mayr 2012:19). This allows for the idea that information presented on the Bonnaroo website creates a unique culture that festival patrons follow. Text and images on the

website constitute the world in which patrons live, and results in peace- and community-building on the festival grounds.

DATA

Bonnaroo projects its identity through semiotics. The music festival's website is an outlet in which this reality is communicated to patrons and fans. While the festival operates official social media pages that can be responsible for the production of culture, the website will be used by virtually all patrons. Ticketmaster will redirect a user to the Bonnaroo webpage for the official ordering process. Even if a patron purchases tickets from a friend, eBay, StubHub, or craigslist, these patrons still must visit the website to get directions, see the lineup of musicians, download the schedule of concerts, register their tickets, and obtain camping recommendations. Whereas all Bonnaroovians may not have access to Bonnaroo's Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, or Tumblr pages, most Bonnaroo patrons will be able to access the basic website. Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival's website is the main source for all things Bonnaroo.

I analyzed all text, images, and other visual semiotics found on the Bonnaroo website (www.bonnaroo.com). It contains seven main tabs, all of which have sub categories that result in 33 total webpages. The festival's main tabs include Tickets + Accommodations, Lineup, Activities, Festival Info, Gallery, Get Involved, and News. Subtabs under Tickets + Accommodations include Tickets, On Site Accommodations, and Hotels + Shuttles, all of which outline details on tickets and ticket purchasing. The Lineup main tab includes the 2016 lineup and contains separate subtabs for the Day by Day Lineup and the 2015 Lineup. The Activities tab includes subtabs entitled Christmas Barn, Arts + Entertainment, Connect, Eat + Drink, Save The Planet, Goods + Gifts and Work it Out. These subtabs tell festival patrons about the health

and wellness classes offered on the festival grounds, sustainability efforts made by the festival, available food vendors, and a dive bar featuring a live DJ set adorned with fairy lights. Festival Info contains multiple subtabs that include The Code + Terms, Health + Safety, Camping, Travel, Entry, Facilities, Accessibility and Bonnaroo Census. Here, patrons can learn what is expected of the Bonnaroo community, and the best practices to stay healthy while experiencing Bonnaroo. The Gallery main tab features photographs of past festivals. Get Involved, another main tab, includes the subtabs Bonnaroo Works Fund, Sustainability, Contests, Become an Ambassador, Partners + Non Profits, Volunteers, and Vendors. These main and subtabs specifically outline the ways in which a patron can become involved with the festival and their various missions. Lastly, the website features a main tab entitled News with the subtabs Good Stuff and Festival News. Both News subtabs contain news stories regarding new festival amenities, and information about past years at Bonnaroo. Each of the main headings allow a user to learn more about the festival itself, festival information from the past, and how they can become involved with sustainability efforts, volunteer work, and the Bonnaroo community. The website serves as more than a simple ticket ordering function, and introduces patrons to the festival and the festival culture.

ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES

The project began after IRB approval, I took screenshots of the festival website using the FireShot extension for Google Chrome. Although certain internet capturing functions are available through coding software such as NVivo, these proved to be unsuccessful in practice and incorrectly loaded images into the program. FireShot's Google Chrome extension is a free downloadable software that works in conjunction with a specific internet browser, in this case

Google Chrome. Once the software is downloaded, an icon will appear on the toolbar of the browser that allows for easy use of the new extension. FireShot captured each tab and subtab of the festival website in its entirety, alternative extensions captured each webpage in sections. This function helped to keep data organized. Screenshots were then loaded into NVivo, a text-analytic software program, where each tab and subtab were systematically coded. NVivo's various functions allowed for the coding of all parts of the website, including images, texts, and website background. This analytic software program includes a region coding feature, in which any size text or image can be highlighted, and then coded. NVivo will then let the user see all of their coded regions in different formats which helps when analyzing the data.

The style of language is used as a way to express authority, and was analyzed on the Bonnaroo webpage. More formal and technical lexis styles are used to communicate facts and information, while "conversational style is both private and suggests dialogue between equals" (Machin & Mayr 2012:44). Texts can be written in the style of an expert which includes a more formal vocabulary and directives, as well as street styles which are more conversational (Machin & Mayr 2012). Pronouns such as you, your, and I suggest a conversational/street style, especially when used with words we recognize as being trendy and associate with youth (Machin & Mayr 2012).

People can be presented as either an individual or as part of a collective in language. In some instances, individualization of people can bring the audience closer to the subject while collectivization makes language less personal (Machin & Mayr 2012). However, collectivization can work to align groups of people, bringing them together through commonalities (Machin & Mayr 2012). Yet, collective pronouns such as 'us' and 'them' symbolize a division and can "create a collective other" (Machin & Mayr 2012:84). Individualization and collectivization can

be used for many purposes, regardless, both positions are meaningful and were analyzed as it pertains to the festival website.

Transitivity in text was also examined. Verb processes can be analyzed to gain a better understanding of who the social actor is and whether that actor is active or passive (Machin & Mayr 2012). Verb processes are either material, mental, behavioural, verbal, relational, or existential (ibid). Not all of these verb processes are directly related to action which is the case for material processes, mental processes can help an actor appear to be busy without doing anything (ibid). Behavioural processes signify some action, but are only experienced by a single person not a collective. Verbal processes include all synonyms of say (ibid). Relational processes "encode meaning about states of being" or where something is in relation to something else (Machin & Mayr 2012:110). Existential processes communicate that something exists, or something is happening (Machin & Mayr 2012). While all verbs present some action, material processes give an actor agency through showing concrete action (ibid).

Presupposition is also important when analyzing language. This involves the taken for granted information that is embedded in all parts of language (Machin & Mayr 2012). It is important when we want to understand what is foregrounded and what is silenced in a series of texts (ibid). By sidelining some information, it does not allow room for contestation (ibid). Presupposition allows for assumptions to be made about the audience and can have an othering effect (ibid).

Images were coded for degrees of brightness, saturation, and tone (Machin & Mayr 2012). The degrees of brightness can suggest a shift in mood, brighter images create a positive and airy feeling (ibid). Saturation of color suggests degrees of emotional intensity, extreme light or dark tones also signifies extremes of truth and emotion (ibid). Images could range from

diagrams, cartoon images, and photographs from the festival itself. In conjunction with language, images "allow us to consider the kinds of identities, values and sequences that are being communicated" (Machin & Mayr 2012:206). The size of an image can also emphasize certain messages (Machin & Mayr 2012).

Visual semiotics were analyzed, webpages that do not include images still visually communicate some mood or tone. In these cases, font type, color of text, and spacing were analyzed (Machin & Mayr 2012). Machin and Mayr (2012) note that black text on a white background carry a different meaning than multi colored text on patterned backgrounds. Although discourse analysis critiques seemingly small details in text, images, and visual semiotics, all pieces of information work together to reveal latent messages hidden in content.

The Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival website used language and images in a variety of ways. A multimodal discourse analysis provided the necessary tools for a critique of the festival website. Overall aesthetics, content, and images communicate messages to patrons that they carry to the festival grounds. DA techniques allow these messages to be deconstructed, coded, and systematically analyzed in order to reveal deeper meanings.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Analysis of the Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival website revealed three themes: opposition to harm, extending and including the community, and the ethics of early childhood. In this chapter I thickly describe each of these themes.

OPPOSITION TO HARM

The festival opposes different forms of harm in multiple ways throughout the website, which encourages festival patrons to resist harmful practices. Specifically, the website tab Health + Safety gives special attention to harm reduction. Although the festival never directly states a position on practices that harm, they place patron wellbeing at the forefront, employ a harm reduction paradigm when speaking of festival drug use, dedicate pages of their website to reducing environmental harms, and address sexual harms through their Health + Safety webpage.

The Bonnaroovian You Are

Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival's website presupposes that "Happiness is the goal" and that "Proactive positivity is a proven way to get there" on The Code + Terms page. The festival website uses happiness and unhappiness to emphasize certain messages, anything that thwarts patron happiness is bad, which includes everything from camping mistakes to drugs. Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival promotes preparing for the festival, even dedicating a section of their Bonnaroo code on The Code + Terms page to being prepared for the festival. On the same page, Bonnaroo promotes happiness with a "Radiate Positivity" section and advises against negativity under a section entitled "Don't Be That Guy/Gal." On their Entry subtab, Bonnaroo outlines what a patron should bring to the festival, and what a patron will not need to survive but

will be happy they have it (this includes the recommendation of phosphate and sulfate free soaps, as well as extra clown noses). Again, promoting the ways in which a patron will be most comfortable, increasing their happiness.



Figure 1. Festival Info, Happy Campers



Figure 2. Health + Safety, Avoid a Wasted Weekend

The Festival Info webpage begins with "85,000 Happy Campers" characterizing all Bonnaroo patrons as happy (see Figure 1). The Activities page recognizes a "standard high five mentality" at Bonnaroo. The website assumes that high fives are representative of happiness and goodness, and that a happy mentality is standard on the festival grounds. On the Health + Safety subtab, the website advises to "avoid a wasted weekend," (see Figure 2) where drugs are cited as having the potential to "wreck your weekend" due to health risks associated with substance use. A wrecked weekend is an unhappy one, and Bonnaroo advises against this substance use. The Health + Safety webpage cites "SAFETY It's the most essential ingredient to your good time." In addition, the Facilities webpage attributes proper hydration to ensuring good times at Bonnaroo. The website ensures that keeping safe and following safety practices will result in good times, or happiness.

In addition, Bonnaroo uses the term "Good Stuff" on The Code + Terms and the News webpage. The term is not specific, but rather all encompassing. It seems as though "Good Stuff" can refer to anything that allows a patron to achieve happiness. While presuppositions, such as happiness and good stuff, can present ideas in such a way that makes them uncontestable and promote exclusion, happiness is something all can agree on. Presuppositions are essentially assumptions made about groups of people, this can ultimately have an othering effect. However, happiness does not other a specific group. Rather, a goal of happiness can serve to unite patrons who may seemingly have no other commonalities. By bringing groups together Bonnaroo can develop a community in which peace is possible.

Caring for You

On the Health + Safety subtab, one of the 33 festival pages, patrons are encouraged to drink plenty of water, eat regularly, apply sunscreen, and various other activities that place the wellbeing of patrons at the forefront. Bonnaroo Music and Arts festival offers free water, sourced directly out of wells on the festival grounds, to every patron. They also ensure water from any tap found on the grounds is drinkable and meets Tennessee drinking water requirements. Bonnaroo patrons can fill up any receptacle they choose with water, attendants are not forced to purchase a reusable water bottle in order to receive free water (although this option is available). Instead of profiting off water sales, the festival ensures all patrons stay hydrated and healthy. Bonnaroo reminds patrons at multiple points on the website to drink plenty of water and offers tips on ways to monitor health. The Health + Safety website uses playful language and images (see Figure 3) to educate patrons on dehydration, "Let us pee completely clear about this . . . Easy way to tell if you're properly hydrated: Your pee should be clear and odorless. If

it's stinky and yellow, then 'urine trouble.'" Bonnaroo's Health + Safety webpage also tells patrons to drink before they feel thirsty, and that "dehydration is the number-one cause of unhappiness at Bonnaroo." The importance of hydration is mentioned again on the Save The Planet subtab, the Entry webpage, the Facilities page, and in the Bonnaroo code on The Code + Terms webpage.



Figure 3. Health + Safety, Hydration Image

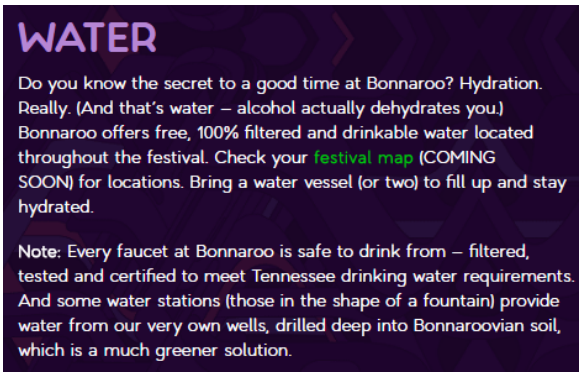


Figure 4. Facilities, Water Info

The Facilities webpage reinforces the importance of water by saying, "Do you know the secret to a good time at Bonnaroo? Hydration. Really" (see Figure 4). The same section reminds patron that hydration means water (not alcohol) and that free drinking water is available. Beyond simple hydration, Bonnaroo tells patrons to protect yourself from the sun with sunscreen in the Bonnaroo Code, "think hydration, plenty of sunblock, raingear, hats…" Again, sunblock is mentioned on the Entry page, "Sunscreen (lots of it)" and on the Health + Safety subtab, "don't forget to apply sunscreen early (before you roll out of your tent) and often." The Bonnaroo website reminds patrons to take care of themselves through multiple methods spanning across five different webpages.

The Health + Safety tab offers information on medical tents, referred to as Safe Havens where a "no questions asked" ethos prevails. The role of these medical tents is the wellbeing of

patrons, “Medical and security are safe havens at Bonnaroo, and you will not get in trouble for anything you do or say. Their only concern is your well-being” (see Figure 5). The Health + Safety webpage details where to find these medical tents, what services they provide, and patrons are assured that, “safety (aka, security) staff is trained to help make sure everyone has a good time and stays safe.” In addition to the Health + Safety page, the festival website mentions their safe havens and medical tents on the Camping subtab, the Facilities webpage, in the Bonnaroo terms section of The Code + Terms webpage, their Connect page, and again on their On Site Accommodations page. Thus, a total of six different Bonnaroo webpages remind patrons of safe haven locations and thus emphasize patron wellbeing. The Facilities page in particular reminds patrons that, “Medical and safety staff are on duty 24 hours a day at each POD, in Centeroo, and in the Main Venue.”



Figure 5. Health + Safety, Safe Havens

Drugs



Figure 6. Health + Safety, Overdose Warning Signs

The Health + Safety tab of the website devotes an entire section to drug use. The website takes a public health stance in regards to drug use. Here, Bonnaroo outlines the warning signs of a drug or alcohol overdose, and encourages members of the Bonnaroo community to seek help for themselves, or a friend, if they see someone in need (see Figure 6).

> If you see someone who is sick, upset, scared or clearly having a bad experience, get help. Find a medical tent or festival staff member. Provide all the information you can to safety or medical staff. Our "no questions asked" policy means neither you nor the sick person can get in trouble when you seek help.

Bonnaroo is opposed to drug use, and chooses to say so explicitly on the Health + Safety webpage.

> The Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival stands squarely against drug use. First, it's dangerous to your health, especially in the June heat. Second, it can ruin the weekend for you and those around you. And last but not least it's against the law: If it's illegal outside the festival, it's illegal inside, too.

The order of these reasons are of the utmost importance. Bonnaroo chooses to highlight the health risks associated with drugs first. Next, the festival points to drugs as causing unhappiness, which would negate the goal of festival patrons. Lastly, they engage the law. Instead of relying on traditional legal frameworks to explain their drug stance, they chose to first point out the harms in drug use. On the Health + Safety webpage the festival goes on to say that "our number-one concern is the well-being of all Bonnaroovians." Outside of their large drug section, but on the same webpage, Bonnaroo tells patrons to "avoid a wasted weekend" where they refer only to the health risks associated with drug and alcohol use, "Drugs raise your body temperature (sometimes fatally) and drain H20 from your cells…" The mention of drugs specifically occurs twice, both times drugs on the Health + Safety webpage, after each mention of the word drugs, it is immediately followed with risks to patron health rather than its legal status. On the Entry webpage, a specific section outlines what a patron may not bring on the festival grounds, drugs are never mentioned but the phrase "illegal substances" is used.

Sexual Harms

The Health + Safety webpage goes on to address sexual harms that pose a threat at Bonnaroo, the festival outlines how to "protect yourself," "help someone who may have been harmed," and "avoid causing harm yourself." Each section summarizes ways to protect yourself and others in regards to sexual harm, encourages patrons to help someone who may be hurt, and spends time talking about how to avoid causing harm. Rather than simply telling patrons to avoid taking drinks from strangers, they tell patrons to "Monitor yourself." Bonnaroo states, "Remember that 'no' means 'NO' even if it is said politely." Instead of the common discourse, which tells patrons how to protect themselves, the festival moves one step further and tells

patrons to avoid causing this harm. The festival also tells patrons if they are near a person who was harmed to "reassure them they are not to blame." Although the mention of sexual harm occurs on only one webpage, Health + Safety, the festival still calls special attention to this type of harm (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. Health + Safety, Can We Talk About Sex For A Minute?

Environmental Harm

Two entire webpages are dedicated to resisting harms against the environment, including one titled Sustainability and the other Save the Planet. Bonnaroo opens up their Sustainability page by using verb processes that are low in modality. "We aspire to be the greenest festival- and set the standard in sustainability and greening practices for North American concert events." Although verbs like aspire do not show much action, Bonnaroo follows up with an annual sustainability report of the last year's festival. This gives concrete numbers of trash diverted from landfills (either recycled or composted), as well as outlining the amount of energy saved through solar panels. The rest of the Sustainability webpage, like the rest of the festival website, is devoted to material processes which are tied to direct action (Machin & Mayr 2012). "Thanks to the amazing efforts of the Clean Vibes Team in 2015 we diverted 197.66 tons by weight from

the landfill in 2015." The festival allows for this sort of transparency in their accomplishments, which creates a trust between the festival organizers and Bonnaroovians (see Figure 8).



Figure 8. Sustainability, Annual Report to the Fans

On their Eat + Drink subtab, they boast about waste-free cafes and that all vendors use compostable flatware. Bonnaroo also encourages patrons to take free classes offered during the festival that focus on sustainable gardening and composting on their Save The Planet webpage. The festival also talks about their "Refill Revolution" program which works to reduce the number of cups used on the festival grounds. The website features animals, including unicorns and rabbits. Although non-human animals do not relate to their product so to speak, it allows the festival to emphasize their opposition to environmental harm in a playful way. On their Festival Info page, Bonnaroo begins to refer to the grounds in which the festival takes place as "The Farm." Referring to the festival grounds as a proper noun is significant to the discourse and occurs 28 times on 12 of 33 webpages, it furthers the idea that the environment is something to be respected. The Bonnaroovian code on The Code + Terms webpage devotes a small section to environmental protection titled "Respect The Farm." Verbs and terms on this page we generally associate with the environment, "this place grows happiness" and "we want to

ensure the sweetest sun kissed crop of smiles every year…" Bonnaroo aligns patrons with crops, emphasizing the need to be environmentally conscious (see Figure 9).

In addition to the Sustainability, Save The Planet, Eat + Drink, and The Code + Terms subtabs, the environment is mentioned on the Tickets and Travel pages, both pages encourage patrons to carpool or ride-share. The Travel webpage states, "it helps reduce traffic, saves money on gas and the earth will love you." The Tickets webpage also cites environmental reasons for carpooling, "You can reduce your carbon footprint and save money by carpooling." The Bonnaroo website reminds patrons on several pages to respect the environment and Respect The Farm (see Figure 9) which calls attention to this type of harm and gives suggestions on how patrons can be involved.



Figure 9. The Code + Terms, Respect The Farm

Opposing Harm through Aesthetics

All aesthetic elements of the website, meaning color palette, logos, images, and website design, signal comfort, gentleness and opposition to harm. The color palette mainly consists of cool colors, including purples and greens. This same color palette is carried through every page of the website. Backgrounds on all 33 webpages revolve around the color purple, and features other short wave-length colors including blue and shades of green. The Web design literature

suggests that colors with a shorter wavelength evoke positive emotions (i.e. blues, greens, etc.) while colors with longer wavelengths (i.e. red) have more negative connotations (Hall & Hanna 2004).

Backgrounds presented on the website feature patterns that lack sharp edges and angles that are considered non-injurious. The font choice used on the festival website is rounded (see Figures 10, 11, and 12). Drop down boxes used to showcase certain information are rounded on all four corners consistently throughout the website, see Figures 11 and 12. Pictures and links to other pages follow the same rounded edge theme, circles are used to highlight images. Their official logo, Figure 10, consists of a set of three interconnected circles and is featured on all 33 webpages. The festival uses patterns that contain bars of colors that interlock and intertwine on 11 of the 33 webpages (see Figure 11), liquid pools of color that seems to flow together on 5 of the 33 webpages (see Figure 12), and dripping paint featured in conjunction with other backgrounds on 18 of the 33 webpages (see Figure 12). A simple polka dot pattern is displayed on 8 of the 33 webpages. The remaining nine backgrounds on the Bonnaroo website are solid colors that match with the overall color scheme. Additionally, the website features extreme light and tone, intense color saturation, and an overall brightness in color. Machin and Mayr (2012) maintain that these qualities communicate truth, transparency, optimism, and emotional intensity. All images and visual semiotics work to communicate a positive message to Bonnaroo patrons that in turn adds to the culture Bonnaroo cultivates on their website.



Figure 10. Homepage, Bonnaroo Logo



Figure 11. Festival Info, Tubular Background

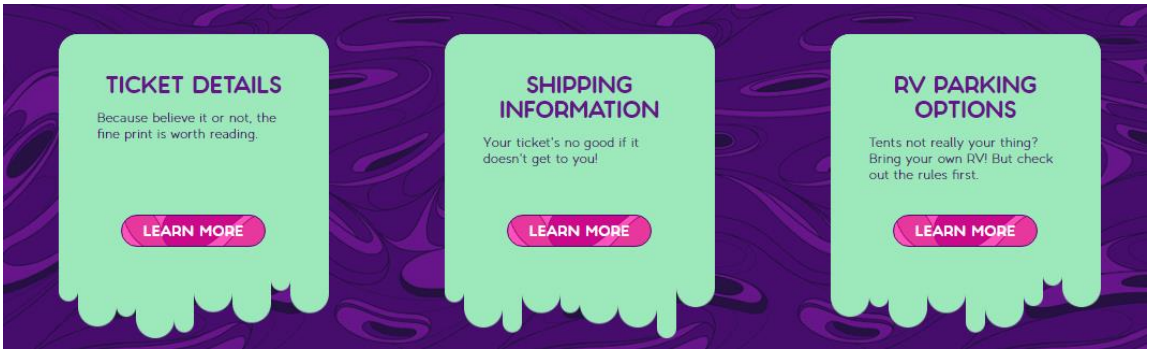


Figure 12. Tickets, Dripping Paint Accent and Pools of Color Background

‘LET’S DO THIS’: EXTENDING AND INVOLVING COMMUNITY

Bonnaroo promotes ideals of communitarianism in multiple sections of their website. Communitarianism’s basic premise is that overall, people act for the greater good instead of personal interests (Pearson 1995). Etzioni (2014) describes the basic formulations of communitarian theory, he states that a normative position taken by the state is the cause for division among people, these normative positions can help to perpetuate the belief that individuals are fundamentally different, causing a divide even in local communities. Communitarianism cites cohesive community values produce the greatest amount of social control (Etzioni 2014). With that being said, socializing Bonnaroo patrons to be a part of an all-encompassing Bonnaroo community would help facilitate this social control that leads to peace- and community- building.

Bonnaroo and Bonnaroo Patrons as a Community

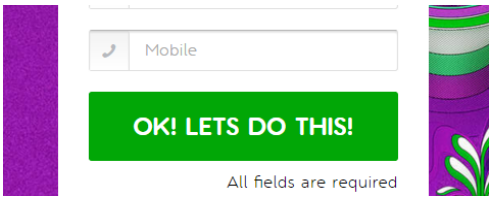


Figure 13. Become An Ambassador, OK! Let's Do This!

On the Become an Ambassador and Volunteer subtabs, actors are conceptualized as part of the community when applying to participate in certain activities on the festival grounds. Then, Bonnaroo encourages patrons to act in ways that benefit that same community. Specifically, when a patron signs up to become a Bonnaroo ambassador instead of hitting a “submit” button, patrons hit a button that says “OK! Let’s Do This!” Effectively conceptualizing a future patron as part of the Bonnaroo community (see Figure 13). It shifts the focus away from the individual

action. Bonnaroo conceptualizes itself as a community throughout the website through its description of PODS on the Connect webpage.

> PODS are strategically placed community centers throughout the Bonnaroo campground. They provide community services such as security, information booths, medical, showers, and drinking water. This is your space to relax and get to know your camping neighbors. Look at it as your Bonnaroo community center or city park.

On The Code + Terms webpage, PODS are again referred to as community centers, "Think of these as Bonnaroo community centers located throughout the campground. From medical assistance to vehicle issues, lost friends, relationship advice or concert and activity schedule info." Bonnaroo acknowledges the collective existence of patrons not only as a community, but also as a city on the Travel webpage, "Once a year, our little farm becomes Tennessee's 7th largest city basically overnight." Instead of a simple festival that houses patrons in campgrounds, it becomes a community equipped with community centers that offer many forms of help. A place to get to know your neighbors, not just your fellow patrons. In addition to The Code + Terms, the Connect, and the Travel page, Bonnaroo refers to itself as a community on the Census page, the Health + Safety page, and the Entry page, totaling six webpages.

Furthermore, the website separates itself from other communities throughout its webpages. The Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival website separates itself from the dominant culture on two separate webpages. On the Entry page, the festival refers to everything inside the festival as "its own little magical kingdom" while reminding patrons that once they leave Bonnaroo they are "Out There" and "surrounded by the real world town of Manchester, Tennessee." The festival emphasizes "Out There" as dissimilar by making the term a proper noun and the festival differentiates itself from other communities by saying the festival is its own

kingdom. Bonnaroo maintains respect for the surrounding area, but also sets The Farm and its culture apart. The Festival Info webpage opens their travel information section up with “If clicking your heels three times and saying "There's no place like home" doesn't work, here's how to get here from the Outside World.” This language conceptualizes all patrons as being part of a separate, special community.

The festival website continues to build a community through their Bonnaroovian Code, The festival does not have a set of laws, Bonnaroo has a code. This language is important if we take Martel’s (2014) argument that the absence of idolatry (of ‘the law’) results in the lack of crime. The description of the Bonnaroovian code does not have a founding father, so to speak, and is not something that Bonnaroo organizers imposed. Rather, the code is introduced on The Code + Terms page as something that developed out of the Bonnaroo community.

> Behold the Code. No one wrote it. It just always was and now it is. It just kind of evolved within the Bonnaroo Community over the years, out of the real-life experiences of hundreds of thousands of Bonnaroovians. We pulled it out of the air and finally put it down in writing. Follow it and you’ll make the most of your Bonnaroo adventure and possibly even help change the world (in a good way).

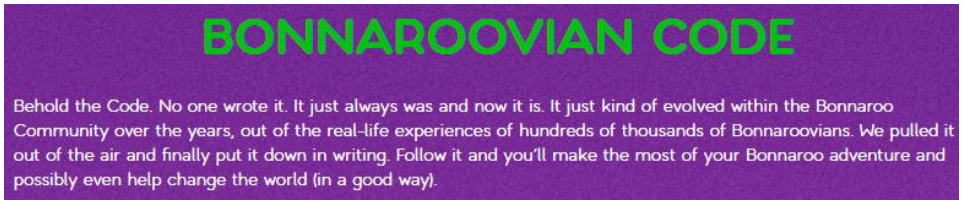


Figure 14. The Code + Terms, Bonnaroovian Code

One where traditional laws are rejected in favor of a code that is more beneficial to the community (see Figure 14). It resists the temptation to lay out strict rules that would maximize the profits of the festival, and instead holds a meaningful community at the forefront.

Community Justice

Bonnaroo enacts a community justice system on the festival grounds. Community justice is focused on crime prevention, in addition, community justice advocates for the involvement of local communities in operations that deal with crime (Kurki 2000). "The premise is that communities are strengthened when people have more chances to interact, create personalized relationships, and exercise informal social control" (Kurki 2000:237). The focal point of a community justice framework is that crime is viewed as a social problem, not a simple action involving an offender and a victim (Kurki 2000). The most prominent theoretical argument for this framework involves "community empowerment and participation" (Kurki 2000:237). It is the idea that "collective participation in crime prevention and neighborhood revitalization efforts reduce crime and fear directly, and increased social interaction and control do so indirectly" (Kurki 2000:237). Essentially, community justice frameworks involve activities such as neighborhood patrols, which increase social interaction. The social interaction increases solidarity among community members which results in informal social control (Kurki 2000). Existing literature on music festivals point to this bond. Waterman (1998:68) comments on bonds at music festivals, "through a relatively informal setting and a concentration in time and space, audiences could approach the artists while strengthening the bonds among themselves, at performance events, in the streets or at activities such as sharing meals in restaurants." Informal social control born out of social solidarity among Bonnaroo patrons leads to peace- and community-building, the Bonnaroo website outlines a program in which a community justice system is enacted. The Volunteer program at Bonnaroo is open to all would-be festival patrons. Bonnaroovians can work on the grounds fulfilling various roles during the event, outlines of patron duties and information regarding the system's set up is found on one full page of the

website, titled Volunteers. Patrons receive free admission on the grounds in exchange for their work, and tasks include anything from trash pick up to crowd control, artists and VIP areas, and more importantly security, which Bonnaroo calls safety. The variety of positions Volunteers can work ensures that volunteers, patrons, artists, and organizers work together in such a way that it builds solidarity. Bonnaroo's safety team receives free shirts that say "Here to Help" on the back. These "Safety C'Roos" work on any number of safety issues, including medical problems and checking bags/cars for items that would pose harm to the community from fireworks to firearms. Although Bonnaroo encourages patrons to, "Practice a "neighborhood watch." If you see something, say something" official neighborhood watches would be conducted by the Safety C'Roo. Future volunteers are conceptualized as part of the community on the Volunteer page, if a patron wants to apply to work they would click a button that says "How do I Join?" Instead of simply applying to work, a patron is applying to join a team (see Figure 15). On the website, a volunteer is not just a volunteer, and security personnel are not simply referred to as security. Rather, all working Bonnaroovians are part of a C'Roo (see Figure 16).

The festival maintains a conversational style discourse, and brings working members of the festival together in a meaningful way. This community police system allows for safety issues (and various other problems) to be handled by patrons living in the Bonnaroo community, all of whom are operating under the same framework that the festival website sets forth. The Volunteer program itself is inclusive to all community members. To join the C'Roo, no prior



Figure 15. Get Involved, How Do I Join?

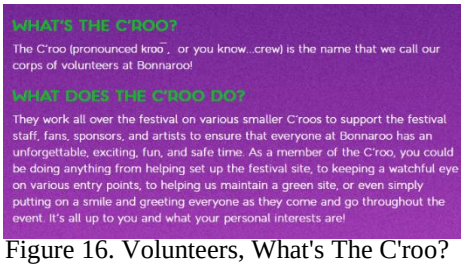


Figure 16. Volunteers, What's The C'roo?

experience is needed and heavy lifting is not required. Bonnaroo tries to cater to everyone, even those who may have more trouble walking/lifting, by offering a position switch if a Bonnaroovian is uncomfortable. The Volunteers page states, "If you get on site and don't think you can handle a specific job, speak up and we'll find something else for you to do." The inclusivity of the Volunteer program helps build community ties and solidarity among patrons of all ages and backgrounds.



Figure 17. Volunteers, GuRoos Info

The festival builds this community justice system by having returning C'Roo members become GuRoos. The GuRoos are essentially C'Roo leaders who have prior Bonnaroo volunteer experience. Not only does it allow for this community of workers to interact and learn from one another, but the festival organizers give GuRoos a space on the Bonnaroo Works Fund advisory board (see Figure 17). Each GuRoo is able to choose one of three charities in which their working hours will earn different donations to their charity. GuRoos also have the chance to attend the Works Fund advisory board meeting three times a year via video conference, which gives the Bonnaroo community a voice. Advisory board members are described on the Volunteers webpage as leaders in "directing how funds are disbursed in the coming year, with committee members responsible for the shape of Bonnaroo's future positive impact on the farm and nationwide." This gives patrons a voice among music festival organizers, and allows the Bonnaroo community to have representation among larger conversations that concern social responsibility among the host community of Coffee County and beyond.

Inclusion

This theme also includes the idea of inclusion, Bonnaroo recognizes ways of being through art and music that are historically excluded from the dominant culture. The festival honors different ways of being through showcasing a variety of musical genres and promoting artists of different ages, genders, races, and sexual orientations. Bonnaroo also encourages all patrons to become involved and create their own art and music at Planet Roo on their Save The Planet subtab, "The Academy on site provides a ton of diverse classes that range from theatre workshops to craft projects so you can create your own art – not just enjoy it." Furthermore, the Bonnaroo community has a chance to validate these very ways of being by fully engaging with the musical/artistic performance.

Bonnaroo honors disadvantaged groups in ways that can only be done outside of traditional legal frameworks. Historically, music and art has provided avenues for recognition among marginalized groups. Bonnaroo defines what it means to be a Bonnaroovian with very little limitations on their The Code + Terms page, "BONNAROOVIAN A person that has had their mind blown by the full Bonnaroo whammy and has a great passion for finding and celebrating good stuff." It eliminates boundaries between Bonnaroo patrons. The festival continues to advance communitarianism through inclusion by allowing patrons to enjoy the festival in whatever way they so choose. For example, the festival features a large mushroom shaped water fountain that can be used for a variety of needs. The Code + Terms page introduces the fountain, "whether you're using the 60-foot lighted fountain as a refreshing coolant for your systems or as ocular stimulation (aka eye candy) you are enjoying it in the way it was intended (which is to say however you like)." This gives the Bonnaroo community

agency to decide how to use the various amenities on The Farm and Bonnaroovians are allowed dictate their own ways of being.



Figure 18. Arts + Entertainment, The Silent Disco

The festival provides important spaces that are necessary for the inclusion of all patrons. On their Connect page, Bonnaroo describes outlets for children through their "Kidz Jam" which "inspires a love of music, culture and creativity…" Although the festival is geared towards a loud and lively nightlife, it does respect those who like to sleep. Bonnaroo provides a "Silent Disco" that keeps it "quiet for the tired and the volume turned up for all you night owls" according to the Arts + Entertainment page (see Figure 18). Patrons who participate all receive wireless headphones connected to a DJ Booth that plays music all through the night. It encourages patrons to be mindful of all attendees, no matter how they chose to spend their time. These spaces allow patrons to bring their children and supplies activities that are tailored to their needs, and respects others who rest during the night.

The festival recognizes the temptations of drugs and alcohol available on The Farm, and in response, Bonnaroo provides "Soberoo" which is described on their Facilities page as "a group of passionate, like-minded music fans who choose to remain drug and alcohol free at the festival." The group holds support meetings for their fellow Bonnaroovians so that they may also have a healthy, happy weekend.

CHANNELING EARLY CHILDHOOD

Bonnaroo embraces playfulness associated with early childhood, and wants to revive basic lessons of humanity we all learned as kids by employing language such as play and recess. Beyond the colors and overall design of the website, all 33 webpages feature the Bonnaroo logo, complete with cartoon rabbits jumping out of hats, and simple drawings of tents (see Figure 19). The same logo features a unicorn (see Figure 20), a mythical creature we most generally associate with children's stories, television, and toys. The theme for the 2016 Bonnaroo Music Festival is magical, literally. The festival celebrated fifteen years of magic and demonstrates this theme through cartoon images, similar to what a child might draw. Thus, imagery, in addition to text, is a path to emphasize childhood. It inspires patrons to enter the festival with a sense of wonder and excitement that is normally associated with childhood.



Figure 19. Homepage, Rabbit Jumping out of Hat with Tent



Figure 20. Homepage, Bonnaroo Logo Unicorn

One-third (11/33) of the webpages feature cartoon images specifically tailored to the webpage message. Bonnaroo's Festival Info page features cartoon characters, including large yellow smiley faces, and cartoon hands demonstrating a thumbs up. Others feature images of tents, cartoon RVs, and simple portrayals of colorful info booths (see Figure 21). The festival attempts to connect with patrons using images and language that we associate with children. Arguably, these are not random additions to the website, but serve a specific function as it pertains to creating a culture that facilitates a peaceable community. The lessons that we teach small children are based on values of altruism, for example, sharing, caring, and tolerance. Bonnaroo is embracing these lessons through childlike aesthetics that encourage patrons to do the same. The festival website channels early childhood ethics through discourse in their Bonnaroo Code on The Code + Terms page, the Health + Safety page, the Entry page, and the Homepage. Bonnaroo uses language to communicate the importance of the "golden rule" (which we most generally tell children) in regards to watching out for the wellbeing of other patrons on the Safety page, "Be there for them like you'd want them to be there for you."



Figure 21. Facilities, Info Booth Image

In the Bonnaroo code located on The Code + Terms subtab two hands high fiving each other are pictured, below the image is a block of text entitled “Play as a Team.” The Bonnaroo Code goes further to promote the best parts of childhood, by describing The Farm as “an agro-free zone. Leave your worries at home. For a few days this summer celebrate the best things in life. Smiles, high fives, and random acts of kindness…” (see Figure 22). The festival resists grumpiness and meanness on their Bonnaroo Code webpage, and tries to promote positive attitudes and smiles. Bonnaroo employs the phrase “vibe killer” to resist negativity, this phrase appears twice on two different webpages, including The Code + Terms page and the Travel page. This term does not pathologize certain behaviors, instead, it uses a conversational style discourse to promote happiness and goodness. Their unofficial slogan is “Radiate Positivity” which carries with it the same message of happiness.



Figure 22. The Code + Terms, Radiate Positivity

The website also chooses to format some sections around short concise phrases that communicate meaningful messages, much like young children speak. For example, Bonnaroo’s Festival Info tab introduces the festival in this manner, “An escape into Excitement. Music. Art.

Discoveries. Trees. Fresh Air. Green Grass. A mini film fest. Friends (Old/New). Adventure. Overwhelming happiness. Hugging a stranger by accident. Sharing and Generosity…" (See Figure 23). Although not the most formal discourse, it effectively reinforces the idea to leave your worries at home, and enjoy the fun of the festival. This is not an area to be formal, but yet a place you should enjoy while being socially conscious. All festival webpages (excluding the News and Gallery main tabs, 31/33) include at least one section that speaks in incomplete, short sentences, sometimes using bullet points. On the Tickets page, amenities are simply listed and RV information starts with, "Tents not really your thing?" The website uses youth and street slang that generally indicates a conversational tone, but it also incorporates words that we associate with children. The festival even references "play" as being important on The Code + Terms page, when discussing the campgrounds the festival says they are "the primary Bonnaroovian habitat where happy campers live, sleep, and play in a blissful harmony like it's permanent recess." On the same page, patrons are encouraged to "Play as a Team" promoting both play and communitarianism. This section of The Code + Terms page tells patrons to "Consider the community and keep an eye on your friends." Instead of artists performing, the Homepage says they "play" on festival stages.

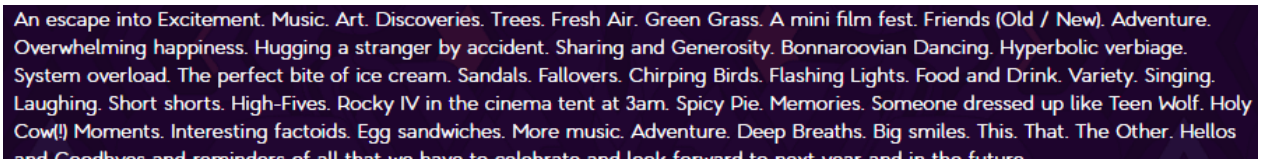


Figure 23. Festival Info, Festival Description

Bonnaroo states, "What would your mother say?" on the Entry subtab to advise patrons against walking on a dangerous nearby highway. The festival, still holding patron wellbeing at the forefront, reminds Bonnaroovians to be safe using phrases we most generally use when

speaking to children. The Travel webpage talks about traffic and urges patrons to follow all traffic laws, they tell patrons "There is no time for hacky sack." They do encourage patrons to "Play 20 Questions" while in this traffic. These examples reference games, emphasize play, and employ phrases we tell children to ensure Bonnaroo patrons stay safe and comply with all of Tennessee's traffic laws.

The festival has 10 stages of music, not all of these stages are extravagant, but names are given to the five largest. The main stage, where most headliners play is called "What Stage," others are named "Which Stage, That Tent, This Tent…" (Bonnaroo 2016: The Code + Terms). These names add to the playful language used on the website. Identifying where the next concert is held could be turned into a joke among patrons, but it helps to remind patrons that the festival is meant to be a place for happiness and recess.

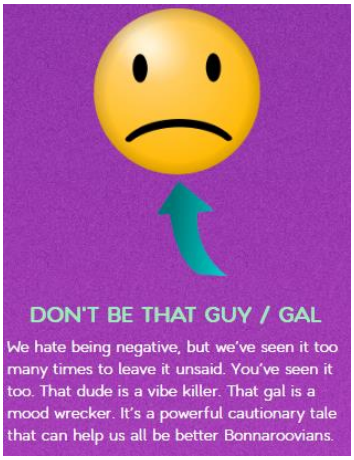


Figure 24. The Code + Terms, Sad Face

The large yellow smiley face emphasizes happiness and positivity and is featured on the The Code + Terms subtab. Bonnaroo stands against grumpiness and uses a large sad face to symbolize that disposition on the same webpage (See Figure 24). In addition, the festival emphasizes the importance of working together, not only through their formation of C'Roos, but

through cartoon images. The festival emphasizes patron interaction and community-building through an image of high fives above a section titled “Play as a Team.” The image highlights the fun in patron interaction (see Figure 25). Furthermore, the website uses a cartoon image of a trash can when reminding patrons to “Respect The Farm” on the same The Code + Terms subtab. These cartoon images are not removing patrons away from empirical truth, rather it is emphasizing certain aspects of the festival that result in peace- and community- building.



Figure 25. The Code + Terms, Play As A Team

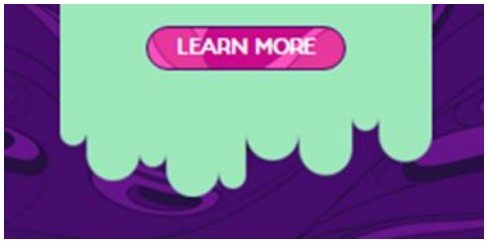


Figure 26. Tickets, Paint Drip Accent

Arguably, most of the website’s backgrounds mimic some form of childhood activity. Not only are smooth drips of paint non-injurious, but they are also reminiscent of finger paints. Out of 45 total information boxes, three of them feature a paint dripping edge, while 18 of the 33 backgrounds feature this design (see Figure 26). Furthermore, the blending of color pools is suggestive of finger paints or possibly sand art. The backgrounds featured are not necessarily clean, rather, they are messy and informal. A child might be able to recreate the same patterns, and it is no coincidence. It is another opportunity for the website to stress the importance of early childhood ethics.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

The Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival website strategically uses text, images, and visual semiotics to present a set of ideas, values and priorities to its patrons. The festival cultivates a cultural framework that future Bonnaroovians become familiar with through interactions with the website. Patrons then make meaning of and carry these cultural messages to The Farm which results in a peaceable, provisional community. Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival communicates messages that promote harm reduction, including environmental, sexual, and harm resulting from drug use. On multiple webpages, Bonnaroo foregrounds patron wellbeing, encouraging patrons to stay hydrated, use sunscreen, and visit medical tents or "safe havens" if any problems arise. The website communicates a dedication to creating safe spaces for all patrons and recognizing different ways of being. Instead of relying solely on traditional legal frameworks and law enforcement officers to carry out security, Bonnaroo's website outlines a community justice system that enables all festival patrons and workers to collectively operate under a different culture. Lastly, Bonnaroo channels the ethics of early childhood by using text and images that revive the lessons of sharing, caring, and generosity. Emphasizing these values encourages community members to work together in order to ensure a safe, fun festival for every patron involved.

My personal experience with Bonnaroo corresponds with the themes described in Chapter 4. Although a patron's entire festival experience is more than these themes, cultural messages presented on the website are carried to The Farm. Free water is abundant, large TV screens remind patrons to apply sunscreen throughout the four day event, and signs remind patrons to take breaks under shaded tents. While sexual harms are never mentioned on the farm, Trojan brand condoms are sometimes handed out. Every trashcan on the festival grounds is

divided into three separate parts: compost, recycling, and landfill. Each part is designated with a sign that illustrates the proper place for common types of trash. The festival does provide a sense of inclusivity for all Bonnaroo patrons. Vegan and vegetarian eateries are abundant on the festival grounds, while other spaces are known for barbeques and bacon. A small community justice system is enacted with Bonnaroo C'Roo members. Volunteer duties are diverse enough that it allows patrons to regularly interact with festival staff. Lastly, the festival grounds are able to highlight the ethics of early childhood, featuring large sculptures of fireflies, costume parties, inflatable water slides, even featuring their own parachute (the "Roo Chute") in which hundreds of Bonnaroovians engage in childlike games. Further research is needed to fully understand how meaning is made of these cultural messages and how they are carried out among festival patrons, but the current study is enough to spark interest in the peace- and community- building that is present on the festival grounds.

Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival is one of many festivals that occur annually in the United States. However, according to the OLS regression analysis located in Appendix A, Table B substance use is associated with most contemporary music festivals, while violent crime is not statistically significant. This absence of violent crime is a sign of peaceability and community-building among all music festivals included in the OLS Regression. While substance possession and use can have negative impacts on patrons and surrounding communities, it holds meaning. It is a form of resistance, and according to cultural criminologists is the path in which our state takes to criminalize youth music. Festivals surrounding youth music, and other celebrations conceptualized as music festivals will feature the same crime patterns. Festival culture must be created and presented via some outlet. The Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival website provides

one such outlet. While other music festival websites may cultivate a peaceable culture through slightly different messages, they follow a similar crime pattern.

These findings can have a real impact on the permanent communities in which we live and operate in on a daily basis. Lessons learned from Bonnaroo could be applied to neighborhood design, community organizing, and help in theorizing how other spaces might be organized in such a way that reduces crime. The festival gives insight into the aesthetics of we-ness that could be employed in a variety of settings. If neighborhoods/community organizers employed community justice frameworks that held the health of the community and the individual at the forefront, it could have an impact on the way the community functions as a whole. Developing a new framework that opposes all harms could lesson our impact on the environment and change the way in which community members view their personal behaviors in a different light. The festival resists dominant culture in covert ways, this resistance to problematic parts of our neoliberal influenced culture helps to create spaces for marginalized groups. The existence of these spaces helps bring a community together, build important social ties, and increase solidarity. All of these characteristics will work to build informal social control that is necessary in peaceable communities, whether it be temporary or permanent.

The festival is a way to bring together legal and utopian thought, which is necessary when we question our current harm-causing practices and assumptions (Martel 2014). Furthermore, Martel (2014) argues that it will not take a complete break with capitalism in order to produce a healthy community, and Bonnaroo can be considered an example of this. The festival provides a unique opportunity to study how the process of a healthy community occurs, is maintained, and pushes for social change beyond the festival grounds. Bonnaroo's framework pushes its community members to think beyond our current system to envision what is possible,

and encourages patrons to move these ideas into their everyday life. The festival encourages patrons to take this culture and its messages outside of the festival grounds on The Code + Terms subtab, "Apply what you do on The Farm to improving you and the world beyond 'Roo." The festival wants a change in the social world, and encourages Bonnaroovians to share these ideas. Spaces on the festival grounds are promoted as being areas that are conducive to learning practices that have a social impact off the farm. The Save The Planet subtab states, "…Planet Roo will teach you about effecting change and making sustainable choices on The Farm and beyond." The Get Involved tab features information on the Bonnaroo Works Fund which seeks to make an impact outside of the festival, "Somewhere near the top of our to-do list is 'change the world.'" The festival attempts to move the same cultural messages that produce a peaceable, temporary community into the mainstream culture. Bonnaroo is pushing for social change among its patrons.

It is important to note that Bonnaroo is not separate from dominant neoliberal ideology. With that being said, we need ways to conceptualize different frameworks in the here and now. Bonnaroo pushes boundaries and showcases different possibilities for the future of law. Wendy Brown (2015:222) argues that meaningful communities must foster "freedom, equality, community and earthly sustainability," all of which are present at Bonnaroo. Ideas presented at the festival not only foster a healthy community on the grounds, but can have an impact on the collective after the festival concludes, pushing this framework and its ideas beyond an annual occurrence. Unfortunately, music festivals are not recognized as peaceable, healthy communities in academic literature. This moment in time presents a unique research opportunity that will prove beneficial in other settings.

Historically, music and art has been a safe haven for people who are not included under the law. These spaces are a form of underground communication that rejected groups use to validate their experiences. Music and art festivals have become an extension of this. A celebration of all that is not deemed 'valuable' in neoliberal frameworks. Scholars across fields have failed to map this history in relation to more current music festivals. Not only does crime at music festivals present a unique relationship, but so does inclusion. Beyond criminology, critical legal scholars could seize the opportunity to study a community in which there is full inclusion under 'the law.'



Figure 27. The Code + Terms, White Hands


Figure 28. Tickets, New Air Conditioned Cabanas For Rent

Unfortunately though, Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival embodies a mono-culture. Showcasing white hands in images found on "The Code + Terms" subtab (see Figure 27). It is my experience that Bonnaroo patrons vary in age, yet most are white. The festival is also situated within our capitalistic society, which means concert promotion companies are looking to these events to become a source of profit. The festival is selling and marketing tickets which include various convenience and processing fees, in addition, Bonnaroo sells multiple ticket add-ons, RV rentals, souvenir tents, and air-conditioned cabanas. Although the festival features a Volunteer program that allows patrons to work on the farm and attend the festival for free, Bonnaroo is targeting a middle class crowd with its high priced VIP tickets and RV camping fees (see Figure 28). As Bonnaroo, and other festivals, grow in popularity concert promotion

companies will 'buy in' and continue to make changes that support the status quo, and not the music festival community. Festivals will be forced to operate under traditional legal frameworks and utilize traditional forms of law enforcement because of insurance liability. This is especially true now that international festivals, such as Burning Man, are becoming more popular across multiple countries. Cultural criminology recognizes the "vast potential of capitalism to co-opt illicit resistance into the very system it is meant to oppose" (Ferrell et al. 2008:18). As this process begins to reshape the current festival climate, the unique qualities that make these events peaceable will dissipate. Waterman (1998:67) recognizes "The tension between festival as celebration and festival as enterprise is a powerful force." This continues to be the case today, more festivals are being organized, then bought out by these large promotion companies.

These events are rising in popularity, yet not all of them are totally 'bought out' by large concert promotion companies. Festivals are creating these spaces outside of the law, and are now reaching a much larger audience. What does this mean for the future of festivals, their communities, and the law? What does this mean for local art and music communities that are gaining steam, but on the edge of being dismantled? How will this moment impact the future of law? All are important questions for future research. The current study represents only one framework in which Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival and their website can be understood. More critical perspectives are needed to fully understand how festivals and festival culture are created and maintained. Other frameworks used to analyze contemporary music festivals should give further insight into its monoculture and how whiteness gets promoted in these spaces. Additionally, further research is needed to discern how power dynamics construct contemporary festival culture, and how festivals are recruiting people committed to the cause, so to speak.

More attention and work is needed to understand all the components of music festivals, interviews with attendants, organizers, and workers would assist in gaining a greater understanding of festival culture and all of its small details. Interviews involving large concert promotion workers could give greater insight into how these spaces of resistance are being commodified across the US.

AFTERWORD

June 2016 marked the 15th anniversary of Bonnaroo and marked my eighth year of attendance. I was finishing this thesis, so Bonnaroo was squarely on my mind. I was expecting this year to be about the same as any other year. However, this was the first year in which the concert promotion company, LiveNation, had control over festival activities. The culture had changed utterly and much to my disappointment. In addition to festival volunteers, police officers patrolled festival grounds. The word at the festival was that 100 people had been arrested the very first day, compared to 60 arrests the year before, and 48 in 2014. Patrons from the local community talked about a new DA for Coffee County, Tennessee and a new jail built in the area which lead to the tough on crime stance this year. Additionally, attendance was down, around 60,000 patrons instead of their 70,000-100,000 range. Some say the festival Lineup was not as strong as past years, others say that because of LiveNation they chose not to attend. Regardless, the effects of the structural change was felt by Bonnaroo patrons.

This pattern of large concert promotion companies purchasing large stakes in popular music festivals will continue. This experience has strengthened my sense that culture and structure are closely intertwined and my observation that where formal authorities manage social control, informal mechanisms will suffer. Instead of strengthening the bond among festival patrons, the presence of these formal authorities only created fear in many Bonnaroovians. Complaints were submitted on social media and discussed on the campgrounds. Festival vendors, some I have known since 2009, spoke of new fees and other problems LiveNation imposed this year. Many of my neighbors vowed not to attend Bonnaroo in 2017 and food vendors made cardboard signs that poked fun at new LiveNation procedures. Bonnaroo 2016

proved the urgency for this research. These spaces will cease to provide safe havens for festival patrons and will no longer be spaces that can inspire social change.

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APPENDIX

Table A presents Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression results for models of music festivals and crime. The grand total of crime arrests per county serves as the dependent variable, and the independent variable is a dichotomous dummy variable identifying counties that house an annual music festival. Controls for total population, total drug and violent crime added to the understanding of this relationship. We see a positive relationship in the bivariate model (p=.001) with an R-squared of .12. Adding a control for total county population in Model two of Table A gives a clearer understanding of the overall relationship. In this model, counties with music festivals arrest about 6,229 more individuals on average. In Model three of Table A is a control for drug crime. Implementing this control shows that counties who house these music festival acquire an average of 3,397 more arrests. In addition, controlling for drug crimes increased the R-squared, or overall percent of variance explained, to almost 93%. Violent crime in Model four of Table A proved not to be significant. It did not explain the variance in crime rates, meaning, it plays an extremely small role in the relationship. Table A shows that adding a population control leads to a drop in the music festival coefficient. Drug crime explains the increase in crime rates for music festival communities overall. Violent crime is not correlated with changes in the crime rate, meaning it is does not account for any of the crime variance. We see a positive relationship in the bivariate model (p=.001) with an R-squared of .12. Adding a control for total county population in Model two of Table A gives a clearer understanding of the overall relationship. In this model, counties with music festivals arrest about 6,229 more individuals on average. In Model three of Table A is a control for drug crime. Implementing this control shows that counties who house these music festival acquire an average of 3,397 more arrests. In addition, controlling for drug crimes increased the R-squared, or overall percent of variance explained, to almost 93%. Violent crime in Model four of Table A proved not to be significant. It did not explain the variance in crime rates, meaning, it plays an extremely small role in the relationship.

Table A. Regression of Music Festivals and on County Level Crime Data

	Model 1 Bivariate	**Model 2 Population**	**Model 3 Drug Crime**	**Model 4 Violent Crime**
Music Festivals	30,430.01***	6229.11**	3397.75*	3244.75*
	(5841.035)	(2265.004)	(1573.449)	(1562.832)
Total County Population	-	.034***	.012**	.011**
		(.004)	(.004)	(.004)
Narcotics Violations	-	-	4.36***	3.94***
			(.580)	(.691)
Violent Crime Total	-	-	-	1.50
				(1.504)
Constant	2978.529***	63.650***	369.830***	394.590***
R-squared	.120	.782	.927	.927
N	3135	3135	3135	3135
F	27.14***	52.73***	131.28***	85.03***

***p=.001 **p=.01 *p=.05

VITA

Katie Marie Highbaugh is a masters student at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville in the Sociology department with an emphasis in Criminology. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Sociology from Western Kentucky University, where she was involved with environmental justice groups and community organizing. Currently, she holds a position as a graduate student teaching associate, where she teaches SOC100: Social Problems and Social Justice. She studies peace- and community- building among music festival communities, specifically Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival.