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Music festivals as promoters for socioeconomic development:

The case of Bons Sons Festival

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by

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“You have no idea how high I can fly”

Michael Scott

Abstract

Originally, music festivals appeared with the purpose of celebrating regional culture by bringing communities together (Duffy, 2000). There was a shift, decades later, and commercial motives started prevailing over community orientation. Hence, bigger music festivals started to be hosted in bigger metropolis, due to their more adequate infrastructures. A growing stagnation of rural areas can also be seen since they are unable to stem the exodus from the interior to the coast.

The rise of nostalgic tourism has brought, however, some hope to these regions. Music festivals started being considered as a possible strategy for rural revitalisation, not just for generating economic benefits but to regenerate communities. As such, in this context, several questions emerge: “Can music festivals revitalize and develop rural communities? If yes, how does it happen?”

To give a thorough answer to these questions, this research focused on the case of BONS SONS music festival. Interviews with two locals and the artistic director of the festival were conducted, as a survey to local businesses of Tomar was applied, to identify which were the cultural, social, and economic benefits and costs. Two OLS regressions were also estimated to understand if an impact was seen on the business’s organisations, from staging this music festival. Hence, this research resorts to a strategy of data triangulation, since three different research methods were combined.

Results seem to indicate that BONS SONS festival contributes positively to the local economy. Besides leveraging local businesses, especially in the accommodation and food service activities sector, it contributes to the implementation of other social projects throughout the year.

Keywords: music festivals; rural revitalisation; economic and social impact;

Word count: 9984

Resumo

Os festivais de música surgiram, na sua origem, com o propósito de celebrar a cultura local, aproximando assim comunidades (Duffy, 2000). Décadas mais tarde, motivos comerciais começaram a prevalecer sobre a orientação comunitária. Deste modo, festivais de maior dimensão passaram a ser realizados em grandes cidades, dadas as suas infraestruturas mais adequadas. É possível assistir também a uma crescente estagnação das zonas rurais, que se revelam incapazes de estancar o êxodo do interior para o litoral.

A ascensão do turismo nostálgico trouxe, no entanto, alguma esperança. Os festivais passam a ser equacionados como uma possível estratégia de revitalização rural, não apenas pelos benefícios económicos, mas pela capacidade de regenerar comunidades. Assim, levantam-se várias questões, como as questões de investigação que se formulam: "Podem os festivais contribuir para a revitalização e desenvolvimento de comunidades em zonas rurais? E, se tal se verificar, como é que isso acontece?"

O Festival BONS SONS foi usado como caso de estudo. De forma a identificar quais os benefícios e custos sociais, culturais e económicos, foram realizadas entrevistas a dois locais e ao diretor artístico do festival, e aplicado um inquérito aos estabelecimentos locais. Foram também estimadas duas regressões OLS para medir o impacto do festival nestes negócios. Assim, uma estratégia metodológica de triangulação foi utilizada, dado que foram combinados três métodos distintos.

Os resultados sugerem que o BONS SONS beneficia positivamente a economia local. Para além de alavancar negócios locais, sobretudo do setor de alojamento, restauração e similares, contribui para a implementação de outros projetos sociais ao longo do ano, algo que se considera ser positivo.

Palavras-chave: festival de música; revitalização rural; impacto socioeconómico;

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Introduction

Looking closely at the statistics from these last few decades, it is observable an increase in the number of music festivals held worldwide, especially after the Second World War in the European continent (Cudny, 2014). But when did they appear in the first place? Even though it is not possible to trace exactly when they began, studies have shown one of the main reasons for their emergence was to bring people together, whilst celebrating local and regional cultures (Duffy, 2000). Also, stimulating regional development through the promotion of tourism is another motive that, nowadays, may be associated with holding a music festival. However, what can be seen as the biggest change in these last decades, is the proliferation of all types of festivals, losing their connection with big metropolis as they start emerging in smaller and rural places, with greater diversity (Gibson & Connell, 2012).

Academic research on the cultural, economic, and social dimensions of festivals is gaining visibility and is concurrently expanding. But despite this blossom, it seems most studies suit specific purposes or only consider the researchers' disciplinary background (for example, concentrating nearly entirely on sociological and cultural factors, or narrowly modelling economic impacts).

Few papers and articles focus on how festivals collectively enhance inward investment, motivate potential migrants to relocate, try to build strong local business networks, or even embrace place marketing. This is exactly what is aimed with this research: explore the interrelationship between cultural, economic, and social dimensions of festivals; the benefits and the costs of staging such events; and how festivals are being utilised to promote local and regional development. To do so, this research will focus on BONS SONS Festival, which will be analysed in-depth, and help on providing an answer to the following

questions: “Can music festivals revitalize and develop rural communities? If yes, how does it happen?”.

Three interviews, a survey and two regression models were the methods used to answer the previous questions. Interviews were essential for the comprehension of how people perceive the impact of the festival in several domains, such as economic, social, and cultural. The survey and the examination of statistical data served as backups and complements to get more robust results.

To reach a more comprehensive outcome, this dissertation will be divided into five parts. In the first chapter, it is possible to find a thorough literature review on the concepts proposed to explore. Thus, what means rural revitalisation, socioeconomic development, and how to measure the potential impact of festivals are all subjects to be examined.

The purpose of the second chapter is for methodological considerations. It accounts with a justification for why both qualitative and quantitative methods were used, along with some concerns regarding data collection and analysis.

A brief overview of BONS SONS can be found in the following chapter. Given the size and location of the hosting village, the festival seemed to fit exactly the purpose of the study. For that reason, an analysis of the village and its community will be provided.

The last three chapters will focus on the findings from the case study and its correlation with literature. Therefore, it will be possible to find if festivals can indeed revitalize and develop rural communities, in what way does it happen, and what limitations may have impacted the results. Considerations regarding another research to be conducted under this topic can be also found.

Hopefully, this study will show how festivals can play an active role as a strategy for places to reinvent themselves, how they can help on turning around population and economic decline, or even how they contribute to their local economies.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

This chapter begins by briefly presenting what constitutes a music festival and its different typologies, to later explore the global tendency of “rural desertification” and how it all affects these areas, and the quality of life of its communities. A reflection is made on how holding music festivals in such regions may contribute to a change of this paradigm, to finally delve into how one can measure the impact of staging such events.

1.1 Music Festivals

Music is the oldest and most common element of festivals. Musicians have always been present at small festivities around harvest, village fairs, equinoxes, and Mardi Gras (Gibson & Connell, 2012). However, times change, and nowadays, there is a remarkable proliferation of professional music festivals - big, small, radical, conservative, alternative - catering to every demographic and niche audience (Gibson et al., 2010).

Sometimes, festivals are simply straightforward commercial affairs organised by metropolitan promoters, that may even be imposed on places and contributed nothing to regional development, despite high ticket costs. Some others are community festivals that arise from dedicated locals, and only gradually expand to attract audiences beyond their immediate surroundings (Cudny, 2014). The line-up of acts is critical at commercial music festivals, as opposed to local festivals, which place a higher priority on community building and are eager to showcase local talent without the need for big name imported acts (Gibson & Connell, 2012).

This brings a whole other debate surrounding what types of ‘festivals’ exist. O’Sullivan & Jackson (2002) used scale, location, theme, organisers, and aims, as criteria, to propose the following distinction: “home-grown”, “tourist-tempter” and “big-bang”. The first type are small, rural festivals that are important for their local communities and live a lot from their contribution. The second type are medium-sized festivals that are organised for local communities and tourists in cities or on its suburbs. Finally, "big-bang" festivals are large urban events that are organised primarily for tourists and inhabitants with the goal of economic growth of cities through tourism. Table 1 illustrates the main characteristics of such definitions.

	<i>Festival Type 1 'home-grown'</i>	<i>Festival Type 2 'tourist-tempter'</i>	<i>Festival Type 3 'big-bang'</i>
Size by population	Small	Medium	Large
Spatial geography	Rural/Semi-rural	Urban/Urban fringe	Urban
Major theme	Arts/culture/ Entertainment	Arts/culture/ Entertainment	Arts/culture/ Entertainment
Organising drivers	Community led/ Public and private sector support	Local authority	Public/private/ Voluntary sector
Key management group	Voluntary sector driven	Local authority driven	Partnership driven
Primary purpose for holding a festival	Cultural and/or entertainment benefits for locals and visitors	Economic development via tourism	Economic development for partners/cultural and entertainment benefit for locals and visitors

Table 1: Typology of festival. Source: O’Sullivan and Jackson (2002, p.331)

Festivals are worth investigating in a regional development framework not only because they are expanding and becoming more commercially significant, but also because they encourage a more critical view of regional development (Gibson et al., 2010). However, as Tindall (2011) argues, metropolis's differences in scale cause the economic, social and environmental impacts to be more muted, reason why this research focuses on small rural festivals.

1.2 Rural Revitalisation

In recent decades, most rural regions have struggled, unless endowed with substantial natural resources and/or tourism potential. Agriculture has shrunk, creating fewer employment, and rural infrastructure and services have frequently lagged those in bigger cities. Similar patterns have been observed in Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand (Connell & McManus, 2011). Populations and age have tended to drop as rural regions have got closer to a post-agricultural era and into a so-called “post-productivism countryside”¹, which was formerly merely a site of 'rural dilution' (Smailes, 2002). Communities within commuting distance of big cities are outliers, as are towns in exceptionally desirable locations. In contrast, the feasibility and sustainability of rural and small-town life have been called into doubt in more remote places. This has sparked fears about the future of specific locations, as well as entire regions.

Unsurprisingly, the combination of diminishing populations and services, ageing populations, and workforces, and even loss of identity in the face of global and national prosperity has been unwanted for a variety of reasons, not least because it appears to be the thin end of an inevitable downward spiral. Rural communities lose young and endure particular problems in attracting and retaining skilled personnel, such as doctors and nurses, and hence struggle to keep critical services.

It seems the future is bleak for small towns and leaving is just a basic rite of passage of rural life - a way to go forward and the way it's been since forever. Getting away has become a rite of passage for young people, as part of a larger culture of movement in which migration is the norm and success lay elsewhere (Easthope & Gabriel, 2008).

¹ Post-productivism is associated with the 'new way' of perceiving rural regions, often known as the “new rural paradigm” (OECD, 2006).

The areas with the greatest population decreases are inland, isolated, and dependent on agriculture, with tiny towns and villages and already inadequate amenities. The costs of decline vary greatly. Schools may shut and teachers may be less likely to be hired, while health-care services dwindle and the morale of those who stay to deliver them suffers as they must cover gaps (Connell & McManus, 2011). As a result, consequences for the community go beyond material loss. The identity of the place, that most of the time embodies the history of a country and its traditions, is also getting lost in the way.

Despite this depressing paradigm that has been possible to observe in the last decades, some trends are emerging that bring hope and chances of prosperity to rural areas, like the rise of nostalgic tourism linked with specific eras and artists (Gibson & Connell, 2012). Indeed, as a way of keeping the present alive, the consumption of the past becomes a central element of the contemporary movement (Lowenthal, 1985). And suddenly, an opportunity arises. Rural areas can now attract new visitors by offering an experience to revisit the past, to show or remind citizens living in the big metropolis a different way of living life. Hence, can music festivals contribute to this idea of revisiting the past? Can they be, at all, a strategy for regional development?

Many contemporary music festivals are overtly commercial, either from the perspective of tour promoters searching for profitable markets in which to stage festivals, municipal planners and tourist agents looking for methods to stimulate local economies, or participants looking for ways to earn money (Gibson & Connell, 2012). Smaller festivals in smaller towns, on the other hand, are rarely meant to earn more than a modest profit. Nonetheless, due to the success of festivals in some of these small towns, it was possible to observe that they have significantly contributed to economic and social growth, resulting in such locations being known because of them. In fact, nowadays festivals are the elixir

of rural economic revitalisation (Wood & Thomas, 2009). And how can this economic and social growth be measured?

1.3 Measuring the socioeconomic impact of festivals

According to Landry et al. (1995) “impact” is a dynamic idea that assumes a cause-and-effect relationship. Dwyer et al. (2010) go further and emphasise that “impact” does not always stand as ‘beneficial’, as it can instead, be characterized as positive, negative, disputed, or neutral. Hence, addressing this topic is essential since these “impacts” brought by holding a music festival, if positive, can stimulate local council support, attract sponsors interested in supporting local companies and, among many other things, it has also the power of supporting local people (Gibson & Connell, 2012).

Another important distinction that needs to be made is the difference between social and economic impact, which is arguable within academics. For example, Polanyi et al. (1957) defend it is not possible to separate economy from society, simply because “all economies - past and present - are embedded and enmeshed in social relations and institutions (Gemici, 2007, p.6). Nonetheless, it is possible to find this distinction in literature.

In general terms, social impact is the practise of measuring or estimating the social implications of certain project developments or policy actions. It encompasses the social and cultural implications to human populations of any public or private activities that change how people live, work, play, interact with one another, organise to satisfy their needs, and cope as members of society (Burdge & Vanclay, 1996). This concept helps on answering to important questions, such as: will there be a quantifiable difference in the community's quality of life as a result of what the proposed project does or may do in the future? Quality of life is neither as tangible as trailers or toilets, nor is it as easy

to quantify as is money, but it has been the subject of considerable research (Freudenburg, 1986).

Regarding economic impact, although being a vision purely embedded in a 'market economy' paradigm, Lee (2008) says, in a very simplistic way, 'economic impact' is the net change in the economy, from staging an event. Literature goes deeper and clarifies impact can have direct, secondary and induced effects.

Direct effects are the initial impact of outside visitor spending. It represents increased profits for residents who work in businesses that were direct recipients of the increased visitor expenditures (Gratton et al., 2000). It encompasses both visitors' expenditure and the money spent by event organisers on the local economy. Basically, it represents the new money generated, that would not occur in the absence of the event.

Secondary effects, on the other hand, are a consequence of business-to-business transactions, resulting in employment generation and additional purchase of supplies from event organisers, retail services, hospitality, and other stakeholders (Getz, 2019). This naturally results in linkages and networks within rural and regional communities, which is a source of value creation. However, leakages² must also be considered.

At last, *induced effects* are related to the increase in personal welfare and boost in residents' consumption, due to increased wages for workers and profits for businesses (Crompton et al., 2015). This means, for example, employees can re-spend their additional income on products and services in their local community, creating another ripple effect (Gratton et al., 2000). But again, leakages here can be enormous if people spend that money outside the area.

Figure 1 summarizes the above discussion.

² "Any imports to the area result in the leakage of money, as does money paid externally to advertisers and workers, prize money taken outside the within-scope area, wages and profits sent away, and savings that do not circulate locally" (Getz, 2019, p.186).

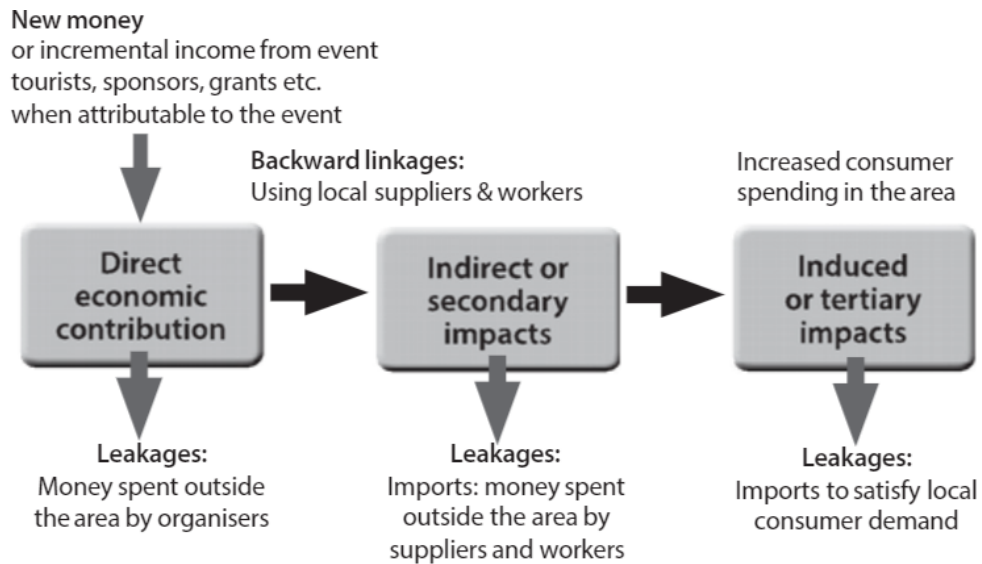


Figure 1: The direct and secondary contribution of event tourism | Source: Getz (2019, p.185)

Nevertheless, as it has been proven before via examination of multiple case studies, without an established hospitality and transportation infrastructure, communities will not gain much from the secondary and induced expenditure accumulated via hosting any kind of events (Jones & Munday, 2001). They may even attract many visitors, and subsequently, capture additional expenditure. However, and unfortunately, most of it leaks out through out-of-area lodging and suppliers who are outsourced. Furthermore, as Yu & Douglas (2000) explain, this leakage problem is most evident in remote and rural regions where the industry and service-oriented infrastructure are insufficient to capture visitors' spending. Even so, if the event held is relatively small-sized, and if there are no requirements for additional investment in infrastructure, most of the economic impact is usually confined to the direct effects of visitor expenditure (Tindall, 2011).

This leads to another question, and perhaps the main issue of this subchapter: how can someone measure, accurately, the economic and social impact of holding an event?

When recognizing the complexity inherent to this topic, it becomes more perceptible that estimating monetary benefits can be a hard task, since they can be quite diffuse and locally broad. Hence, a fundamental aspect needs to be considered first, to answer the previous question: the area subject to evaluation. If, for example, a whole nation is to be considered with scope, only money entering the country will be accounted, as well as it is only detected as leakage, money leaving the country (Getz, 2019). Since smaller areas will probably require imports of goods and services, and workers, leakages in the local economy will be higher and therefore the economic impact is going to be lower. As such, it is only logical to assume that when expanding the within-scope area, the economic impact will be higher (Tindall, 2011).

Getting back to the question, the most common and used method to assess the economic impact of hosting an event relies on building economic multipliers through input-output (I-O) models. But why is that and why is it so limiting?

The overall idea of a multiplier is to provide an estimation of generated income by an extra unit of visitor expenditure (Frechtling & Horváth, 1999), and it is through I-O models that they can be estimated. "This concept of the new money being spent and re-spent so its initial impact is multiplied is easy to grasp" (Crompton et al., 2015, p. 1), resulting in many studies in tourism resorting to this type of method. Despite its common applicability, I-O modelling has serious disadvantages, failing to capture 'interactive effects', which ends up with estimated economic benefits being grossly exaggerated (Crompton et al., 2015). The same authors identify I-O model's primary limitations to be the assumption that there is a free and unrestricted flow of resources, and that the economy fully stretches so visitor expenditure will undoubtedly lead to job creation and income being generated. This is not necessarily true since additional workers or labour hours are not an implicit consequence of increased spending. Archer & Owen (2007) have also early criticized the utilisation of these models for using the same

multipliers despite flagrant differences in the size of the regions, type of activities or even structure of economies.

Hence, computable general equilibrium (CGE) models started to be used to calculate multipliers. This is because CGE models are better able to capture the sophisticated pattern of price changes, feedback effects and resources restriction that exists in all economies after a shock such as holding a mega-event (Dwyer, 2015). Unfortunately, building a new CGE model is extremely expensive.

The estimation of either model requires a lot of data regarding the economy in question, not to mention it resorts to econometric models, which is one liability of most event and tourism professionals (Getz, 2019). In addition, most studies and impact analyses are missing other important estimations, regarding social welfare maximization and the surplus derived by consumers, producers and even governments, after holding a festival (Johnson, 1996). And as Senior & Danson (1998) note, it seems they are mainly focused with short-run impacts.

There are some other views on how to evaluate the economic impacts of a festival. Felsenstein & Fleischer (2003) believe it is not enough to use multipliers as an indicator of local gain, as they say little about the costs of producing an event, the income distribution to locals, and how much better or worse would the local area be if the festival did not take place. According to their study, local festivals have a significant 'signalling' impact that may equal or augment the more visible economic effects with which they are often linked. It is also suggested that the continuous high level of public support for festivals, as well as the relatively small amounts of local economic growth they generate, point to some type of non-market advantage (such as local image construction) linked with the festival. This can pass on the message to "prospective" tourists, businesses, and migrants that the area in question is rich in cultural amenities and constitutes a good place to live.

To tackle the limitations previously discussed, practitioners can also use *Cost-Benefit Analysis* (CBA), which is one of the most traditional methods to measure economic impact. CBA “produces analyses of event impacts on an aggregated level and in terms of changes in social welfare, including both tangible and intangible impacts on society” (Andersson & Lundberg, 2013, p. 100)

According to Hanley & Barbier (2009), CBA is a technique for determining whether the benefits of a particular event outweigh the costs when viewed from the perspective of society. One crucial aspect of this technique is that all relevant effects are expressed in monetary terms, allowing them to be aggregated. The general monetary evaluation principle in CBA is to value impacts in terms of their marginal social benefit or marginal valuation cost.

Table 2 highlights what the majority of authors agrees to be the benefits and costs of staging an event or festival. It is clear, though, that one cannot rely, exclusively, on these tables to assess the potential impacts of events. As Wood & Thomas (2009) suggest, their value is recognised mainly by the identified intangible benefits and costs, as these often surpass economic value.

Tangible Benefits	Tangible Costs
Increased revenue to the local economy Job creation Positive media coverage and images Sponsorship opportunities Networking opportunities Improved viability for niche musical genres Revenue generation from charges Increased volunteerism Skills acquisition (e.g. management) Subsequent tourism Encourages participation in activities	Essential services (police, cleaning, etc.) Costs of promotion Direct costs of staging the event (e.g. performers, PA hire) Eroded markets for other forms of entertainment locally (e.g. cinema) 'Burnout' of paid and volunteer staff Infrastructure costs for subsequent tourism
Intangible Benefits	Intangible Costs
Improved quality of life Enhance/maintained community pride Puts place on the map Tool for regeneration and renewal Increased interest and investment Place promotion and marketing Development of human capital Increased cultural awareness/appreciation Enhance the sense of belonging Rising property values Intercultural contact Morale boost	Detriment to quality of life Perceived loss of traditions Crowding and inconvenience to residence Noise and visual pollution Poor reputation and image if badly organised Alienation of residents through inappropriate or elitist place marketing Environmental degradation Social exclusion and exacerbation of existing socioeconomic and cultural divides Rising property values Potential for intercultural misunderstandings Can trigger greed

Table 2: Summary of potential local tangible and intangible benefits and costs of hosting music festivals. Source: adapted from Wood & Thomas (2009, p.152) and Reid (2008)

Economists have, however, developed systematic procedures for estimating the values of intangible benefits and costs, to which there are not market prices. In some cases, such as the value of time or inferences about individuals' evaluations from market data can be made. In other cases, it is not that simple. As such, there are some methods that attempt to do so, as mentioned by Stiglitz (2000), although subject to severe criticism. Tangible impacts, however, can be measured using market prices, but only if in the presence of perfect competition.

If this does not stand, then market prices will not reflect the true marginal social cost and benefit (Stiglitz, 2000).

For Dwyer et al. (2010), the best and most complete way to achieve a good and comprehensive event evaluation would be to combine the CGE approach to estimating effects on output and employment plus the CBA method. The authors also call out for better institutional frameworks, since it seems event development corporations have incentives to oversell events. Due to data restrictions and other limitations previously assessed, and since evaluations must necessarily include and compare economic, social, and environmental benefits and costs, CBA is the approach to be followed in this research. However, a mainly descriptive and qualitative analysis will be rather adopted.

As such, it is fundamental to understand how these benefits and costs can be analysed. The solution is to resort to key impact indicators (KIIs), as they can pragmatically give practitioners the chance to come to conclusions regarding the wisdom of making decisions or whether an event accomplished its goals (Getz, 2019). Table 3 shows a range of possible key benefit and cost indicators.

Suggested KIIs: Benefits	Suggested KIIs: Costs & Negative Impacts
Social	Social
Perceived personal, group and community benefits (e.g., personal development, identity, pride, inclusion) Use and option values: more entertainment, educational or leisure opportunities Non-use values: belief that events/projects are good for everyone or offer more choice Personal & family socializing/networking opportunities Real gains in quality of life (owing to economic gains) Social capital formation (trust, volunteering, collaborations)	Perceived personal, group and community harm Displacement: from affordable housing or established neighbourhoods Amenity and health (e.g., noise, crime, congestion, accidents, disease) Exclusion (owing to lack of affordability or access) Conflict or social disharmony; over-tourism
Cultural	Cultural
Audience development for the arts and cultural events Cultural capital formation for individuals and families Artistic creativity enhanced Heritage conservation (built and intangible) Cultural identity strengthened	Loss of traditions or authenticity Loss of identity (acculturation) Host-guest friction or unequal relationships Cultural appropriation Decline in native language, customs, values
Built environment	Built environment
Animated spaces for all groups Enhanced liveability (e.g., services, housing, leisure, parks) Image or reputation gains Increased place identity and attachment	Cost of mitigating physical damage through over-use Costs of necessary infrastructure improvements to accommodate events and venues Disruption to residents' lifestyles and daily patterns of movement; congestion
Nature & ecological processes	Nature & ecological processes
Reduced carbon emissions and ecological footprint Conservation enhancements (e.g., investments made as part of or a result of the event); better access to nature Enhanced awareness & support for conservation Efficiency gains for energy, water and other consumables; recycling and re-use	Damage to wildlife and habitat Erosion and flooding Pollution (air, water, land, noise) Costs of waste disposal Costs of energy consumed
Economic	Economic
Employment for residents (numbers, quality, safety) Direct economic contribution by event tourists and organisers Investment attracted Leveraged benefits for local businesses Future event benefits; growth in tourism Value of media coverage; image enhancements Increased capacity to attract events (i.e., the future value of venues) Increased marketing effectiveness Increased capacity to accommodate guests (through added rooms) Reduced costs & prices; increased supply & choice	Capital costs for new/improved venues and infrastructure Operating costs through the entire life-cycle of the event Marketing costs Opportunity costs (i.e., alternatives foregone) Amenity and productivity losses to residents Economic displacement (visitors, jobs, and businesses lost because of the event) Inflation (increases in costs to residents) Debt servicing Costs of mitigating over-tourism

Table 3: Sample KII for the evaluation of benefits and costs. Source: Getz, 2019

As suggested by the table above, the festival's physical development (land preparation, additional tourism infrastructure amenities) might have negative externalities such as pollution, landscape alteration and ecological damage. Notwithstanding, a musical festival, being considered a tourism event, can have an impact on the cultural and social realms as well. On the one hand, it can help to preserve and disseminate local cultural traditions and practices by presenting them to tourists. On the other side, displaying local culture to attract visitors might sometimes damage continuity due to commercialization pressures (Senior & Danson, 1998). In many cases, promoting a local festival has contradictory effects across multiple areas: a festival may generate economic benefits, improve local quality of life, and foster social solidarity while also causing environmental damage or increasing traffic congestion (Syme et al., 1989).

Nevertheless, the enigmatic effects of image may be as important as, if not more valuable than, the hard currency of economic achievement. Place marketing is now widely used and studied, mostly in terms of the emergence of neoliberal ideology, entrepreneurial governance and efforts that commodify place and identity (Gibson & Davidson, 2004).

Truth is, festivals help towns to become known, especially if they receive national media coverage, have a unique theme, or create a reputation as a great festival for a specific genre or musical niche. As such, festival place marketing comprises a wide range of agendas, strategies, and constraints, and even though development and changes to the built environment are outcomes, they have quite distinct repercussions and ramifications in urban and metropolitan contexts.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Research Design

Given that the aim of this research is to understand if (and how) music festivals can revitalize and develop rural communities, a single-case study about BONS SONS Festival was conducted. Hence, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used, which is called “data triangulation”. This contributes to an enlargement of perspectives that allows a more thorough treatment, description, and explanation of the subject matter (Flick, 2004). Therefore, qualitative findings can lead to (sociologically) profitable explanations, whereas quantitative studies can only describe relationships based on socio-demographic variables, as suggested by the same author. Not only numerical measurements are taken into consideration, once the purpose is also to capture how individuals build, interpret, and give sense to their experiences (Becker et al., 2002). Why a case-study, though?

A case study, according to Yin (2003, p.1) “is used in many situations to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organisational, social, political and related phenomena.” It usually answers questions starting with “how” and “why”, given its correlation with a more descriptive and explanatory approach (Yin, 2003). As such, to delve into the intricacies of this case study, both primary and secondary data were use, since richer conclusions can be found through this multi-method approach. Both interviews and a survey were applied, as archival records and statistical data were consulted for later analysis. First and foremost, the reason behind these choices lies on the fact qualitative interviews are crucial in ethnographic research studies (Hopf, 2004), as they better capture the complexity of human affairs (Yin, 2003). As for the survey, it has to do with how

information from a selection of the population can be usually obtained. If obtained, indeed, possible conclusions considered representative of the population can be later drawn (Bell, 2010).

Also, given the timeframe to complete this project (from May to August 2022), this dissertation relied on purposive sampling, which is a non-probability type of sampling that works best when studying a specific cultural domain with knowledgeable people within. In simpler terms, the researcher determines what needs to be known and then seeks out for the people who can provide that information through their experiences (Tongco, 2007).

2.2 Data Collection

Three interviews were carried: one with the artistic director of the festival and the others with two inhabitants. The inhabitants can give closer insights regarding the social and cultural impact on the region, while the artistic director can run through the same metrics, as well as the economic impact of festival and their efforts on boosting local economy. An attempt was made to ensure that the inhabitants would be from different generations, so different perspectives could be heard. Standard models of the interviews were elaborated (Appendix A1. and A2.), conveniently adapted to each person.

To better capture the personal thoughts, and considerations of respondents, interviews followed a semi-structured guide. When there are many questions to be answered, the questions are either complex or open-ended, and the order and logic of questioning may need to vary, this method is most advantageous than others (Saunders et al., 2019). The interviews were recorded, with the consent of all interviewees.

Concerning the survey, the purpose was to assess in which way the festival impacts some of the local businesses of the municipality of Tomar (in terms of their revenues, operational costs, price changes, etc.). Initially, it was sent to the

local businesses with contacts publicly available, via email. Since very few answers were gathered this way, a trip to the site was necessary, to meet potential respondents and ask them questions face-to-face. As also suggested by Saunders et al. (2019), the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents was preserved, as it wasn't registered any data that could lead to the identification of a particular establishment or individual.

Some statistics concerning the demographic evolution of Tomar, attainment level and employment were collected, to provide a contextualization of the case. Annual data (time-series) about the turnover of the "accommodation and food service activities" sector in Tomar, and the real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (annual growth rate) were extracted from Statistics of Portugal, within the years of 2004 and 2019. Both unemployment rate and current inflation were also extracted from Pordata and Inflation.eu, respectively, for the same years.

2.3 Data Analysis

According to Yin (2003), data analysis is the process of evaluating, categorizing, tabulating, testing, or otherwise recombining quantitative or qualitative evidence to answer the study's basic assertions. Hence, all qualitative data collected for this research was mainly analysed through a content analysis methodology.

This methodology is intended to classify and categorize any type of content, reducing its characteristics to key elements, so that they are comparable to several other elements (Carlomagno & Rocha, 2016). There are several techniques one can resort to conduct a content analysis, but the one used in this study was a thematic-categorical one. Thus, all interviews were transcribed for an in-depth analysis (Appendix A3, A4, and A5) and later categorized into the central themes of this dissertation: social, cultural, built environment and economic impact measures (Appendix A6).

To validate some of the results obtained, two OLS regressions were estimated. Regression models are usually used to gain a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between explanatory variables (some of which will constitute control variables) and an explained variable (Long & Freese, 2001). Linear models are easy to grasp, since their interpretation only needs to indicate which variable is changing and by how much, while holding all other variables constant, according to the same authors.

Chapter 3

Case study: Festival Bons Sons

3.1 Bons Sons Festival

3.1.1. What is it?

BONS SONS is a Portuguese music festival that takes place on the second weekend of August, in the village of Cem Soldos, Tomar. Organized by the local cultural association SCOCS - Sport Club Operário de Cem Soldos -, BONS SONS is a platform for the dissemination of Portuguese music and national projects, reconciling the reunion with established musicians and emerging projects. The village of Cem Soldos is closed and its perimeter delimits the festival ground that has several stages integrated into its streets, squares, church, and other infrastructures.



Figure 2: Main infrastructures used for staging the festival. Source: Bons Sons' Instagram

However, BONS SONS is not solely connected to music. As Miguel Atalaia, artistic director of the festival, says: “We try more and more to explore the parallel programming strand, with many different dynamics, in many areas. There is a very specific area connected to families and children, so it really is a festival for everyone.” (Appendix A3).

BONS SONS also promotes a close relationship with its audience, involving the population in the festival. It is the inhabitants who welcome and serve the visitors, providing a unique experience of a cultural event. The careful selection of the program dedicated to Portuguese music, the unique venue that is Cem Soldos and the active voluntary participation of the residents are hallmarks that distinguish BONS SONS from the national offer.

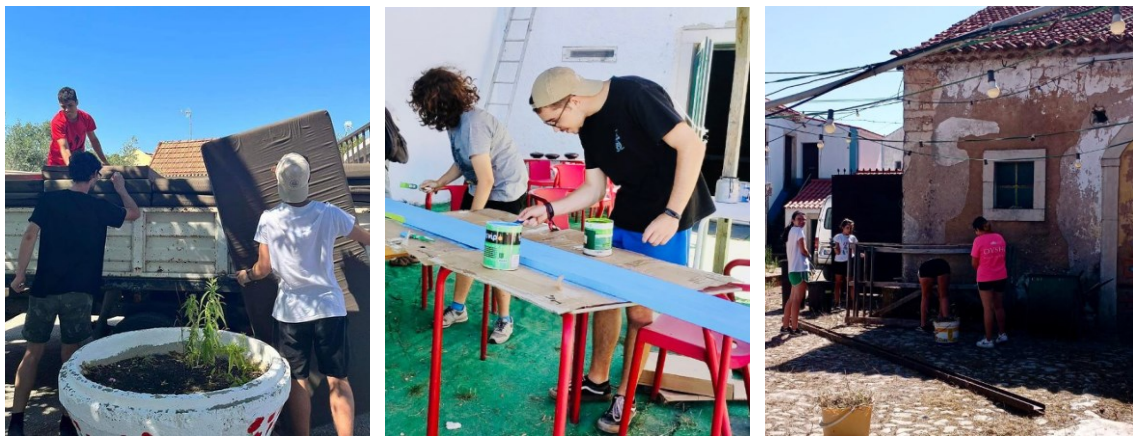


Figure 3: Community helping on building the festival. Source: Bons Sons’ Instagram

The organisation's vision for the festival, can be found on their website³, as something they call *manifesto*:

A festival and a village that exist and that want to exist for the contemporaneity in the countryside, for a cultural platform, for territorial planning, for participatory citizenship, for active ageing, for community education, for territorial projects, for sustainable action, for the creation of public space and popular culture.

³ [BONS SONS 2019 – uma aldeia em manifesto](#)

According to the interviews conducted (Appendix A5), BONS SONS's target audience is all those who want to experience rurality and emerge in the concept of community, which is lived during the festival, regardless of their age. This is a festival that attracts all kinds of audiences: the youngest, the oldest, looking to relax from the rhythm of the city, as well as families, who want to convey to their little ones the true sense of community.



Figure 4: Locals sewing the festival mascot. Source: Bons Sons' YouTube channel and Instagram

It is noteworthy that the organisation, production, and communication of the event is led by a volunteer team that involves more than 400 people, mostly from the community of Cem Soldos. The festival takes place mainly through its own capital/ticket revenue, with some financial support from the City Council of Tomar, INATEL Foundation and Turismo do Centro (institutional partnerships). There are also revenues generated by concessionaires present during the festival (e.g., food services, local fairgrounds) and some other local support.

3.1.2. Origins

BONS SONS first appeared in 2006, as part of the cultural program "Acontece Cem Soldos", designed to commemorate the 25th anniversary of SCOCS. To mark this date, a different party was planned. A proposal was made to refresh the concept and create a festival that would mirror their new interests and showcase the quality and validity of Portuguese music production at the time. Thus, BONS SONS festival was brought up, with the usual dimension of popular

festivals, but with a contemporary program aimed at more demanding audiences.

Due to the great receptivity of the public and perceived potential to grow, SCOCS understood it would be feasible to make BONS SONS a biennial event. However, and given the success recorded in the first cycle of five editions, BONS SONS became an annual event from 2015 onwards.

3.2 Cem Soldos

3.2.1 Village & SCOCS

Located in the parish of Madalena, municipality of Tomar, district of Santarém, Cem Soldos is the village where BONS SONS takes place. With around 650 inhabitants, Cem Soldos has true community spirit. It keeps its traditions alive and current, registering great involvement of the population in local activities.



Figure 5: Map of the Municipality of Tomar.

SCOCS is the local cultural association, founded in 1981, with the mission of promoting the social, cultural, sporting, and recreational well-being of the

population. Founded after the Revolution of April 25, 1974, SCOCS was born out of the desire to develop different and more community-oriented actions. Thus, since its foundation, this association has played a fundamental role in the celebrations and traditions of the village. Over the years, it is apparent how fruitful SCOCS' efforts have been. Whether through workshops promoted around theatre, sports and other themes, the association invests in mobilizing the village around contemporary practices, to keep it a lively and active space.

3.2.2 Other projects

BONS SONS festival, as it is possible to understand by now, it is just one more project this village has, notwithstanding being the one with the greatest magnitude and media coverage. There are several other projects throughout the year, which are leveraged by BONS SONS and the money it's able to capture.

Escola-Aldeia

Its origin remotes to the year of 2014, when Cem Soldos elementary school was facing some difficulties. As Miguel Atalaia noticed, the village “realized internally that (...) the school was losing children, year after year (...)” (Appendix A3). As such, the whole village joined forces and, united for the same goal, tried to change what it seemed at that time, an inevitable fate. The association, then, researched for pedagogical alternatives, which led to the presentation of a proposal for “teaching through projects”. The aim was to promote the interaction between the school and the village, education, and rural knowledge (customs and traditions), where the empirical know-how of the elders is shared with the young, and where preserving traditions is combined with a modern way of teaching.

Through this project, children are stimulated with different experiences through on-site interaction with their community, almost as the village becomes

the classroom. These different and unusual activities, that boost kids' creativity and social concerns, helped not only to save the school, as brought kids from other neighbouring municipalities.

Lar-Aldeia

The purpose of this project is to create a comprehensive support system more oriented for the elderly, based on the cultural, physical, and human resources of the village. It is, in essence, an alternative response to institutionalization, which aims to meet the effective needs of older people in their daily life, but also to highlight the potential and importance of their active contribution to the community.

The initiative sets up a series of actions to support and monitor the village's ageing population and adaptations of spaces, with three major goals, according to Atalaia (2020):

- 1) to readapt the dwellings and the main accesses of the village so that it is inclusive for all;
- 2) to accompany people in the daily routine and to support basic activities and their integration into the routine of the community;
- 3) to train Cem Soldos inhabitants and integrate people of all age groups in a network of support, sharing and cooperation, and in the development of common projects.

Several actions, under this project, have already been implemented, such as food delivery services, as mentioned in the interviews. Moreover, it seems through this project, people feel safe and integrated in their communities, while being monitored and supported. Everyone looks after one another.

3.3 Municipality of Tomar in numbers

3.3.1 Demographic evolution

According to figure 6, 1950s were the most populous years in Tomar. A demographic loss between 1960s and 1970s can be observed, even though it can be explained by the waves of immigration. Portugal, in 1960, was a rural country, with real difficulties and poverty. Many Portuguese choose to leave the countryside in search of a better life, and some opted to emigrate. From the 1970s onwards, the population increased again, partly due to the return of emigrants during the 1980s. However, since 1991 census, the demographic evolution of Tomar is tending to be negative, as the -10.5% variance (between 2011 and 2021) shows.

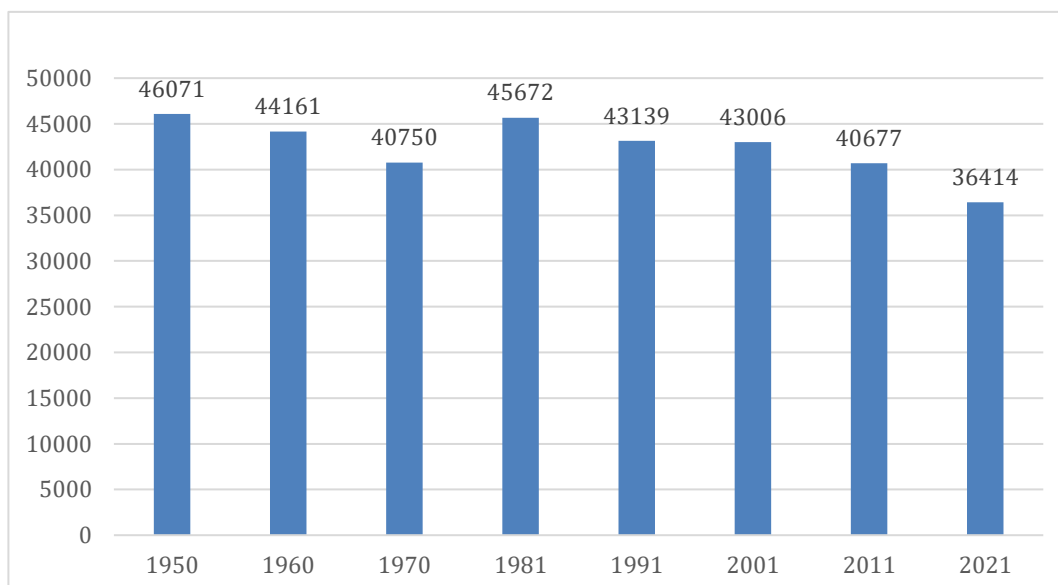


Figure 6: Demographic evolution of Tomar between years 1950 and 2021. | Source: Pordata

As for the age of the population, and when comparing 2011 with 2021, it is possible to see that the population tends, indeed, to age. There was an increase in 6 percentage points (p.p) on the population with 65 years or above (figure 7 and 8).

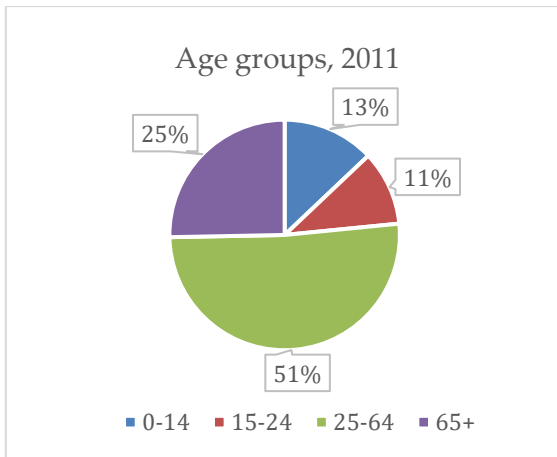


Figure 7: Age groups in Tomar, 2011. Source: INE

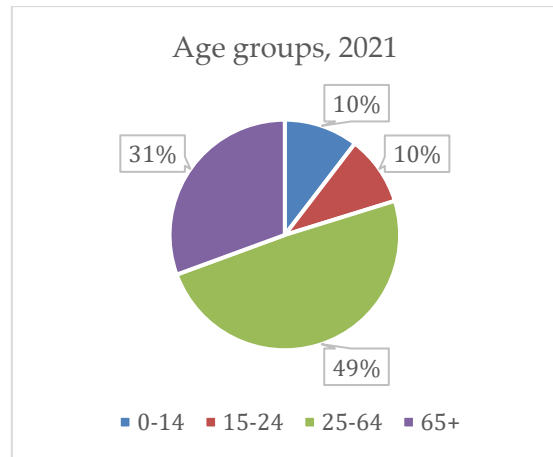


Figure 8: Age groups in Tomar, 2021. Source: INE

Table 4 also helps to understand the decrease between ages 0-14, since the crude birth rate of the municipality of Tomar has been seeing some downturns since, at least, 1981.

	1981	1995	2001	2011	2021
Crude birth rate	12.4	9.4	8.1	6	5.7
Variance	-	-24.19%	-13.83%	-25.93%	-5%

Table 4: Evolution of the crude birth rate in Tomar. | Source: Pordata

3.3.2 Education and employment

Regarding education, Tomar's inhabitants without schooling decreased a lot. In 1981, 38.9% of the population did not go to school, while in 2011, this number dropped to 11.4%. In addition, the resident population with university education in 1981 was 1.4%, and in 2011, it amounted to 11.7% (Table 5).

	Attainment level											
	Without schooling		Basic education (1st cycle)		Basic education (2nd cycle)		Basic education (3rd cycle)		Secondary school		University education	
	1981	2011	1981	2011	1981	2011	1981	2011	1981	2011	1981	2011
Tomar	38.9	11.4	37.6	30.2	10.9	11.6	7.5	18.7	2.6	15.4	1.4	11.7
Médio Tejo	44	12.9	35.6	29.8	10.2	11.8	6.1	18.8	2.0	15.1	1.0	10.6
Portugal	36.9	10.4	38.8	27.2	10.5	12.8	7	19.1	3.1	15.7	2.1	13.8

Table 5: Resident population aged 15 and over by highest level of education according to the Census (%). Source: Pordata

It is possible to observe that the county scores above Médio Tejo average, but below the national average.

By analysing figure 9, it is also perceptible that 53.55% of the working class in Tomar, in 2019, had concluded their secondary education, which represents an increase of around 48 p.p, when comparing it to 1985.

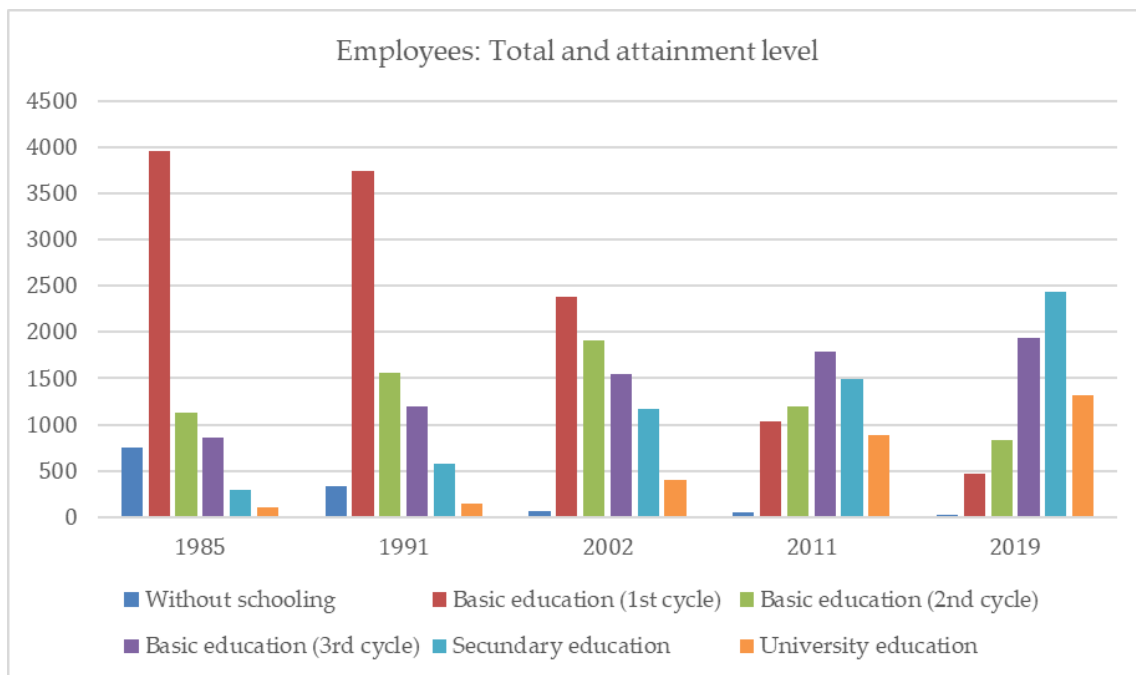


Figure 9 Employees: Total and Attainment level in Tomar. Source: Pordata

Chapter 4

Results

As previously mentioned, this research was based on two central objectives. Firstly, understand if music festivals can revitalize and develop rural communities, and secondly, how could it do it. This can be translated into more concrete impact measures, such as social, cultural, built environment and economic benefits and costs. To better understand the economic impact, results from the survey applied, and the regression models are addressed. For analysing the remaining metrics, interviews were used as basis.

4.1 Survey

The survey was answered by 61 local businesses. Most of the sample was answered by three sectors of economic activity: accommodation and food service activities (52.2%), wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (21.3%) and other services activities (11.5%) (refer to Appendix A7. for sample characteristics).

Even though most local businesses (70.5%) declared not to have cooperated with the festival in any way throughout the years, 21.3% said they did contribute with some funds, but through some counterparts (sponsorships, tickets, etc.) (Figure 10).

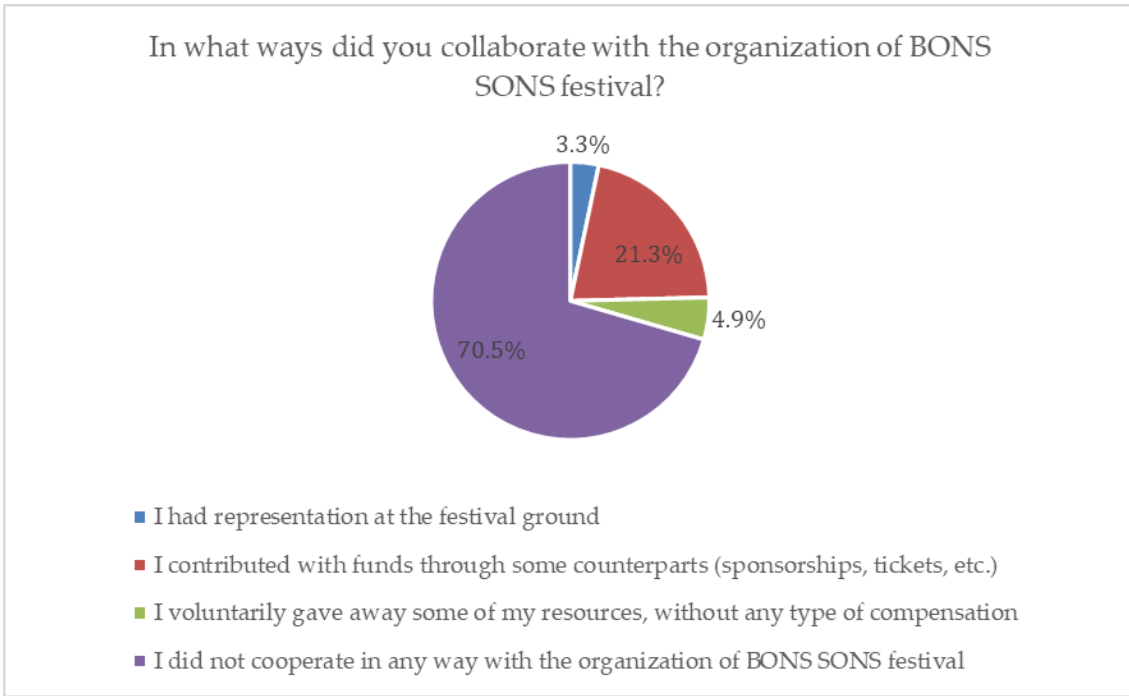


Figure 10: Ways local businesses collaborated with BONS SONS festival organisation. Source: Work Project’s Author

When looking, however, to the relative frequency of answers within the top three most responsive sectors (Appendix A8.), it is suggested that both “accommodation and food services activities” and “other services activities” sectors are the ones who contribute the most with funds.

Albeit most local businesses declare they do not collaborate with the festival, 55.7% confirms that BONS SONS generates a greater demand for their establishment, while the festival is taking place. However, there are still 37.7% that states the festival does not contribute to a higher demand (Figure 11).

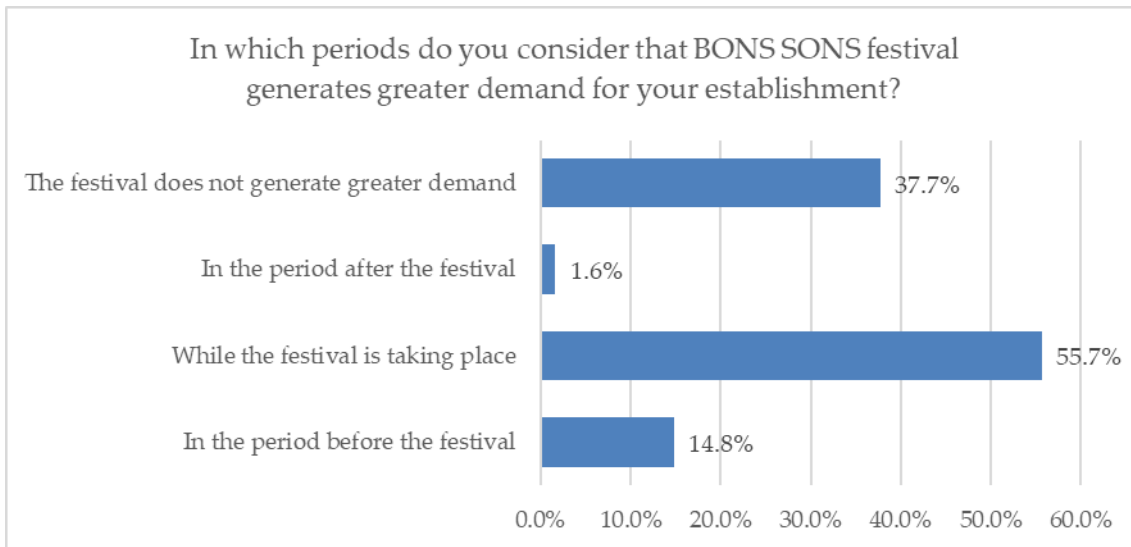


Figure 11: Periods in which festival generates greater demand. Source: Work Project’s Author

Nonetheless, when observing the relatively frequency of the answers of the three sectors mentioned previously (Appendix A9.), results suggest that “accommodation and food service activities” is the sector who benefits the most, especially during the festival (75%), while the majority of businesses from “wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles” and “other service activities” sectors still argue the festival does not stimulate changes in the demand (61.5% and 71,4%, respectively).

Regarding on how BONS SONS festival has positively influenced the turnover of these establishments, 47.6% agrees with the statement (Figure 12). Almost 20%, however, disagrees, with 32.8% preferring not to make considerations on this regard.

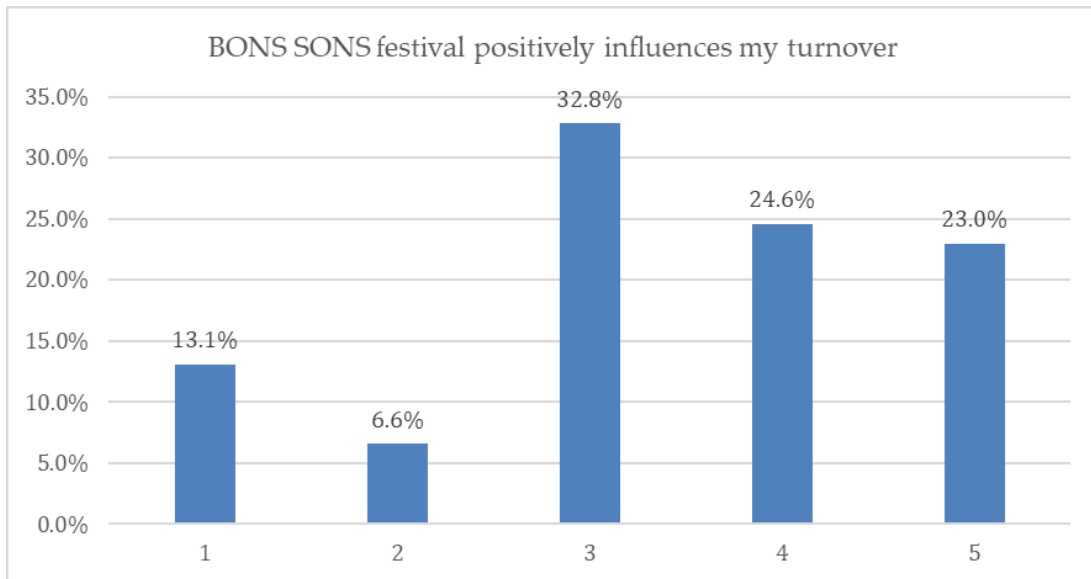


Figure 12: Assessing BONS SONS festival positively influence on turnover. Source: Work Project's Author

Furthermore, and looking to the economic activities that stated BONS SONS festival did, indeed, impact their turnover positively, it is possible to understand that 72.4% were from the “accommodation and food services activities” sector (Appendix A10).

When evaluating whether festival BONS SONS can attract new customers to these business organizations, 44.3% believe it does. Again, 36.1% prefers not to advance with any conclusions, while 19.7% simply disagrees with the statement. If observing those who answer 4 or higher, it is possible to understand that the sector that once more stands out is “accommodation and food services activities.” (72.4%) (Appendix A11).

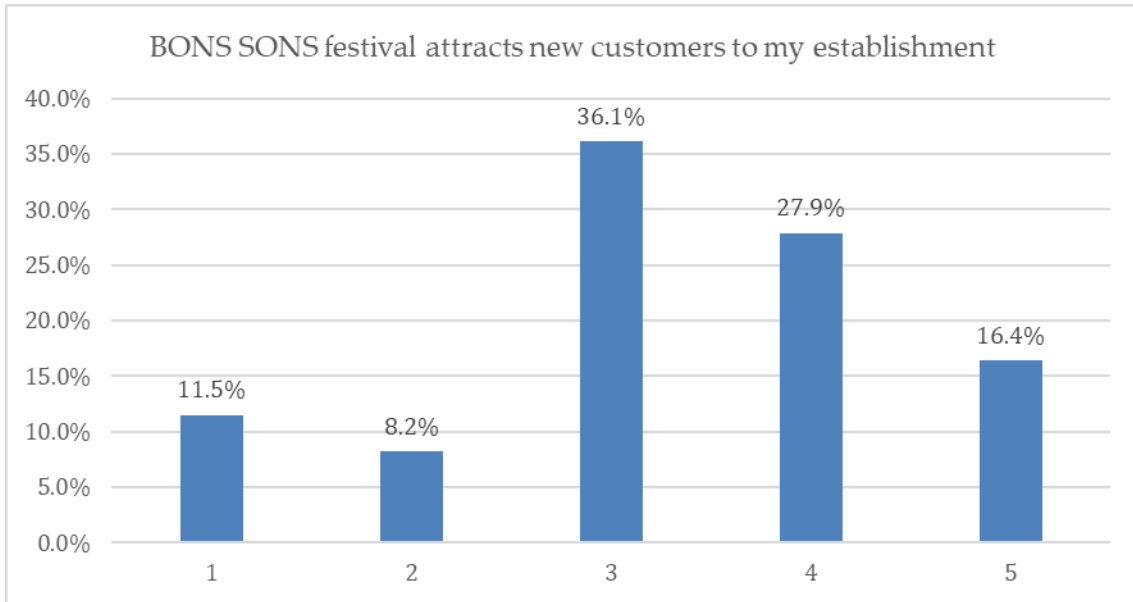


Figure 13: Assessing if BONS SONS festival attracts new customers to local establishments. Source: Work Project’s Author

Figure 14 shows that, 79.4% of the respondents did not reinforce their teams in terms of number of workers, not even those that stated the festival generated a greater demand.

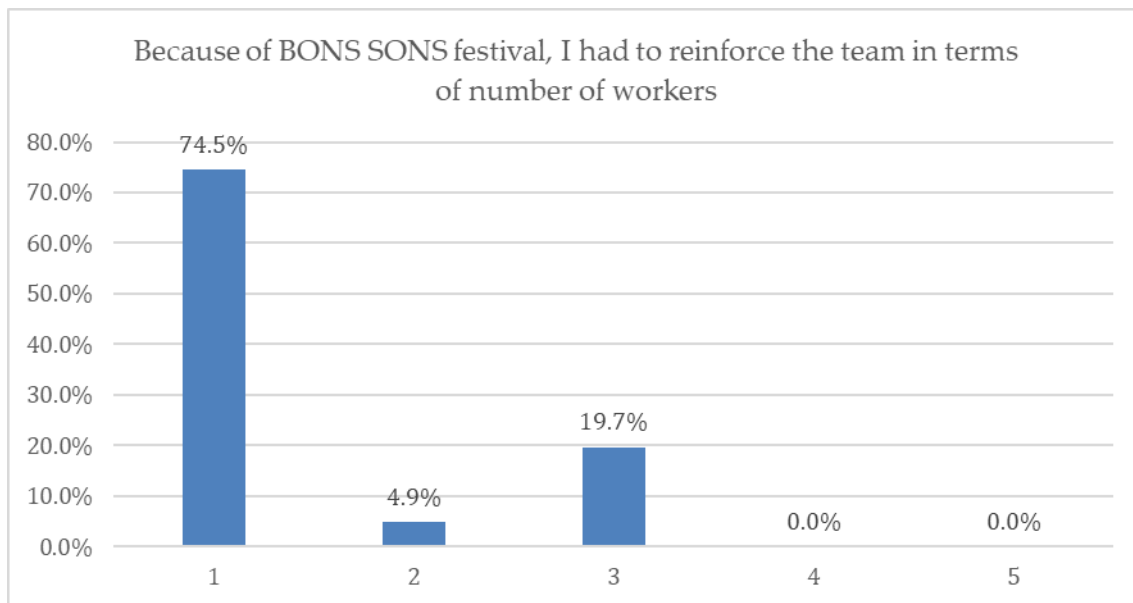


Figure 14 Assessing if local businesses had to reinforce their team. Source: Work Project’s Author

The same can be seen in terms of the operational costs, as 73.7% of the respondents did not experience any increase (Figure 15).

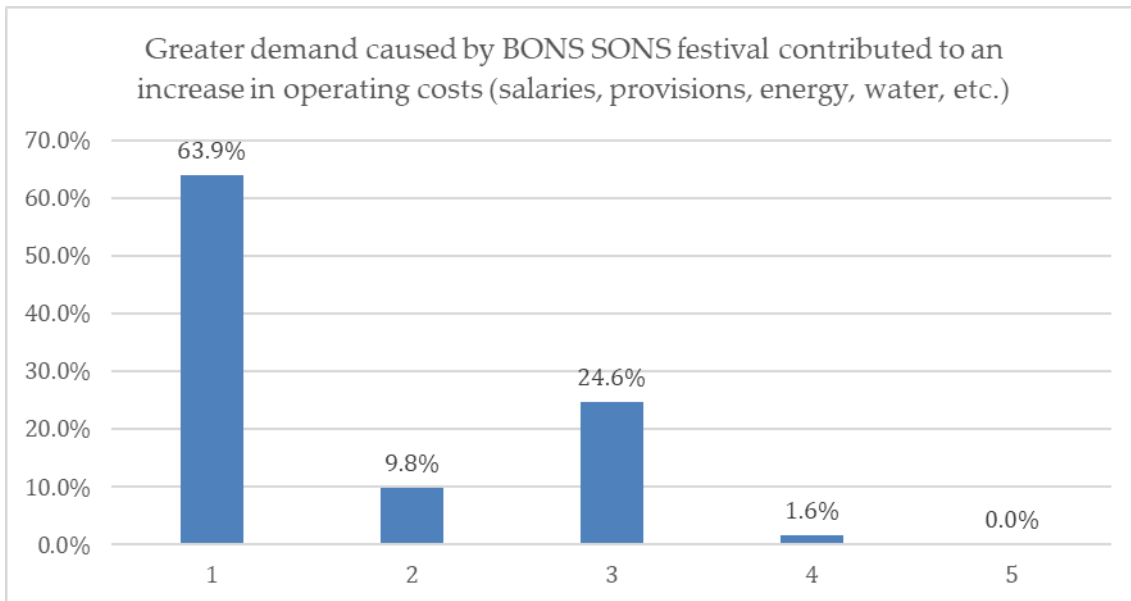


Figure 15 Assessing if the festival contributed to increasing operating costs. Source: Work Project's Author

In line with what was previously observed, most local businesses (77%) did not increase the prices of their services or products. However, the small percentage that did (13.1%) is just from one sector: accommodation and food service activities (Figure 16).

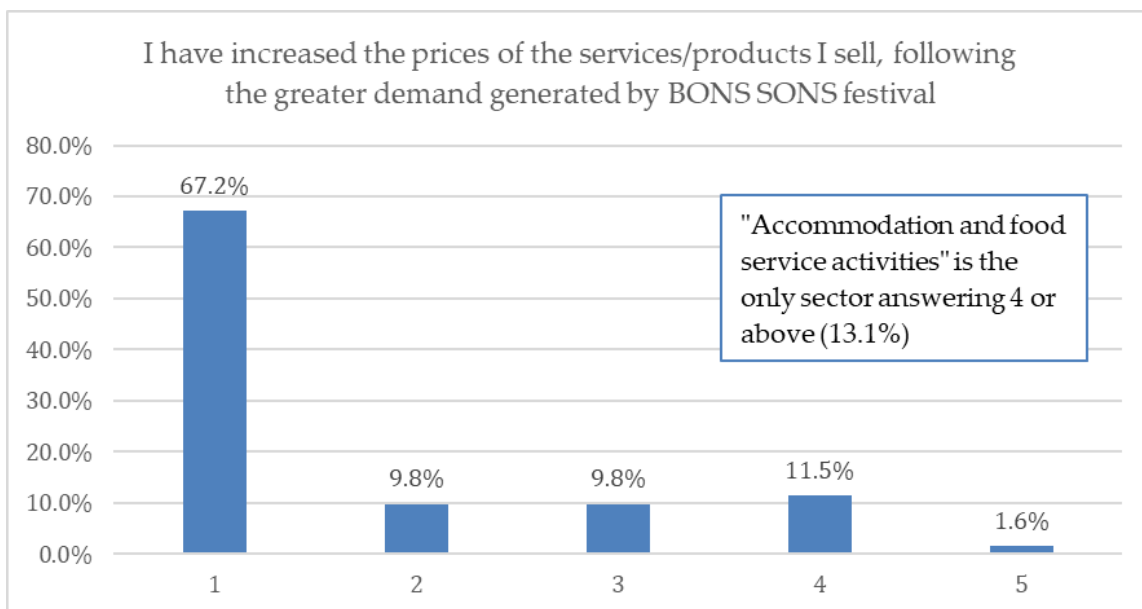


Figure 16: Assessing if local businesses increased their prices, following a greater demand. Source: Work Project's Author

Although most local entrepreneurs, throughout the survey, stated the festival did not generate a greater demand nor did help them on increasing their revenues, most agree on the fact BONS SONS Festival helps on boosting the local economy (83.3%), against a small percentage of people who feel the opposite way (3.4%) (Figure 17).

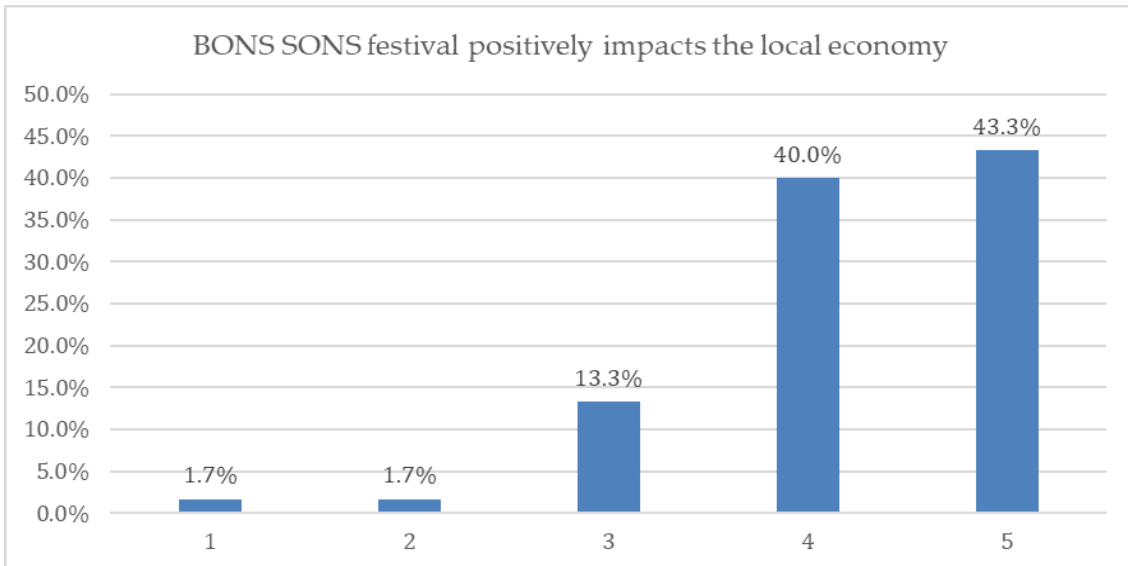


Figure 17: Assessing if the festival positively impacts the local economy. Source: Work Project's Author

The numbers go even higher when talking about how BONS SONS positively contributes to the image of the county, which 95.1% agrees it does (Figure 18).

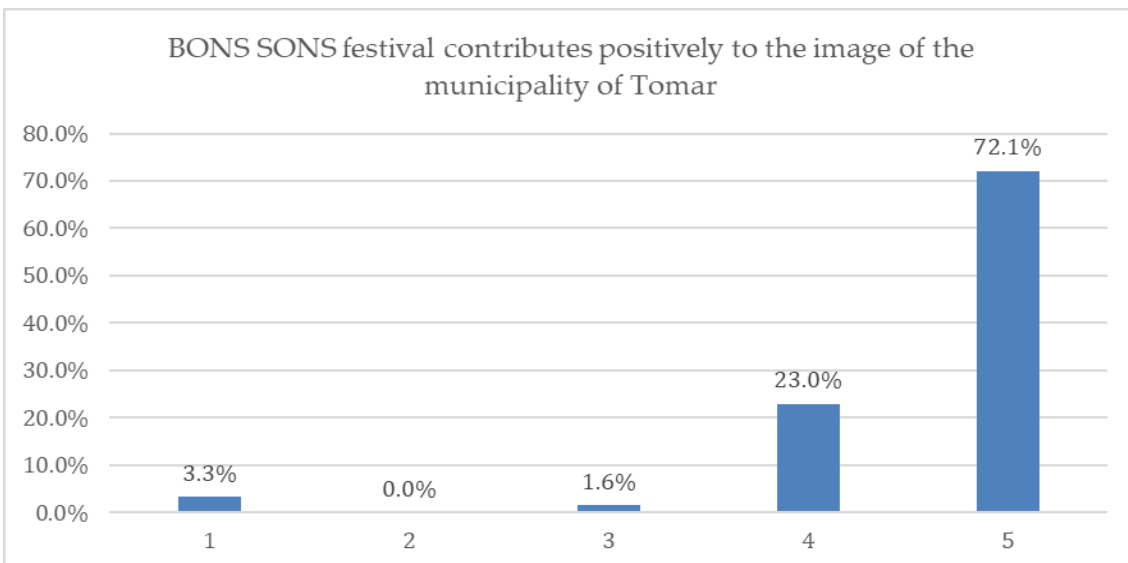


Figure 18: Assessing if BONS SONS contributes positively to Tomar's image. Source: Work Project's Author

4.2 Regression Model

To validate the previous results, and to understand if it is possible to establish a direct relationship between staging BONS SONS Festival and the impact on the “accommodation and food service activities” sector, two OLS regressions were estimated:

$$(1) \text{ nemploy}_t = \beta_1 + \beta_2 \text{GDP}_t + \beta_3 \text{Unemploy}_t + \beta_4 \text{inflation}_t + \beta_5 \text{nvisitors}_t + \varepsilon_t$$

$$(2) \text{ turnover}_t = \beta_1 + \beta_2 \text{GDP}_t + \beta_3 \text{Unemploy}_t + \beta_4 \text{inflation}_t + \beta_5 \text{nvisitors}_t + \varepsilon_t$$

Where:

- **turnover_t**, denotes the turnover of establishments of the “accommodation and food service activities” sector, in thousand euros in the year *t*,
- **nemploy_t** denotes people employed in Tomar’s establishments on the “accommodation and food services activities” sector in the year *t*,
- **nvisitors_t** denotes the number of festivalgoers in the year *t*,
- **GDP_t** denotes the real GDP per capita (annual growth rate) in the year *t*,
- **Unemploy_t** denotes the unemployment rate in Portugal in the year *t*,
- **Inflation_t** denotes current inflation in Portugal in the year *t*,
- **ε_t** denotes the error term associated to year *t*.

The control variables, i.e. GDP, unemployment, and inflation, that were included in the regressions, intend to account the cyclical fluctuations that occur in the Portuguese economy over the years in which the festival has been held. This way, appreciations regarding changes in Tomar are not merely related to changes in the overall economy.

Results

Nemploy	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	p> t	[95% conf. interval]	
GDP	3.860045	11.07094	0.35	0.734	-20.50693	28.22702
unemployr	-4.35593	6.359232	-0.68	0.508	-18.35251	9.640645
inflationr	-16.29903	14.55319	-1.12	0.287	-48.33037	15.73232
nvisitors	0.002383	0.0012829	1.86	0.09	-0.0004407	0.0052067
_cons	929.7408	77.73465	11.96	0	758.648	1100.834

* All specifications are based on 16 observations.

Table 6: Results from regression model. Explained variable: number of employees.

Observing table 7, one may establish a causal relationship between the number of BONS SONS visitors and the number of people working for establishments from the “accommodation and food service activities” sector, since it is suggested a statistically significance (p-value <0.10) between these two variables. For one more person to be employed, around 419 people need to go to the festival, holding all other variables constant.

Turnover	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	p> t	[95% conf. interval]	
GDP	110819.6	486589.4	0.23	0.824	-960156.5	1181796
unemployr	-872554	279500.6	-3.12	0.01	-1487731	-257377.3
inflationr	-598819.6	639640.8	-0.94	0.369	-2006660	809020.4
nvisitors	107.386	56.38684	1.9	0.083	-16.72057	231.4926
_cons	3.17E+07	3416589	9.28	0	2.42E+07	3.92E+07

* All specifications are based on 16 observations.

Table 7: Results from regression model. Explained variable: turnover

From table 8, a similar relation can be established between the number of visitors and the turnover of business organisations from this sector, since again, a statistically significance (p-value <0.10) is suggested. So, for each new person

that goes to the festival, there is a probable positive impact in turnover of 107.39€, holding all other variables constant.

These results validate what previously suggested by the survey regarding the increase in turnover. However, it is also suggested that more employment is generated. Given the 35000 visitors limit, one can conclude around 83 jobs are created annually.

4.3 Interviews

The sociodemographic profile of the interviewees deserves particular attention (table 8), due to constraints it entails in the relationship with the answers.

Name	Age	Occupation	Quality
Miguel	33	Designer	Artistic Director of BONNS SONS
Alexandre	29	Advertising & Marketing	Inhabitant
José	64	Retired	Inhabitant

Table 8: Sociodemographic profile of the interviewees.

Before anything else, it is important to underline that, even though most questions in the interviews were related to the impact the festival has in Tomar, most interviewees felt reluctant on drawing such relations. Instead, it was stressed several times, that when talking about impact, they were referring to Cem Soldos. However, some considerations were made about changes in the county, such as, for example, an increase in the accommodation offer, although there is no indication the festival contributed to such phenomenon.

Evidence shows rural regions have been facing some challenges over the last decades. Literature even throws some buzzwords related to this topic, such as “population drop”, “ageing population”, “difficulties with keeping critical services” and attracting skilled personnel. By observing the data collected from the region, it is no exception to the rule. The population is, indeed, decreasing

and ageing, and the crude birth has never been so low. The youngest interviewee states that he was forced to move to a bigger city, for lacking job opportunities in the county, within his field of studies:

“Unfortunately, we are often forced to come to large urban centres (...). Within my professional area, and given the opportunities there are in the region, it is very difficult to find anything with potential, and that gives me the capacity to grow. Here in Lisbon, it’s totally different.” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

The struggle of keeping critical services, as pointed by Connell & McManus (2011) was also something this case has proved to be true, with the attempt, in 2014, of shutting down the primary school of Cem Soldos, for lack of students. But it was just that: an attempt. The festival organisation, which is the community, joined forces to create an alternative project – *Escola-Aldeia* –, which resulted in the survival of the school. The same happens with other social projects, as previously seen with *Lar-Aldeia*, that BONS SONS festival helps on leveraging, as stressed several times during the interviews:

“In 2014 (...) to close primary schools all over the country, and Cem Soldos was suddenly experiencing that. (...) we realized (...) the school was losing children (...) and we were only going to have one class the following year. Now, we have two. (...) Communicating the school, trying to create an alternative and differentiating project that would live from the logic of the relationship between the village and the people... It was a process.” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

“(...) we also managed to make the other parallel activities survive, namely the ATL, and the school itself. (...) we even had to reinforce our teams, to maintain the quality of services. (...) like the *Lar-Aldeia* project (...) is basically to create a nursing-home in the village, without it being physical. The nursing home is people’s own home (...). We also want to create a nursing service, delivery and administration of medicines, psychological support.” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

“(...) there are things in Cem Soldos that have changed and that have had (...) some leverage with BONS SONS. (...) For example, we have a health centre, but we are the ones who keep the doctor coming. This is because SCOCS annually spends the necessary funds to maintain the building, cleaning, water, light, ect. (...) *Lar-Aldeia* project, that is, people end up being accompanied without needing another type of follow-up, such as real nursing homes (...).” (José, inhabitant, 64)

Getz (2019) suggests that enhanced liveability is one of the KIIs of holding an event, under the **built environment** category, as well as local image creation. This can convey the message to prospective visitors, businesses, and migrants that the area in question constitutes a good place to live, as pointed by Felsenstein & Fleischer (2003), given its affluence in cultural amenities. It appears this case checks all the boxes. Even local businesses that do not benefit financially from the festival seem to agree that BONS SONS as contributed to a positive image of Tomar. Also, not only the festival was able to place Cem Soldos on the map, as it was able to attract new residents to the village. This can be due to SCOCS's being so aware of the village needs, and constantly acting upon it:

“In fact (...) those young families my age, who have children and who were in other cities, are now returning. They are building houses here (...).” (Miguel, artistic direct, 33)

“We have a lot of people wanting to come and live in Cem Soldos. Actually, I don't think there are any houses available for rent or for sale right now.” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

“(...) I would say we have around 20% more people looking for Cem Soldos to reside permanently. (...) There are people from outside, people who come to BONS SONS and get to know Cem Soldos and gain some sort of affinity, who then want to come and live in Cem Soldos.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

Organisers also want to make sure the festival is not completely disruptive of community's regular activities, so every existing services and establishments remain open during the festival. The mass still happens on Sundays, even though the church is one of the stages of the festival:

“Older people, let's say, maintain their daily routines, the mass continues to happen, the shops remain open, and therefore everything continues to happen.” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

Looking at the **social benefits KIIs**, it is perceptible how proud they feel about this project and everything else the association does. All these aspects are visibly appreciated by the community. This may be the factor that leads them to contribute voluntarily for the edification of this project. There is a feeling of reciprocity. They give but get something in return:

“The second one is the volunteering (...). The fact that the entire village is mobilized to build a collective project (...). We are occupying (...) backyards, houses, the dressing rooms are people’s houses, the reception of the teams is done in people’s houses, the backyards are occupied for food preparation (...) A village with 650 people, which has 400 volunteers. (...) in terms of merchandising, we have local sewing groups that do the merchandising (...). Even at the catering level, we have our own catering services. They are teams of improvised village cooks who peel, cook, and stir the pot (...)” (Miguel, artistic direct, 33)

“(...) we are a voluntary association, and everything we want to earn is for the benefit of the community. (...) it lives a lot through that logic of friends of friends, who help their friends. (...) we really like (and in a way, it’s our payment) to hear good things about our village, to hear good things about the festival we organize...” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

“Let’s say that the montage/assembly is practically (but not exclusively) secured by the community. (...) practically 80% of the people from Cem Soldos are helping, whether serving beers, selling tickets, or being at the box office. (...) Whenever it is possible to unite the community for a common goal, people tend to give a little bit of themselves, to contribute with ideas, work, with effort... From the joint participation of all, something new always emerges, something richer always emerges.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

Apart from that, Cem Soldos has more leisure opportunities, greater frequency of cultural activity and intergenerational interactions where one learns from the other. Social capital formation is one clear phenomenon happening in this village. Miguel does not feel comfortable on drawing a direct relation between BONS SONS and the increase of the cultural offer in Tomar. Rather, he prefers to say that new events and opportunities emerging there are “the result of joint work

for the growth of the region.” However, Alexandre targeted new places and events that emerged after BONS SONS, saying other neighbouring villages in the county felt “spurred” by Cem Soldos dynamics. He trusts BONS SONS was one of the main drivers:

“The dynamics of SCOCS gained strength, gained visibility, gained impact and strategic relevance, due to the existence of BONS SONS. (...) I am sure that the events emerging in Tomar, and their dynamics and strength, are also the results of joint work for the growth of the region.” (Miguel, artistic direct, 33)

“(...) since 2006, there has always been more and more offer. (...) creation of new spaces, namely, next to Levada, you have the Cultural Complex of Levada, which is a very fun cultural space, in Tomar, nearby the river. The cinema itself was also rehabilitated and in terms of its offer, it has been improving little by little. (...) Now, we also have neighbouring villages holding music festivals too, although other types of festivals. (...) I think BONS SONS was one of the main drivers (...)” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29).

“Our association has activities (I don’t want to say daily, but) weekly or biweekly. We support several sports, which are activities that usually weigh heavily on the association’s account. (...) this way, they have a series of sports, cultural activities, etc., that costs us (of course) but that we keep with great pleasure, because we keep the village running.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

SCOCS also makes efforts to preserve the identity of village and the festival, as the increasing “demand” and media coverage could lead to a shift from a community festival to a commercial one, as suggested by Senior & Danson (1998). This can be seen with the implementation of a limit of visitors, from 2019 edition onwards. In 2018, they understood the festival was too crowded, in the means to lose what better characterizes it, and as such, measures were taken to prevent the distortion of what they what to “convey as a village”:

“(…) in the months after BONS SONS, we insisted on communicating that in the next edition there was going to be a limit. This limit remains at 35.000 people. We realized that the village has a capacity, it has a physical limit that cannot be exceeded, otherwise we are distorting what we want to convey as a village, and the image of a dynamic village.” (Miguel, artistic direct, 33)

“(…) people have a very strong sense of belonging.” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

“(…) Ladies aged 80 and over make their geckos there (the festival’s mascot) and that’s it. It’s a way to keep people active, with the feeling that they are being useful, and where their work and contribution is appreciated. (...) I’m retired, and I finally have my time completely available. Why not help? (...) Creating conditions so that the elderly do not feel marginalized, or put aside, and making them feel useful... All these, of course, are ideas that 15/20 years ago did not exist. (...) I am delighted to realize that the ideas these people are having, and some of them much younger than I am, are valid ideas.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

There are, however, some “**social costs**” possible to observe. Social disharmony and burnout of volunteer staff are some aspects mentioned during the interviews, although it seems the conflict is not entirely representative of the population of Cem Soldos, as the exhaustion mentioned by the villagers does not seem to impact their will to continue collaborating with the organisation:

“Imagine staging a festival in a village context, and a week before the start, everything is looking like a mess. This has an impact. The fact that the generator is next to that house, where lives that person. (...) these dynamics, like BONS SONS festival, depletes the village a lot in terms of manpower and all that, and the structure is very exhausting.” (Miguel, artistic direct, 33)

“It’s a very, very small portion, in our village, that dislikes and criticizes the way the festival is organized. (...) They feel affected by the noise. (...) We have a lot of ups and downs during setups and during the festival itself, and then suddenly there’s a void. (...) Getting your ideas back for the festival and the future... It takes a lot longer, you know?!” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

“It’s a month of a lot of activity, confusion, machines, noise... 99% of the people enjoy it. (...) however, one or two percent of people who don’t like that. (...) for the people who live in the village, it is for many hours on those days. Some can’t sleep until the noise stops, which happens around 4am (...)” (José, inhabitant, 64)

Regarding **culture KIIs**, cultural capital formation is an aspect that seems to happen, almost involuntarily. People are stimulated to be participative, and to contribute with ideas. The skills acquired, especially the youngest, make them more outgoing and creative people, surely with other posture, making them stand out from the crowd. Alexandre, for example, points that he managed to get a job in his area of studies through the festival:

“(...) we aim to have groups of young people working (...) to create other events, so that later, during BONS SONS, they realize they have a direct responsibility in the festival. (...) ‘Ok, Cem Soldos has already given so much to Portuguese music, now to what are we going to be able to give? What area are we going to dedicate ourselves to, to give to the country, to the region, so that this area can develop?’ (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

“(...) we ended up being a ‘jack of all trades’. We helped with the assembly, disassembly, answering phone calls... (...) at a professional level, I think it gives us a lot of soft skills. Since we were kids, we’ve been involved in the association, in its activities throughout the year (...) and that allows us, in a way, to shape our profile as people. (...) It was thanks to BONS SONS that I got my current job. (...) I also know more people who worked in various specific areas on the festival, and then, later, got jobs in those same areas.” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

“The introduction of younger people, in the organisation’s board, with aptitudes more focused on the artistic sector, more culturally (...) and socially oriented, brought great changes. (...) I sometimes participate in some meetings (...) and I understand the urge of these people to praise the work that has been done by doing more and better. (...) everyone has a say.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

BONS SONS festival also promotes the interaction of the villagers with people from other backgrounds, with other ideas and perspectives of the world, which results in an increasing tolerance and acceptance of difference. This is also true to new artists coming to the festival, since the community has a unique opportunity to get to know them, to listen to them, without leaving their locality:

“When we have more people, the probability of finding differences (...) is greater. (...) It is incredible to realize that we will welcome and be with people who are completely different from us, with different beliefs, with different perspectives on how to live life, with visions of the future that are completely different from ours. This represents an opportunity for working on our tolerance, respect and appreciation of difference.” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

“If there was no festival, most would never attend a concert by the artists who come here. (...) BONS SONS was like an injection of culture, knowledge... Brought the need to diversify the offer... And also, somehow, it brought other ways of seeing the village, from a social point a view.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

As seen before, the festival lives a lot through volunteering, meaning it does not generate a lot of direct employment. But despites that, from both interviews and quantitative data, BONS SONS leverages benefits for local businesses, something the literature attributed to **economic KIIs**. From the regression model, one learned around 80 jobs are created annually on the county, as a consequence of staging the festival, although these results should be read carefully. As stated in the interviews, for example, there is a part of the merchandising that requires some scale and for that reason, is done by a local company. There are also some services outsourced and spaces sublet during the festival, and the organisation seems concern to preserve the “Produced Locally” stamp:

“There is part of the merchandising that we sell on a greater scale, so we have local companies that do this type of service for us (...). This is also true at the catering level and the leather goods fair. (...) We also sublet the spaces that are usually occupied by local restaurants and fairgrounds, (...) which ultimately also helps to boost the local economy (...)” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

“(...) at the local level there is a sound company, which deals with the propagation of sound through the village, and it’s from here. (José, inhabitant, 64)

Interviews also confirmed what the literature (Tindall, 2011) and the data collected from the survey suggest, which is the “accommodation and food services activities” sector is the one which benefits the most from the festival,

even though the sample size not being statistically representative of the population:

“(…) even hotels get completely crowded (…). For local restaurants and cafes is the same. (…) BONS SONS is a breath of fresh air, even for local businesses (e.g., shops, cafes, and others).” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

Given, however, the available infrastructures in Tomar, it is possible to understand that some **leakages** happen, at least, at two levels. First, it's not possible to resort exclusively to companies from Tomar, for building the festival. There are some services that simply cannot be found locally, which results in outsourcing from elsewhere:

“(…) there is one or another service that (…) for legal reasons', or for the continuity of the work (…) requires some compensation, in terms of safety, and health (…). So, these teams come from elsewhere(…)” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

“For the assembly of the stages, for example, we have to hire. We rent the stages, which also include the assembly. (…) We make use of companies that do the communication. (…) We have to have a series of infrastructures that, at the local level, can be hard to find.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

Another aspect has to do with lack of amenities in the county to meet the demand. Visitors need to go to neighbouring municipalities, since they simply cannot find available accommodation:

“Some people send emails, 2 or 3 weeks before the festival (…) asking 'Do you still have accommodation in the village?' and we say 'No!'. Then they ask 'and in Tomar?', and we say 'maybe not even there. Maybe you have to go to Vila Nova da Barquinha, Entroncamento, Torres Novas, Ferreira do Zêzere. You need to try other places'.” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

Leakages seem to be mainly direct, as Yu & Douglas (2000) suggest it would, especially in rural areas. Besides, since none of the survey respondents indicated to have experienced an increase in their operational costs, assessing supplier's

geography was irrelevant. As such, with this study, “secondary” and “induced” leakages were not verifiable to make conclusions.

There is possible, however, to observe secondary effects. Since BONS SONS leverages other social projects run by SCOCS, new (permanent) job opportunities are created for the maintenance of those services. Most studies only assess the short-run impact of the event, which is more visible. However, in this case, it seems the long-run impact outweighs the one more observable in the short-run:

“I know that our association has grown, also in terms of employees and BONS SONS has helped in this regard. (...) led to the hiring of new people for the ATL.” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

“(...) we have an ATL, the association has employees whom it pays monthly (if memory serves, I believe 9). (...) Look, a non-profit association, which already has this number of fixed employees... They are not fixed-term contracts, they are permanent employees, with all the costs that this means.” (José, inhabitant, 64)

Also, and as the literature foreseen, if the impact of the festival turns out to have a positive impact, it can attract local council support and sponsors (Gibson & Connell, 2012), which from the analysis of the case, is also proven to be true. However, it only represents 20% of the total budget.

“We are supported by Turismo do Centro, (...) by the city council of Tomar, (...) by INATEL. (...) the festival lives on 80% of its revenues. Then you have the sponsors part (...), but it represents only 20% of the investment. (...) we live a lot of what is the ticket office, (...) of the spaces we sublet, of what is our food services and our ability to generate revenue.” (Miguel, artistic director, 33)

“(...) thanks to the festival as well, our square will undergo some work, so our ‘face’ will get some improvements.” (Alexandre, inhabitant, 29)

Chapter 5

Discussion

When drawing general assumptions based on this case study, one can say that rural festivals, indeed, seem to catalyse communal activities, support tourism, and create employment, albeit dispersed and frequently transient. They affect the local economy on the supply and demand sides (even if inadvertently so). Festivals are an inescapably cultural phenomena, and discussions about culture, identity or inclusion are much more than simple externalities. And even though "tricky" modelling of multiplier impacts is a useful "reality check" to gauge the fiscal success of single festivals, they are always a cultural phenomenon. As such, when economics ignores questions of social and cultural impact (audience development, liveability, capital formation, etc.) the viability of music festivals is put in jeopardy. It is true that rural festivals can help local economies by injecting money in ways that spur additional economic activity, but they can also help in other ways, such as by promoting their hosting villages and towns, fostering the volunteer economy, or bringing attention to otherwise undiscovered artists.

This case study helps to prove that festivals can, in fact, make regions more visible, even though there are also occasions of financial struggle, short-term benefits that are not sustained outside of festival times, or worries among local communities about the nature, meaning, and direction of festivals.

Notwithstanding, the social impact that festivals have in local communities is perhaps the most significant of all. A certain amount of fun and even a modest income can be supplied by them, who later can reinvest on other social projects. This not only helps on bringing small communities together, who share common interests, as it strengthens and promotes cooperation. They can also foster and

maintain identity and community, while also encouraging the return of former residents. To put it briefly, festivals can build social and cultural capital.

Evidence seems to show that festivals function best when they have strong community support. Albeit local stands and fairgrounds may not generate thousands of euros, the revenue earned stays in the community and helps on supporting local businesses and social activities.

Nevertheless, there is the impression of an abnormal factor playing in favour of BONS SONS festival. Even with organisers being totally transparent about how they conduct and organise the festival, doubts persist, regarding the ability of other villages in Portugal to replicate BONS SONS case. This is due to dynamism and collaboration levels observed in Cem Soldos community. It seems that one of the key factors to their success is this close-knit community, united for one common goal, that perhaps should be further explored, in a sociological perspective.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to analyse whether music festival have the capacity to revitalize and sustain rural communities and if so, in what way does it happen.

All in all, and after ten editions, it seems BONS SONS shaped Cem Soldos and Tomar and breathed new life into them. While it runs, the festival attracts a diverse audience, promoting not only cultural and economic consumption in the local area, but also the absorption of an experience that promotes an affectionate bond with local idiosyncrasies. This connection is also expressed in numbers by economic dynamics associated with festivalgoers who visit the city during the event, by requisitioning goods and services from the local economy.

Notwithstanding, the impact of BONS SONS does not stop at the more visible and numerical. The festival has such a profound impact on the village that part of the younger generation of Cem Soldos no longer has memory of the village without BONS SONS. In addition to the festival providing funds for social projects, expanding the local economy, boosting tourism and local commerce, the festival above all exalts the feeling of community and gave a new life and purpose to its inhabitants.

The present study faced several limitations. The sample of the survey was not representative of the population subject to study. It can be due to lack of time and the fact several businesses do not have an online presence. Another potential problem is related with the inhabitants' interviews having been intermediated by

the artistic direct of the festival. Some questions on impartiality can be raised, not to mention the probability of biased results.

Also, the initial idea was to analyse all sectors of economic activity, reason why the survey was also applied without restrictions. However, when extracting the data from Statistics of Portugal, it came to evidence that some information was missing in some sectors and some years, which was influencing the total annual turnover of the municipality. As such, we decided to analyse “accommodation and food service activities”, since it was the most responsive sector in the survey and did not present any data breaks for the years to be examined. Thus, the regression model would help to validate or not the hypothesis the survey seemed to be suggesting. However, the sample size accounted with only 16 observations, which can clearly influence the results of the analysis performed, as it can also affect possible interpretations.

As for future research, since this study was constrained to the limitations just mentioned, a deeper analysis may be further developed. However, there are other interesting topics to be explored.

Festivals, for example, are still not accounted as part of the regional development equation, and when it seems it does, it is only within restricted circles in cultural planning. Why this happens and palpable strategies to integrate in public policymaking, could be one topic to further investigation.

Another interesting topic to delve into would be the impact of demographic variations of the community who’s hosting the festival and differences in the economic and social welfare of the region. It seems that combining politics with community creativity, in dynamics of social innovation, can potentially create more robust strategies for attraction and retention of people in areas with low population density.

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Appendix

A1. Interview guide to Cem Soldos' inhabitants

Contextualization		<p>1.1 Name; Age; Professional Activity</p> <p>1.2 How long have you lived in Tomar?</p>
Getz (2019) dimensions		
Built Environment	<p>2.1 Capital costs for new/improved venues and infrastructure</p> <p>2.2 Enhanced liveability (e.g., services, housing, leisure, parks)</p>	<p>2.1 How was Cem Soldos and the municipality of Tomar before BONS SONS? Were there the same number of establishments (e.g., cafes, supermarkets, clothing stores)?</p> <p>2.2 What about the diversity of services? I mean, services related with health, education, telecommunications, transports, accommodation, etc.? Was there any change? If yes, can you give an example?</p>
Economic	3.1 Employment for residents (numbers, quality, safety)	3.1 Do you think that staging the festival generates more work opportunities for the community, or not? If yes, which ones? If not, why? Can you explain your point of view?
Social	<p>4.1 Audience development for the arts and cultural events; Social capital formation</p> <p>4.2 Non-use values: belief that events/projects are good for everyone or offer more choice</p> <p>4.3. Perceived personal, group and community benefits and harm</p>	<p>4.1 Do you participate in the festival? If yes, in which way?</p> <p>4.2 Is this participation voluntary, or not? If yes, what makes do it?</p> <p>4.3 What other advantages and disadvantages do you identify for the community, which result from the production of the festival?</p>
Cultural	<p>5.1 Cultural capital formation for individuals and families; use and option values: more entertainment, educational or leisure opportunities</p> <p>5.2 Cultural capital formation for individuals and families</p>	<p>5.1 Do you think there are differences, in terms of the cultural offer in the county, before and after BONS SONS, or not? If yes, can you give some examples?</p> <p>5.2 Do you think that the festival, in some way, contributed to an increase in your education, or not? Do you think you learned something you didn't know, through your participation in the festival, or not?</p>
Final question		6.1 What do you think could be improved at the festival?

A2. Interview guide to Miguel Atalaia (Artistic Director of BONS SONS)

Contextualization		<p>1.1 What is BONS SONS festival? How did it come about and what is its mission?</p> <p>1.2 Regarding the cultural agenda of the festival, it goes beyond music, or not?</p> <p>1.3 In your perspective, what do you think attracts the public to BONS SONS festival?</p> <p>1.4 Have you done any survey on the profiles of festivalgoers and their main characteristics and motivations for going to the festival?</p>
Getz (2019) dimensions		
Economic	<p>2.1 Employment for residents (numbers, quality, safety)</p> <p>2.2 Leveraged benefits for local businesses</p> <p>2.3 Investment attracted</p> <p>2.4 Future event benefits; growth in tourism; increased capacity to attract events (i.e., the future value of venues)</p> <p>2.5 Capital costs for new/improved venues and infrastructure; Increased capacity to accommodate guests (through added rooms)</p> <p>2.6 Capacity to attract local council support (Gibson & Connell, 2012).</p> <p>2.7 Real gains in quality of life (owing to economic gains)</p>	<p>2.1 Where do the members of the team that prepares and organizes the festival come from? Municipality of Tomar or other geographies?</p> <p>2.2 And as for the products sold and services provided at the venue, are most manufactured or provided by residents of Tomar or do they come from other geographies?</p> <p>2.3 How has been the evolution of the investment raised by the municipality of Tomar, since the first edition of the festival?</p> <p>2.4 Do you think there is any relationship between the realization of BONS SONS festival and the emerge of new events in Tomar, or not? If yes, why? If not, why?</p> <p>2.5 How have the local tourist infrastructures adapted to the festival?</p> <p>2.6 Has the City Council of Tomar always been a sponsor of the festival?</p> <p>2.7 As for the festival revenue, how is it allocated? Is it reinvested in the community, or not?</p>
Social	<p>3.1 Displacement</p>	<p>3.1 Do you think that holding the festival has any influence on the exodus of inhabitants from Cem Soldos and the county, or not? In which way?</p>

	<p>3.2 Use and option values: more entertainment, educational or leisure opportunities</p> <p>3.3 Social capital formation (trust, volunteering, collaborations);</p>	<p>3.2 Does the festival contribute to the expansion of opportunities in terms of education and leisure, or not? How?</p> <p>3.3 Is there any involvement of the residents of Tomar in the preparation and organisation of BONS SONS? If yes, to what extent? If not, why?</p>
Cultural	<p>4.1 Cultural capital formation for individuals and families; use and option values: more entertainment, educational or leisure opportunities</p> <p>4.2 Loss of traditions or authenticity; Loss of identity (acculturation)</p>	<p>4.1 Do you think there are differences, in terms of the cultural offer in the municipality of Tomar, before and after BONS SONS, or not? If yes, can you give some examples?</p> <p>4.2 How has BONS SONS evolved in terms of demand? Can you identify the advantages and/or disadvantages of greater public demand, whether for the festival itself and the inhabitants of Cem Soldos and Tomar?</p>
<p>Evaluation of the last 10 editions (2006-2019)</p> <p>Final question</p>		<p>5.1 What evaluation do you make, 16 years, after the first edition? Who is Cem Soldos, today? Have the festival's mission and goals been achieved, or not?</p>

A3. Interview transcription with Miguel Atalaia

MJ: What is BONS SONS festival? How did it come about and what is its mission?

Miguel Atalaia: These are three very... complex questions. But what is it, then? Defining BONS SONS festival, even for us, is complex. Right now, we call it a "festival". In 2019, we did something called the "BONS SONS manifesto", which better structures our idea of what it is like to be a village in the countryside. Basically, it answers in which areas it is essential to act, how it can impact the region, and how is it possible to make villages more sustainable.

The truth is, they all live a moment of great constraint. We also went through this in 2014, most precisely in terms of our educational services, which forced us to refocus and think a little bit better: "alright, BONS SONS is not just a festival.

It is a village in manifesto.” And so, that became our catchphrase, but yeah... BONSONS is no longer just a festival. It's true that it's an event, it's 4 days, which brings repercussions throughout the year in the dynamics of the village, but it's 4 days of Portuguese music, national projects and produced in Portugal and that, in the end, and in addition to Portuguese music, it has two more fundamental pillars. The first is the context of the village, which leads the festival to happen in this peculiar urban structure. It has a centre, and from that centre, you have other annexed streets, which is not common. The second one is the volunteering, which is absolutely characteristic. The fact that the entire village is mobilized to build a collective project, is completely fundamental.

I would say that, perhaps, this last aspect and the village, the sustainability concerns, and the manifesto are more important than the event and the music itself. And I think, even though sometimes people want to hit me for saying it (laughs) ... but I think that on the day the festival ends, the village continues. I mean, it is not because the festival ends that BONSONS loses its meaning or that the village loses its meaning. Because, collectively, there is a creation that can be materialized in other things rather than a music festival. This project has its origin in 2006, when the association – Sport Club Operário de Cem Soldos (SCOCS) - was celebrating 25 years, I think. So, we were celebrating SCOCS's anniversary (at the time, there were different people in charge, so I was not there), and they come up with the idea of throwing a party that was a little different. It would still be a village festival, but with a little more care in the logic of the cultural agenda, as such as we hoped it would bring other audiences.

And the truth is, it went very well, I mean, the impact was very positive and suddenly, deep inside, we could glimpse an opportunity to do something different for the future. Let's remind ourselves we were at a time, in 2006, when the festival ground was not even closed, the structure was the same as another mini party, where we tried to be more careful with the cultural agenda. From that

moment on, things have been growing over the years. So even for us, our idea of the festival was being built throughout the editions. That's why the first five editions happened every 2 years, and the other five (we already made 10) were all annual. This shift from 2015 onwards happened because we started to realize that this had legs to walk, that it made sense for the village, it made sense for the territory, for the country, and so we continue to do it.

MJ: You said that in the first edition the festival ground wasn't closed. It means, then, that you didn't charge for tickets?

Miguel Atalaia: Yes, there was no box office until the third edition. The festival lived in a recurring party logic, in which there are the food and drinks and all these. And indeed, the village was not surrounded as it is at this time. People came in, just plain and simple, so it was a little... It was basically the usual village party with some adjustments, even though we continue to do the usual party

MJ: That is in the week after BONS SONS festival, correct?

Miguel Atalaia: No, no... It changes. In fact, it's crazy. The date of Cem Soldos' party has become an authentic madness. In recent years, it has been at the end of June, but it has already happened in August, and this year will be in early September. The truth is that these dynamics, like BONS SONS festival, depletes the village a lot in terms of manpower and all that, and the structure is very exhausting. So, we have to adjust to the availability of the village itself to go on doing the rest of the other actions, which are many.

MJ: And the cultural agenda of the festival goes beyond music, or not?

Miguel Atalaia: Yes, we have always tried over the years to understand who our audience was and to meet their expectations. We realized that, in a village

context, the concept of the festival sticks really well with families, maybe because the people of the village remain in the village. I mean, they're working during the festival, so there's no separation. Older people, let's say, maintain their daily routines, the mass continues to happen, the shops remain open, and therefore everything continues to happen. It's really a village, welcoming other people. And we try to reflect that also in what we offer. We try more and more to explore the parallel programming strand, with many different dynamics, in many areas. There is a very specific area connected to families and children, so it really is a festival for everyone. And in that chapter, many other things are happening.

MJ: In your perspective, what do you think attracts the public to BONS SONS festival?

Miguel Atalaia: I think it's this logic of welcoming people exceptionally. It is always referenced, even the artists say it. Deep down, we are occupying public spaces, private spaces, you know?! It is backyards, houses, the dressing rooms are people's houses, the reception of the teams is done in people's houses, the backyards are occupied for food preparation... I believe visitors perceive it through contact with the people of the village, that there is a logic of welcoming which has a lot to do with human relationships. I think this aspect is very particular. There is a kind of appropriation of space here, we are part of the space, and people who come realize that the village is mobilized to welcome them, and it is a very natural thing that we do, and that we reflect on throughout the year. And that does not arise with BONS SONS. Our tradition of parties and events, which predates BONS SONS, is reflected in the way we love to welcome people, and the love we have for the diversity that people bring. I would say that this is the most decisive and most referenced aspect – hospitality -, and our predisposition to be able to welcome everyone. I think this is very significant.

MJ: Have you done any survey on the profiles of festivalgoers and their main characteristics and motivations for going to the festival?

Miguel Atalaia: Yes, we always do “audience studies”, annually. Internally, we allocate a small team to do this type of job for us to understand some things like, for example, how much festivalgoers spend at the festival, what are their preferences, why they come to the festival, where they hear about the festival, etc. We always try to do this analysis because it allows us to reflect a little better on what brings them. But I would like to clarify one point here. We indeed analyse our audience very carefully, but we never let this analysis distort what is the nature of the festival and our nature, as a village. Sometimes we could play with marketing, and with what’s trending... “What's in fashion?” or “What does the public want now?” And I don't think it's anything like that. We are convinced that our audience is very demanding, but they are demanding in the sense of looking for what is absolutely true in us.

MJ: Miguel, thank you very much. Changing the topic, I have other questions that have more to do with the preparation and logistics of the festival. The first is, where do the members of the team that prepares and organizes the festival come from? Municipality of Tomar or other geographies?

Miguel Atalaia: The festival organisers are the village. There are indeed different layers of decision and all of that, but this is basically based on a cultural, non-profit association (SCOCS), which has directors, a president and a vice president. Then there is another structure/department attached which deals with BONS SONS festival, that accounts with a big team, so to speak. But the limit of who the team is, who is not in the team, what is voluntary or what is not voluntary, is completely permeable. We often don't even know. There are so many contributions, and they are so significant that it is very difficult to tell.

Again, it is true that there are different levels of decision, but things are very permeable, there is no ability to understand exactly who is what. Therefore, the organisation is the village itself. A village with 650 people, which has 400 volunteers, plus mothers and grandmothers who stay at home cooking for others. It is basically a village completely mobilized. It is true that afterwards, to this large family that is building the festival and that is the village, there are always friends that join. There are always teams that are friends. "I have a friend who is in this area, who also wants to help and wants to volunteer, what can he or cannot do?" That's why we suddenly have a series of teams housed in the village, who don't really live here, but who are friends and/or family members, and want to come to help build the festival. Then there is one or another service that legally, or for legal reasons, or for the continuity of the work (which lasts almost an entire year) requires some compensation, in terms of safety, and health, which really has to happen. So, these teams come from elsewhere, rather than locally.

MJ: And as for the products sold and services provided at the venue, are most manufactured or provided by residents of Tomar or do they come from other geographies?

Miguel Atalaia: We always try to articulate the two things. We have this mission of the more involvement we can get from a person, the better. Not only for the festival but also for other people. We want them to feel that this is also a part of them, and so it is completely meaningful. And that's why, for example, in terms of merchandising, we have local sewing groups that do the merchandising we give to festivalgoers. They make backpacks and hats, so these things also happen. Even at the catering level, we have our own catering services. They are teams of improvised village cooks who peel, cook and stir the pot, so this also happens.

There is a part of the merchandising that we sell on a greater scale, so we have local companies that do this type of service for us to be able to sell at the festival. This is also true at the catering level and the leather goods fair. We also sublet the spaces that are usually occupied by local restaurants and by local fairgrounds, who want to come to BONS SONS and want to have contact with festivalgoers, which ultimately also helps to boost the local economy itself.

MJ: And how has the evolution of the investment raised by the municipality of Tomar been, since the first edition?

Miguel Atalaia: I believe it has had its phases. The truth is that BONS SONS has lived through many phases. When an event comes up, with the boldness that BONS SONS had right from the beginning, sometimes people may find it strange, but then they end up enjoying it. And I'm honest, I think we were more convincing in the communication with people from outside (although, we may have been the ones who sinned). For example, right in the first editions maybe we managed to capture more easily and quickly public from big metropolises, like Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra, than the public from around here. It took longer. However now, we have a media and economic impact in the region, surrounding €3.5M, which is very significant. In other words, the hotels are completely full.

Some people send emails, 2 or 3 weeks before the festival (as we are now) asking "Do you still have local accommodation in the village?" and we say "No!". Then they ask "and in Tomar?", and we say "maybe not even there. Maybe you have to go to Vila Nova da Barquinha, Entroncamento, Torres Novas, Ferreira do Zêzere. You need to try other places". So you understand, even hotels get completely crowded, and that impact is also felt. For local restaurants and cafes is the same. It is certain that when people come to BONS SONS, they want to be at BONS SONS, but then the truth is that, in the afternoon, it can get very hot. It's only natural that some of the visitors want to go for a swim in Zêzere river, and

so they travel there. All this dynamic of having 35 thousand people on the site, has a very significant impact.

MJ: Do you think there is any relationship between the realization of BONS SONS and the emergence of new events in Tomar, or not?

Miguel Atalaia: Oh, I don't know if I can answer that. How can I say this? I can't say it's too much... in fact, it would be a mistake to say yes, that there is a direct relationship. But I also know, as an agent of culture, that things are very permeable. There's nothing that doesn't come from the history of that place. Even if we were in a place where nothing happens, from the moment someone idealizes and thinks "Damn, there is nothing here" and creates something, they will create something because there was nothing. And that was a reason for creation. Therefore, I am sure that I cannot state there's a direct relation to what is happening in Tomar. In Cem Soldos, perhaps. The dynamics of SCOCS gained strength, gained visibility, gained impact and strategic relevance, due to the existence of BONS SONS. This is visible, for example, at the level of other projects, educational projects, in which we suddenly managed to save a primary school. Also, projects related to ageing, too. Therefore, I would say BONS SONS has a direct impact on the village and the association, and to some extent on the local businesses. I can certainly say that BONS SONS is a breath of fresh air, even for the local businesses (e.g., shops, cafes, and others). Now, for Tomar, it would be very pretentious of me to say it. But I say that there is a permeable capacity, very permeable, that things get contagious. Suddenly, when we communicate BONS SONS from the 12th to the 15th of August, in Cem Soldos, Tomar, we are communicating Cem Soldos, Tomar and the region. We are supported by Turismo do Centro, we are supported by the City Council of Tomar, we are supported by INATEL... All these mobilize a series of structures, and I am sure

that the events that are emerging in Tomar, and their dynamics and strength, are also the result of joint work for the growth of the region. That I can say, yes.

MJ: You spoke about the City Council of Tomar supporting the project. Is this true since the beginning of the project, I mean, the first edition?

Miguel Atalaia: I cannot guarantee. But we've been working together for several years now, yes.

MJ: As for the festival revenue, how is it allocated? Is it reinvested in the community, or not?

Miguel Atalaia: I usually say (this expression was invented by me and sometimes people don't understand, and I'm afraid to be a little... confusing), but what I think is that SCOCS is basically the entity that organizes the community dynamics that created BONS SONS, and this is because things go beyond SCOCS too. They are born here, no doubt, but then there are so many contributions that things go beyond the organisation. For example, the festival lives on 80% of its revenues. Then you have the sponsors part, which is completely decisive, and we are very grateful, and it is always important to mention, but it represents only 20% of the investment. So, we live a lot of what is the ticket office, we live a lot of the spaces we sublet, of what is our food services and our ability to generate revenue... So, in the end, we manage to have some capacity to monetize what is all the financial effort that BONS SONS requires.

And I say, in all honesty, there are some years that go well, there are years that do not go that well, and then there are others, where the risk is too great. That's basically the challenge we face every year, alongside one other challenge. The first is the sustainability challenge in terms of human resources, which remains. Every year we have to invest a lot of effort in the young. Basically, we aim to have groups of young people working throughout the year to create other events, so

that later, during BONS SONS, they realize that they have a direct responsibility in the festival. So here you have our main concerns: the sustainability in terms of human resources and also the responsibility in terms of financial sustainability, which is also completely decisive for us. And then we still have a lot of work to do, which is to capitalize on all the effort and financial risk we have. That's because in the end, even if it does not seem like it, the financial risk is always carried by the association and this one village that works for the profitability of the entire municipality and the entire region. Let's not forget about those 3.5 million euros that the entire region earns... So there is a balance here between risk and the ability to generate income that we are always trying to rebalance.

MJ: Miguel, and do you think that holding the festival has any influence on the exodus of inhabitants from Cem Soldos and the county, or not?

Miguel Atalaia: Concerning the municipality, it is more complex to answer, because I don't have the instruments to be able to evaluate. But in Cem Soldos, yes, completely. When we communicate an image of a dynamic village, capable of collectively creating, we are projecting a dream, a utopia which we are building, and even though it is yet to be fully materialized, it does not stop from being a dream. So far, I think we can still manage the frustration of dreams not yet coming true, but dreaming is great. And we keep to that frequency. But yes, the impact is concrete and direct, and I can give you some examples. The educational issue, I think, is paradigmatic. In 2014, as I said, when we had a Prime Minister named José Sócrates, he decided to close primary schools all over the country, and Cem Soldos was suddenly experiencing that. So we quickly accessed how we were doing, and we realized internally that Cem Soldos elementary school was losing children, year after year, and by that rhythm, we were only going to have one class the following year. Now we have two because it is the maximum capacity that the school allows. We have a primary school and

a kindergarten, each of them has two rooms and this year there will be an increase in students again. We are very happy about that. It was almost a battle, over 5 and 6 years... It was unbelievable. Communicating the school, trying to create an alternative and differentiating project that would live from this logic of the relationship between the village and the people... It was a process. But luckily now it's much easier, because people are already familiar with the concept.

But deep down, at that moment, when we were at risk, we, together with the group of schools of Nuno de Santa Maria (Tomar), began to realize: "ok, we have to create something different; we have to realize that the village that creates BONS SONS is not any village; we have to be able to communicate it." And suddenly, the very next year, 2014/15, we had parents coming from other municipalities to bring their kids here, daily, because they were coming after the dream of building an alternative project. Parents were completely mobilized to create it. In other words, it was not just "we came to enjoy a service that you are communicating". No, it was more "let's go build it, roll up our sleeves, make the project an amazing thing, knowing that it has flaws and that it needs work. But let's go and build it." And that allowed the school to survive, it allowed the increase of children and fortunately, at the moment, we are not suffering any difficulties in this area. In fact, at the moment, those young families my age, who have children and who were in other cities, are now returning. They are building houses here, and in this construction logic, I can tell you that there are about 6, 7, 8, 9 houses that are being built right now. And in a village context, it has a lot of impact. So, young couples with children or who are going to have children, are now deciding on having their lives here. This is extremely important for those who come, and basically, for the people who are already here, who are parents and grandparents, who suddenly see their children coming because this is a village that does not stop and wants to create things.

MJ: Miguel, I was going to ask you a question but you kind of already touched it, but it was: Do you think there are differences, in terms of the cultural offer in the municipality, before and after BONS SONS, or not?

Miguel Atalaia: I think that there is also an important issue here, which is.... This is an analysis that I make, both at the level of the municipality of Tomar, as I do at the level of the village, which is: we can compare, so to speak, the offer that existed..., and there are always times of comparison, which are like, understanding what exists now, what existed before BONS SONS, and all that. But then there is a whole other level of comparison which is: what is happening in the surrounding villages, what is happening here; what exists in the surrounding municipalities, what exists here.... Basically, understanding what exists in each moment of history. When this came out in 2006, the cultural context was way different. The way brands positioned themselves, the way events took place was different... so this whole reality changed. And then there is also this question of us trying to make a comparative analysis of what Cem Soldos is, comparing with what could be (there is this dream, this utopia). But also comparing with what it would be if BONS SONS did not happen, or if the events and dynamics that the association manages and managed to create over time did not happen.

MJ: And how has BONS SONS evolved in terms of demand? Can you identify the advantages and/or disadvantages of greater public demand, whether for the festival itself or the inhabitants of Cem Soldos and Tomar?

Miguel Atalaia: Okay, the growth has been obvious. We always do our analysis and some graphs show things have always been growing. We hit a slightly dangerous high in 2018 (and I'll explain why in a moment), but not in terms of safety. It was more in terms of comfort, and in terms of image. In 2018, when we had close to 40,000 visitors, at one point we looked at each other and

thought “calm down. This is no longer BONS SONS.” BONS SONS, with this affluence, is no longer able to communicate “village”. So, in the months after BONS SONS ended, we insisted on communicating that in the next edition there was going to be a limit. This limit remains at 35 thousand people. We realize that the village has a capacity, it has a physical limit that cannot be exceeded, otherwise, we are distorting what we want to convey as a village, and the image of a dynamic village. So we always try to manage and work, taking into account financial and sustainability issues.

There is an advantage that has a lot to do with social issues, and with the relationship with the times in which we live. When we have more people, the probability of finding differences, different things, different people, variety, is greater. And that I think has been amazing for the people of the village. It is incredible to realize that we will welcome and be with people who are completely different from us, with different beliefs, with different perspectives on how to live life, and with visions of the future that are completely different from ours. This represents an opportunity for working on our tolerance, respect, and appreciation of difference. This has been, I think, decisive. I can tell you a very particular case of a person linked to the organisation. We cannot forget that we are in a rural environment and that we have a deeply rooted sacred Christian culture, all those things with all their weight. And so, this person would arrive and say “Oh Miguel, damn it. You don't know what happened to me. I don't know if you're seeing that blond boy that's walking around there... The one that's more different... I looked at him and found him strange at first, I didn't even understand him well. But I went to talk to him and he's amazing. The boy is amazing. He studies, he is a doctor.... Man, I'm really surprised.”

This surrender to how incredible difference is, I think brings a lot of implications to the village. It brings us values of tolerance and respect and acceptance, which I think are completely decisive for what we are also building

in ourselves, and even for the way we see ourselves. Then there is an aspect, which can bring some difficulties, and which we always try to get around in the best way possible, that is, having 35,000 people here. Imagine staging a festival in a village context, and a week before the start everything is looking like a mess. This has an impact. The fact that the generator is next to that house, where lives that person... We always try to get around that, we always try to accommodate everyone's requests... Just yesterday I was doing that. I was talking to a person on the phone and saying "look, this year we're going to try this. It will be a year of experience." And this person says "Oh Miguel, but this is going to bring me this and that problem." And I say, "I know, I know. Let's get around this way. Let's put a grid there. Let's put this and that. Let's make sure the dogs don't make so much noise."

We cannot forget that all this has an impact. And, indeed, we always try to have a vote of confidence from the village itself and the people. And at the end of each edition, we evaluate what happened and we make scenario analyses, so that in the future we can, for example, not make noise in that place or not put the generator there.

There is a very funny video that you can search, where the inhabitants are at the window promoting the bands for the 2017 edition.... And there's a really cute one, where Cristina is promoting a band called "Captain Boy". And Cristina, in the middle of the video, says "Oh so it's Captain Boy? Okay, okay. A foreign name? But shouldn't these be Portuguese bands? Okay, okay. You are the ones who know.... Look, have in mind just this one thing. Don't put bands on the Giacometti stage that are too loud because Mrs Rosa is there. And Mrs Rosa, poor thing... She is already a certain age. Put those on the other side, on Eira stage" (at the time it was called Eira but now it is Variações stage). "Put the loudest bands there. Poor Teresa... My sister will be the one suffering, but she's also at the festival and she's younger."

So there is this care, to which we really pay attention and always have. We want to continue to have 97% or 98% of acceptance in the village. It's a matter of care and intelligence, but also because we really have to be careful and intelligent. It's a village doing something for itself, so we have to accommodate all these questions...

MJ: And did you accommodate Cristina's request?

Miguel Atalaia: And we accommodate her request... Yes, yes, yes. We were already doing it, in fact, the Giacometti stage is already a stage that uses early afternoon or late afternoon times, with quieter music... The truth is that lately we have been risking a little bit, but the atmosphere that can be created is incredible. So, something I didn't say at the beginning, is that basically, we have 8 stages. This year there are 7 because there is a stage that is mobile and moves around the streets and so on. This year's theme is to "Inhabit the street" and therefore we also translate this into the logic of the concerts, which is something we really wanted to materialize and maintain over the next editions. But basically, we want to take one of the points of the "manifesto" that speaks exactly of the culture of the people and of inhabiting the street and try to have the "manifesto" somehow translated into concrete actions over the next editions. That's one of the aspects. But as I was saying, we have these 7 physical stages, plus this moving stage, that always have more or less a programmatic guideline. For example, *Variações* stage has more urban projects, perhaps *Lopes-Graça* stage is more music of the world, or more consecrated. So, things are going to have different dynamics. Giacometti stage, in fact, has come up lately with introspective projects, perhaps immersive, but then they also have a very bold logic that sometimes makes that stage a real madness. This surprise also fuels the festival itself. It also makes the festival goers to feel "hey man, I'm going to this stage now," but maybe yesterday there was a concert there that they weren't expecting at all, and it went very well

and was super positive. So again, in terms of the programmatic line, we also like to use the tools that the village itself gives us, like having squares and streets completely different from each other.

MJ: Miguel, what evaluation do you make, 16 years after the first edition? Who is Cem Soldos today? Have the festival's mission and goals been achieved, or not? And finally, how does the future look?

Miguel Atalaia: I think, as I said to you, the “manifesto” managed to cement and structure our thinking about what we really want. And suddenly, we are no longer talking about a music festival. Maybe it's not about the music anymore... There was a very funny reflection that we did at a certain level. So, we were in the middle of a very funny brainstorming meeting about the future of the festival (which we also do, of course, more or less formally) and there was one person from the team who, at a certain moment, raised a question. “Ok, Cem Soldos has already given so much to Portuguese music, now to what are we going to be able to give? What area are we going to dedicate ourselves to, to give to the country, to the region, so that this area can develop?” Without false modesty, we were the first Portuguese music festival to emerge formally, or basically, with the impact that BONS SONS has.

This was at a time, in 2006, when Portuguese music was not talked about. Portuguese music was Xutos and Pontapés, it was Rui Veloso, and it was Toy.... Portuguese music was not a concept, besides that, it was very poorly regarded. In fact, nobody was able to work on a sense of belonging, which is something that we manage to do very well here in the village. Portuguese music was boring at the time... It was horrible. People were like: “no way, let's hear what's out there”. And so, this shift has come after a lot of work and also due to, I would say, our narrative abilities. Many other festivals followed our steps later, and thankfully. But this is to say that this is the logic of how we positioned ourselves.

We already gave so much to Portuguese music, now what do we give ourselves to? We stuck to Portuguese music for now, but I would say that with the BONS SONS manifesto we managed to structure a thought about what we want to work on. And there's a lot to work on. There are issues of sustainability, there are issues related to investment, there are issues related to education, there are issues related to culture, the impact of culture and the type of culture... Because sometimes, in Portugal, when we say we want culture, the response seems to always be "let's make a cine theatre, which is super cute. We put some bricks on top of each other, and it's going to be amazing". The logic of the culture we believe in is not that. Culture is people, okay? And from the moment that people take action, they are being culture. So, I think it's really the materialization of the "manifesto" that will occupy us over the next editions. This year under the theme of "Inhabiting the streets", next year there will be another theme that will certainly drink from the "manifesto", and on which, in the end, we will focus.

A4. Interview Transcript with Alexandre Santos (inhabitant)

MJ: How long have you lived in Tomar?

Alexandre Santos: I always lived in Cem Soldos, until I went to college to study, about 10 years ago. But I have always been present, on weekends, at the association's activities and during the festival, of course. When I'm on vacation, I'm always there. I'm from there, by the way, I never say I'm from Lisbon.

MJ: And how was Cem Soldos and the municipality of Tomar before BONS SONS? Were there the same number of establishments (e.g., cafes, markets, etc.)?

Alexandre Santos: So, I know that the festival started in 2006. I was 13 years old at the time. I was still quite young, and I didn't have a clear idea of the impact

that the festival could or could not have on the municipality and our village. I knew it could be more visible inside the village. I also knew that the association itself and the inhabitants benefited in the long term from the festival, because the gains would later be redistributed in social projects (because those projects were later publicized by the association). But again, I knew this without having the idea of the impact it could later have on commerce and establishments. As the festival grew and as I grew too, I came to realize that during the festival, there were a lot of people trying to open businesses, even if it was just during the festival period. There were some who tried to open an establishment in Cem Soldos a few months before the festival, so that they could later benefit from the event. But it never went very well in the long run, since they ended up closing, as they couldn't live only on what the festival gave. This happened a few times... In the county itself, we know the impact it has. I think it exceeds one million euros, and therefore there is a direct benefit from staging the festival. But I don't know if more or fewer establishments have opened, I have no idea. I know that in the village they remained pretty much the same. In fact, I think that there is one less establishment when compared to 2006. At the time, you had the association, Tonita's Café (I don't know if you've been to the village) but it's one of the main cafés, and there was a cafe that ended up closing a few years ago... There is also the tavern, which is the famous place for sangria, where the crowd then gathers to have a few drinks in the evening. It also brings a lot of people from outside the city, and during the festival, it is a success. But yes, in terms of establishments there is no big change.

MJ: So, the establishments that the village has during the festival are still open?

Alexandre Santos: yes, yes. Besides that, we create zones for the merchandising and the concessions during the festival, and those yes, are just

open for the event. But during the year, it is a peaceful village just like many others.

MJ: What about the diversity of services? I mean, services related to health, education, telecommunications, transport, accommodation, etc.? Was there any change? If yes, can you give an example?

Alexandre Santos: Yes, the city has always relied a lot on tourism, and it was kind of ready to receive people, I would say. Although in recent years it has evolved a lot in its accommodation offer. In the city, for example, you can see new hotels arising, even though many of them are smaller. I guess they are more focused on “premium” options, so to speak. But yes, even local accommodations are starting to appear more and more.

MJ: Do you think that staging the festival generates more work opportunities for the community, or not? If yes, which ones? If not, why?

Alexandre Santos: I think so because people often look for us, I mean, they want to know if they can send their CVs, or if they can work for the festival. But we are a voluntary association, and everything we want to earn is for the benefit of the community. I know that our association has grown, also in terms of employees and BONS SONS has helped in this regard. And we also managed to make the other parallel activities survive, namely the ATL, and the school itself, which then maintains the employees. Sometimes, we even have to reinforce our teams, to maintain the quality of services. But in the village, except for our association, there is no way we can have more people working. In the municipality itself, I also have no idea that the festival has such a big impact, to the point that new opportunities are created.

I'm not sure if the people who then go to the concessions are hired for an indefinite period or a fixed term. I would say some people, it is only for the

specific period of the festival, I believe so. Because, again, it's a specific and time-limited event that needs, during that period, a lot of people's support. But other than that, I don't think so. And then it lives a lot through that logic of friends of friends, who help their friends, and the payment is made with a beer.

MJ: Alexandre, so, do you participate in the festival?

Alexandre Santos: Yes, yes. Actively since the first edition.

MJ: And what do you do, specifically? How do you participate?

Alexandre Santos: At the moment, I'm in the production and pre-production team of the event, but before that, I've been through a series of departments of the festival itself. I've also been in communication, I've been in stage techniques... When I was younger, I was in the audience, to understand the intricacies of the festival, and I've been a courier. I took food to the artists, and served the artists, which turned out to be a privilege. We walked from one side to the other...

You know that we ended up being a "jack of all trades". We helped with the assembly, disassembly, answering phone calls... When I was in communication, I had to do several things all at the same time... But I also had to have time for assembly because I knew it was essential to have more people in there to help. And then it was always until the last minute, until the last second, before opening the doors. So that's it, we've always been very active, at least our generation. We have always been very active in setting up, dismantling the festival, and participating in it.

MJ: Is this participation voluntary, or not?

Alexandre Santos: Yes, yes... We just want to add value to this project that takes place in this context. And we really believe in it. We want people to continue to be happy in the village. We don't want to centralize everything in the

city. Unfortunately, we are often forced to come to large urban centres, like Lisbon or Porto... But what we want is for people to return to the village, and we want to create conditions for those who come and for those who are already here. At most, we want to be able to keep people at home and avoid the fate of eventually seeing them going to nursing homes. Our goal is to create these services, so that people stay in their own homes. BONS SONS is, in essence, a platform that helps us achieve this goal.

MJ: Basically, that is the reason that leads you to contribute voluntarily...

Alexandre Santos: Yes, but not only. As we grew up with BONS SONS and with this dynamic, this spirit also grows in us. Then we want to see the village full again, we really like (and in a way it's our payment) to hear good things about our village, to hear good things about the festival we organize... I heard many times that during BONS SONS, people stay in another "time-space". It seems that they are in another environment and forget about the problems of their daily lives. This for us is refreshing. It's very good. And again, hearing that feedback, turns out to be our payout.

MJ: And look, what other advantages and disadvantages do you identify for the community, which result from the production of the festival?

Alexandre Santos: Disadvantages, as with everything, exist, and here is the same thing. So, some quarrels may exist... fortunately, there are not many. It's a very, very small portion, in our village, that dislike and criticizes the way the festival is organized. However, they are also people who have never been engaged, and so they criticize for lack of knowledge. They feel affected by the noise. They want quiet, and since they live there, they feel that they should have more rights and that they owe nothing to anyone. There are, from time to time, these kinds of problems. On the other hand, there are also problems within the

teams... Certain enmities that can be created, due to lack of internal communication... Since everything is voluntary, it can somehow create a place for "Oh you said that to that one person and didn't tell me why?" And hey, it was not on purpose... Sometimes people just forget.

There are always a lot of things to deal with and sometimes it happens... Again, it's not on purpose, but sometimes it results in some people getting a little more emotional. And it's happening now, precisely during this period, where we are precisely giving it everything we have to get it all up and running. But well, this is natural in a more stressful environment. Anyway, these are disputes that are always solved, fortunately. Nothing serious ever happened. But yes, in terms of negative aspects, I would perhaps add the emotional hangover that sets in after the festival. I would say that affects a lot of people, including me and the guys of our generation. We have a lot of ups and downs during setups and during the festival itself and then suddenly there's a void. It's a bit difficult, because the adrenaline is at the top and then it drops down, and the recovery.... Going back up there is difficult sometimes... Getting your ideas back for the festival and the future... It takes a lot longer, you know? We've been doing it for 16 years now, although it's not exactly 16 editions... It's 10 editions. In addition to that, some people have only grown up with the festival. They don't know Cem Soldos without the festival...

MJ: And look, tell me something. Is there any other advantage that you would like to underline, in addition to the ones you have already mentioned, or not?

Alexandre Santos: yes, yes. Look, I would say that people have a very strong sense of belonging, and they really like to say "Oh, I'm from Cem Soldos, from the village of BONS SONS." And they love to say that, especially the older ones. And I never say I'm from Tomar. I always say that I am from Cem Soldos. Also,

at a professional level, I think it gives us a lot of soft skills. Since we are kids, we've been involved in the association, and in its activities throughout the year... And then we have BONS SONS part, which covers a lot of time and asks a lot of us. And we learned a lot, whether more practical things or more theoretical. And that allows us, in a way, to shape our profile as people. If we excel in an area and follow that same area to study in the future, it can be really advantageous. In my case, that's what happened. It was thanks to BONS SONS that I got my current job. By the way, not current, but in the same area. But there you go. I was in the right place, at the right time, and the proactivity also helped. There, at that moment, we almost did an interview in the middle of the festival. I also know more people who worked in various specific areas of the festival, and then, later, got jobs in those same areas.

MJ: This is amazing. Congratulations!

Alexandre Santos: Thank you (laughs)...This ends up being almost a "training" project that the festival gives to its inhabitants. I would say young people are the main target, because we are then much more capable of facing the problems of everyday life and solving them more efficiently.

MJ: That's so cool. And do you think that the holding of the festival influences the exodus of the inhabitants of Cem Soldos and Tomar, or not?

Alexandre Santos: It does. We have a lot of people wanting to come and live in Cem Soldos. Actually, I don't think there are any houses available for rent or sale right now. And if there are houses to be sold, they are sold very quickly, and already at considerable prices. It's getting expensive to live in Cem Soldos (laughs). The price per m² is also starting to rise. But in fact, the interest is real. With the "Escola-Aldeia" project, which exists now for a few years and has been also leveraged by BONS SONS, we managed to overcome the problems that

arose at the time, by filling the village through the school. We were able to attract fantastic kids, who even came from other parts of the country. In this case, neighbouring counties ... And deep down, that created a desire in people to go and live in the village, which eventually led to the hiring of new people for the ATL.

MJ: And you? Do you consider going back one day, or not?

Alexandre Santos: Of course, yes. It's part of my plans, but I don't know when. Within my professional area, and given the opportunities there are in the region, it is very difficult to find anything with potential, and that gives me the capacity to grow. Here in Lisbon, it's totally different, so for now I can't say. But yes, the goal is to come back.

MJ: And another thing, do you think there are differences, in terms of the cultural offer in the county, before and after BONS SONS, or not? Can you give some examples?

Alexandre Santos: That happens to be a point that we find very interesting. We were most likely one of the first local associations to create a festival, or a party of this magnitude, this in 2006... In a way, I think this spurred the associations of other villages in the county. I think for them it was almost a challenge, like "Oh yeah? If these guys can do it, we too will do something great." And year after year, since 2006, there has always been more and more offer. Not only in the neighbouring villages of the county, but also in the city itself. It has, indeed, evolved to increase its cultural offer. Not that it has evolved immensely, but it has increased its offer.

This can be seen in the creation of new spaces, namely, next to Levada, you have the Cultural Complex of Levada, which is a very fun cultural space, in Tomar, nearby the river. The cinema itself was also rehabilitated and in terms of

its offer, it has been improving little by little... Now, we also have neighbouring villages holding music festivals too, although other types of festivals. We have a heavy metal and rock festival, with incredible international bands, for those who like the genre. And it's funny, because no one ever thought that a village and its association could bring it. In that aspect, I think BONS SONS, in a way, made them think "Oh yeah? If these guys can do it, so do we." In other words, we were almost like a "dream can opener" for people who want to do cool things in their localities. So yes, I think the cultural offer has improved a lot and I think BONS SONS was one of the main drivers, I have no doubts.

MJ: Even though you've already mentioned it in some way, I'll ask the question again. Do you think that the festival, in some way, contributed to an increase in your education, or not? Do you think you learned something you didn't know, through your participation in the festival, or not?

Alexandre Santos: We are learning most of the time, and most of the time we do not even realize that we are learning. We keep repeating processes, and they tell us to do it a certain way and we do it that way... But there is also the freedom to put our stamp on it. And we can even improve or worsen processes, depending on the experiences... But it's also through experience that things get better. So yes, without a doubt, the festival enabled us to improve our skills, even those that we didn't even know we had. And that then allows us to get jobs, like in my case.

MJ: I told you it didn't take long, so we're already here on the last question. Alexandre, what do you think could be improved at the festival?

Alexandre Santos: This is a very difficult question. What can be improved?! Well, the festival is far from perfect. Like any activity, it can be improved. Now, curiously, and thanks to the festival as well, our square will undergo some work,

so our “face” will get some improvements. In fact, we are going to wash the village's face with these works, which is very positive. But what exactly can be improved? Well, maybe a greater professionalization of people, greater training, more internal training so that we can get to the problems and act in a much more efficient way. Perhaps more support would be very important because, as SCOCS is a purely voluntary association, we have no way of obtaining other funds, other than public funds. I mean, we have some support, but it is not extraordinary. If we were able to find a way to obtain other funds, it would be very important to improve the festival and, therefore, improve the experience of the people who visit us. Not to mention that it is fundamental for us to be able to carry out our other projects, like the Lar-Aldeia project. I don't know if Miguel told you about this one...?

MJ: No. What is it?

Alexandre Santos: It's almost a flagship project, but it's on hold. But it is a flagship project of our association, which is basically to create a “nursing home” in the village, without it being physical. The “nursing home” is people's own home. People don't have to leave their houses. We want to create some services, and we already have one going on, which is food delivery, at very affordable prices... We also want to create a nursing service, delivery and administration of medicines, psychological support... In other words, a series of areas that are very important for these people, and that prevent them from leaving their homes. The reality is that people don't want to leave their houses to go somewhere else.

MJ: Alexandre, if you know the answer and do not mind sharing, why is this project on hold?

Alexandre Santos: Financial support. Is very difficult. We've already made some applications, and we've gone through a few phases, but we've never been

successful. We have two vans from our association, that are some years old and that need to be optimized for the service we want to provide.

MJ: And was this project only going to focus on Cem Soldos?

Alexandre Santos: Yes, yes... it would be in Cem Soldos. Of course, it could then cover the neighbouring villages. One of the festival's goals was also to gain financial baggage to continue with these projects for the community, but it hasn't been easy. It has been a process, since the association had a very large debt in the first years of the festival. But as it grew, it was also able to reduce these debts with the partners, who lent money. I was still very young, but as I grew up too, I learned about these stories. And the goal was always to pay off the debt, so that we could then focus on our community. And that has been our motto.

A5. Interview Transcript with José Faria (inhabitant)

MJ: How long have you lived in Tomar?

José Faria: I have lived in Tomar since 1982, so for 40 years. Before that, I lived in Lisbon. I grew up in Lisbon, but I came to get married in Tomar. I currently live very close to Cem Soldos, about 3km away, although I have already lived in Cem Soldos. My father was from there, so there is a great affinity.

MJ: And how was Cem Soldos and also the municipality of Tomar before BONS SONS? Were there the same number of establishments (e.g., cafes, markets, etc.)?

José Faria: In this field, I suppose there were no major changes, this within Cem Soldos. Basically, things are the same. We are talking about 2006 and since then there have been no major changes.... There was a cafe-restaurant that, in the meantime, closed, but the others remain active. If you've been to Cem Soldos,

you know the tavern for sure. The tavern is the Ex Libris of the village and is visited a lot. At the county level, let's say... In which BONS SONS is identified as the main cause... It is difficult to identify. However, there are things in Cem Soldos that have changed and that have had, let's say, some leverage with BONS SONS. Namely, the social issue. For example, we have a health centre, but we are the ones who keep the doctor coming. This is because SCOCS annually spends the necessary funds to maintain the building, cleaning, water, light, etc. etc. Therefore, the population of Cem Soldos, just for this small detail, benefits from BONS SONS. This is because BONS SONS helps raise funds to keep the village alive. But there's more... We have those organisations for older people, right?! Which is the "Lar-Aldeia" project, that is, people end up being accompanied without needing another type of follow-up, such as real nursing homes and so on. It makes them feel active and useful. Ladies aged 80 and over make their geckos there (the festival's mascot) and that's it... It's a way to keep people active, with the feeling that they are being useful, and where their work and contribution is appreciated. In addition, we have the ATL, the primary school.... Therefore, everything that is the social component lives on with the contribution that SCOCS makes, and BONS SONS somehow brings enthusiasm, brings youth, new ideas... Which is very important, isn't it?! It ends up being a village, like all villages in Portugal, with a lot of elderly people, but also with a lot of young people. And dynamic young people, who participate, who have ideas... And we, the older ones, appreciate it, help, and in some way, we accompany it, and all together we are going to do what I consider an excellent work, a work of merit.

MJ: So, there is a concern here with the diversity of services provided, right?

José Faria: Yes, yes. By the way, there is another very important issue here, which is, as we have an ATL, the association has employees whom it pays monthly (if memory serves, I believe 9). They are who prepare meals for the

children but not only. They also make them for the elderly and for those who express an interest in having these meals, and at a very low price. I think it is also a strong asset that we managed to maintain. Look, a non-profit association, which already has this number of fixed employees.... They are not fixed-term contracts, they are permanent employees, with all the costs that this can mean. In fact, it is necessary to have a very precise idea of the difficulties that may come happen, because this is the responsibility of the association. BONS SONS, indirectly, comes to dynamize all this. And it comes to dynamize also something that, perhaps, you were going to ask me next. At the moment, I would say we have around 20% more people looking for Cem Soldos to reside permanently. This is because Cem Soldos is a super dynamic village. Our association has activities (I don't want to say daily), but weekly or biweekly. We support several sports, which are activities that usually weigh heavily on the association's accounts (and I am chairman of the supervisory board, so I am aware of it). However, it is the only way for some of those people to have access to some activities. Otherwise, they would have to go to Tomar, not to mention that probably, they wouldn't even go. And so, this way, they have a series of sports, cultural activities etc. that costs us (of course) but that we keep them with great pleasure, because we keep the village running.

MJ: In fact, Mr Jose is impeccable. I ask you a question and you immediately answer three others that I have here. In fact, I had this question, which was basically whether you think that staging the festival influences the exodus of inhabitants from Cem Soldos and the county.

José Faria: I can add, for example, that now, Cem Soldos doesn't have, supposedly... I don't want to commit any faux pas here, but I think there are no vacant houses, because all the houses in Cem Soldos are in very high demand. There are people from outside, people who come to BONS SONS and get to know

Cem Soldos and gain some sort of affinity, who then want to come and live in Cem Soldos. And it's interesting to see that here 15 years ago, maybe there were some old houses here and there, some houses that looked old and some were even falling, and now everything is recovered. It's all impeccable. Everything is, in fact, with a fresher image.

MJ: Do you think that staging the festival generates more work opportunities for the community, or not? If yes, which ones? If not, why?

José Faria: You know?! We also run a risk of people getting a little tired, because let's face it... It's a month of a lot of activity, confusion, machines, noise... 99% of people enjoy it. There are, however, one or two per cent of people who don't think like that... As with everything else, I think it's very natural... Getting 100% consensus is almost impossible. When it comes to people, where everyone has their own idea, it's always hard... To be honest, I believe this cohesion among the people of Cem Soldos dates back a few years. In the 1990s, Cem Soldos used to organize a holiday camp in São Martinho do Porto, where kids started going at the age of 6, where the eldest were the monitors. This cycle, this interaction between people of two or three generations has been maintained over time. And what does that mean? It means that, even though it hasn't been done for a few years, 18-year-olds and 20-year-olds treat 40-year-olds as friends and without formalities. They are friends, and they have drinks together... And it's fun to think that before they used to ride piggybacks, and that they all played together. This is to say that here you don't have that "age segregation". This created a very interesting spirit within Cem Soldos. For a long time, girls from Cem Soldos married boys from Cem Soldos... Those who married "abroad" would still come to Cem Soldos, and so that cohesion was maintained. Until a few years ago, very few people left Cem Soldos after getting married. They stayed there, and if not, they would return, years later. So yes, you can also see the social phenomenon

happening here as well. People are no different. People are people. But, anyways, when it comes to partying, everyone wants to party.

MJ: Undoubtedly. But do you think that running the festival generates job opportunities for the community, or not?

José Faria: oh, yes, yes. Let's say that the montage/assembly is practically (but not exclusively) secured by the community. I go there every day and I see that there are people who are taking care of the campsite, and at the campsite, there are those who take care of the plumbing, and the showers, and the sewers... And they all are people from Cem Soldos. However, there are other things that we cannot be the ones doing. For the assembly of the stages, for example, we have to hire. We rent the stages, which also include the assembly. But rather than that, things here are assembled by us. We are the ones who take care of it. For the festival to go smoothly, of course the help of many volunteers is required, before and during the event. It was impossible otherwise. But practically 80% of the people from Cem Soldos are helping, either serving beers, selling tickets, or being at the box office. Everyone participates. Some ladies go to the cafeterias.... My wife, for example, usually goes to a kind of kindergarten that we build. It's a space where parents can leave their babies or their youngest children, so that they can have fun at the festival. As my wife is very fond of children, her occupation has been taking care of the children. It's usually a group and they take turns. I, for example, work 12 hours a day on those days, and of course, I also like to go to a concert. I also need to have time to enjoy my meals... But yes, we all work really hard there.

MJ: You said now that you belong to the Supervisory Board, so you may be able to answer this one question I have. Are those services that the festival outsources from local companies?

José Faria: We make use of companies that do the communication. And usually, these companies already have the contacts of those who assemble stages... We have about 8 stages, because the church is also one of our stages and we don't make big changes there. It is more about exploring the acoustic conditions of the church. We have to have a series of infrastructures that, at the local level, can be hard to find.... Plus, I'm not the one who makes that kind of contact, so I don't really know. To be honest, I can't answer that question for you, because I'm not the one dealing with it. The supervisory board is limited to looking at the accounts and not at the documents. There are some numbers there, and as such, we focus more on accounting. I don't have the capacity to check all the documents, but I think that at the local level there is a sound company, which deals with the propagation of sound through the village, and it's from here. But other more technical components, like the stages, I think it's already the production and communication company that deals with that. But I don't have in-depth knowledge on this subject.

MJ: All right, Mr José. This question came out of curiosity, but thanks anyways. And tell me something else, is your participation in the festival voluntary or not? If yes, what makes you act this way?

José Faria: Completely voluntary. When there is a common goal, when you trust the leaders of the team... It motivates you. I understand, and I think other people also understand why they help. I'm retired, and I finally have my time completely available. Why not help? But apart from that, I must help because I'm helping the community, deep down. And I'm helping myself too. It's a cycle. I give and I receive, naturally. Now, my participation is completely pro bono. I spend my time, I spend my diesel, I spend my good reputation... I don't know if Miguel told you, but I am currently visiting companies in Tomar, in order to attract support and collaboration. We want companies to believe in us, to know

that by joining their brands, their names, to our brand (which at the moment is already a well-known brand, and with a very high market value)... Let's say that under the umbrella of the BONS SONS, local entrepreneurs feel they also have a little place. I recognize that most of them, in practical terms, will not have a great return, even though we publicize them.... The counterpart that we give most of the time is to advertise them in a newspaper, although for me, the main thing is to give them free invitations... You know?! To invite them to the party. I think money here is important, but what counts most is bringing people. It's about bringing people in, so they can understand that what happens in Cem Soldos is good. It's good and has quality, and people feel good about it. There are a lot of parties around here, but this is not a party. It's a festival. Some also say "Ah, but that's just for young people." Come on... We are young too.

MJ: And what other advantages and disadvantages do you identify for the community, which result from the production of the festival? A little while ago you told me about the noise, for example...

José Faria: Noise is synonymous with party. Although, for the people who live in the village, it is for many hours on those days. Some can't sleep until the noise stops, which happens around 4am or so. But as we do this on Friday (starting at the end of the day), Saturday, Sunday and Monday (which is a public holiday)... I think when people weigh the pros and cons, they prefer to party. Most, at least (laughs). I know that there is at least one person who is not a fan.... He was not from Cem Soldos but married in Cem Soldos. He's a little more antisocial, but he has the good sense that when BONS SONS starts, he's off to the beach. It's better this way, because we're not bothering him, he's doing what he likes, and we continue to do what we like. Nobody bothers anybody. As for other disadvantages.... I don't find any other disadvantages. Frankly, I don't know...

MJ: It's just advantages... (laughs)

José Faria: (laughs) but you know I think that, for our population, having a festival that has 50 concerts in a backyard.... It's worth the sacrifice, isn't it?! I'm one of those who started seeing concerts in 1978 or 79. I've seen many concerts in my life. When I wanted to see a concert, I usually paid as much or more than I paid here for 4 days of concerts... And after 2 or 3 hours, it was done. I had to financially support my travel, displacement, etc. etc... Here, we provide our community with a festival that people can only benefit from, and they know that. If there was no festival, most would never attend a concert by the artists who come here. On the other hand, and from the perspective of those who visit us, people who are not from Cem Soldos and come to the festival, namely people from large cities, are extremely amazed at how, within a village, (where so many people live) you can have a festival without any fuss and people complaining about the noise... I think it's an interesting phenomenon. People who don't even have much contact with villages, come and spend the day inside the village. I don't know if you've ever come to BONS SONS...

MJ: Unfortunately, no... Let's see if this is the year!

José Faria: It's interesting to see how many people are ecstatic about the simplicity of village life. It's the kind of simplicity that gives, how shall I say this... a sense of security, freedom, even novelty... It's different! And then it is how we, the locals, receive them, welcome them.... It is a very interesting phenomenon.

MJ: Do you consider that there are differences, in terms of the cultural offer in the municipality, before and after BONS SONS, or not? If yes, can you give examples?

José Faria: Well, I'm going to introduce something here, which is, BONS SONS started in 2006, and we are now in 2022. The introduction of younger people, in the organisation's board, with aptitudes more focused on the artistic sector, more culturally oriented, and more socially oriented, brought great changes. Until 2006, in Cem Soldos there was, and as in all villages, the annual party, and other events typical of associations.... The anniversary lunch, and two or three other things. BONS SONS was like an injection of culture, knowledge... Brought the need to diversify the offer... And also, somehow, it brought other ways of seeing the village, from a social point of view. Earlier, I was talking about the integration of the elderly into the activities of our community... Creating conditions so that the elderly do not feel marginalized, or put aside, and making them feel useful... All of these, of course, are ideas that 15/20 years ago did not exist. I, at least, had no idea that these things could exist.... We live according to our reality, but things are changing. We have to adapt. I'm concerned, honestly. I don't want to be out of date with what's going on around me. I try to understand the new ideas, as I try to understand what is happening around me. I know that, usually, people are very resistant to changes and new ideas, but the fact is that we have to keep up. We run the risk of being marginalized, don't we?! And so, returning again to the question you asked me initially.... If it was BONS SONS just by itself, or not.... I think that maybe BONS SONS, but also everything that happens at all levels, results from the integration of new ideas that, in some way, are revolutionary. And if we are to compare the objectives, and the concepts from 2005 to 2022, things have changed drastically.

MJ: So you feel that the festival contributed in some way to an increase in the education of the community, or not? In your specific case, did you learn something you didn't know, through the festival, or not?

José Faria: yes, I think so. Whenever it is possible to unite the community for a common goal, people tend to give a little bit of themselves, to contribute with ideas, work, with effort.... From the joint participation of all, something new always emerges, something richer always emerges. So, everyone feels they contribute. We also have to understand that some people don't give more than their work. Sometimes, they don't even have the ability to understand why they are doing it that way. But the vast majority, at least younger people, are imbued with this spirit.... Those heads always have something to contribute, don't they?! I sometimes participate in some meetings (completely informal meetings) and I understand the urge of these people to praise the work that has been done by doing more and better.

Everyone has a say, and everyone has something to contribute. This is very good. As one of the older ones there, I am delighted to realize that the ideas these people are having, and some of them much younger than I am, are valid ideas that have legs to walk, and that we all are eager to put into practice. I recognize that, at times, it is difficult for us to understand what is intended. But we get there quickly too! And we also contribute ideas. It is funny.... Sometimes some things seem out of place, maybe because of the way they are said. It seems that they make no sense... But the enrichment of the argument often brings the true meaning of the idea... How the idea is communicated is fundamental.

MJ: Finally, what do you think could be improved at the festival, Mr José?

José Faria: There is always room for improvement. There's always. I think that, in this area, there are no limits. Limits are what we can idealize, that we can set in motion, that we can share. Our goal is not so much profit, as you can see, although it cannot be ruled out, for the reasons I mentioned earlier. The mission is, in essence, to make a village work and to value its people. In other words, younger people, people who are now 20, 25, 30 years old and who are now at the

beginning of their lives and who have a lot of ideas... We help to converge those ideas, and also make people grow. We want them to gain responsibilities, so that they are held accountable for the contributions they make, whether positive or negative. This is important. When a person has an idea, which is accepted and implemented, and that deep down is owed to him, that person feels fulfilled, he feels motivated... But the idea is to maintain common goals, ideas, personal growth, development, and cooperation, that maintains or exceeds the levels of dynamism that the village already has, and that SCOCS has, to maintain these people active and willing to always create something, and to evolve... Paradigms are developing and changing, and that's the law of life.

A6. In-depth interview analysis: Simplified process for content analysis

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
Definition of BONS SONS festival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Music festival - Number of stages - Programmatic guideline - Nature of the festival 	<p>BONS SONS festival is an event, that lasts for 4 days, and it's about Portuguese music and national projects. It accounts with 8 stages, each with its own programmatic line.</p> <p>The church of the village is one of the stages.</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>"(...) it's an event, it's 4 days (...) of Portuguese music, national projects and produced in Portugal (...)"</p> <p>"(...) collectively, there is a creation that can be materialized in other things rather than a music festival."</p> <p>"We try more and more to explore the parallel programming strand, with many different dynamics, in many areas. (...) very specific area connected to families and children, so it really is a festival for everyone."</p> <p>"(...) we have 8 stages. This year there are 7 because there is a stage that is mobile and moves around the streets and so on. This year's theme is to "inhabit the street" and therefore we also translate this into the logic of the concerts, which is something we really wanted to materialize and maintain over the next editions."</p> <p>"(...) we have these 7 physical stages, plus this moving stage, that always have more or less a programmatic guideline."</p> <p>"For example, Variações stage has more urban projects, perhaps Lopes-Graça stage is more music of the world, or more consecrated. So, things are going to have different dynamics. Giacometti stage, in fact, has come up lately with introspective projects, perhaps immersive, but then they also have a very bold logic that sometimes makes that stage a real madness."</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
			<p>José Faria:</p> <p>“We have about 8 stages, because the church is also one of our stages (...)”</p>
Mission of BONS SONS festival	- Not for profit	<p>They also want to really emphasize they are not doing it for the profit, but instead, for the community and sustainability of their village.</p> <p>They don't really consider themselves as a festival, and music is not the core. They are most interested in creating opportunities, diversifying the cultural offer, and celebrating the community of Cem Soldos. They aim to get everyone (regardless their age) involved in a common goal.</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>“In 2019, we did something called the “BONS SONS manifesto”, which better structures our idea (...). It answers (...) how it can impact the region, and how it is possible to make villages more sustainable.”</p> <p>“(…) alright, BONS SONS is not just a festival. It is a village in manifesto.”</p> <p>“I would say that, perhaps, this last aspect (volunteering) and the village, the sustainability concerns, and the manifesto are more important than the event and the music itself.”</p> <p>“But I would like to clarify one point here. We, indeed, analyse our audience very carefully, but we never let this analysis distort what is the nature of the festival and our own nature, as a village.”</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>“Our goal is not so much profit, as you can see, although it cannot be ruled out (...)”.</p> <p>“The mission is, in essence, to make a village work and to value its people.”</p> <p>“But the idea is to maintain common goals, ideas, personal growth, development, and cooperation, that maintains or exceeds the levels of</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
			dynamism that the village already has, and that SCOCS has, to maintain these people active and willing to always create something (...)"
Goals of BONS SONS festival	- Sustainability goal - Manifesto	The organisation is more interested in fighting the exodus of people from inland, by creating conditions for the village to survive and prosper. All this is what they call "Manifesto".	Alexandre Santos: “(...) we want to create conditions for those who come and for those who are already here. At most, we want to be able to keep people at home and avoid the fate of eventually seeing them going to nursing homes. Our goal is to create these services, so that people stay in their own homes. BONS SONS is, in essence, a platform that helps us achieve this goal.”
Festival origins	- SCOCS 25th anniversary - 2006 - Biennial - No box office	The festival was an idea that come up when the people in charge were thinking on how to celebrate the 25 years of Sport Club Operário de Cem Soldos (SCOCS) – the local association. Their idea was for it to be like a usual village party, but with more care with the cultural agenda. Initially, the festival was held every two-years, and then in 2015 onwards, it starts happening annually. The festival ground was not even closed, and they did not charge for tickets until the third edition.	Miguel Atalaia: “This project has its origin in 2006, when the association – Sport Club Operário de Cem Soldos (SCOCS) – was celebrating 25 years, I think.” “(...) with a little more care in the logic of the cultural agenda, as such as we hoped to it bring other audiences.” “(...) in 2006, when the festival ground was not even closed, the structure was the same as another mini party (...)" “(...) we started to realize that this had legs to walk, that it made sense for the village, it made sense for the territory, for the country (...).” “(...) there was no box office until the third edition.”

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		I would say that this just shows that they are being coherent when they say the main purpose of the festival was not to generate profit. They saw that this could benefit the locality, socially and economically, which made them continue to do it.	<p>“(…) the first five editions happened every 2 years, and the other five (we already made 10) were all annual.”</p> <p>“(…) in 2006, when Portuguese music was not talked about.”</p>
Motivations for visitors to go to BONS SONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Welcoming people - Hospitality - Audience studies 	<p>They point two things that they perceive to be the main reasons why people come to the festival.</p> <p>First, is this logic of welcoming people. They also do an “audience study” to access the motives for visitors to go and “hospitality” is the most referenced aspect.</p> <p>Secondly, they point the simplicity of rural life. The change from a big city to a small village.</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>“It’s really a village, welcoming other people.”</p> <p>“I think it’s this logic of welcoming people exceptionally.”</p> <p>“I would say that this is the most decisive and most referenced aspect – hospitality – (…)”</p> <p>“(…) we always do “audience studies”, annually. Internally, we allocate a small team to do this type of job for us to understand some things like, for example, how much festivalgoers spend at the festival, what are their preferences, why they come to the festival, where they hear about the festival, etc.”</p> <p>“We are convinced that our audience is very demanding, but they are demanding in the sense of looking for what is absolutely true is us”.</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
			<p>José Faria:</p> <p>“(...) from the perspective of those who visit us, people who are not from Cem Soldos, (...) namely people from large cities, are extremely amazed (...)”</p> <p>“It’s interesting to see how many people are ecstatic about the simplicity of village life. It’s the kind of simplicity that gives (...) a sense of security, freedom, even novelty... It’s different! And then it is how we, the locals, receive them, welcome them...”</p>
<p>Built environment benefits (Getz, 2019)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keeping routines - Maintenance of education services - New projects related with ageing - Exodus of people from Cem Soldos 	<p>There is this concern regarding enhancing the liveability, in terms of services and leisure, that is quite visible. They also want to make sure the festival is not completely disruptive in terms of the routines of the community.</p> <p>It is possible to see this in the efforts they make on preserving crucial services, like the school. They were facing some difficulties in 2014, and that’s how “Escola-Aldeia” project came about. It’s a project that reflects the interaction of the village with the school, with different and unusual</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>“Older people, let’s say, maintain their daily routines, the mass continues to happen, the shops remain open, and therefore everything continues to happen.”</p> <p>“(...) they (villages) all live a moment of great constraint. We also went through this in 2014, most precisely in terms of our educational services (...)”</p> <p>“(...) we suddenly managed to save a primary school.</p> <p>“The educational issue, I think, is paradigmatic. In 2014 (...) when we had a Prime Minister named José Sócrates, he decided to close primary schools all over the country, and Cem Soldos was suddenly experiencing that. So (...) we realized internally that Cem Soldos elementary school was losing children, year after year (...) we were only going to have one class the following year. Now, we have two (...)”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>activities, that boost kids' creativity and social concerns. They managed to success, by attracting kids from nearby villages and even neighbouring municipalities.</p> <p>Also, Lar-Aldeia is another project that SCOCS managed to preserve and boost. It's basically a way of people being regularly check, without needing to go for nursing homes, or other kind of related service. It also includes food delivery at very affordable prices.</p> <p>These is all leveraged by BONS SONS, since it's the main source of funds.</p> <p>They want to transmit that all these factors, being a dynamic village, is bring other people to the village to live in permanently. Demand for housing in Cem Soldos is increasing</p>	<p>"And suddenly, the very next year (...) we had parents coming from other municipalities to bring their kids here, daily (...)"</p> <p>"Communicating the school, trying to create an alternative and differentiating project that would live from this logic of the relationship between the village and the people... It was a process."</p> <p>"When we communicate an image of a dynamic village, capable of collectively creating, we are projecting a dream, a utopia which we are building (...)"</p> <p>"In fact (...) those young families my age, who have children and who were in other cities, are now returning. They are building houses here, and in this construction logic, I can tell you that there are about 6,7, 8, 9 houses that are being built right now."</p> <p>"(...) young couples with children or who are going to have children, are now deciding on having their lives here."</p> <p>Alexandre Santos:</p> <p>"(...) we also managed to make the other parallel activities survive, namely the ATL, and the school itself, which then maintains the employees. (...) we even have to reinforce our teams, to maintain the quality of services."</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>and there is a lot of constructing going on.</p> <p>Routines preservation is also something to bear in mind. The festival organisers try not to be disruptive of regular activities, so every existing services and establishments remain open during the festival. The mass still happens on Sundays, even though the church is one of the stages of the festival, so it's something they try to articulate.</p> <p>One assumption is how crowded these establishments and service may get during the festival, which can lead to congestion and higher dwell time.</p>	<p>"We have a lot of people wanting to come and live in Cem Soldos. Actually, I don't think there are any houses available for rent or for sale right now."</p> <p>"With the "Escola-Aldeia" project, which exists now for a few years and has been also leveraged by BONS SONS, we managed to overcome the problems that arose at the time, by filling the village through the school."</p> <p>*about Lar-Aldeia: "(...) is basically to create a "nursing home" in the village, without it being physical. The nursing home is people's own home. (...) We want to create some services (...) which is food delivery, at very affordable prices. We also want to create a nursing service, delivery, and administration of medicines, psychological support."</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>"(...) there are things in Cem Soldos that have changed and that have had (...) some leverage with BONS SONS. (...) For example, we have a health centre, but we are the ones who keep the doctor coming. This is because SCOCS annually spends the necessary funds to maintain the building, cleaning, water, light, etc."</p> <p>"(...) the Lar-Aldeia project, that is, people end up being accompanied without needing another type of follow-up, such as real nursing homes and so on."</p> <p>"They are who prepare meals for the children but not only. They also make them for the elderly and for those who express an interest in having these</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
			<p>meals, and at a very low price. I think it is also a strong asset that we managed to maintain.”</p> <p>“(…) I would say we have around 20% more people looking for Cem Soldos to reside permanently. This is because Cem Soldos is a super dynamic village.”</p> <p>“There are people from outside, people who come to BONS SONS and get to know Cem Soldos and gain some sort of affinity, who then want to come and live in Cem Soldos.”</p>
<p>Cultural benefits</p> <p>(Getz, 2019)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greater diversity - Cultural capital formation - Increased tolerance - Increased respect - Increased appreciation for difference - Cultural identity strengthened - Audience development for arts 	<p>Regarding this category, there are aspects more easily identifiable than others.</p> <p>The one most referenced would be how since a very young age kids are drawn to the association and encouraged to be involved in the projects. They are supposed to make suggestions, to come up with new ideas, new social projects and to understand the responsibility of their contributions.</p> <p>Not to mention they grow up surrounded by this dynamic and cultural environment. This</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>“(…) the love we have for the diversity that people bring.”</p> <p>“Basically, we aim to have groups of young people working throughout the year to create other events, so that later, during BONS SONS, they realize that they have a direct responsibility in the festival.”</p> <p>“Parents were completely mobilized to create it (educational project). In other words, it was not just “we came to enjoy a service that you are communicating”. No, it was more “let’s go build it, roll up our sleeves, make the project an amazing thing, knowing that it has flaws and that it needs work.”</p> <p>“When we have more people, the probability of finding differences, different things, different people, variety, is greater. And that I think has been amazing</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>contributes to their formation (as citizens) and their development for the arts. Again, BONS SONS being one of these projects and leveraging the remaining ones. The community feel they are improving their skills, knowledge, which is later compensated in the most diverse ways. Alexandre, for example, points that he managed to get a job in his area of studies through the festival. The competences they acquire make them more dynamic people, surely with other posture, making them stand out from the crowd.</p> <p>At last, the exposure to diversity is another interesting point. The fact the community has an opportunity to connect, interact and get to know different people, with different beliefs, perspectives, and even different ways to dress, it represents</p>	<p>for the people of the village. It is incredible to realize that we will welcome and be with people who are completely different from us, with different beliefs, with different perspectives on how to live life, with visions of the future that are completely different from ours. This represents an opportunity for working on our tolerance, respect, and appreciation of difference.”</p> <p>“(…) we were in the middle of a very funny brainstorming meeting about the future of the festival (…) and there was one person from the team who, at a certain moment, raised a question. “Ok, Cem Soldos has already given so much to Portuguese music, now to what are we going to be able to give? What area are we going to dedicate ourselves to, to give to the country, to the region, so that this area can develop?”</p> <p>Alexandre Santos:</p> <p>“(…) we ended up being a “jack of all trades”. We helped with the assembly, disassembly, answering phone calls… When I was in communication, I had to do several things all at the same time”.</p> <p>“As we grew up with BONS SONS and with this dynamic, this spirit also grows in us.”</p> <p>“(…) at a professional level, I think it gives us a lot of soft skills. Since we are kids, we’ve been involved in the association, in its activities throughout the year (…) And we learned a lot (…) and that allows us, in a way, to shape our</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>an opportunity for an increase of tolerance and acceptance.</p> <p>This is also true to new artists coming to the festival. To have an opportunity to get to know them, to listen to them. Cultural capital formation is something very important that seems to happen, almost involuntary.</p>	<p>profile as people. If we excel in an area and follow that same are to study in the future, it can be really advantageous.”</p> <p>“It was thanks to BONS SONS that I got my current job. By the way, not current, but in the same area. (...) I also know more people who worked in various specific areas of festival, and then, later, got jobs in those same areas.”</p> <p>“We are learning most of the time (...). We keep repeating processes, and they tell us to do it a certain way and we do it that way... But there is also the freedom to put our stamp on it.”</p> <p>“(...) without a doubt, the festival enabled us to improve our skills, even those that we didn’t even know we had.”</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>“If there was no festival, most would never attend a concert by the artists who come here.”</p> <p>“The introduction of younger people, in the organisation’s board, with aptitudes more focused on the artistic sector, more culturally oriented, more socially oriented, brought great changes.”</p> <p>“BONS SONS was like an injection of culture, knowledge... Brought the need to diversify the offer... And also, somehow, it brought other ways of seeing the village, from a social point a view.”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
			<p>“I sometimes participate in some meetings (completely informal meetings) and I understand the urge of these people to praise the work that has been done by doing more and better. Everyone has a say, and everyone has something to contribute.”</p>
<p>Economic benefits (Getz, 2019)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Employment for locals - Compensations - Leveraged benefits for local businesses - Sponsorship opportunities - Local council support - Infrastructure improvement/ investment attracted 	<p>This is a project that lives a lot from the voluntary contribution of locals. As such, the festival per se does not employ lots of people.</p> <p>There are, however, some services they need that require more expertise and cannot be done by the any person.</p> <p>For example, there is a part of the merchandising that require some scale and for that reason is done by a local company. They say this is also true at the catering level and leather goods fair. Another example presented is a “sound company”, which is responsible for the propagation of the sound through the village, and it is also from Tomar.</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>“There is a part of the merchandising that we sell on a greater scale, so we have local companies that do this type of service for us to be able to sell at the festival. This is also true at the catering level and the leather goods fair.”</p> <p>“We also sublet the spaces that are usually occupied by local restaurants and by local fairgrounds, who want to come to BONS SONS and want to have contact with festivalgoers, which ultimately also helps to boost the local economy itself.”</p> <p>“(…) even hotels get completely crowded (…). For local restaurants and cafes is the same.”</p> <p>“(…) BONS SONS is a breath of fresh air, even for the local businesses (e.g., shops, cafes, and others).”</p> <p>“We are supported by Turismo do Centro, we are supported by the city council of Tomar, we are supported by INATEL.”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>Even though they “own” a voluntary team that prepares food and all that, they also sublet spaces usually occupied by restaurants and local fairgrounds.</p> <p>However, it does not seem that the organisation outsources most of the services they need.</p> <p>There is still an impact that is felt in Tomar during the festival, namely in terms of accommodation and food services. It seems that hotels, restaurants, and cafes get completely crowded. So, we can say that BONS SONS leverage local businesses.</p> <p>The organisation of BONS SONS uses the profit from the festival (which is the biggest source of money) to invest in their other projects, which leads to hiring people and maintaining them. So indirectly, it helps on employing local people.</p>	<p>“(…) the festival lives on 80% of its revenues. Then you have the sponsors part, which is completely decisive, and we are very grateful (…), but it represents only 20% of the investment.”</p> <p>“(…) we live a lot of what is the ticket office, we live a lot of the spaces we sublet, of what is our food services and our ability to generate revenue.”</p> <p>Alexandre Santos:</p> <p>“There is also the tavern, which is the famous place for sangria (…). It also brings a lot of people from outside the city, and during the festival it is a success.”</p> <p>“I know that our association has grown, also in terms of employees and BONS SONS has helped in this regard.”</p> <p>“(…) that created a desire in people to go and live in the village, which eventually led to the hiring of new people for the ATL.”</p> <p>“(…) thanks to the festival as well, our square will undergo some work, so our “face” will get some improvements.”</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>“The tavern is the ex libris of the village and is visited a lot.”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>At last, the festival mediatism has attracted support from local city council, and other entities that contribute financially. However, it only represents 20% of the budget. Everything else is their own revenues, that come from tickets, sublet spaces, food services they provide.</p> <p>They also managed to attract investment for the requalification of Cem Soldos square – Largo do Rossio -, one of the main stages and image of the festival.</p>	<p>“(...) we have an ATL, the association has employees whom it pays monthly (if memory serves, I believe 9).”</p> <p>“Look, a non-profit association, which already has this number of fixed employees... They are not fixed-term contracts, they are permanent employees, with all the costs that this can mean.”</p> <p>“(...) but I think that at the local level there is a sound company, which deals with the propagation of sound through the village, and it’s from here.”</p>
<p>Social benefits (Getz, 2019)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More entertainment opportunities - Increased attachment - Volunteering 	<p>This is one the aspect – social benefits – mostly emphasized during the interviews. The way the interviewees talk about BONS SONS, being inhabitants of the village, it is perceptible how proud they feel about this project and the other</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>“Therefore, I am sure that I cannot state there’s a direct relation (between the festival) to what is happening in Tomar. In Cem Soldos, perhaps. The dynamics of SCOCS gained strength, gained visibility, gained impact and strategic relevance, due to the existence of BONS SONS”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobilized village - Dynamic village - Collaboration - Community lending their properties - Perceived community benefits - Preservation of identity - Pride - Community spirit strengthened - Keep people active 	<p>projects BONS SONS manages to leverage.</p> <p>To begin with, they really want to pass the message that BONS SONS is just one of the many projects the association holds, even though the festival is the only one with this magnitude. They feel that BONS SONS helped on creating more entertainment and leisure opportunities, especially in the village but also in the county. Miguel feels reluctant to establish a direct relation between BONS SONS and the increase on the cultural offer in Tomar, specifically. Rather, he prefers to say that new events and opportunities emerging there are “the result of joint work for the growth of region”.</p> <p>However, the youngest inhabitant targeted new places and events that emerged after BONS SONS, saying that other neighbouring villages in</p>	<p>“The second one is the volunteering, which is absolutely characteristic. The fact that the entire village is mobilized to build a collective project (...)”</p> <p>“(...) we are occupying public spaces, private spaces, you know?! It’s backyards, houses, the dressing rooms are people’s houses, the reception of the teams is done in people’s houses, the backyards are occupied for food preparation (...)”</p> <p>“A village with 650 people, which has 400 volunteers, plus mothers and grandmothers who stay at home cooking for others.”</p> <p>“(...) in terms of merchandising, we have local sewing groups that do the merchandising we give to festivalgoers. They make backpacks and hats, so these things also happen. Even at the catering level, we have our own catering services. They are teams of improvised village cooks who peel, cook, and stir the pot (...)”</p> <p>“(...) I am sure that the events that are emerging in Tomar, and their dynamics and strength, are also the result of joint work for the growth of the region.”</p> <p>“(...) in the months after BONS SONS ended, we insisted on communicating that in the next edition there was going to be a limit. This limit remains at 35 thousand people. We realize that the village has a capacity, it has a physical limit that cannot be exceeded, otherwise we are distorting what we want to convey as a village, and the image of a dynamic village.”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>the county felt “spurred” by Cem Soldos dynamics. He trusts BONS SONS was one of the main drivers. Concerning the village, they point sports and cultural activities happening with great frequency, that again, BONS SONS helps leveraging.</p> <p>Another key aspect is the volunteering and collaboration, which is always referred. 400 out of 650 people from the village volunteer to build BONS SONS. These people from the community, that help, really feel they are contributing for a collective project, which is enhancing the liveability of the village. They lend their properties, backyards, they cook, they serve beers, they take care of visitor’s children, they sew the merchandising, they do the assembly, they arrange the campsite, plumbing, showers, etc... And then they have friends of friends who also join to help. Summing up, it’s an</p>	<p>Alexandre Santos:</p> <p>“I also knew that the association itself and the inhabitants benefited in the long term from the festival, because the gains would later be redistributed in social projects (...)”</p> <p>“(...) we are a voluntary association, and everything we want to earn is for the benefit of the community.”</p> <p>“(...) it lives a lot through that logic of friends of friends, who help their friends, and the payment is made with a beer.”</p> <p>“(...) we really like (and in a way it’s our payment) to hear good things about our village, to hear good things about the festival we organize...”</p> <p>“(...) people have a very strong sense of belonging (...)”</p> <p>“We were (...) one of the first local associations to create a festival, or a party of this magnitude (...) I think this spurred the associations of other villages (...). And year after year, since 2006, there has always been more and more offer. Not only in the neighbouring villages of the county, but also in the city itself.”</p> <p>“(...) creation of new spaces, namely, next to Levada, you have the Cultural Complex of Levada, which is a very fun cultural space, in Tomar, nearby the</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>entire village mobilized for a common goal, and hearing good things about the festival and their villages, works almost as their payback.</p> <p>This aspect is interlinked with the strengthening of the community spirit, where people can socialize with one another, where they feel they are being helpful, and their contribution is fundamental. It's a way to keep the elderly active, integrated in the community, it's a way to boost intergenerational relationships and the exchange of knowledge.</p> <p>People seem to perceive the festival as a good thing, that benefits Cem Soldos inhabitants in the long term, through the implementation of other social projects.</p>	<p>river. The cinema itself was also rehabilitated and in terms of its offer, it has been improving little by little.”</p> <p>“Now, we also have neighbouring villages holding music festivals too, although other types of festivals. (...) So yes, I think the cultural offer has improved a lot and I think BONS SONS was one of the main drivers (...)”</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>“It makes them feel active and useful. Ladies aged 80 and over make their geckos there (the festival’s mascot) and that’s it. It’s a way to keep people active, with the feeling that they are being useful, and where their work and contribution is appreciated.”</p> <p>“Our association has activities (I don’t want to say daily), but weekly or biweekly. We support several sports, which are activities that usually weigh heavily on the association’s account (...)”</p> <p>“(...) this way, they have a series of sports, cultural activities, etc. that costs us (of course) but that we keep them with great pleasure, because we keep the village running.”</p> <p>“Let’s say that the montage/assembly is practically (but not exclusively) secured by the community. (...) there are people who are taking care of the campsite, and at the campsite, there are those who take care of the plumbing, and the showers, and the sewers... And they all are people from Cem Soldos.”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>At last, with the increasing mediatism and increasing “demand”, they faced the risk of losing their identity in favour of more profit (as it often happens). Again, the organisation understood they were running that risk, and in order to preserve the essence of the festival, its identity and what better characterizes it, they establish a limit of visitors, from 2019 on. This measure was taken to prevent the distortion of what they “want to convey as a village”.</p>	<p>“(…) practically 80% of the people from Cem Soldos are helping, either serving beers, selling tickets, or being at the box office. (…)</p> <p>Some ladies go to the cafeterias... My wife, for example, usually goes to the kindergarten that we build.”</p> <p>“I’m retired, and I finally have my time completely available. Why not help? (…)</p> <p>Now, my participation is completely pro bono. I spend my time, I spend my diesel, I spend my good reputation...”</p> <p>“Earlier, I was talking about the integration of the elderly into the activities of our community... Creating conditions so that the elderly do not feel marginalized, or put aside, and making them feel useful... All of these, of course, are ideas that 15/20 years ago did not exist.”</p> <p>“Whenever it is possible to unite the community for a common goal, people tend to give a little bit of themselves, to contribute with ideas, work, with effort... From the joint participation of all, something new always emerges, something richer always emerges.”</p> <p>“(…) I am delighted to realize that the ideas these people are having, and some of them much younger than I am, are valid ideas (…)</p> <p>I recognize that, at times, it is difficult for us to understand what is intended. But we get there quickly too!”</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
Social negative impact (Getz, 2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Congestion - Lack of comfort - Noise - Conflict - Burnout of volunteer staff 	<p>Despite all the positive aspects mentioned previously, inhabitants made some comments that indicates some conflict or lack of harmony inside the community. Even though they stress the fact most people enjoy the festival (mentioning percentages of 98% in terms of acceptance within the village), there are some indicators of people who dislike the noise (that only stops at 4am), and the mess that staging a festival represent. It seems that those people also criticize how the festival is organized. So, this is an indicator of conflict between villagers, even if this case it's not entirely representative of the whole population of Cem Soldos.</p> <p>Another situation has to do with the volunteer staff. It seems that all the work required to get the festival going, depletes the village a lot in terms of manpower. People get really</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>"We hit a slightly dangerous high in 2018 (...). It was more in terms of comfort, and in terms of image. In 2018, when we had close to 40.000 visitors, at one point we looked at each other and thought "calm down". This is no longer BONS SONS."</p> <p>"Imagine staging a festival in a village context, and a week before the start, everything is looking like a mess. This has an impact. The fact that the generator is next to that house, where lives that person (...)"</p> <p>"(...) these dynamics, like BONS SONS festival, depletes the village a lot in terms of manpower and all that, and the structure is very exhausting."</p> <p>Alexandre Santos:</p> <p>"It's a very, very small portion, in our village, that dislikes and criticizes the way the festival is organized. However, they are also people who have never been engaged, and so they criticize for lack of knowledge. They feel affected by the noise. They want quiet, and since they live there, they feel that they should have more rights and that they owe nothing to anyone."</p> <p>"We have a lot of ups and downs during setups and during the festival itself, and then suddenly there's a void. It's a bit difficult, because the adrenaline is at the top and then it drops down, and the recovery... Going back up there, is</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		exhausted of all the work and its rhythm, to the point of struggling to reach the same level of energy again.	<p>difficult sometimes... Getting your ideas back for the festival and the future... It takes a lot longer, you know?"</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>"It's a month of a lot of activity, confusion, machines, noise... 99% of people enjoy it. There are, however, one or two percent of people who don't think like that."</p> <p>"Noise is synonymous with party. Although, for the people who live in the village, it is for many hours on those days. Some can't sleep until the noise stops, which happens around 4am or so."</p> <p>"I know that there is at least one person who is not a fan. (...) He's a little more antisocial, but he has the good sense that when BONS SONS starts, he's off to the beach. It's better this way, because we're not bothering him, he's doing what he likes, and we continue to do what we like."</p>
Leakages	- Sold-out accommodation - Trips to Zêzere river	Given the dimension of the county, and its available infrastructures, it is possible to understand that some leakages happen. From the interviews, this can be identified at two levels.	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>"(...) there is one or another service that legally, or for legal reasons, or for the continuity of the work (which lasts almost an entire year) requires some compensation, in terms of safety, and health, which really has to happen. So, these teams come from elsewhere, rather than locally."</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
	- Outsourcing of companies from elsewhere	<p>First, it's not possible to resort exclusively to companies from Tomar, for building the festival. There are some services that simply cannot be found locally, which results in outsourcing services from elsewhere.</p> <p>Secondly, visitors do not stay exclusively in Tomar during their stay. This can be due to lack of available accommodation in the county, which leads to leakages (money being spent in other localities).</p>	<p>"Some people send emails, 2 or 3 weeks before the festival (as we are now) asking "Do you still have accommodation in the village?" and we say "No!". Then they ask "and in Tomar?", and we say "maybe not even there. Maybe you have to go to Vila Nova da Barquinha, Entrocamento, Torres Novas, Ferreira do Zêzere. You need to try other places."</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>"For the assembly of the stages, for example, we have to hire. We rent the stages, which also include the assembly."</p> <p>"We make use of companies that do the communication. And usually, these companies already have the contacts of those who assemble stages. (...) We have to have a series of infrastructures that, at the local level, can be hard to find."</p>
Rural "desertification"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migration to the coast - Lack of opportunities of specialized jobs 	<p>This category somehow confirms the tendency of rural desertification.</p> <p>Inside the village, there was one cafe-restaurant that has closed since 2006. There is no indication the festival</p>	<p>Alexandre Santos:</p> <p>"I know that in the village, they remained pretty much the same. In fact, I think that there is one less establishment when compared to 2006. (...) there was a cafe that ended up closing a few years ago."</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
	- Changes in the number of establishments in Cem Soldos	<p>contributed to that ending, so it's assumed demand simply did not met supply.</p> <p>As for the county – Tomar -, it is possible to extract from the interviews that there are lacking job opportunities on specific areas, for people who want to delve and grow within those areas. This forces them to move to other geographies where they can do just that.</p>	<p>Unfortunately, we are often forced to come to large urban centres, like Lisbon or Porto..."</p> <p>"Within my professional area, and given the opportunities there are in the region, it is very difficult to find anything with potential, and that gives me the capacity to grow. Here in Lisbon, it's totally different..."</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>"(...) I suppose there were no major changes, this within Cem Soldos. (...) We are talking about 2006 and since then there have been no major changes... There was a café-restaurant that, in the meantime, closed (...)"</p>
Performance analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial risk - Comparison between villages - Growing demand - Scenario analysis - Planning - Acceptance from the village - Sense of belonging 	<p>Despite the festival's growing demand, it seems it is not being able to come up with consistent positive results. The expression "financial risk" is mentioned several times during the interview, which means this is definitely a concern. In order to solve this situation, and keep on with all their projects, they have a team that is trying to get more support from local companies, even</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>"(...) there are some years that go well, there are years that do not go that well, and then there are others, where the risk is too great."</p> <p>"(...) we still have a lot of work to do, which is to capitalize on all the effort and financial risk we have."</p> <p>"(...) the financial risk is always carried by the association and this one village that works for the profitability of the entire municipality and the entire region."</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
	- What to improve	<p>though they recognise most companies will not get great returns.</p> <p>They have a big acceptance from the village (surrounding 97/98%), but there are some inevitable disruptions caused by the festival. As such, every year, after BONS SONS ends, the organisation makes an analysis of what went wrong and try to identify to which person they caused more harm, and keep that in mind in the year after. This way, it's not always the same people affected.</p> <p>It's mentioned, as well, there are some miscommunication within teams, which leads to people getting upset and more stressed. This is not an abnormal behaviour, since stressful environments stimulates conflict more easily. Regardless of that, it can also contribute to the</p>	<p>"(...) we can compare (...) what is happening in the surrounding villages, what is happening here; what exists in the surrounding municipalities, what exists here (...)"</p> <p>"(...) us trying to make a comparative analysis of what Cem Soldos is, comparing with what could be (...), comparing with what it would be if BONS SONS did not happen (...)"</p> <p>"(...) the growth has been obvious. We always do our analysis and some graphs show things have always been growing."</p> <p>"(...) at the end of each edition, we evaluate what happened and we make scenario analyses, so that in the future we can, for example, not make noise in that place or not put the generator there."</p> <p>"We want to continue to have 97% or 98% of acceptance in the village. It's a matter of care and intelligence (...)"</p> <p>"Portuguese music was not a concept, besides that, it was very poorly regarded. In fact, nobody was able to work on a sense of belonging, which is something that we managed to do very well here in the village."</p> <p>Alexandre Santos:</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
		<p>burnout of staff, mentioned previously.</p> <p>Something mentioned is the “sense of belonging”, regarding Portuguese music, the festival was able to cultivate in the community. They say back in 2006. Nobody looked to Portuguese music as something worthy of listening. Everything else was good, but Portuguese music was lame. Nowadays, it seems the picture has changed.</p>	<p>“(…) there are also problems within the teams… Certain enmities that can be created, due to lack of internal communication… Since everything is voluntary, it can somehow create a place for “Oh, you said that to that one person and didn’t tell me why?” And hey, it was on purpose… Sometimes people just forget. (…)</p> <p>“(…) But well, this is natural in a more stressful environment.”</p> <p>“(…) what exactly can be improved? Well, maybe a greater professionalization of people, greater training, more internal training so that we can get to the problems and act in a much more efficient way.”</p> <p>“(…) festival’s goals was to gain financial baggage to continue with these projects for the community, but it hasn’t been easy.”</p> <p>“If we were able to find a way to obtain other funds, it would be very important to improve the festival and therefore, improve the experience of the people who visit us. Not to mention that it is fundamental for us to be able to carry out our other projects, like the Lar– Aldeia project.”</p> <p>José Faria:</p> <p>“This is because BONS SONS helps raise funds to keep the village alive.”</p> <p>“(…) I am currently visiting companies in Tomar, in order to attract support and collaboration. We want companies to believe in us, to know that by</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
			<p>joining their brands, their names, to our brand (which at the moment is already a well-known brand, and with a very high market value)...”</p> <p>“I recognize that most of them, in practical terms, will not have a great return, even though we publicize them.”</p>
Tomar (not related with BONS SONS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of knowledge to make considerations about Tomar - More hotels in the county 	<p>This category was created just to stress the fact interviewees feel reluctant on drawing relations between BONS SONS and changes on the county. When they talk about “impact”, is clearly more about the village that anywhere else.</p> <p>The only thing mentioned is an increase in the accommodation offer over the years, even though there is no indication that BONS SONS contributed for this phenomenon.</p>	<p>Miguel Atalaia:</p> <p>*emergence of new events in Tomar - “(...) in fact, it would be a mistake to say yes, that there is a direct relationship. (...) for Tomar, it would be very pretentious of me to say it.”</p> <p>*exodus of people from Tomar – “Concerning the municipality it is more complex to answer, because I don’t have the instruments to be able to evaluate.”</p> <p>Alexandre Santos:</p> <p>“I think it exceeds one million euros, and therefore there is a direct benefit from staging the festival. But I don’t know if more or fewer establishments have opened, I have no idea.”</p> <p>“(...) the city has always relied a lot on tourism (...). Although in recent years it has evolved a lot in its accommodation offer. In the city, for example, you can see new hotels arising, even though many of them are smaller.” x</p>

Categories	Coding	Summary	Interview excerpts
			<p data-bbox="1104 300 2040 373">“In the municipality itself, I also have no idea that the festival has such a big impact, to the point that new opportunities are created.”</p> <p data-bbox="1104 384 1234 416">José Faria:</p> <p data-bbox="1104 469 2040 539">“At the county level, let’s say... In which BONS SONS is identified as the main cause... It is difficult to identify.”</p>

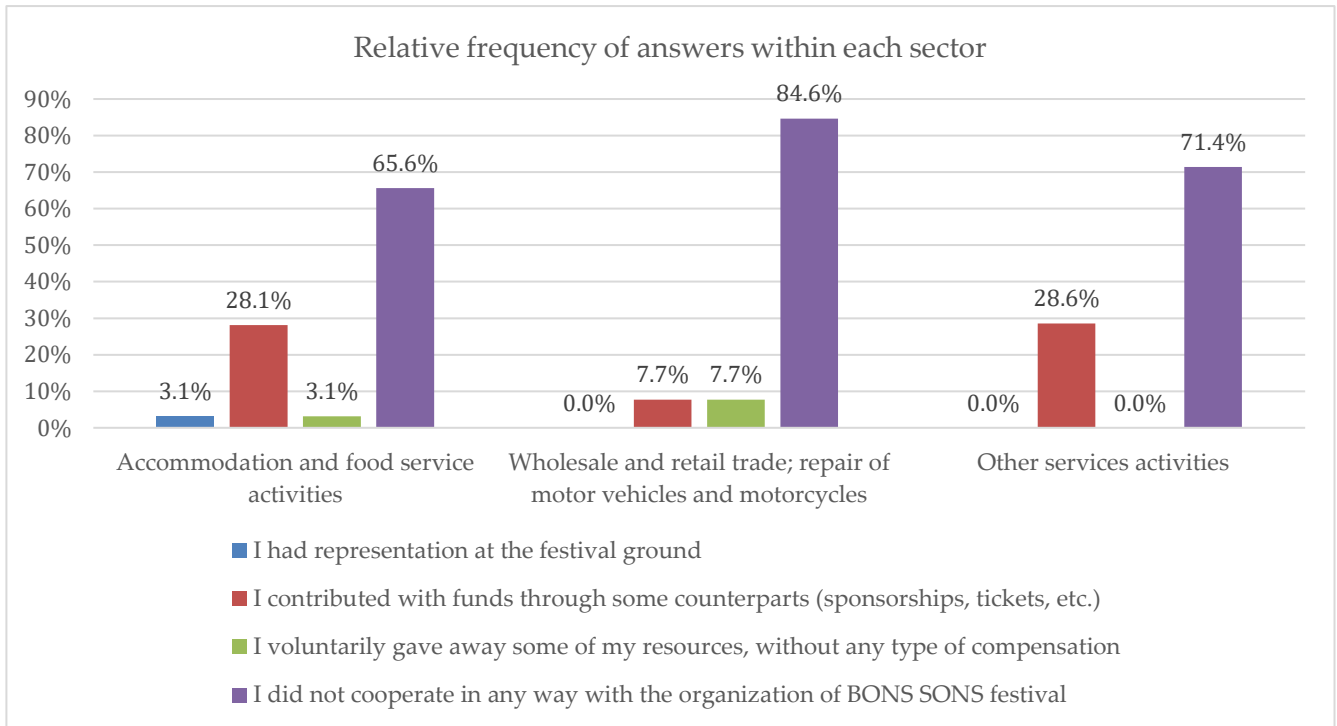
A7. Survey - Sample Characteristics

Source: Work Project's Author

Variables	Frequency
Economic activity (Division - CAE Rev. 3)	
- Agriculture, farming of animals, hunting and forestry	1.6%
- Accommodation and food service activities	52.5%
- Arts, entertainment, sports and recreation activities	4.9%
- Information and communication activities	4.9%
- Real estate activities	1.6%
- Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	21.3%
- Other service activities	11.5%
- Transportation and storage	1.6%
For how long the establishment has been opened	
3 years or less	19.7%
4-15 years	37.7%
16 or more years	42.6%
Paid and permanent employees	
- 1	34.4%
- 2	11.5%
- 3	11.5%
- 4	8.2%
- 5	6.6%
- 6-10	19.7%
- 11-50	6.6%
- 51-100	1.6%
Geographic location of main suppliers	
- Municipality of Tomar	57.4%
- Other national geographies	37.7%
- Other international geographies	4.9%

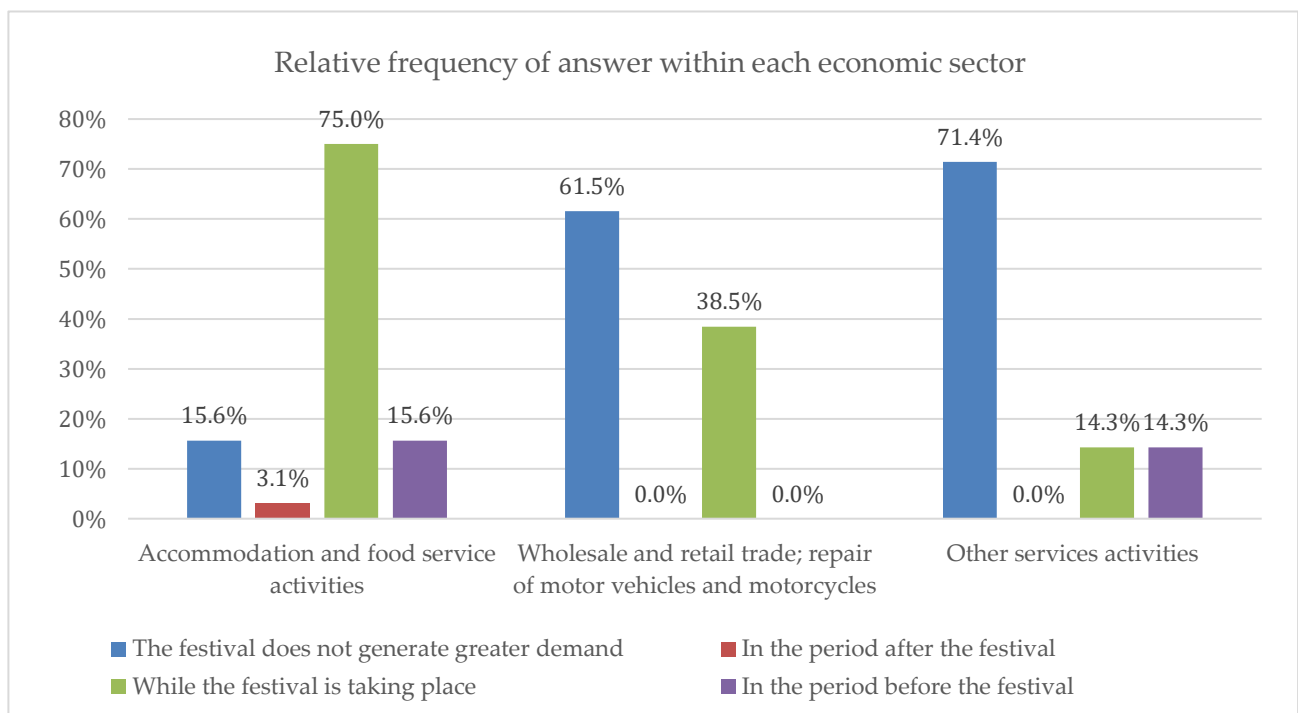
A8. In what ways did you collaborate with the organisation of BONS SONS festival? Comparison by economic activity.

Source: Work Project's Author



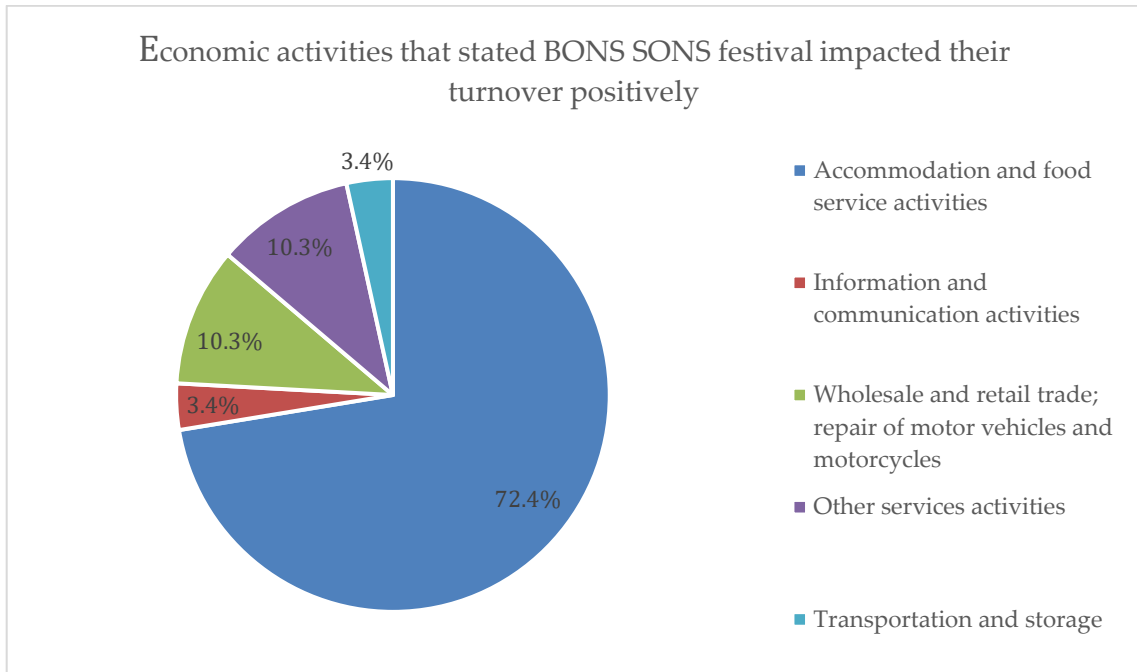
A9. In which periods do you consider that BONS SONS festival generates greater demand for your establishment? Comparison by economic activity.

Source: Work Project's Author



A10. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much do you agree with this statement: “BONS SONS festival positively influences my turnover.” Comparison by economic activity that answers 4 or higher.

Source: Work Project’s Author



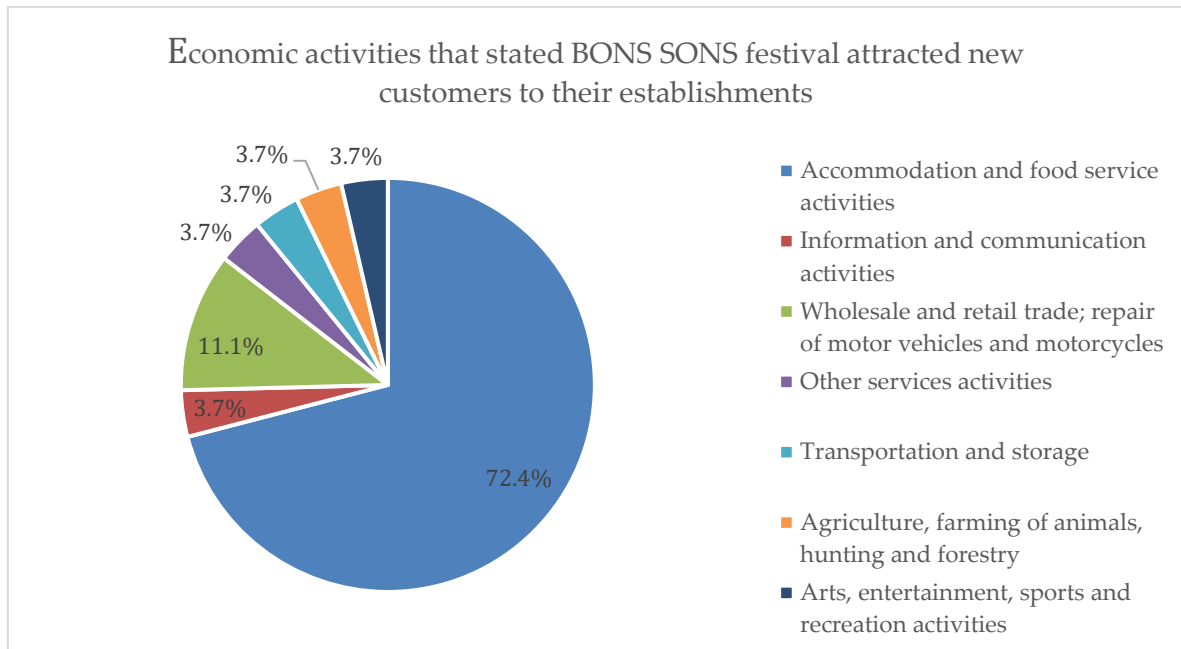
A11. Absolute and relative frequencies of the answers from the sectors that stated BONS SONS festival impacted their turnover positively.

Source: Work Project’s Author

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Accommodation and food service activities	21/32	65.63%
Information and communication activities	1/3	33.33%
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	3/13	23.08%
Other services activities	3/7	42.86%
Transportation and storage	1/1	100%

A12. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much do you agree with this statement: “BONS SONS festival attracts new customers to my establishment.” Comparison by economic activity that answers 4 or higher.

Source: Work Project’s Author



A13. Absolute and relative frequencies of the answers from the sectors that stated BONS SONS festival attracted new costumers to their establishments.

Source: Work Project’s Author

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Accommodation and food service activities	19/32	59.38%
Information and communication activities	1/1	100%
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	3/13	23.08%
Other services activities	1/7	15.29%
Transportation and storage	1/1	100%
Agriculture, farming of animals, hunting and forestry	1/1	100%
Arts, entertainment, sports, and recreation activities	1/3	33.33%

A14. The impact that BONS SONS festival has on my business is more noticeable in the following periods.

Source: Work Project's Author

