

Tourists and Communities in Rural Festival Encounters

A mutually beneficial relationship?

by

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Alta,

Kari Jæger

Summary

In this thesis, I have aimed to make visible how small-scale festivals in rural areas, despite minimal direct economic impact, are important for the development of tourism as well as the benefit of local communities.

Fifty-six festivals were mapped in Finnmark County, Norway. Knowledge of these 56 festivals created a platform for their further study using five case studies. Research was conducted in a cumulative way, where each study highlighted new questions. In the research, the need to understand festivals from two different research traditions was emphasized: one from the basis of identity and tradition, the other from an event management perspective. This dual perspective was necessary to be able to capture the complexity that festivals hold. At the same time, this two-fold approach, created new knowledge, pointing out some important insights related to the relationship between tourism and festivals.

This thesis identifies 'new' tourism roles represented by tourists participating as volunteers or participants in the core activities of festivals. The thesis also identifies the integrative role that festivals have locally, both as an important identity marker, and as a starting point for the development of new tourism products created by lifestyle entrepreneurs. The research that informs this thesis emphasizes the challenges faced in balancing how festivals in small rural places deal with such complex phenomena: the different and seemingly contradictory activities. The thesis examines the role of festival encounters, created in a rural area, where old identities are preserved and strengthened, and new identities are constructed during meetings between tourists and residents. The thesis focuses on how event start-ups may act as a catalyst, and enable the growth of new meeting-place(s) for those directly involved in events, other stakeholders, and for other events arranged during the same time period. Finally, the thesis emphasizes how

events enable encounters between events and the tourism industry, leading to an increased product capacity for winter tourism in a rural destination. The findings in this thesis contribute to the development of knowledge related to the mutually beneficial relationships from which both festivals and tourism could continue to flourish.

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1 Introduction

I am at the Easter Festival in Kautokeino. In a crowded concert venue at Buletjavri, and a Sámi rock and roll band is playing. In front of the stage it is packed, with many of us who love the music. I start talking with a girl, and ask, what she thinks is so good about the concert? The girl is around 20 years old, she is wearing “kofte” - the Sámi traditional clothing, as most of the other young people there. “It is our music”, the girl answers, “it is Sámi music, and that is what is most important.”

The narrative above is from my fieldwork at the Easter Festival in Kautokeino, where the festival has become an important arena for the Sámi local people, bridging the old culture into contemporary society, thereby indicating and influencing today’s identity. At the same time, the festival has become a tourist attraction, displaying local culture, even though it is not staged for a tourism purpose.

The background for this thesis is founded on many years of experience working in festivals and tourism businesses. During these years, I discovered how these primarily local and sometimes regional events, attracted – even if limited, visitors and volunteers from other parts of the country and abroad, and who subsequently spent parts of their holidays at festivals. I saw that festivals were important and meaningful to people, and that even festivals that seemed to have very limited economic spill over effects, played a central role in some communities. I also discovered that the people involved in festivals and the people involved in the tourism businesses did not necessarily acknowledge each other. Also I sensed a lack of realization of how increased tourism and festival cooperation might give common benefits for festivals, tourism, as well as local communities. In previous research on festivals and tourism, the focus has often been on bigger events located in cities, with an emphasis on economic values. Research on the importance of festivals and tourism

in rural areas has been more limited. Thus, extant research fails to incorporate festival and tourism settings related to the point that is highlighted in the opening narrative above. A motivation to bring forth festival and tourism research anchored in rural areas, guided the overarching research question for this thesis:

How do small-scale festivals matter to tourism and local community developments in rural areas?

This question means that I am interested in how festivals, through their creation of encounters, influence tourism development and local communities. Local communities with their local identity are important hosts for festivals, and also the opposite applies, the festivals are important for local host communities.

I have addressed the research question through six research contributions, with four articles and two book chapters. The first article, *The Festivalscape of Finnmark*, is a descriptive study mapping festivals in Finnmark County, Norway. The article is based on information about festival name and content, vision, year of inauguration, number of visitors attending, number of employees and volunteers, tourism orientation, ownership, stakeholders, budget, use of entrance fees and other sources of financing. Information from this first article created a knowledge platform, which helped identify the chosen focus areas for conducting further in-depth qualitative research. The research in this thesis project has been conducted in a cumulative way, where each study has highlighted new questions and focus areas. In order to address the overarching research question, five of these are qualitative research contributions followed the descriptive mapping study. These contributions focused on encounters shaped by festivals. Specifically, the associated research contributed knowledge related to how old identities are re-shaped and strengthened, and new identities are constructed in meetings between tourists and residents. Also, some new interesting tourism roles were identified, and represented by special

interest tourists participating as volunteers, or participants in non-commodified core activities in festivals. The research further identified the integrating role festivals might have locally, particularly, as an important identity marker, and as a starting point for the development and branding of new tourism products created by lifestyle entrepreneurs. Lastly, the research contributes with knowledge of how event start-ups may act as a catalyst that enable new encounters for those directly involved in the event, other stakeholders, and for other events arranged during the same time period.

This thesis contributes to the development of knowledge related to mutually beneficial relationships, from which small scale rural festivals and tourism could continue to develop. The study of festivals and tourism phenomena is understood in light of two different research traditions. One perspective is based in humanities anchored festival research, and here I approach festivals on the basis of identity and tradition. The other perspective is from an event management tradition, which approaches festivals as events from an economic and managerial point of view. This dual perspective was necessary in order to capture the complexity that both festivals and tourism hold. And at the same time, this complexity brings out some important insights related to the relationship between tourism and festivals. A consequence of volunteer tourists working in festivals, which offer non-commodified experiences, is that the border between tourism and everyday life becomes blurred. Such volunteer work is a holiday, albeit without a stream of commodified moments. The attention that festivals attract from outside, often has an important role in destination branding that can be, and by some local communities is, utilised for tourism. Only with a multi-faceted research approach is it possible to gain a better understanding of this complexity and heterogeneity, which also includes some challenges for local communities.

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festivals investigated, festivals and local societies, and the possible negative impacts of festivals and events.

Table 1 – Focus in the articles and book chapters

	Title	Authors	Main Focus	Published in
I	The Festivalscape of Finnmark	Jaeger, K., & Mykletun, R. J. (2009)	This article maps the festival ecology of Finnmark County, investigating 56 festivals using a questionnaire. It identifies a wide range of themes in the festivals, including ethnicity, border themes and culture. It also discusses tourism and its potential related to the festivals, which appears underdeveloped.	Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism
II	Diverging Interests in Small-Scale Festival Tourism	Jaeger, K (2012)	This book chapter explores the connection between tourism and festivals, and uses a holistic perspective to assess what participating in festivals means when direct economic benefits are lacking. It investigates the role festivals may have in local communities, as well as for tourism and, at the same time, how the latter may strengthen and sustain festivals.	In Furunes, T., Mykletun, R. & Marnburg, E. Current Research in Hospitality and Tourism Fagbokforlaget
III	Festivals, Identities, and Belonging	Jaeger, K., & Mykletun, R. J. (2013)	This article investigates how festivals influence individual and social identities, what this influence on identities means for the people involved and their identity with a place, as well as how festivals influence the self-image and place identity of local communities.	Event Management

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IV	On commodification: Volunteer Experiences in Festivals	Jæger, K., & Olsen, K. (2016)	This article explores the creation of non-commodified volunteer experiences for tourists and local volunteers participating in festivals. How the tourist experience is created when most of traditional tourism demands are not fulfilled? And what are the experiences?	Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change
V	Co-creation in events: values of volunteers and volunteer tourists at Iditarod in Alaska and the Finnmark Race in Norway	Jæger, K., & Mathisen, L. (2017)	This book chapter is about volunteers' value creation in events, especially values created through co-creation among volunteer tourists working beside local volunteers. It examines value creation for the tourist, the local volunteer, as well as for events.	In Benson, A.M. & Wise, N. International Sports Volunteering. Routledge
VI	Event start-ups as catalysts for place, sport and tourism development: Moment scapes and geographical considerations	Jæger, K. (2018)	This article focuses on how the start-up of a specific event can act as a catalyst for sport, place and tourism development. A process of path-creation, involving volunteers and lifestyle entrepreneurs, enabling sustainable development of locally-run tourism products.	Sport in Society

The remainder of chapter one provides a short introduction regarding festival and event studies, festival roles in tourism, the location of the festivals investigated, festivals and local societies, and the possible negative impacts of festivals and events.

1.1 Festival and event studies

For years, extant research investigating festivals and events has been located across a wide range of disciplines and academic fields. Depending on disciplinary background, festivals have been defined and understood in different ways. Event studies have covered event management and tourism with topics related to the economy and management; however, in the main, such coverage has focused on larger urban events in cities (Wilson, Arshed, Shaw, Pret, 2017). Festival research is by its nature interdisciplinary and is often anchored in a diversity of topics, such as sociology, cultural, religious and anthropology studies, as well as recreation and leisure studies (Jansa, 2017). Sometimes, there is a focus on identity and locally anchored culture, where increased commodification has been seen as a threat. The perspectives in folk festival research (Moe, 1977) do not cover (fully) rural festivals. With this in mind, it is of special interest, in this thesis, to better understand what roles such festivals can play for tourism development, as well as the hazards for small places in rural areas. Relatedly, event studies have seldom bothered with festivals where economic gains have not been the aim and are not easily seen or able to be determined.

As is the case in research and in business, in this thesis, there is a blurred distinction regarding the use of the concepts festivals and/or events. In a review of festival research, Wilson et.al. (2017, p. 209) identified five key research areas in prior studies: motivations, experience, place, impacts and management, wherein the majority of the empirical studies were quantitative. To better understand festival phenomena, they recommended the use of greater methodological diversity in future research and that such research should focus on investigating actors or processes, how festivals become established, their initiation, and development over time. Four important aspects were identified as key to future festival studies:

(1) the pre-festival stage, including the founder(s) and festival initiation; (2) partnerships between festival stakeholders, which are required to establish and stage festivals on a regular basis; (3) the variety of resources provided by these partnerships; and (4) the processes involved in staging festivals, from their initiation through to their repetition. (Wilson et al. 2017, p. 206)

In many ways, this thesis project speaks to Wilson et al.'s (2017) call. Throughout the six research contributions, I address issues of why festivals were started, their role as a catalyst between different stakeholders, and start up identity processes created through encounters in local societies. Conducted over many years in other social studies, transition festival research has often not been part of the event management theoretical platform. Subsequently, parallel knowledge building and understanding of festivals, as a phenomenon as well as the importance of festivals in different contexts, have developed. Depending on the disciplinary background, and paradigm of authors, festivals have been defined in various ways, as a result, there is no agreed typology categorising festivals (Duffy & Mair, 2018).

Although an events research agenda has emerged quite recently, interest in and development of events at least date back to 1851, with The Great Exhibition in London (Page & Connell, 2012, p.1). During the 1980s, globally, governments paid more attention to the positive impacts events could generate. And, at the turn of year 2000, the potential role events had in generating positive impacts and playing a role in development of culture, arts, urban regeneration, education and tourism had become evident (Bowdin, Allen, O'Toole, Harris & McDonnell, 2011; Mair & Whitford, 2013).

As an academic field, event studies commenced in the 1970s (Getz, 2008), at that time, its agenda was to create knowledge and theory about planned events. Throughout the 1990s, event-related research was predominantly focused on economic impacts (Formica, 1998; Gartner &

Holecek, 1983; Hall, 1987; Lynch & Jensen, 1984; Wood, Robinson, & Thomas, 2006). Event studies are constituted of a large number of foundation disciplines, including economics, geography, history, psychology, anthropology, sociology, heritage studies, philosophy, cultural and religious studies (Getz, Andersson, Armbrecht & Lundberg, 2017). According to Getz (2012), these are represented in three main event discourses: event management, event tourism and events in society and culture. To contextualize the study of festivals, it is seen as part of the typology of Planned Events, under the category Cultural Celebrations. The other five types are: “Business and Trade, Arts & Entertainment, Sport and Recreation, Political & State, and Private Functions” (Getz, 2012, p.41). The main focus of event studies is staged events that are commerce-based. As Andrews and Leopold (2013) point out, there is a managerial approach in event studies with event literature terminologies such as mega events and hallmark events linked to the contexts of globalisation, marketing and economics. But as is often emphasised in festival research, they also noted that “conversely, the term “spectacle”, “festivals”, “carnivals”, “ceremonies”, and “parades” are rather applied to socio-cultural contexts” (p. 4). Both these perspectives are also made visible in this thesis.

1.2 *The festival role in tourism*

The festival role related to tourism is important in many ways, as tourism often is about encounters and, is a unified external force affecting places and people (Jøhannesson & Lund, 2017). Tourists are often attracted by differences from their ordinary life, where their tourist gaze varies by society, social group and historical period (Urry, 1990). Their gaze is constructed through difference. It is contrasted with what happens to be non-tourist experience forms (Urry, 1990), or from its “other”, with which it is contrasted, where meaning constantly slides as its “other” changes (Rojek & Urry, 1997, p. 1). At the same time, tourism is a way of being in the world, encountering, looking at it and making sense –

here, through festivals, which “incorporates mind-sets and performances that transform places of the humdrum and ordinary into the apparently spectacular and exotic” (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen & Urry, 2004, p. 2).

Future tourists are referred to in some tourism research as disoriented travellers (Posio, Rahikainen, Kyyrä & Rantala, 2016), who have diverse backgrounds, cultural views, generational habits and previous experiences. Here, the destination becomes unimportant, with travellers seeking an interesting platform for narration and self-actualisation with a future, where both the tourists and destinations risk disorientation, and where tourism actors might end up chasing fluctuating markets. Destinations have to decide what kind of future *they* want (Posio, et al, 2016). Tourism is changing from being dominated by sightseeing to increasingly attracting tourists, who are more interested in participating in activities, where some activities are self-directed coupled with an active self-experience production (Boswijk, Peelen & Olthof, 2012). Another more general trend is the increase in number of events and festivals staged in the last few decades (Page & Connell, 2012). Finnmark is also following this trend (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009), with new festival start-ups, and existing festivals expanding through festivalisation (Ronström, 2016). Festivals and the tourism industry are not always aware of the mutual benefits available (Moretti & Tamma, 2014), because, although their relationship may sometimes be complementary and mutually beneficial, there are sometimes also contradictory interests. A well-known festival can put a destination on the map, develop core activities attracting tourists, and be important for the local society outside the festival period. At the same time, festival attractiveness could contribute to fully booked hotels and restaurants, generate traffic jams, and hinder local people and other visitors in their activities, as well as communicate images and values with which not everyone identifies.

This chapter and the following included articles explain the role of festivals and events as part of the field of tourism, as well as their role in developing tourism in small rural societies. The potential benefit of these rural festivals has not attracted much attention in event and tourism research, which, as already mentioned, has been dominated by the perspective of economic values. The main reason for this lack of attention is that the key motivation for start up of rural festivals is seldom economic. Instead, start ups are motivated by different individuals' leisure interests, and, general social benefits for local societies. Branding of place, attracting tourists, and economic entrepreneurships are aims that often instrumentally are used to legitimate support for and public funding of festivals, and, sometimes, this develops over time. The non-commercial foundation of studies that emphasise cultural and sociological issues of festivals and events, often report that the attention from non-locals is a threat to the festival's local foundation. Without pointing to the potential benefits, this threat – if such a change is so considered – is obvious when it comes to small rural communities. On the other hand, event management literature tends to only point to economic benefits. It leaves out the impact on peoples' identity when some peoples' values are promoted over others.

1.3 *Location of the festivals investigated*

The festivals investigated in this thesis are located in the Norwegian circumpolar region of Finnmark, which is the northernmost county in Norway, located between latitudes 69 to 71 degrees north. The county shares borders with Finland and Russia. Finnmark has a heterogeneous culture including the indigenous Sámi people, the Kven national minority as well as the Norwegian majority population. The county maintains close contact and cooperation across its borders with Finland and Russia. This peripheral 'border position' makes the county stand out from the dominant parts of Norway. Throughout the centuries, the main industries have been fisheries, small-scale farming and reindeer herding.

Today, the businesses in Finnmark are construction, trade, transportation, business services, petroleum, minerals, mechanical industries, tourism and culture. Also significant are fisheries, farming, and new marine industries (Finnmark Fylkeskommune, 2018).

Explorers have travelled to Finnmark for centuries, drawn by the exotic climate, the remoteness of the area, and the semi-nomadic Sámi people who have been labelled “the Last Nomads of Europe” (Naum, 2016, 489-90, 498). Since the sixteenth century, the most well-known tourist attraction, North Cape, which is said to be the northernmost point of mainland Europe, has attracted people from central Europe (Jacobsen, 1997). In spite of its reachability, the assumed remoteness of the area (Smith, 2010, p. 184), is something the tourist industry aims to benefit from. With northern lights in the winter and midnight sun in the summer, the Arctic wildernesses are the venue for festivals that have given rise to several adventure tourism products, involving both locals and tourists. However, as pointed out by Sörlin (2014, p. 294 footnote 16), the Scandinavian countries have never acknowledged the northern parts of the countries under the name Arctic, even if these parts fall within most definitions of the term. Neither is this a term applied by the inhabitants, but, increasingly, the Arctic has become a term in the tourism industry. Arctic tourism has to be understood in relation to colonial practices and political economies along with the area’s history and collective presence as resource peripheries (Müller & Viken, 2017).

1.4 Negative impacts of festivals and events

Complementarity and mutual benefits, supposedly contributed by festivals related to tourism or society, do not necessarily always exist. Some point out that event tourism can also generate negative impacts, for example, when authorities forcing small communities to arrange festivals or events. Such pressure represents a loss of sovereignty for local communities (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018), where communities often are not one entity, but might represent different interests and different

connections to the world. Other researchers emphasize that festivals can result in increases in the cost of living; traffic congestion and crowding, which can keep other tourists away; and crime and property damage. Festivals can also have negative impacts on physical and natural environments, as well as contribute to pollution and deterioration of natural, cultural or historical resources (Yolal, GURSOY, UYSAL, MUZZAFER & KIM, 2016). These challenges are not identified in this study, and it might be that in small rural communities, the integration into local everyday life, even if seasonal, of both festivals and tourism, becomes easier. Therefore, the study of festivals have to be set in a broader social and cultural context, with the changes that parts of local community sees as negative, and were the more indirect benefits from festivals do not figure in the bottom-line of different businesses. This thesis aims to highlight some of these indirect benefits.

1.5 Chapter summary and structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 has presented the overarching research question for this study: *How do small-scale festivals matter to tourism and local community developments in rural areas?* The chapter has further introduced festival and event studies, the festival role in tourism, location of the festivals investigated, and possible negative impacts of festivals and events. The chapter has highlighted the main findings from the six contributions in the thesis, and discussed the thesis' relevance with regard to current research on festival and event tourism. The following seven chapters are: *Chapter 2, Festivals and tourism - a symbiotic relationship?* This chapter discusses festivals as a phenomenon from different perspectives, their connections to tourism, and roles in local societies. Consideration is given to how some festivals are directed towards a local audience: while at the same time may be attractive for visiting tourists. The term festivalisation is analysed; six categories are identified; discussion focuses on the potential of starting festival development processes resulting in festivals becoming a catalyst and creator, and influencer for

other festival start-ups. *Chapter 3, Festivals` identities and culture change*, reviews identity in social and cultural studies and how local culture, might change through festivals. *Chapter 4, Event volunteer value creation*, focuses on event volunteer value creation, and it discusses volunteering and volunteer tourism in non-commodified experiences. *Chapter 5, Tourism development anchored in local culture*, presents how festivals might enable tourism development anchored in local culture, and the importance of festival tourism in society. *Chapter 6, The role of tourism in festivals*, discusses tourism`s role in festivals, and identifies new festivals and tourism products developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs. The chapter considers the importance of the attractiveness a festival core activity might have within a tourism context. *Chapter 7, Methodological framework*, presents the methodological framework for this thesis, the five different studies, and research limitations of this thesis. *Chapter 8, Discussion and conclusion*, this chapter reflects on the main contributions to festival and event tourism research that this thesis provides. It discusses and draws conclusions for this thesis regarding contributions to new knowledge and thoughts about future research. *Chapter 9, Contribution to knowledge*, presents how this thesis has emphasized the need to understand festivals from two different research traditions. This in order to capture the complexity of festivals as a phenomenon, and new insights into tourism and festivals relationships. *Chapter 10, Future research*, emphasize new research on creative tourism where one `lives like a local` in terms of festival experiences in rural areas, or like a “permanent tourist”, and volunteer tourists that do not consider themselves as tourists anymore. How this volunteer workforce is sustained in future festivals? There is a lack of research on natural and cultural venues related to festivals and events. What is the importance of a venue and to whom?

Introduction

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2 Festivals and tourism – a symbiotic relationship?

In this thesis, I identify mutual benefits associated with cooperation between tourism and festivals, the importance of cooperation for those directly involved, and also many of the benefits stakeholders may gain from encounters created during festivals.

2.1 Understanding the festival phenomenon – globally and locally

In this thesis, the festival as a phenomenon is discussed from different perspectives, wherein the festivals investigated represent a diversity related to why they were started, core activity and their connection to local society and tourism.

There are many understandings of festival phenomena, and their role in society. The origin of the word festival is etymologically derived from the Latin word *festum*. Originally, there were two terms for festive events: “*festum*, for public joy, merriment revelry, and *feira*, meaning, abstinence from work in honour of the gods” (Falassi, 1987, pp.1-2). The concept of festival can also be explained in relation to the term “events”, because festivals are often treated as such. The typology of events is as an overall umbrella concept for all planned events, including festivals, which situate under the category cultural celebrations (Getz, 2012, p. 41). The “word ‘event’ is of Latin origin, and there are some similar expressions connected with it: *eventus* meaning a result, effect, success; *eventum* meaning a happening, manifestation, outcome; *evenire* meaning to appear, to happen; and *venire* meaning to come, to sell, to be sold” (Cudny, 2016, p. 14). Historically, festivals were also named carnivals, a more ‘profane’ side of festivals. Carnivals offered a free venue where local people expressed their concerns about political, artistic and trading issues without commercial forces and those in power controlling the

expression and the values of people (Bakhtin, 1984; Getz, 2012; Shields, 1990). At the same time, expectations as to what festivals should provide were connected to what cultural resources an area had that made it suitable to host visitors (Usyal, Gahan, & Martin, 1993). These examples of different descriptions and understandings of what a festival is, and people's opinions in relation to the time and culture they live in, illustrate that it is difficult to state what a festival is even in theoretical terms. As a phenomenon, festivals relate to the field of religious beliefs, identity, traditions and celebration of distinct communities and integration into them. On the other hand, festivals have become a global organizational form for many different kinds of cultural events, and a phenomenon that can be approached in rather instrumental economic terms. There are many definitions, but Getz comes close with a broad concept (2012): 'Festivals are themed, public celebrations' (p.51). This definition of festivals includes the variety and complexity of activities that today are subsumed in the concept of festivals. Nevertheless, each of the different definitions seems to draw attention to one or more aspects of festivals as multi-faceted phenomenon, while leaving out others.

In this study, I have used both the term festival, and the term event, when researching and discussing festivals. This is because rural festivals often have a core activity that might be a sport competition, or something else. In addition, there may be additional activities such as music, food, and other entertainment. At the same time, and most of all, an event is sometimes *experienced* as a festival that is locally anchored in society and often arranged with a primarily non-commercial motivation. This broadness in what characterizes a festival or an event also is visible in previous research in festival and event studies. Duffy & Mair (2018) have used both terms together, as in the book *Festival Encounters, Theoretical Perspectives on Festival Events*. Gibson and Connell (2011) found that the most common festivals were sporting, community, agricultural and music festivals. Sporting festivals represent a wide range of sports, which cover among others, fishing, billy carting, cycling,

pigeon-racing and hang-gliding. One other example is the study on the Rusty Gromfest Surf Carnival in Australia (Tindall, 2011). Sports can be considered as cultural products, in combination with festival programming (Getz, 2013), where sports events are “infinite in variety, and are frequently packaged as, or with, festivals, entertainment, and spectacle” (Getz, 2013, p. 212). Other research that includes sport in the festival concept is research by Mykletun (2009), and research by Gyimòthy (2009). Their studies looked at a summer festival in south-west Norway, the Ekstremsportveko, at Voss. Here outdoor activities are the core theme in the festival, but with food, party music and ‘today’s’ film presented in the evening. The film shows the day’s different participant activities, such as hang-gliding, rafting, biking, among others. Similar outdoor activities are also sold during the festival as tourism products, named “Try It”, where everyone can participate without former experience. The festival is described as a successful unique hybrid niche festival. Arranged in a rural area, it is an example of both the complexity and heterogeneity of the contemporary festival scene. Outdoor winter ski activities are a tradition in Norway, and over the last years, several ski festivals have started. For example, the Fjellsport festival in Jotunheimen, the Skifestival in Sogndal, Folven Randonee festival in Stryn, and The Arctic Triple in Lofoten. These downhill ski activities represent an important tourism product in Norway, both in the festivals and for other individual tourists outside the festival period.

Even if some festivals are mainly directed towards a local audience, the themes and activities might also constitute attractive experiences for tourists visiting the festivals. Falassi (1987) gives a festival definition that encompasses some of the characteristics of the festivals investigated in the research that informs this thesis, and notes that festivals have always attracted travellers:

Festival is an event, a social phenomenon, encountered in virtually all human cultures. The colourful variety and dramatic intensity of its dynamic choreographic and aesthetic aspects, the

signs of deep meaning underlying them, its historical roots and the involvement of the “natives” have always attracted the attention of casual visitors, have consumed travellers and men of letters alike. (p. 1)

This heterogeneity of festival phenomenon indicated by Falassi: on the one hand, a social drama of deep meaning, on the other, pleasure, leisure and the potential benefits for some in the society arising from attracting visitors, is also perpetuated into everyday discourse. The dichotomy between authenticity of local life and the potential and assumed danger of commodification found elsewhere in the Western/European idea of tourism (Olsen, 2002), also penetrates and is at the core of many contemporary festivals, as a process set in time and space (Jæger & Olsen, 2017). This can be understood as a part of differentiating processes in modern society, which might not be so strong in today’s more dedifferentiated society, with the blurring of roles between locals and tourists, as demonstrated in this thesis’ research. Even if tourism is only an element, and often not the most obvious part of festivals here under consideration; the tension between the two agonists of authenticity, in various ways of expression, and the assumed destructive forces of commodification (Olsen, 2002), are just as present in these contexts, as in the disciplinary division in the separate fields of festival research. Several of the articles making up this thesis address in different ways, how this issue was attempted to be bridged. This becomes visible when the volunteer tourists are working free of charge in commercial festivals, and the remuneration is access backstage to local people and the society.

The issues related to defining and understanding festivals, events and tourism identified in this thesis’ research are at the same time making visible how festival and events may contribute to rural areas change and development in tourism and society. Through the lens of festivalisation, which involves stakeholders at many levels, these changes are further outlined in the next paragraph.

2.2 Festivalisation change and development

The growth in festivals is called by some ‘festivalisation’ (Hjelmdal, Hauge, & Lind, 2007; Ludvigsson, 2008; Selberg, 2006; Viken & Jæger, 2012). In festivalisation, the festivals often become an initiator, by starting development processes, both inside the festival, but also elsewhere by influencing other festival start-ups. Festivalisation refers to a change in the role of festivals, from traditionally being located in the public and non-profit domains to a contemporary situation where festivals serve as instruments for public, social and cultural policy, and for tourism and place marketing (Getz, 2013). Furthermore, local cultural life has been compressed in time, since more local happenings that previously had been spread around the year, now are subsumed under the festival form. Among others, this creates a larger visibility outside local community, even if this visibility represents a danger of depriving local cultural life at other times of the year. Many cities make increasing use of flagship festivals and large cultural events as a tool for development, renewal, repositioning, and branding (Getz, 2013; Hitters, 2007). Festivalisation has several dimensions, and the term refers to various phenomena. Some use it for growth in the number of festivals (Arbo, 2010). Others see trends in the field of culture (Hauptfleisch, Lev-Aladgem, Martin, Sauter, & Schoenmakers, 2007), while some use the concept of a societal development in general (Ludvigsson, 2008). Others describe how cities or destinations benefit from cultural events, with an economic advantage, place making, or a top-down urban development, and with a growth in festivals and sport events (Getz, 2008, 2013; Smith, 2014, 2016; Dooghe, 2015).

Some connect the growth in events and festivals to the processes of globalisation. This was maybe first seen in the World Fairs of late 19th century, which created a world stage for events (Bruno, 2000; Aronsen, 2006; Picard & Robinson, 2006, Getz, 2008; Gibson & Connell, 2011; Page & Connell, 2012; Tjora, 2013; Peters, 2014; Leenders, Go, & Bhansing, 2014; Peperkamp, Rooijackers, & Remmers, 2014; Kim,

2014). The growth in festivals, identified in the research that informs this thesis, shows that of 56 festivals more than half started after the year 2000 (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009). There is, however, no clear explanation of the growth in festival numbers. Some reasons are linked with economic and population growth, others to the dimensions of globalisation and festivals as instruments to meet economic, social, and cultural goals (Andersson, Getz, & Mykletun, 2013). It is also a definitional challenge, since there is no clear categorisation to define what is a festival? In Norway, there is discussion wherein some describe the growth as “festivalisation” of culture. Mangset, Håkonsen and Stavrum, (2017) question the huge growth in the number of festivals, and also whether the increased use of public money really is spent on festivals. Then, without much debate, discussions also point to the difficulties of definitions as well as statistics associated with to the phenomenon. Festivalisation is also seen as a production dimension of festivals to achieve outcomes within social, economic and policy fields (Jordan, 2016). Jordan (2016, p. 6) proposes five key dimensions of festivalisation.

Festivity: a time and space for celebration and play that is distinct from everyday life. *Experimentation*: opportunities for audiences, producers and artists to try out new personas or artistic approaches. *Spectacularisation*: highly visual or sensual. Surprising and often large scale art works and performances. *Theming*: a method for establishing an intelligible identity for disparate activities. *Participation*: experiences that are immersive or co-created by audiences.

Ronström (2016) also discusses festivalisation, and identifies four different categories; *first*, renaming of festivals, *second*, expansion of festivals in time, space and content, *third*, formatting of repertoires and behaviours to the festival format, lastly, the *fourth* is western society’s cultural production in a festival-like way. He argues that, “*festival is an*

old form of cultural production that through festivalisation has taken on radically new functions and meanings in recent decades” (p. 67).

In line with these understandings of festivalisation, other researchers have also mentioned that the volume, range, meaning and significance of events and festivals have grown around the world (Page & Connell, 2012), and this growth has also generated an increase in travel (Getz, 2013). Research focus has changed from business and sport events to other kinds of leisure activities attached to lifestyle and the experience economy (Getz, 2013). Festivals related to tourism have become an important part of event tourism, especially in urban areas. For some, the term festivalisation is related to an over-commodification of festivals, where it is apparent that tourism and place marketers have exploited festivals (Getz, 2010; Quinn, 2006; Richards, 2007). My research on rural festivals has mirrored some of my earlier experiences from working with festivals, identifying the same value processes as the festivals studied in this thesis’ research. Lifestyle entrepreneurs and volunteers, with a strong local anchoring mostly arranged these festivals. And, at the same time, they have generated tourism. Accordingly, festivals may create development shaped by different encounters.

2.3 Festivalisation categories

Research undertaken for this thesis identified what characterizes festivalisation in rural areas, any changes in festivals, and the role they provide in society and in a tourism context. Given that background, in order to discuss this phenomenon in light of a rural context, I have chosen six different dimensions of festivalisation. The sixth category mentioned here especially captures findings from this thesis, and focuses on how growth in festivals in rural areas has offered possibilities for establishing new festivals and tourism products based on local premises developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs.

The *first* dimension of festivalisation is related to the fact that more and more social events are named festivals (Aagedal, Egeland & Villa, 2009). Many events increasingly call themselves festivals (Frost, 2015), or events that were named something else earlier (Mangset, et al, 2017). It could also be that places where people previously met for social encounters have later been renamed and become festival grounds. As part of this festivalisation, some researchers claim there has been an increased use of public money to support festivals, but as, mentioned, Mangset, et al. (2017) point out the numbers seems exaggerated. Regardless that the concept, festival, has different meanings in Norway, and is used in different contexts, the number of festivals in general and the number of visiting people has increased until at least the mid-2000`s (Mangset, et al. 2017, p. 14). More and more events have been added or placed within the framework of a festival (Quinn, 2005). This may have occurred formally through the programming of an event, or informally by adding activities related to the event. To name something a festival signals that its venue offers a celebration, culture, or activities. It is a way to promote an event as entertaining and publicly available. It also appears to increase the influx of visitors (Waterman, 1998). For example, the Finnmark Race (*Finnmarksløpet*) was for many years referred to as a sport event. Now, it is also seen by many as a festival. This has happened because it has a culture programme with local music performances, and food, which follows the race through the county, and there are many other ‘offshoots’ that cannot be directly attributed to sport.

A *second* dimension is the festivalisation of festivals, which refers to how they tend to expand in time and space (Ronström, 2016) adding several activities and themes. For example, a festival could have one core activity such as sea fishing, and added activities, such as concerts, in the evening. Similarly, the duration of festivals tends to increase. Some festivals in Finnmark, which originally lasted for two or three days, now last for a full week. As more events are added to festivals, new territories or venues are incorporated.

A *third* dimension that can be observed is the festivalisation of time and space in general, namely several festivals taking place during the year or within a number of years. Some municipalities have strategies for this; for example, Gothenburg in the 1990s bidding for events (Getz, 2012). Successful events depend on strong cooperation between several stakeholders: the event-holders, the tourism business and the municipality. An event strategy also gives an annual plan throughout the year, so the events are not competing with each other for venues and audience, and it makes it possible to bid for future events (Getz, 2012). In small rural societies, the municipalities often have both a financing and coordinating role. In my research, it is identified as festivalisation in time and space with an increase in number of festivals, along with an expansion in festivals, through the year. However, possible event strategies between the festivals, and or, with public institutions were not identified.

The *fourth* dimension of festivalisation is local development, which can be seen as parallel to urban renewal projects, or what has been called the urban entrepreneurial process (Smith, 2012). Modern places are competing for attention, people, investors and tourists. Festival venues often get much media attention, and they can function as place promotion (Quinn, 2005). Richards and Palmer (2010), also pointed this out when describing festivalisation in cities as creating new forms of animation including edu-tainment and shop-a-tainment. They used three models to describe how cities have used culture and events for developing competitive advantages: the entrepreneurial city, creative city and intercultural city. These city-related developments also happen in rural areas, and contribute to the development of new venues in municipalities, and sometimes new use of wild nature, a use which down the road can prepare the way for new events. An example of this in a tourism context occurs when some tourism companies offer sport-specific experience products at a particular festival venue, and individual tourists also make

use of infrastructure often developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs (Marchant & Mottiar, 2011) outside the festival.

Fifth, the festivalisation of media is also a dimension that provides a huge coverage of festivals in newspapers and TV. This media fixation of festivals entails ongoing media reporting of events, which could be crucial for rural areas. The Finnmark Race is an example, with its daily media coverage on national TV for the whole week the race is on. In this context, it is argued that media is an important stakeholder group in modern festivals (Mossberg & Getz, 2006; Robertson & Rogers, 2009). Social media have become an important tool in the communication of festivals, used by the organisers, participants and audiences. This communication is especially important, because word of mouth and its associated trustworthiness have been extended through the world of social media (Getz & Fairley, 2004; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001; Jæger & Kvidal-Røvik, 2015).

The *sixth* festivalisation dimension is one not primarily pinpointed in earlier research, but has emerged through my research. It relates to how growth in festivals in rural areas has offered possibilities for establishing new festivals and tourism products developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs. The development happens because established festivals, with national and international participants, make available new knowledge, bigger networks, and more festival-related equipment such as sound and light, and other portable facilities. This makes events with core activities, such as dogsledding race, off-road biking, downhill skiing and kiting, possible.

This chapter has aimed to clarify the understanding of festival and event concepts and phenomenon, their diversity within a rural context, where sport as a core activity, sometimes occurs both in festivals and events. Growth and development related to festivals and tourism, was herein understood using six different dimensions of festivalisation: *First*, more social events have been named festivals; *second*, it is a festivalisation of

festivals, which refers to how they tend to expand in time and space, with several activities and themes; *third*, a festivalisation of time and space in general, with lack of event strategies between the festivals and public institutions; *fourth*, a festivalisation that contributes to development of new venues in municipalities, and sometimes new use of wild nature, a local development by lifestyle entrepreneurs; *fifth*, the festivalisation of media is also a dimension, contributing to new communication; and *sixth*, how growth in rural festivals have offered possibilities for establishing new festivals and tourism products, developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs.

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3 Festivals' identities and culture change

Of particular relevance for this thesis, is the way identity and festivals are discussed in social and cultural studies. This is because this thesis seeks to better understand identity in social contexts, especially how festivals influence identity for local and visiting people, and their belonging to place. From a cultural studies perspective, festival encounters can shape values with which people identify themselves, and subsequently new identities are created or existing identities are maintained. Where local culture represent the identity for people and place, creating authentic experiences, which often becomes important in a contemporary tourism context.

3.1 Identity in social studies

'Who am I? What am I about? What is my place in the social group? What is important to me? What do I value? What do I want to do with my life?'; according to Eccles (2009, p. 78), these are all questions related to identity. The term identity derives from the Latin word 'idem', which means 'the same', a sameness or continuity over a period of time (Jenkins, 2004). Identity may be regarded as a process of classification, how we conceive things or people, and by association, how we feel a connectedness to someone or something. People identify both themselves and others, and identify with others, which gives an understanding of likeness and differences (Jenkins, 2004). One way to understand identity is via social constructivism. Jenkins (2004) suggested that identity does not just 'exist' but that it must always be created, that it is ongoing or arising, and that all identities are social identities. One example in this study is from Kirkenes and the festival, Barents Spektakel. Kirkenes was founded, as a mining town for many years, and it was commonly said that everything of value had to 'weigh

at least 10 tons'. When the mining company AS Sydvaranger was in decline for some years, the local society had to change, and they learned how to appreciate and develop other values like culture created through festival encounters. Thereby, the old culture in Kirkenes was challenged, which relates to the understanding that identity is always changing and contested. Subsequently, someone may be left out, and power relations may alter (Hall, 1990).

Identity can be related to a person, several persons and place. 'Personal identity is the individuated self – those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others within a given social context. Social identities are categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept, where I become we' (Brewer, 1991, p. 477). There has been a change towards the perception of self as interchangeable, and away from the perception of self as a unique person (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Brewer (1991) pointed out that 'when a distinctive social identity is activated, the collective self dominates the individuated self and group identities allow us to be the same and different at the same time' (p. 477). Encounters, produced within a festival venue, give room for both individual and group identities.

Some geographers and environmental psychologists refer to place identity by pointing out that who we are is often intimately related to questions of where we are (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000, p. 27). As indicated earlier in research by Jaeger and Mykletun (2013), place identity might be defined as:

Cognitions of those physical settings and parts of the physical environment, in or with which an individual – consciously or unconsciously – regulates his [sic] experience of maintaining his [sic] sense of self. This formulation does not necessarily limit a person's place identity to home and its surroundings but applies to every physical environment and object that has a role in one's

self-regulation. Place-belongingness is not only one aspect of place identity, but a necessary basis of it. Around this core the social, cultural and biological definitions and cognitions of the place, which become part of the person's place identity, are built. (Korpela, 1989, pp. 245-246)

In line with this, it has been suggested that festivals have an important role in rebuilding identities for people and places, and a sense of belonging to that place may develop or become strengthened (Aldskogius, 1993; Ekman, 1999; Lavenda, 1997; Lewis & Pile, 1996; Quinn, 2009). Quinn (2005) describes how 'interrogating festival settings has yielded insights into how people's sense of their own identity is closely bound up with their attachment to place' (p. 239), and that a sense of place may contribute to the shaping of individuals (Derret, 2003). While being conceived of as individual psychological representations, place identity includes collective phenomena like social relations and material settings (Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997; Korpela, 1989), and may also be developed through and exist in interpersonal dialogues and practices in specific places (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). In sum, place bonding may entail place identity, dependence, familiarity, belongingness and rootedness (Hammit et al., 2006). The tourists participating in the Sea Fishing festival and the Finnmark Race are attracted to the destinations where the festivals are arranged because of the same place attributes that create the belongingness, which many of the locals appreciate, for examples big fish and Arctic nature.

3.2 Identity in cultural studies

According to Sørensen, Høystad, Bjurström and Vike (2008, p. 139) identity in the cultural studies tradition has become a source of deconstruction of the dominant confidentiality related to questions about class, sex, ethnicity, race and nation. Identity as an issue gives insight into what actually happened in contemporary times, how to survive and give resistance to the established rules in society. An important

characteristic of identity practices is that people do not just live out identities that are unambiguous and ascribed, but also those that are experimental and constitute new identifications and new possibilities. How identity and identification relate to each other is considered by Cheney (1991):

Our identities in this sense are unique composites of multiple identifications, along with implicit and explicit alienations. And to the extent that these composites overlap – for example, in that a group of persons all express themselves in terms of the same interests – we may speak meaningfully of collective identity and, on a broader level, social structure. Identity, in short, is a term that is commonly used to represent an individual or group; identification is the process by which that identity is “appropriated”. (pp. 18-19)

Festivals, with their compound meeting place for different people, may be understood in an organisational identification perspective where the process is one ‘through which people bond themselves with a particular value-based identity and subsequently make sense of the world through that discursive formation’ (Larson & Pepper, 2003, p. 532).

Identity as a concept in relation to festivals becomes visible in the understanding that many festivals are created and anchored locally and often mirror today’s culture and that of the past. Hall (1996) stated that we should think of identity as a ‘production which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation’ (p.2). The production of cultural identities may be described from two main perspectives (Hall, 1990). First, Hall questioned if identity is not the rediscovery of the past, but the production of identity, through different stories and agendas. ‘Not an identity grounded in archaeology, but in the *re-telling* of the past’ (p. 224). In the retelling, it is people’s stories, and not physical evidence that produce the identities.

Second, despite the many similarities in cultural identity, it is also differences, which constitute what we really are or what we have become. Hall (1990) notes that:

Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of becoming as well as of being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being grounded in a mere recovery past, they are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere recovery of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (p. 225)

The festival venue accommodates festive activities, different cultures and religions, the creation of individual and social values, and represents what some people are concerned about at the present time. Festivals help in 'producing' today's perception of identity for those involved in festivals in different roles. Tourists who are offered opportunities for active participation in rural contexts could provide new creative spatial practices and provide space with a different performed identity (Cloke, 2007). According to Hall (1990), the way in which cultural identity is constructed is "through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth. Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture, not an essence but a positioning" (p.226). Historically festivals have been arenas where place-based community festivals have expressed their identity, celebrated common values and strengthened solidarity, and it may be argued that there are fewer venues for this in modern society (Quinn, 2005). In some places there is an increase of

small local festivals created from the bottom up, and a decrease of bigger gigantic events created from the top down (Getz, 2013). This could reflect the search for belonging in the face of a modern, hectic and potentially alienating society. External threats to one's identity, such as new signs of globalisation, could trigger the search for identities, as demonstrated by the increase of cultural celebrations and the revival of old festivals and events (Ekman, 1999). Some festivals studied in this research have given new perspectives for local people, in how they see and gain pride in their home place and local identities. One such example is from the Sea Fishing Festival at Sørøya, where many people moved from the island when the fisheries went down. After the festival started, many tourists came to the island and communicated a positive image of Sørøya, which resulted in people moving back, and others staying on the island.

3.3 Culture change through festivals

Possible change in local culture through festivals can be seen as a challenge within some research traditions, where some see visitors as a threat to 'genuine' local culture. An example of this is traditional folk festivals, which often are strongly anchored in the local performance practices and social values, and performances are linked to folk music festivals (Tsai, 2013). These characteristics of folk festivals, where local people both arrange the festival and perform themselves, are perhaps what some festival researchers are afraid will change as more tourists participate in festivals. Hence, the fact that the festival is open to outsiders does not mean that it is open to all from outside – as well as inside - the local community. The creation of a community, might just as well, be created by common interests in an activity. Those who do not have this interest or the requisite skills are left outside.

The festivals researched that inform this thesis are mainly made by and for the local audience, and some had in their first year's mostly participating audience. In this way, the musicians looked at the painters'

art, and the painters became the audience for the concerts. Therefore, there were barely any participants who just had the role of an audience member. With the development of existing festivals and establishment of new festivals, participants from outside have increased. In Finnmark's small communities, the interaction with participants from outside has become important, because they give inspiration and new knowledge to the festivals and also to local society. This is a development seldom reflected in previous research on the folk festival tradition.

One example of the fear of outsiders is how Moe (1977), much in line with MacCannell (1976), describes the way the folk festivals developed from local community festivals, arranged by and for the local people, to become 'these synthetic festivals'. He proposes a three-level classification of festivals, analysing the festivals based on participation:

On the participatory level, the festival is an authentic response to a celebration in a mode recognisable to the participants. The population of the festival is generally homogeneous. The time set aside for this type of festival is either periodic or occasional and generally known to the members of the community. In the participatory festival, there is a basic population which recognizes the festival genre as a traditional form of interaction, and each person is a potential performer/participant.

On the second level the semi-participatory festival, the celebration is still an authentic response in a mode which is recognizable, but the actions of the festival tend to be more exclusive and less participatory to potential performers. At community fairs and local blue grass festivals there is a clear distinction between the observers and the participants, but this distinction is blurred at different points of interaction.

The third level of the festival is the totally non-participatory festival. On this level, a heterogeneous population of observers arrives on periodic dates to view a contrived situation which is in a mode that is only vaguely recognizable. Stressing the idea of "folklore in America," these events

are surely festivals, but not necessarily “festivals of the folk” (pp. 34-35).

In my opinion, Moe's (1977) classification accurately predicted a development and classification of festivals that emphasized participation, but are hampered by an essentialising perspective on the authenticity of culture and local communities as something given. The examples from Finnmark demonstrate that participants from ‘outside’ the local community might enhance, and are often those who enable local festivals and the continuation of local traditions. Consequently, this necessitates a view on culture and local communities as always in the act of becoming, and not established once and for all – usually in an imaginary past.

In rural areas, such as in the Finnmark County, festivals are mostly related to local culture. Some of the festivals studied were a mix of these three levels, and over time have developed from small festivals, just arranged for and by local participants with a volunteer workforce. These festivals' participants were mainly local in the beginning, and then after festivalisation national and international participants, audience and media coverage were the norm. Examples are the Easter festival in Kautokeino and the Finnmark Race. Moe's third category with a non-participatory level could also be seen as a ‘placeless’ festival (Getz, 2012), or as a ‘repetition’ festival, which can be arranged anywhere. One example with the opposite meaning holds for the festival Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes, which has a new main theme every year, related to the Barents region. The opening ceremony, political debates and art exhibitions are all related to that theme.

This chapter has presented how culture may change through festivals; and influence the identity of people and places in rural societies. Where some, in earlier research, have seen tourism as a threat for existing culture, the research that informs this thesis identified that tourism might strengthen local identity and help local people to see their home place

through new eyes. But as all change, the local society becomes altered and not necessarily to the benefit of all inhabitants.

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4 Event volunteer value creation

In this chapter, the focus is on value creation in events, a value that can be proposed by being aware of what values volunteers cherish. This concept is of particular use to my thesis, because the festivals studied, were mostly created with a high dependence on volunteers. This is also common to most festivals, where volunteers are the main source of workers and many events and festivals are totally reliant on the involvement of volunteers (Monga, 2006).

4.1 Volunteering

The term, ‘volunteer’, means ‘to willingly give’ (Cnaan et al., 1996, p. 366), and one definition is: ‘volunteering means any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group, or organization’ (Wilson, 2000, p. 215). Since volunteering is based on the free will of people, some have named it volunteer capital. In particular, Sfeir-Younis (2002) described volunteering as a true lasting power, and a source to create what he named volunteer capital. Human will is limitless and powerful, as a source for volunteer capital, it is the only form of capital, that has human will as its main source.

Volunteers are important to festivals for several reasons. Many festivals depend heavily on a volunteer workforce, and they often create the event experience and image for the audience (Haanpää, 2017). The volunteers play a role in creating and shaping the festival expression through their different skills and levels of involvement. When volunteers are engaged and creative in their festival work, they might enable a rich and sustainable culture for the future of the festival. Being a volunteer means that you can – at least temporarily - become an active part of a community that sometimes corresponds with what is regarded as local and sometimes not. Earlier research found that in small communities a greater part of the inhabitants are involved in volunteer work than in

cities (Wollebæk & Sivesind, 2010). There has been a change in volunteer culture in Norway. Earlier volunteerism was characterised by great popular movements like labour unions, Red Cross, health, sport and missionary organisations. These were based on a lifelong identity connected to moral and social fellowship. Today, such volunteerism is breaking up and being replaced with selective and time framed volunteerism, based on individual needs and what each person finds interesting here and now. What's in it for me? This could be seen as a slogan for this new free volunteerism (Aagedal, et al., 2009; Lorentzen, 2004).

One example of a festival that is driven solely by volunteers is the longest running rock festival, Fjellparkfestivalen, held in south-west Norway, and which was established in 1982 (Fjellparkfestivalen, 2018). The main stage is out in nature, with an audience maximum of 2,000. In 2017, the festival was organised for the 36th time, which is much older than any of the festival board members. The way this festival has been created is characteristic of most of the festivals in Norway, which are run by volunteers. However, its ideology and profile are a little different from most other festivals, since it is still just arranged by volunteers, and *no one* gets paid. A voluntary job at festivals could lead to a regular job, and for some young volunteers the work in Fjellparkfestivalen has been the starting point for a career in culture jobs, national music competitions such as ByLarm, record companies, and the Norwegian rock society (Fjellparkfestivalen, 2018). In this context, the festival becomes an arena where young people can start from the bottom and create new skills related to their private interests. Aagedal et al. (2009) and Andersson et al. (2008) found in two different festival surveys from Norway that most festivals had a small paid administration team combined with many volunteers. With a central role in festivals, the volunteers are often the public face during the festival and ambassadors throughout the year, and are in a way creating and representing their festival's identity. Haanpää, (2017) determined in her research on event volunteering that the

volunteer was an active agent in forming their experience values of an event. Even if it is, what can be regarded as egoistic premises that lead to volunteering in events, may act as a starting point for an affective relationship with an event that makes the volunteer return in later years for more altruistic reasons. Even if a volunteer does not return to a certain event, they might volunteer in another. “This kind of action is influenced, for example, by the experience of ‘fitting in’ to the event” (Haanpää, 2017, p. 108).

4.2 Creation of values in events and tourism

Research on values related to events has traditionally focused on measurement of impacts, with economics, management and marketing concerns (Getz, Andersson, Armbrrecht & Lundberg, 2017). To better understand the value concept in an event context, Getz, et.al. (2017) developed a four-dimensional approach to event values, presenting two main value categories, extrinsic value and intrinsic value. *Extrinsic* value stems from utility and exchanges; such values provide tangible benefits to individuals and to groups. Alternately, those values can also benefit society as a whole, including the economy and the environment. On the other hand, *intrinsic* value is intangible, stemming from value-based positions held by persons and groups. This value relates to the perceived worth of an event, how individuals or society judge them, without regard to utility (Getz, et.al., 2017, p. 8). As determined by the research that informs this research, values created by volunteer tourists were characterized by intrinsic values held by both themselves and local volunteers. At the same time, their effort as a workforce for a festival, might give indirectly extrinsic values to the festival and the local society. Fifty-four of 56 festivals studied, were dependent on a volunteer workforce, and that underpins how important they are in making it possible to arrange the festivals. The volunteers build on resources for both the festivals they work in, and to themselves through developing new skills or enhancing former knowledge. One example of valuation of

volunteers was described by Tjora (2013). While in the religious world one believes in “great power in folded hands, we find in festivals a great force in voluntary friends” (p.23, own translation). Intrinsic value created by volunteering in festivals is a build-up of higher human and social capital (Holmes & Smith, 2009). This can lead to extrinsic value, where benefits of social capital include increased trust within the community, increased involvement in local issues, including politics, better health, lower crime and greater social cohesion (Putnam, 2000).

Experience values created and sought for in tourism, and also by volunteer tourists, might be better understood with respect to the values presented in the PhD thesis by Paulsson (2014, p. 146). She identifies seven factors that were important in terms of evoking experiential value in tourist consumers. 1) Social aspects, such as social interaction, sharing and a sense of belonging. 2) Sensory richness and intensity. 3) Novelty. 4) Elements of challenge, as in tasks that are perceived as hard to accomplish, but achievable. 5) Interactivity, direct participation, to influence and receive feedback on performance. 6) Suspense and surprise, created through the building and breaking of expectations. 7) Utilising storytelling and dramatic structure. Many of these experience value factors were evident among the volunteers and participants in the research related to this thesis (Jæger & Mathisen, 2017; Jæger & Olsen, 2016). By looking at festivals as a venue where experiences are created one sees many factors that can influence experiences. Festivals are arranged at a delineated time, when the experiences that are created will not be the same in the next festival. This is because people change over time, which influences the way they experience and act at festivals, and the same people may not participate every year. Additionally, the festival venue may change, and the weather conditions may be a challenge. What is predictable is the core activity of festivals, and for the participants, the individual motivations to participate. The unpredictability whereby ‘everyone’ can influence their own and others’ experiences creates a special motivation to participate in these activities, which are similar to

many of the experiences described by Poulsson (2014). The festival experience is developed and created by the participants themselves, while the festival organisers just control the design and staging of the event venue. This freedom to create one's 'own festival' is perhaps a precondition for experience creation through festival encounters. This way of understanding the festival experience also connects with Poulsson's (2014) experiential values, where interactivity, the unpredictable, direct participation, surprise and intensity, can be identified. Many of these factors might be identified among the tourists participating in the Finnmark Race, as volunteers or sled dog drivers. Tourists participate in a "winter reality experience", without being able to control the tough natural conditions, upon which their experiences are premised.

4.3 Volunteer tourism

According to Wearing and McGehee (2013) volunteer tourism originated as an offshoot of the Grand Tour, as a primarily British and European phenomenon. Later on, Australia, the USA, Asia and Africa also participated in volunteer tourism. There has been a growth in volunteer tourism in the last twenty years, and an estimated 1.6 million participate in volunteer tourism projects worldwide (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Volunteer tourism has been defined as

those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment. (Wearing, 2001, p. 1)

Volunteer tourism has developed through the years as alternative tourism, new tourism, goodwill, charity, pro-poor, justice tourism (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Traditionally volunteer travel has been

offered by tour operators for projects to help humans and animals, and is strongly tied to charity work. The way they book their travel, and the cause, may be different from other volunteer tourists as in festivals, but the experiences gained together with local people may be the same. Other examples are tour operators offering packages to events, as in the Bayfield Chamber of Commerce & Visitors, a tour operator that offers packages to experience the Midwest's largest sled dog race as a voluntourist (2014). The latter act like other tourists in terms of travel, overnight stay, and meals, but their motive is to participate in a festival arena, working unpaid. In a festival context, people can play different roles as participants, audiences or volunteers. These participants in different activities may be named 'prosumers' (Hjalager, Huijbens, Björk, Nordin, Flagestad & Knútsson, (2008); Toffler, Longul, & Forbes 1981), which are consumers who are co-constitutive in the tourism product. During a festival, they can participate in activities and be an audience at the same time. The term 'prosumers' might be seen as similar to the processes of "co-production of tourism products across the tourism and the creative industries" (Mossberg, 2007, p.61), and 'co-creation' of tourist experiences (Prebensen, Vittersø, & Dahl, 2013, p. 241). Both the volunteer groups are gaining authentic experiences being part of local society, and together with the local people. The differences between event volunteer tourists that are participating in an event, and those giving charity, is that the event is arranged in a certain time frame, often once a year, which is different both in aim, activities and sometimes

egoistic motivation, compared with the volunteer tourism that Wearing & McGehee (2013) discuss.

Volunteer tourists may have a special interest and special skills related to the core activity in a festival, e.g. the veterinarians working in the Finnmark Race, or highly specialised anglers at Sørøya. The veterinarians come from many different countries, and some are specialists treating dogs. These experienced veterinarians give new knowledge to local vets, and to new vets, who often are semi volunteer tourists. The festival provides a great learning venue, where they all work together, with more than 1,000 dogs from which to learn. At the same time, they help the Finnmark Race by improving the programming and the conditions for the dogs. Volunteer tourists also contribute to the local society by helping and sustaining festivals, especially in rural areas. They offer entrepreneurial ideas about developing existing activities and creating new activities. They build new networks and safeguard the old, both the internal one with their festival `family` and that of the local societies outside the festivals. Some festivals have a core activity that makes them attractive to a special audience as well as local and or tourist participants and volunteers. The visiting volunteer tourists produce experiences together with the local people, which enable them to communicate about the festivals and local societies in a knowledgeable and trustworthy way outside of the festival location and period.

1.1. Creating non commodified volunteer experiences

Volunteers are the main workforces for the festivals studied in the research for this thesis, and this chapter presented various understandings regarding volunteering, as well as volunteer tourists' experience creation in festivals. Such experiences create values through different encounters between tourists and local people. These experiences represent a non-commodified experience production, where traditional tourism demands are not fulfilled. These tourists, working as volunteers in festivals, create their own experiences, contribute to the festival itself, the local society and fellow volunteers. An understanding of the meaning of experience is described by Löfgren (1999):

Experience derives from experimenting, trying, risking, the German *Erlebnis* and the Swedish *upplevelse* from living through, living up to, running through, being part of, accomplishing. Again the focus is on personal participation, we have to be both physically and mentally *there*. (p.95)

Ongoing debate continues concerning what commercialisation does to culture and festivals. Aagedal et al. (2009) observe that professionalization of local culture jobs, and the collective arenas for reflection and local integration, could generate 'value-passive multicultural places' (p. 238, own translation). The cultural life is here understood as a neutral arena characterised by diversity, but wherein values turn into something individual, and are not a theme for collective reflection (Aagedal et al., 2009). New rural spaces have been given a performed identity, through observations of and participation in event-spectacles, which perform rurality. At the same time, tourism consumption is possible through these rural festivals or attractions, which often reflect new forms of old values (Cloke, 2007). As mentioned earlier, the tourists participating in festivals are seen by some as a threat

to ‘genuine’ local culture, especially traditional folk festivals, which are often strongly anchored in local performance practices and social values. The related thesis research demonstrated that a community might just as well be created by common interests in an activity, and that the identity and culture in local communities are not something given, but might be created by the different participants at the festivals. The examples from research in Finnmark show that participants from ‘outside’ the local community might enhance, and sometimes enable, local festivals and the continuation of local traditions. As outlined previously, the perspective on identity and identification as flexible, changing and connected to place enables a broader context for understanding the tourist. Traditionally, local politicians in communities have valued events for their direct economic contributions, and not their indirect values. In rural areas, where money seldom is the motivation for arranging festivals, other values are created, such as togetherness, building social capital and tourism development by lifestyle entrepreneurs. These values become even more important in a Western world, in general, where there has been a loss of sense of community (Duffy & Mair, 2018, p. 4).

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5 Tourism development anchored in local culture

Sometimes, events are the destination (Getz & McConnell, 2014), or make a destination because of their experience possibilities. At a destination, the activities tourists partake in may be the same as those of local people. And, when tourists and locals are together in the same activities, it makes the borders between activities for local and visiting people blur. Or rather, the division between entities as local and visitors vanish since people partake in activities where such roles are not valid with regard to interaction. According to Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen and Urry's (2007) understanding of tourism destinations, tourist activities influence places visited.

The new mobility paradigm shows the inappropriateness of an ontology of qualitatively distinct *places*, on the one hand, and *people*, on the other. Where it is a complex relationality of places and peoples that are connected through diverse performances. The tourist activities are not separate from the places that happen contingently to be visited. Indeed the places travelled to depend in part upon what is practiced within them. Places are dynamic and depend upon performances both by *hosts* of very many different sorts but especially by *guests*. (p. 150)

Some of these participating tourists prefer to see themselves more as guests than as tourists. This is because their relation to local people becomes closer than when they travel just as observers and audience members. To call tourists guests may be a strategy of tourism businesses, which have been designed to make tourists feel more welcome and part of the local scene (Helgadottir & Sigurdardottir, 2008). Given the understanding that you arrive as a tourist, and leave as a friend, is related not only to slogans in tourism advertisements, but also because of working and celebrating together with locals in joint activities.

Sometimes, creating a temporary community where the categories of local and outsider have little meaning potentially creates new – temporary and/or persistent – divisional lines. That such new divisional lines might alter societies, and that tourists then become guests for all people living in a local community are obvious, but, once more, the idea of the local – such as a folk festival – the idea of being a set and unchanging category that can easily be delimited, must be challenged.

5.1 Festival tourism experiences

Event and festival experiences are complex, influenced by venues, programmes and event management, and potentially provide for existential authentic experiences (Ryan, 2012). The festival experience differs individually, and is often co-created with other festival-goers at a festival meeting place. There are many different reasons for participating in events and festivals, but those most cited in the event motivation literature are socialisation and family togetherness (Uysal & Li, 2008). Other researchers have found that the festive atmosphere, opportunities for social interaction and non-musical experiences were equally as important as the music (Bowen & Daniels, 2005). Nordvall, Pettersson, Svensson, & Brown (2014), found that ‘social interactions between event visitors are an important part of the event experience and the level of satisfaction for the individual attending an event’. They divided the social interactions into three main types: ‘known-group socialization; external socialization; audience socialization’ (p. 127). This is reiterated by Morgan (2008, p. 91), who stated that ‘the unique and memorable lies in the internal personal satisfactions and meanings derived by the visitors’. Alternatively, as Tjora (2013) puts it: ‘You are maybe not becoming a better person by attending festivals, but I’m sure that you are a better person at festivals’ (p. 285, own translation).

To better understand what influences festival experiences, it is interesting to look at the ‘nature’ of festivals. One angle focuses on the differences in behaviour and perceived time in contrast to everyday life.

Falassi (1987) states that a framing ritual opens festivals: ‘valorisation (which for religious events has been called sacralisation) that modifies the usual and daily function and meaning of time and space’ (p. 4). In music festivals, and especially outdoor festivals with a camp, for example, Midnattsrocken, the main experiences are fellowship with friends and new people, the loss of ordinary time, just living in a bubble, and music. Tjora (2013) studied festival behaviour and experiences at music festivals with a camp area, and divided the festival experience through 24 hours into five different phases: morning tranquillity, brunch, pre-concert, concert and after party. He further notes that fellowship in festivals is continuously developing and created by participants, and that organisers can create and shape festivals by influencing participants’ actions and action patterns. Wilks (2011) finds that social interaction reinforced existing relationships, where bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) is identified, although the bridging of social capital wherein attendees make connections with new people is not a feature. Concerning identity in this study, festival encounters are ‘producing’ today’s perception of identity for those involved in different roles, even if for many, being a temporary community.

As described by Tjora (2013), festivals are framed by a temporal structure, and have potential for being experienced outside of everyday life. In the Finnmark Race, volunteers described a loss of feeling of time as a kind of ‘here and now’ experience (Jæger & Olsen, 2005). Or as Falassi, (1987) describes it; “daily time is modified by a gradual or sudden interruption that introduces ‘time out of time’, a special temporal dimension devoted to special activities” (p. 4). The nature of festivals and festival experiences is dependent on being present here and now, and ‘life’ in a festival could give a feeling of eternity, which may be understood as the absence of time.

5.2 Festivals enabling tourism development

Events and festivals may enable tourism development in many ways in destinations. In the research that informs this thesis, some of the festivals depend on tourists working as volunteers, participants or being audience members. In these circumstances, tourists join the local people in different activities as participants for example in a dogsledding race, or as volunteers in a music festival. These festival activities influence places, and are (re)produced through systems of tourist performances “made possible and contingently stabilised through network relationships with others. Complex practices that involve organisations of a contingent and complex network through multiple times and spaces” (Bærenholdt, et al. 2004, p.151). From this perspective, tourism activity is not necessarily something that happens at certain places away from home, but something that through encounters can create certain spaces. Therefore, attention is also on activities and not just the place of residence. In the same way, such a perspective also provides for an analysis of festival participants where the distinction between locals and visitors is not always evident. Today, activities in tourism are not necessarily limited to going away from one’s home. Within the context of a festival arena, activities, usually connected to tourism, might also be conducted in people’s home regions by tourists and locals (Franklin, 2003). People meet for certain tasks at certain places for a limited period of time, and this, sometimes but not always, enables them to create a common identification with a festival, without regard to their residential status.

The valuation of local culture in small places in the north has seen a revival through festivals and tourism. Aagedal et al. (2009) claim that local cultural life used to have special qualities that fitted in a local frame and not into that of the outside world. What was anchored locally was seen as a local quality, but often limited, when seen from a national and international perspective. Today, local cultural actors see their cultural expression as interesting in a national and international context, where

the locally anchored culture is seen not as a limitation but as something that makes the local cultural expressions unique. This uniqueness makes certain destinations attractive to special interest tourists, which relates to the increasing diversity in tourism and leisure interests in the late-modern leisure society (Trauer, 2006). Festivals can also contribute to a 'positive image and attract new residents, which in turn brings income, new energy and, sometimes, new events to town' (Edwards, 2011, p. 151). This image building is also important for tourism because it often communicates a destination in a positive way.

Some of the festivals investigated in the research related to this thesis have core activities that are based on local culture and nature conditions, such as the sea fishing festival at Sørøya, and the sled dog race, the Finnmark Race. Sea fishing is an old culture and a way of living in Finnmark, but today's trophy angling uses the new method of rod fishing. In Finnmark, sled dog driving is relatively new, dating back to the 1970s (Jæger & Viken, 2014). The activities in both these festivals are attractive products for many tourists, and the existence of the festivals has helped both with developing the tourism products and with the marketing of Finnmark. These two festivals have a core activity, which is a tourism product outside the time period when the festivals are arranged. This may give synergies for the two destinations throughout the year. For other festivals such as the Roskilde music festival, the core activity is not a tourist product outside the festival period. Hjalager (2009) noted that it is a 'very brief festival season – lasting one week only. For the rest of the year, the tourist industry is in its "normal" mode' (p.277). Even though various spin-off activities and projects also include neighbouring towns and Copenhagen, these have been developed through networks from the Roskilde Festival (Bærenholdt, et al. 2007).

5.3 Tourism development through changing culture

There are other examples of festivals, where the core theme is not created out of local culture, but still have significant value for the tourism for the period the festivals last. The Parkes Elvis Revival Festival in Australia was created to celebrate the long-dead artist Elvis Presley's birthday. It attracts many tourists and demonstrates how 'tradition' can be constructed in rural places, and how small places can develop economic activities through festivals to create new identities (Connell & Gibson, 2011). In some ways, this is similar to the Finnmark Race (Jæger & Viken, 2014), because sled dog driving is relatively new in Finnmark. What is different is that the sled dog race also communicates Arctic values through nature-based venues, and culture, which has been there for a long time, and is also important in a tourism context. Since 1981, the Finnmark Race has developed to become the longest, and perhaps most well-known, sled dog race in Europe. Parallel with the development of the sled dog race, winter tourism in Finnmark has evolved and especially the number of sled dog tourism providers (Jæger & Viken, 2014). This indicates that dogsledding has become an important product for winter tourism in North Norway. Also in other rural areas in Norway, dogsledding has become one of the most popular winter tourism activities, with tourists attracted by an environmental activity performed in connection to animals and nature (Steen, 2018).

The festival role in developing tourism has become visible in other sport events in rural areas in north Norway. Examples are the international mountain biking events Offroad Finnmark and Skaidi Extreme, and the on-road biking event, the Arctic Race of Norway. These biking events are also examples of festivalisation. Offroad Finnmark is inspired by the Finnmark Race and uses part of the same trail and checkpoints, but is held in the summer season. The Arctic Race of Norway started in 2013, inspired by, and arranged in cooperation with the international event the Tour de France, involves cycling in several stages through municipalities

and counties in northern Norway. One challenge for northern Norway related to tourism is how to make use of the new communication of events actualised through 180 international TV channels. The Arctic Race of Norway will be arranged in Finnmark in 2018, and there is ongoing debate in Finnmark (Lund, Altaposten 2018) regarding the race. The debate focuses on whether local public money should be used on such an international event, since the latter would be competing with other small local events, which are arranged every year and anchored in local culture and identity. Also Sveen, (NRK 2018) describes some former years organizers challenges, as “the party that ended in mess and chaos” (Festen som endte i rot og kaos). Some positive arguments have been proffered with respect to how an event with international media coverage, could convey valuable communications regarding the nature and societies in Finnmark to future potential national and international tourists. The Tour de France, with their management company ASO, said yes to cooperate with local biking enthusiast’s in north Norway, because of the beautiful nature-based venues and the attitude of the local people. It is also pointed out by Olsen (2015), that in future research it would be interesting to look at both the monetary and non- monetary values related to the event. In a way the Arctic Race of Norway has started developing processes in communities and the counties in North-Norway, and also an increased communication of the north in Norway and abroad. This discussion demonstrates a change in the understanding of how events might be connected to tourism, and value creation.

5.4 Importance of festival tourism in communities

In the parliamentary report to the Norwegian government (Regjeringen.no, Meld. St.19 (2016-2017, p. 34), emphasis was placed on success in providing attractive and competitive experiences in the future, being reliant on new knowledge and a higher degree of innovation in the tourism industry. Moreover, an expanded understanding of the tourism concept was desirable in order to connect creative industries that

can provide interdisciplinary, culture and musical experiences connected to conferences, congresses and events. The Parliamentary report (2016-2017, p. 52) stated that there is a need to strengthen coordination and create new links between cultural actors and tourism actors, with the following focus:

If Norway continues to participate in the positive development of cultural tourism globally, a strategic commitment to developing cultural tourism products is required. It is therefore important to make visible the value of increased cooperation between cultural and tourism actors and to stimulate knowledge building and exchange. The Norwegian government will draw up a strategy for culture and tourism, focusing on cultural tourism. (Own translation)

Tourism related to participating in rural festivals has become increasingly important, at the same time, as tourism has become significant in the (re) production of rurality. This is explained by Cloke (2007), who identifies a clear relationship between rural space and society. In particular, how areas are conceived and lived and are 'creative performances which not only characterize rural tourism but also reconceive rurality as a lived space' (Cloke, 2007, p. 37). Some of the encounters, created through festivals identified in the research for this thesis, have transformed new 'value', shifting Finnmark from being a mountain plateau in an apparently wild nature environment to a trail for an event with national and international sled dog teams. Public spaces as sites are important for creating new networks and overlap with others. At the same time, these public spaces might be challenged due to crime, violence and terrorism. Some people participating in festivals with shared connectedness would celebrate everyday spaces, while others might feel uncomfortable, excluded and alienated from such togetherness (Duffy & Mair, 2018). Richards (2015) emphasises that there is a co-creation of localities between tourists and some of the residents, which gives rise to a new field of economic, cultural and social

exchange. Where traditional views on tourism are challenged as exemplified by Couchsurfing and Airbnb, where these overnight stays offered for tourists, are not part of established tourism businesses. A rural holiday has a new meaning, where consumption of and through rural attractions reflects new forms of old values (Cloke, 2007) and creates a new rurality. In the research for this thesis, this is exemplified by the Easter Festival in Kautokeino giving access to certain aspects of traditional Sámi culture within a modern venue. The presence of tourists reshapes the festival for the locals by adding new elements, as demonstrated in chapter 2.3., these changes might be embraced as well as contested by different groups in local society.

The impacts cooperation between locals and tourists might have, is also emphasized in other studies (Chang, Gibson & Sisson, 2014; Mackellar, 2014; Getz & Robinson, 2014; Blichfeldt & Halkier, 2014; Giovanardi, Lucarelli & Decosta, 2014). When residents and tourists are more involved in a festival, they have higher satisfaction levels, which influence the residents' willingness to return to the festival, but not the tourists. It is important to have strategies to enhance the experience for visitors, with cultural components and opportunities to spend money within the economic region. Food lovers, who travel to gain food experiences, also want a multidimensional event and other destination experiences. The success of a festival (or not) depends on whether the local residents define the festival as a celebration, which enhances local culture. In rural areas with commodification of local cultural resources, it is important to have a focus on stories and events that both appeal to internal and external audiences. In practices and processes inherent in encounters between residents and tourists, the residents, tourists, and tourism workers experience places by co-performing, shaping, reproducing and coalescing with a place. The feeling of ownership of a festival, which also makes tourists return, is often a matter of identity shaped by experiences. These issues are not prominent in event studies but are thoroughly discussed in more culture-oriented research. The latter

often pays little attention to the business side that is obviously, implicitly or explicitly, present in most festivals in Northern Norway.

In the next chapter, the role of tourism in festivals is discussed in relation to rural tourism, along with co-creation between volunteer tourists and local people, who participate in an uncommodified tourism product. Consideration is also given to the importance of the core activity in festivals. And, how festivals and event tourism are both part of event management studies and cultural and social studies. Additionally, lifestyle tourism businesses, developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs in a rural area, and which are mainly established with a non-economic motivation are discussed.

6 The role of tourism in festivals

In this chapter, previous tourism and festival research is discussed in relation to the festivals that participated in my research. Some of the festivals can be aligned with rural tourism, wherein participating volunteer tourists create, interact with local people, and participate in a non-commodified, (or commodified but not tourism-targeted) tourism product. These tourists work for free, but often indirectly contribute to commercialised products, business companies managing festivals, and to sponsors. Importantly, these volunteer tourists perform a role in festivals, and subsequently perform a role for and in local society. The reason why they choose this kind of holiday is related to the values for which tourists are searching today. The value of interaction between tourists and local people is also identified in other rural tourism studies, such as Kastenholz, Carneiro & Eusébio (2018). In their study, they emphasized that interaction with local residents appears to be crucial to offering visitors deeper, more ‘authentic’, meaningful, and memorable experiences. Such experiences involve all kinds of interactions, which might contribute to positive experiences, learning opportunities, as well as sensorial and emotional content. There might also be other perspectives regarding the fulfilment of good experiences, as was pointed out in a study on authenticity and solitary travellers in Lofoten (Mehmetoglu & Olsen, 2013). This study identified that some tourists prefer to travel alone, were on a walking trip, and experienced not only the solitude of being on his or her own in planning the tour, but also reflected that these good solitude experiences out in the nature, sat in sharp contrast to participating in a tour with a group.

An offshoot arising from participants involvement in festivals is the generative effect of lifestyle entrepreneurs starting their own businesses, creating experiences, which give values and products with special abilities to tourism products that are sought after by today’s tourists. These tourism businesses contribute locally. They offer locally anchored

sustainable development, new knowledge and sustain old culture by bridging it into today's culture. This is festivalisation, an innovation that influences tourism, but also influences events and festivals, local societies, whereby people contribute to new knowledge building, and stimulate entrepreneurial activities, especially, related to tourism and culture. There can also be new use of areas of nature as venues for events and festivals, which locals start to use together with tourists. New understandings and knowledge among the locals is brought in by the visiting tourists. However, for some societies, it is also a question about who is not gaining from this development of festivals and tourism, and why?

6.1 *Tourism and festivals*

The understanding of who is a *tourist* is an issue between the use of the concept at a practical level, primarily, enumeration of the various types of activity in which they engage, and its use as a discursive construct (McCabe, 2009). The analysis of tourists as a concept is interesting in order to gain a better understanding of tourism phenomenon. Relatedly, McCabe (2009) pointed out that the concept could be useful in contributing to our understanding of how tourists construct their activities and those of others as social practices. It “would uncover layers of social values that make up this vast and dynamic aspect of consumer society, which is tourism” (McCabe, 2009 p. 26). Volunteer tourists identified in this thesis, are an example of tourists defined by their practical role in festivals, which does not represent the more traditional understanding of tourism roles, associated with relaxing, having fun, and where others serve you the experiences. McCabe (2009) also emphasized that the consumption of travel by tourists is being radically changed due to the internet, the structure of the industry and packaging of products, the independence of self-arranged travel, an increase in shorter breaks, a decrease in longer holidays, the openness of borders and an increase in security because of terrorism activities.

Regardless of the type of travel experience, there is a greater emphasis on the nature and quality of experiences, along with the offering of a range of interests and activities within each trip. One example is the rise in ethical or responsible travel, including undertaking voluntary work, seeing the related country and gaining a better understanding of the local culture. In an increasingly fragmented and segmented market, consumers have changed; so also have their attitudes to travel and consumption of places (McCabe, 2009). This change among consumers also becomes visible in festivals when participants and volunteer tourists interact with locals during different encounters, as well as create new knowledge, relationships and experiences.

Times have changed. The focus is shifting away from tangibles and toward intangibles, such as skills, information, and knowledge, and toward interactivity and connectivity and ongoing relationships. The orientation has shifted from the producer to the consumer. The academic focus is shifting from the thing exchanged to one on the process of exchange. Science has moved from a focus on mechanics to one on dynamics, evolutionary development, and the emergence of complex adaptive systems. The appropriate unit of exchange is no longer the static and discrete tangible good. (Vargo & Lusch, 2004, p.15).

There are different definitions of who is a tourist, and McCabe (2009) summarized that “a ‘tourist’ can be characterized by the following factors: through the act of travelling, or making a journey that starts and finishes in the same place”. He further noted that the “journey must start and end at ‘home’ because people can be ‘tourists’ within or as part of a different type of travel experience” (McCabe, 2009, p. 32). The volunteer tourists in my research were traveling, and working as volunteers with the same tasks, and in the same roles, as the local people, but also in different roles, solving different tasks. Where some roles were filled with ordinary tasks as per back home, other roles involved togetherness and being a tourist and a local. This makes the role of being a tourist a bit blurred, where volunteer tourists and locals generate experiences,

knowledge and togetherness. In festival encounters, the volunteer tourists and locals are producing everyday life, and, at the same time, different roles.

Ideas about self-presentation and the demands this places on individuals to create and sustain social roles, or identities through all social interaction, is what Goffman calls the dramaturgical production of everyday life. The theatre of everyday life was understood to be created for, and directed towards, others in society, that made the direct link between the self and society. (McCabe, 2009, p. 32)

There are many ways to understand and define tourism as a phenomenon. Tourism is a complex set of social and cultural phenomena, where tourism is represented in everyday social relations and cultures (Franklin, 2003). Further, tourism can be understood as ‘spaces and times of self-making – rather than special types of space and time that allow latitudes, freedoms and experimentation’ (Franklin, 2003, p. 2). Globalisation of tourism has led to a “reconfiguration of economic, political and cultural power relations”, where there has been a “shift from the more basic political and economic concepts of power, towards an examination of social and cultural relations of power in tourism” (Hannan & Knox, 2010, p. 8). These changes have also become visible with regard to festivals and events, where some festivals are valued as more important than others, and often receive economic support from both public and private stakeholders.

Gibson (2012) identifies a paradox whereby tourists travel to encounter other places, landscapes and people, while the tourism industry relies on material commodities. That being said, the ‘most cherished, commodified, essential element is encounter’ (Gibson, 2012, p. 2). At festival venues, locals and visiting participants engage in joint activities, characterised in different ways. It is a fellowship, in which there will be different actors with different agendas (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998) and

cultural and creative events, with a particular concentration of creativity in time and space (Richards, 2011). The festival embodies responses to rhythm, the marking of a space of communal identity and belonging through festival spaces (Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray, & Gibson, 2011). Innovation in cultural tourism products is often dependent on the consumer being involved in the creative process itself (Richards and Wilson, 2006). Given this openness of local communities, festivals provide activities and a time-space compression for interaction. Subsequently, rural areas appear to temporarily ‘open up’ to tourists.

6.2 Attractiveness of the core activity in festivals

Many of the tourists, who participated in the festivals that were studied during my research, were volunteers or participants in a core activity, and were attracted both by the activity and by the Arctic location. Because of the remote location of the Arctic, some of these tourists might not have traveled to this area, if the festivals were not arranged. Due to the existence of an event, they received information first of all about the special event, and then where it is to be held. This might be communicated to other people with similar interests using social media and the media in general. Participating in festivals is sometimes seen as special interest tourism. The latter has many different understandings and definitions. Hall and Weiler (1992) explained that a ‘traveller’s motivation and decision-making are primarily determined by a particular special interest with a focus either on activity/ies and/or destinations and settings’ (p. 5). Derrett (2001) saw that the provision of customized leisure and recreational experiences were driven “by the specific expressed interest of individuals and groups’ (p.4). Kler and Tribe noted another example of experiences created through activities, in special interest tourism (2012, p. 29). Here scuba diving was described as special, “because it provides a path towards long-term satisfaction, happiness, and eudemonia’. They also indicated that divers develop their virtues and strengths through acts of learning and personal growth,

because they gain meaning from these acts. This may be similar to the experiences that mushers and anglers obtained through festival activities arranged outside their traditional habitat back home.

When participating in festivals and events with nature as the venue, participants gain experiences, which might be understood as adventure tourism. This concept is discussed as broad and fluid by Rantala, Rokenes and Valkonen (2016), thereby pointing out that adventure tourism has different meanings and uses depending on context. “It is used in various disciplines, for various purposes, and covers all kinds of tourism activities, services and events, from very risky activities to soft services, all over the world” (p. 9). They concluded that because of this broadness in understanding and use, it makes the concept inappropriate to use as an analytical tool for tourism research. The concept, adventure tourism, used in this thesis, is applied to better explain the characteristics of festivals that use different natural environments. Cater (2000) described adventure tourism as active recreation with participation, that is, based more on being, doing, touching and seeing, rather than just seeing. Some see nature-based venues as adventurous spaces that are often inherently unliveable, which makes them more attractive (Rose, 2006). These venues might bring tourists into experiences, which Church and Coles (2007) describe as exploratory unfamiliar terrain that can place them on the margins of touristic and body space. Lund (2013) pointed out how nature is not just there, but influences people; ‘nature is not passive, it emerges when we intervene with it through physical encounter, on our journey with it’ (p.169). She also pointed out that ‘this gives a bodily encounter between the tourist and the surroundings, which reveals how one feels the texture of nature as it is lived’ (Lund, 2013, p.169). Encounters taking place in festivals arranged in an Arctic nature-based venue might influence the experiences of volunteers and participants, tourists and locals, in their different event roles. Such experiences are created in meetings with new people, in different venues, working in roles, and which change every year.

In some festivals, the different core activities provide experiences that could be classed as slow adventures (Varley & Semple, 2015), and this acknowledges the contextual relationship between participants, activities and the natural environment. In slow adventure tourism, activities might provide fusion of mind, body and environment through active, extended immersion, which may be felt as a deep sense of enjoyment, satisfaction and creative accomplishment (Varley & Semple, 2015). Slow movements include respect for quality over convenience, tradition, and authentic experiences. Slow moments contrast with the fast society (Honore', 2004). For some of the festivals studied in my research, nature was the venue for activities, such as the Finnmark Race. Travel through a whole county is slow adventure tourism, involving just being outdoors and belonging to the wild. A sled dog race might offer the joys and hardship of outdoor living, self-propelled travel and associated physical engagement with the natural environment over time, nature, passage and comfort (Varley & Semple, 2015, p.82).

The anglers at the sea fishing festival might be identified as sport tourists. Roche, Spake and Joseph (2013) described sport tourism as including three main behaviours: active participation, watching events (spectators) and visiting peripheral sporting attractions. Some of the sled dog mushers could also be seen as participating in an extreme sport, depending on race category, venue and competition level. Brymer (2005) defined extreme sports as outdoor leisure activities where a 'mismanaged mistake or accident would most likely result in death' (p.70). Relating this extreme sport definition to a sled dog race, a mistake would most likely not result in death, but it could do. There are different levels in extreme sport, and base jumping is seen as the most dangerous sport (Hallin & Mykletun, 2006). The Finnmark Race has been similarly described by some participants recognizing what Brymer (2005) described as; 'ineffable moments, enhanced sensory, mental and physical prowess, perceptions of time slowing, feelings of floating and flying, and deep intimacy with the natural world' (p. I).

Tourism as practice has changed in recent decades, and Richards (2014) pointed out that ‘the desire to live like a local, combined with the desire of locals to become producers of tourism experiences, has stimulated a new “live like a local” trend that has been met by a range of bottom-up products and experiences’ (p. 15). This trend was also identified in my research, particularly with regard to the activities festival tourists participated in, together with the local people. The remoteness, the scattered population, the harsh climate, and the Arctic nature probably mean that festivals need to take a certain form that provides for certain forms of tourism. Small places characterised by a declining population could mean festivals become more outward looking. This could be an attitude that fits some of the new trends in tourism, and as described earlier would probably generate some additional benefits through the development of knowledge and entrepreneurial activities in local rural communities.

6.3 Festival tourism

While one path in festival studies has emphasised the place of festivals in local communities, and that sometimes outsiders are seen as threats (Greenwood 1977), event studies have paid attention to the economic functions of festivals, emphasizing tourists, and often large-scale events (Jago, Shaw & Robin 1998). Nevertheless, the focus on events is changing from mega events to seeing the value of smaller events that primarily respond to residents’ demands (Getz, 2013). Participating in events may be seen as special interest tourism, and Trauer (2006) argues that special interest tourism could represent the opposite of mass tourism, including ‘adventure and nature-based tourism, cultural and heritage tourism, and festival and event tourism’ (p. 186). As part of the change in tourism, festivals have become more important, because they often represent niche products that can give unique destinations products created from and anchored in local culture and nature, which attract special interest segments (Getz, 2013).

Such changes, or dedifferentiating processes, mean that tourists and tourism are less separated from residents and leisure. In my opinion, this necessitates a more complex and holistic approach, which takes into consideration that people can play different roles at different times (Daniels, 2007). Consequently, with a focus on the actual activities, tourism is represented in everyday social relations and cultures. The activities might be the same for locals and tourists, and not include travel as a prerequisite to participate in the actual activities, as is required in Smith, (1989) and Netto's (2009) tourism definitions mentioned earlier. Not all activities that can be analyzed as tourism, are seen or understood as such, by the tourists themselves, the tourism industry, or locals at festival grounds. Such activities, when seen through the prism of tourism theories, highlight certain aspects of the complex and many faceted phenomena of festivals. In particular, in rural areas with few visitors, there is a need to demonstrate how festivals attract visitors/tourists, who play different roles than what is usually expected from tourists. These tourists have roles as volunteers, audience members, and as participants in the events, and spend their holiday participating in the events. In particular, how, where and for whom such events makes the place known and how to utilize this potential publicity, is a question. These temporal changes in small communities often challenge what is usually seen as the tourism industry. Highlighting the potentials and the actual benefits, as well as being aware of the obstacles for other actors, might help to develop strategies for mutual benefit. Some of these benefits might be non-economical in the sense that visitors bring in new knowledge and practices that enable new use of local resources as well as create new and bridge old networks and collaborative relations, thereby creating a potential for entrepreneurial activity in tourism (Hjalager 2014).

Festival tourism may also cause negative consequences or dysfunctions. Cudny (2016) described four negative tourist space elements. First, *natural heritage*, this includes "threats to the natural environment (water, atmosphere, climate), caused by heavier environmental pollution.

Possible degradation of green areas in the case of open-air festivals” (p. 109). Second, *cultural heritage*, which highlights “losing the authenticity of the local and regional heritage by adjusting it to the tourists` needs. Danger connected with presenting false cultural heritage, “tailored” to satisfy the tourists` expectations” (p. 109). Third, *infrastructure*, especially, the “[f]aster wear of certain elements of infrastructure, e.g. transport, caused by heavy tourist traffic. Possible damage to the infrastructure as a result of vandalism” (p. 109). Fourth, *man as a subject of tourist space*; this includes “possible conflicts between festival tourists and the inhabitants of the areas where the festivals are held. The possibility of excluding a part of the unaccepted inhabitants from the space occupied by the festival. Alcohol and drug abuse during some festivals. Crimes committed during events, riots” (p. 109). Festivals might also represent and communicate images and values that create a brand, with which not everyone in the local society wants to identify themselves.

In earlier research, a dominant way to understand how tourists influence the local culture, aligns with MacCannell`s (1976) perspective on authenticity, as modern commodifying processes that destroy the local and assumed traditional culture. However, with international participants and audiences, the experiences created in local rural festivals have increasingly become more globalised. Historically, as Falassi (1987) also pointed out, there have always been visitors at local festivals. They belonged to groups with a certain economic, religious or geographical relationship with the local community. What is changing is that the outsiders are motivated by special interests, adventure, sociability or other individual reasons; they are usually labelled tourists, but the event can be part of or the main reason for travelling (Getz, 2013). In particular, participants are often also included in a festival communality regardless of their status as outsiders. In some rural areas in Finnmark, depopulation has been a challenge. For those still living in such rural areas, festivals have brought in ‘new life’ through arranging festival activities, even if

often only for a certain period of time, with old friends and relatives coming back and also other national and international participants.

Existing festival research related to tourism in rural areas has frequently investigated the economic gains from tourism (Brennan-Horely, Connell & Gibson, 2011; Felsenstein & Fleischer, 2003; Li, Huang, & Cai, 2009). Other research on festival tourism shows that festivals can attract tourists to specific places and help to overcome seasonality. Festivals can contribute to place marketing, especially through image formation and destination branding (Chalip, 2014; Getz & Fairley, 2004; Jago, Chalip, Brown, Mules, & Ali, 2003; Mathisen & Prebensen, 2013). They can animate attractions and places, and act as catalysts for other forms of development (Getz, 2010). The festivals studied in my research represent local culture and identity related to both place and people, and may in this context create attractive destinations for tourism. The festivals are small and located in small societies, so the direct economic impacts are difficult to measure. In this context, my research on festivals in rural Finnmark reveals that they are created mainly for reasons other than economic gains. Frost (2012) noted that 'rural events may appeal to tourists because they are local, celebrating a sense of place and community that is perceived as no longer available in crowded and alienated cities' (p.82). This relates to the main topics that emerged in my research, the festival venue with its encounters, and their relationships to local culture and identity. These help explain how festivals have become important for the tourists and the local people participating in them.

Tourism related to festivals has been developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs, who are primarily motivated by living a certain quality of life at the same time as earning an income to survive (Deakins & Freel, 1998). Marchant and Mottiar (2011) examined surfers as lifestyle entrepreneurs, who experienced surfing as holidaymakers and were inspired to offer the same product back home. They also found that these entrepreneurs were good communicators, enjoyed interacting with

people and had high levels of education. The entrepreneurs were actively involved locally, and arranged surf festivals for charity. Such involvement was also identified in my research in relation to sled dog drivers. They used their dogs in their leisure activities but later initiated the Finnmark Race. Some of them have started their own tourism companies. The lifestyle entrepreneurs were in this way able to continue with their passion. Tourists participating in activities offered by festivals or lifestyle entrepreneurs in small businesses, often feel they become part of the local society. This might offer an exchange of values, where the local businesses get new knowledge about own their culture and nature, and thereby inspiration for product development. The influence of meetings with tourists also may change the way local people see their local society and its use value, and possibilities for nature and culture based activities. Additionally, tourists might through an experience product, get the feeling of being a guest instead of a tourist. In a way, they might live like a local, and also experience possibilities to be a co-creator of their own experiences. There might also be negative impacts in small societies. For example, foreign businesses, which establish sea angling businesses, might take advantages without contributing to the local society, despite living there for part of the year. It could also be that local people do not want tourists to share their resources, for example favourite fishing spots, ski tracks or mountain cabins. As is the case for all tourism, this type of tourism creates changes and challenges in local societies. However, without the idea of a delimited static unit called local society, changes characterize such units and are not a threat in and of themselves. The question is rather who is in control of such changes, who benefits, and who loses?

7 Methodological framework

The aim of this chapter is to detail the research methods that I chose to address the overarching research question and theme of this thesis. *How do small-scale festivals matter to tourism and local community developments in rural areas?* In order to gather relevant information concerning the overarching research question, I used both quantitative and qualitative research approaches to gather data and empirical materials. The chapter overviews my choice of methods through research contributions I, II, III, IV, V, and VI, my researcher's background, ethical considerations and research limitations.

7.1 Methods for data collection

In this thesis, I have combined quantitative and qualitative methodological perspectives. I have used different data collection techniques, and analysis methods that have provided different understandings about the festival phenomenon. The aim of this thesis is to generate new knowledge on how festivals, through their creation of encounters, influence tourism development and local communities. Such influence is also about knowledge building, identifying how local communities with their local identity are important hosts for festivals, and the reverse, how festivals are important for local host communities. With an aim to better understand how festivals matter to tourism and local community developments, it was important to combine different research methods, which together gave a wholeness to understanding the researched phenomenon (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). I started out with a quantitative study of the festivals in Finnmark, and based on the knowledge gathered, a qualitative study were conducted.

All the festivals invited to participate in my research had local culture and nature as core elements. Some of the festivals were based on the ethnic diversity that is unique to Finnmark in a Norwegian context, with

Sámi, Russian, Kven and Norwegian culture, and the festivals were staged using Arctic nature as a venue. First, I used quantitative questionnaire-based research, aiming to collect new information about the total festival population in Finnmark County. When piloting the quantitative research, I used a questionnaire mapping 56 festivals in Finnmark. This was undertaken in order to get new knowledge from a rural area, where little research on festivals had been previously conducted. The knowledge collected, created a foundational platform for the six research contributions, four articles and two book chapters (See table 1). The first study and related article (Research contribution I), *The Festivalscape of Finnmark* (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009), was a descriptive study mapping festivals in Finnmark County, Norway. Information from this first article, created a knowledge platform, which helped identify the chosen focus areas for conducting in-depth qualitative research. Knowledge about festival populations in Finnmark was important for research decision-making. It was also useful as a platform for conducting qualitative research.

According to Hannam and Knox (2010), there are three major groups of methodologies under the broad heading ‘qualitative’: “participant observation, interviews and focus groups, and discourse analysis. The first two of these are often also called ethnographic approaches” (p. 180). In my research, I have used both participant observation and interviews. All six research contributions built upon each other in a cumulative way, where each contribution served to highlight new questions. Even though my research was not a longitudinal study, in reality, it was research, which was conducted over a long-term, approximately 10 years. In some ways, that has become a strength of the research. The effects of long-term engagement in research is discussed by Stevenson (2016), in her article in which she reflected on experiences from her longitudinal research into cultural event production. She pointed out that such research provided more space to reflect, learn, building relationships and share knowledge with research participants. It also uncovered evolving

practices, and developed the understanding of event processes, embedded within their wider context. Some of these experiences could also be identified in this thesis.

7.1.1 Quantitative survey

When I began this study, the research was discussed with festival managers and representatives from the county and some municipality administrations. A cross-sectional design was chosen to collect the profiling data from the festivals in Finnmark. Data were collected by a questionnaire developed and applied previously in Sweden, and later in other countries (Andersson, Armbrecht & Lundberg, 2008; Andersson & Getz, 2008; Getz & Andersson, 2008). I chose to use the same questionnaire, in order to have the possibility of comparing findings from the different studies in future research. This provided new knowledge regarding the whole festival population in the rural area, and is the first study of a whole county's total festival population reported in extant literature (Andersson, Getz, Mykletun, Jæger and Dolles, 2013). Of the 83 questionnaires distributed, 65 were returned; this gave a response rate of 67%. The findings for this study were based on 56 festivals, which were returned questionnaires, out of the 65 questionnaires that were returned. Seven of the festivals returned the questionnaire uncompleted, and also two other questionnaires were not used because of not having relevant information, and were thus excluded from the data. Those that did not answer the questionnaire explained that they did not define themselves as a festival, or did not feel that the questionnaire was relevant. Some defined themselves as fishing competitions, volleyball tournaments, fairs, memorial days, cultural weeks and theatre shows. The limitations of a quantitative approach include recognizing that when using a questionnaire survey you might get a small amount of information from a large number of people. At the same time, however, questionnaires might be limited, when it comes to truly understanding complex motivations, desires, feelings and opinions of the local people

and tourists investigated (Hannam & Knox, 2010). The information I received from those who did not answer the questionnaire, also stressed some important questions concerning how to define festivals, the fluidity of festival ecology, and the rather weak organisational structure of these small-scale festivals. In particular, the need for a rather wide understanding of festival phenomenon became clear and guided further research.

The 56 festivals were divided into five categories based on their core activity, *Music, Art, Sport, Market and Thematic*. Most of the festivals had a vision for why they were organizing the festival. Each of their visions follow. For *Music festivals*, the aim was to make it possible for young musicians from Finnmark and Northern Troms to play on a professional stage, and to develop their professional skills. Also, to demonstrate to the rest of the Norwegian population what music in Finnmark had to offer, to promote Sami and Nordic traditional music, and to demonstrate a cultural cross-section of culture in the Barents region. In the *Arts festivals*, organizers wanted to make new films and to make Sami film visible to the rest of the world. In addition, festival aims included making spectacular art experiences through the use of the nature, and to present dance performances of high national and international quality, with a particular focus on art and culture from the Barents region. With respect to *Sport Festivals*, aims included wanting continuity and to remain the biggest youth soccer tournament in Northern Norway, to be the most challenging and sought after Sled Dog Race in the world, to gather children that love handball to a weekend focusing on handball, to draw soccer players from all of Sápmi to a football tournament, to arrange sea fishing competitions to rejuvenate local communities and attract fishing tourists. Aims of *Market festivals* related to wanting to strengthen Sami language and culture, and to promote duodji – Sámi traditional products, and to create cooperation between local trade and organizations. The aims of *Thematic festivals*, the biggest category, ranged from cultural exchange to creating good relations

between Norway and Russia as well as to celebrate and visualize Sami culture. Some wanted to create contentment in the polar night period of the year, as well as to market local raw-materials through Sami and Kven food traditions, and to recreate old coastal cultures.

7.1.2 *In-depth qualitative interviews*

In order to conduct further research, I chose a qualitative case study for the remaining studies of five different festivals. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, four of the festivals were chosen based on the knowledge gathered through the quantitative study presented in the first article. The festivals studied were the Sea Fishing Festival at Sørøya, Easter Festival in Kautokeino, Midnight Rock in Lakselv, and Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes. Additionally, later I gathered data, examining one more festival in depth, the Finnmark Race in Alta (Finnmark). These five festivals were in different ways strongly connected to ethnicity, culture, geographical location, place identity and nature. Findings from all five festivals that were studied, are further discussed and analysed related to relevant theory, which has created the knowledge platform guiding the five remaining research contributions in this thesis.

Research contribution II, *Diverging Interests in Small-Scale Festival Tourism*, (Jaeger, 2012), is a book chapter that explores the connection between tourism and festivals, and from a holistic perspective, aims to assess what participating in festivals means when direct economic benefits are lacking. It also investigates the role festivals might have in a local community, for tourism and, at the same time, to strengthen and sustain the festival. Research contribution III, *Festivals, identities, and belonging*, (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2013), is an article, which investigates how festivals influence individual and social identities, what this influence on identities means for the people involved, and for identity with a place, and how festivals influence the self-image, and place identity of local communities. Research contribution VI *On commodification: volunteer experiences in festivals*, (Jæger & Olsen,

2016), is an article that explores the creation of non-commodified volunteer experiences for tourists and local volunteers participating in festivals. It further investigates how the tourist experience is created, when most of the traditional tourism demands are not fulfilled, as well as what are the experiences? Research contribution V, *Co-creation in events. Values of volunteers and volunteer tourists at Iditarod in Alaska and the Finnmark Race in Norway*, (Jæger & Mathisen, 2017), is a book chapter that investigates volunteers' value creation in events, especially values created through co-creation among volunteer tourists that are working alongside local volunteers. The chapter examines value creation for tourists, local volunteers, as well as for the event. Research contribution VI, *Event Start-ups as Catalysts for Place, Sport and Tourism Development: Moment Scapes and Geographical Considerations* (Jæger, 2018), is an article that focuses on how the start-up of a specific event, can act as a catalyst for place, sport and tourism development, and which is contributed to by volunteers and lifestyle entrepreneurs. Such start-ups are locally anchored tourism development in a rural destination.

When conducting these case studies, by studying the five chosen festivals, my aim was to get a deeper understanding of festival phenomenon. The purpose of a case study according to Stake (2000) is not to represent the world, but to represent the case, and in a case study the focus is not on the average or general case, but the particularity of each case. There are different views on the value of looking at only a single case versus more cases. Yin (2003) argues that if one has the ability and resources to select multiple cases rather than one it would be preferable. Looking at two cases or more makes a study less vulnerable; it avoids putting all one's eggs in one basket (Yin, 2003). Others, like Geertz (1973), argues that conclusions regarding the similarity of several cases might tell us less than the particularity of one case. Therefore, it is not the comparison that is important by having several cases, but to get a more diverse understanding of the phenomenon investigated. With

several cases, it is important to focus on the peculiarities of each case, and that the comparison on several cases does not justify a generalisation of the findings. In my research, the five chosen festivals investigated, had different core activities that were anchored locally, at the same time, as there had been a building up tourism around these activities. Specifically, these activities were sea fishing, dog sledding, music and art performances, and markets staging local culture.

7.1.3 Additional reflection on methods of importance

I conducted the research doing interviews when the festivals investigated were arranged, which includes the Sea Fishing Festival, the Midnight Rock Festival and the Finnmark Race. In addition, for the purpose of providing a comparative perspective, I also collected data from the dogsledding race Iditarod in Alaska, following the race from its start to the finish line. Research doing interviews at the two festivals, the Barents Spektakel and Easter Festival in Kautokeino, was conducted outside the festival period. However, over the years, I have participated and conducted field observations and conversations associated with the five festivals investigated, when they were arranged.

Conducting research outside the festival period affected the information received from the informants, and depended on many factors such as how busy they were, failure to recall the previous festival, where they were interviewed and my status as a researcher (in one of the festivals as an insider volunteer, and earlier as a manager). By interviewing when the festival is on, one meets all people that are concerned with the festival, but they do not have a lot of time to be interviewed. Their commitment is huge and they found it positive to be interviewed, and expressed a pride in being part of the festival. Also, some of those who did not really believe that the festival had great value for the municipality or business, were very much evident in festival celebrations.

The advantage of interviewing while festivals are taking place is that one gets additional information through one's own observations. In addition, those who are not interested in the festival often speak freely about why they are not engaging in the festival, i.e. informal field conversations. I had a conversation with an employee at a local gas station who helped to patch my car tyre. I said that I had probably punctured it at the festival area. He then answered that he was not a fan of such collective drunkenness, and that it was much better to take a fishing trip on the bay in the good weather. Holding interviews outside the festival period generated slightly different challenges. Some informants in the Easter Festival in Kautokeino, were not remembering so much, aiming to give information about the festival, and had to reconstruct a bit to get in the festival mood. Festival organisers and volunteers could also be difficult to get hold of, so the gathering of information took longer time.

Through field conversations, field observation and participant observation one gathers the 'unexpected' information. Aase and Fossåskaret (2007) point out that in field conversations, the researcher gets answers to questions she or he has not posed and that participating observation is not a method that one either uses or not in fieldwork; it is more correct to talk about degrees of participation. One example of a field conversation at the festival camp, is that with a young man who proudly said that if I wanted to learn anything about festivals, I should visit his home place. He told me how everyone in the community contributes and how good the music tends to be. This is a municipality where it can be tough growing up, and the festival was started to create pride in the village. This example shows that the endeavour probably succeeded in this respect. Or consider the girls who drag you out in the dance together with them. The next day, on the festival grounds we greet each other and smile, but back in everyday society in Alta it is not 'natural' to say hello. These examples show how some of the festivals were experienced in the fieldwork, which is an integral part of observation and participant observation. Observations are not confined

just to what the researcher sees, but also what one can hear, is an observation (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). It is also explanations for what a researcher can miss in the fieldwork. In my role, as a grown up woman, I had limited access, for example to some areas, and some groups with people. This might relate to gender, age, interests and the role as a researcher, and also as an insider in one of the festivals. As a researcher, you have to make choices, and that creates consequences for what areas the research includes, risking that some voices will not be heard.

7.2 The situated researcher's background

My entry into the research field of festivals, events and tourism has been complemented by years and years of personal experiences being a volunteer organizing, as well as attending, festivals and events. In 1987, I participated in the Finnmark Race (Finnmarksløpet), a dogsledding race that today has gained a prominent place in the festival ecology of the county, as well as in Norway. In 1989, I gained full-time employment for a year working as a festival manager in Honningsvåg municipality in Finnmark, with the Nordkapp festival. Thereafter, I continued in a new job developing winter tourism in Finnmark, leading the, at that time, newly established tourism destination company, Destination Alta. I went on to become the first manager of the Finnmark Race limited company that was started in 2001, fourteen years after I had first entered the same sports competition as a participant. These examples represent the start of my interest in festivals and tourism in rural areas, an interest that has lasted for more than 30 years, and an interest I have since pursued in many ways, both in my professional life and as a hobby. The passion for tourism and festivals has followed me into my academic career, and guided my plans for this PhD. My background working with festivals, having an insider role in some of the festivals through the years has provided a knowledge platform, which has given me an important pre-understanding, for conducting this research. Such a pre-understanding might be a curse as well as a blessing, but highlights that we, as

researchers, are always situated and have no privileged access to a view from afar. This brings me over to topic of the next section: ethical considerations.

1.2. Ethical considerations

Through my insider role in the field, I gained access to contexts, and informants, in ways that would otherwise have been difficult to achieve. At the same time, this might generate controversy; mixing the roles you have in an event. My insiderness has contributed to a methodical approach partly conducted with an ethnographic element, because of my role of sometimes working as a volunteer in a festival, and at the same time being a researcher in the festival. Ethnography refers to a number of related research methodologies that use an interpretive and descriptive approach to the generation and retrieval of knowledge. The term ethnography means, quite literally, ‘people writing’ or ‘writing about people’ (Hannam & Knox, 2010, p. 180). According to Hannam and Knox, 2010, ethnography as a research technique is connected to the discipline of anthropology, but is now common across the social sciences. Common for ethnographic research methodologies is the need to immerse ourselves in contexts for lengthy periods of time, in order to understand the socio-cultural world fully, “the knowledge we collect are always partial and influenced by who we are as much as by who our research subjects are” (Hannam & Knox, 2010, p. 180). This immersion certainly speaks to a project like mine.

My background working with both festivals and tourism for such a long time, and also partly still having a role in events, has helped me gain information through dialog and discussions with informants, both by demonstrating competence and being knowledgeable and by being known to informants. At the same time, my role as both an insider and researcher in the event, may in many ways influence the research process, by having pre-understandings and my own opinions influenced

by earlier experiences (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011). For me, being a situated researcher might mean on one side that the informants held back information, taking for granted that I already knew, or on the other side holding back because maybe they did not want to share information with an 'insider'. I have also experienced the opposite, when I conducted fieldwork together with another researcher, where the informants had no previous knowledge or encounters with us. Then, I experienced that the informants changed the way they answered, when they through the dialog, discovered that I had former knowledge about the topic. In some cases, I felt that it gave credibility, and they shared more positively their thoughts. I could also use follow-up questions that required pre-understandings of the phenomenon investigated. It is not possible for a researcher to be entirely objective and "so it is, instead, necessary for researchers to embrace their own bias and take account for their own mental worlds, their own ideas, their influence on the research process and their own understandings of what they are seeing and doing" (Hannam & Knox, 2010, p. 186). It is also impossible to have full control. While conducting the interviews you sometimes become a part of unexpected experiences, where the informant are totally in control of the situation. As when I was interviewing a fisherman in his boat, jus arriving from one days fishing under the festival. I had pre booked the interview, and were waiting on the quay. He just asked me to jump on board in the boat, with fish entrails and blood floating on the floor, while I was standing in my white shoes, trying to focus on the topic for the interview.

For the festivals involved in the research for this thesis, I had participated earlier as a guest, and in one festival also in volunteer and employee roles. In relational ethics, as pointed out by Ellis, et al. (2011), the researcher does not exist in isolation, but lives connected to social networks, including friends and relatives, partners and children, co-workers and students, and, "consequently, when we conduct and write research, we implicate others in our work" (Ellis, et al. 2011, p. 281).

They also noted that for a researcher it is also important to have in mind that “most of the time, they also have to be able to continue to live in the world of relationships in which their research is embedded after the research is completed” (Ellis, et al. 2011 p. 282). For me, living in a rural area, where many know the people involved in the festivals, it was important to conduct the research in a respectable way, and to act responsibly when handling different issues. In aiming to conduct the research respectfully, I have stayed clear of doing interviews when the informants - and sometimes - I were celebrating during the festivals. Instead, planned interviews were pre-booked and conducted during daytime, or before or after festivals were arranged. Short, unplanned conversations also occurred in the course of festivals.

In my search for new knowledge in the festivals investigated, there was an openness about the study, and involved voluntarily participation in the research by the informants. Sometimes, it was important not to use information I received from people, or through my own observations directly in the festivals, especially if alcohol had been involved. This becomes even more important where this fieldwork was conducted, in small rural societies, where many know each other, and you could easily identify persons. All data has been treated confidentially, by not linking material directly to persons. In those few cases where persons have been identifiable, those persons have gone through what was written.

7.3 Limitations

This research was conducted in a rural area in northern Norway, although the findings may be of use to other festivals, in other rural regions in Norway, and also countries with similarities to Norway. The number of festivals investigated is low, and the geographical location with its communities is unique. So, the findings are representative only for the festivals and tourism investigated, even though as mentioned, they could also be applicable to festivals that are arranged in similar contexts. The knowledge in this study is developed from each contribution to the next,

because little other research on the relationship between festivals and tourism has previously been conducted in Norway. Applying this research in a local context in a rural area was important. This is because of the complexity of small rural festivals, which depend on local context, available physical resources, and human resources with relevant skills. At the same time, the context of this research is conducted in Finnmark. The context could be similar to other rural areas where festivals have a role in society and for tourism. Even though sometimes few travellers from outside participate in the festivals, they can contribute important competencies and create new encounters, which might result in new developments in a local community. This research was conducted across many years, which might be considered as negative with respect to the findings potentially being out of date. At the same time, as a research journey, this could also be viewed as a strength, which enabled the identification of changes that were able to be included as well as the modification of research processes.

Discussion and conclusion

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8 Discussion and conclusion

In this thesis, based on the core activity of festivals, I have identified five different festival categories: Music, Art, Sport, Market and Thematic festivals (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009). The festivals that were studied were characterized as small, created from the bottom-up, and anchored in local nature and culture. At the same time, some had a sports competition as their core activity, which traditionally would situate them under an events category. However, all the festivals were arranged in small rural communities, often integrating leisure, special interests, businesses, voluntary organizations and political institutions, all promoting their – sometimes incommensurable and other times contrasting and, quite frequently, common – goals. This points to festivals and events as contested spaces. They usually promote *someone's* values, and leave others out; they benefit someone while others might see them as a nuisance. They might even be a threat, and through new encounters can introduce new actors while others may lose their influence in the local community. Still, festivals and events are flourishing in rural areas in Norway, and, as demonstrated in this thesis, they play an important, but sometimes indirect part in tourism development and rural development in general. This is evident in research contribution II, *Diverging Interests in Small-Scale Festival Tourism* (Jaeger, 2012), where the fishing festival became known for the good fishing possibilities, which increased the tourism also in the low season. Or in research contribution VI, *Event Start-ups as Catalysts for Tourism Development* (Jaeger, 2018), where it is identified that lifestyle entrepreneurs have contributed to a new path-creation, by actively developing Finnmark as a tourism destination, with dogsledding as a new tourism product. Some researchers see this evolution of events as parallel to how society has evolved from an industrial to a post-industrial stage, where the events reflect the emergence of social, economic, political and cultural transformation (Page & Connell, 2012), as well as an increase in leisure

time and discretionary income (Allen, O'Toole, Harris, & McDonnell, 2011).

8.1 Volunteer tourism

In this study thesis, I have made visible a duality with respect to growth in festivals and lifestyle tourism businesses and non-economic motivations for the establishment of these businesses in rural areas. There is a linkage between the festivals and volunteer tourism, with participating volunteer tourists, and attendant volunteer behaviour, participating in not commodified but commercialised products. The volunteers have both a role in festivals and for the society in which the festivals are arranged. There has been a change in tourism from a focus on the things exchanged to a process of exchange. This reflects a shift in focus from mechanics to one involving dynamics, evolutionary development, and an emergence of more complex and adaptive systems (Vargo & Lusch, 2004).

This thesis makes visible a blurred distinction between tourists and locals participating in festivals. In today's festivals, the local otherness is often the attraction, with tourists participating in different activities together with local people. This is what is creating new tourism roles in festivals. Volunteer tourists are participating in festivals that dominantly relate to a desire for sociality, and utilitarianism on behalf of the communities. These are all motives that are connected to phenomena or rather relations that usually are regarded as outside the realm of commodification. The unpaid work makes a difference to youths in the community, creates pride in the local community, and reclaims indigenous Sámi traditions. None of these benefits can be commodified. People spend their money and their free time on making this possible.

The experiences are created from the fun of being together with other people with similar interests. Working together creates close relationships and belonging since the volunteers have to make decisions

on their own, and must have confidence in their companions upon whom they depend to conduct tasks. The motive for such experiences might be understood and explained by extremely variegated private evaluations, and not out of commodified motives (Kopytoff, 1986). Therefore, an emphasis on the particular volunteer motives is essential for understanding the complexity of voices and meanings at work among the volunteers during a festival (Bruner, 2005). I have shown why some tourists are choosing this kind of holiday, related to what today's tourists search for in their holiday. Wherein there has been a rise in ethical or responsible travel, voluntary work, and a desire for better understanding of local culture. It is also representative of a change in attitudes to travel and consumption of places, with a more fragmented and segmented marketplace (McCabe, 2009), in which the customer is the value creator, and the supplier a value facilitator (Grönroos & Ravald, 2011).

8.2 Lifestyle entrepreneurs and festivalisation

In this thesis, I have demonstrated how lifestyle entrepreneurs create new tourism businesses, motivated by their special interest and values, which in turn creates special abilities for the tourism products that are sought after by today's tourists. These new developed businesses contribute locally by creating new encounters in small rural areas, and are predicated on sustainable development related to the use of nature-based resources, the creation of new knowledge, and the sustaining, and pursuing of old culture. Additionally, the thesis has highlighted how the innovation of festivalisation influences tourism, and subsequently events and festivals. The thesis also identified a festivalisation dimension that emerged in my research, which has not been primarily acknowledged in earlier research. The dimension relates to how growth in festivals in rural areas generates possibilities for the establishment of new festivals and tourism products developed by lifestyle entrepreneurs. Such development occurs because established festivals, with their national and international participants, make available new knowledge, new networks

for creating encounters, and more festival-related equipment. These developments make possible events with core activities such as dogsledding races, off-road biking, downhill skiing and kiting. Within local societies, local and visiting people are participating in new knowledge building. They are creating encounters for entrepreneurial activities, especially related to tourism and culture. This represents value creation through interactions between tourists and local people (Kastenholz, Carneiro & Eusébio, 2018).

Further, I have identified a new use of nature-based areas as venues for events and festivals. This has provided new understandings and knowledge among locals, with regard to how local nature and culture resources are valuable, as experienced by visiting tourists. This could also be understood from the perspective mentioned by Granås (2018), who points out how non-human parties like physical landscapes, weather, climate, dogs, may take part in changes, in which tourism developments might be ecologically embedded. At the same time, the development of events and festivals as commercial tourism products are delivered by uncommodified volunteer tourists and locals. This thesis also questions whether the tourism industry, and events and festivals, are aware of the role they possess for each other in Finnmark rural areas? This role is related especially to tourism development, and better seasonality, which might increase tourism in low season.

8.3 *Tourism, festivals & local communities*

As part of this thesis, a better understanding of tourism and festivals as an integral part of local communities has evolved. What and whom is excluded from the common definition of tourism? Such an exclusion might mean that the ‘what and whom’ do not contribute or rather are not assumed to contribute to the development of tourism in a community. As a consequence, some industrial actors could seek the potential benefits in other indirect ways. A different understanding of tourism than the

more limited economic approach often applied in event studies, might be interesting for many reasons when analysing benefits for local societies.

For local communities, it can be perceived as positive that some people – or tourists – use their holidays in different ways to participate in festivals. This role that volunteer tourists take connected to a local event, could be understood using Urry's (1990) words. He proffers that tourists have different gazes, and what could be considered as non-tourist experiences, depends upon with what it is contrasted. These gazes could also be formed through a collective gaze, which is rooted in the enjoyment of gazing collectively at places with other like-minded, and often unknown volunteer tourists. The volunteers spend money on travel, food, overnight stays and equipment, and this becomes part of the economic dynamics in a place. In addition to the - even if often small – direct economic benefits, there can be other benefits to the local community. The tourists might also introduce new knowledge to the festivals and to the local society, strengthen the awareness of local identity, help to stage and develop the festivals and foster a positive reputation of the festivals and the destination. In addition to the core activity of a festival, networking also occurs within festival venues creating encounters between different stakeholders, which often is an important part of the attractiveness of festivals. Festivals might also attract new groups to the area because of opportunities for leisure-oriented activities, which through life-style entrepreneurship might be turned into businesses.

Festivals have become important for tourism in many ways: some tourists seek products and activities that are related to their special interests, which are sometimes dependent on special local conditions like the Arctic nature many of the festivals in Finnmark offer. This thesis indicates that small-scale festivals in rural areas are important for tourism and local society, in a different way than festivals in cities. In these sparsely populated areas, festivals create encounters among the locals, and also welcome people from outside as volunteers or participants in

the core activity and as audience members. These findings are also supported by Hjalager (2014) pointing out that festivals might create bridging networks and collaborative relations for innovation. In these festival venues, the tourists create their own experiences together with the local people, through encounters that would not have been there without the festivals. Some of these joint activities have also fostered tourism development outside the festival period, and, have made use of the natural environment. Activities executed by lifestyle entrepreneurs interested in sea angling, biking or sled dog driving have established their own tourism businesses.

The thesis has not especially identified negative impacts associated with the festivals, events and tourism that were part of my research. However, the thesis has demonstrated that with respect to innovation and festivalisation, there is always someone gaining from the development of festivals and tourism, while others are left out. It was not the focus of my research to identify what and who are not being developed and/or what are the negative impacts associated with existing innovation and festivalisation in festivals and tourism, or why? In general, tourism is changing in northern Norway, as with other tourism destinations located in the Arctic, where there has been increased “lime light”, and media coverage, resulting in tourists feeling the need to visit the Arctic (Maher, Gelter, Hillmer-Pegram, Hovgaard, Hull, Jóhannesson, Karlsdóttir, Rantala, & Pashkevich, 2014) This has generated increased Northern light tourism in the winter, and sea fishing in the summer. As a consequence, some claim that areas are too crowded in the peak season, for example, in Lofoten. At the moment, festival and event tourism in Finnmark appears to be in a beginning phase, and if it increases, new issues must be addressed. Both how to preserve such arenas for the benefit of tourism, and the local community, in addition to how such development impacts on different groups that make up the ever-changing local communities.

9 Contribution to knowledge

This thesis has emphasized the need to understand festivals from the perspective of two different research traditions, one from the context of identity and traditions, and the other from an event management perspective. These two perspectives were and are necessary in order to capture the complexity of festivals as a phenomenon. At the same time, capturing such complexity served to identify some important insights into tourism and festivals relationships.

First, this thesis identifies tourism roles performed by special interest tourists participating as volunteers or participants in core activities in festivals. This area of research has received little focus in extant research. These tourists may represent an important workforce; give inspiration and new knowledge for local festivals and communities; and, create experiences through new encounters with local people. These tourists are participating in a working holiday, wherein the fact that this tourism product is not commodified is perhaps a strength.

Second, the integrative role festivals have locally is an important identity marker, and also a starting point for the development of new tourism products created by lifestyle entrepreneurs. The latter build up new tourism businesses, and some of their activities are staged in a festival's venue in nature. They also enable sustainable tourism development.

Third, the thesis emphasizes how festivals in small rural places deal with complex phenomena, especially, different and apparently contradictory activities. Within festival encounters created in a rural area, old identities are preserved and strengthened – often in a new form, and new identities are constructed during meetings between tourists and residents. Festivals are locally anchored in communities, but also engage many external actors that also have other agendas than a festival's core activity, which is why these actors participate in a festival as a meeting place.

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Fourth, in festival encounters the interaction between the tourists and the locals provides a ticket to backstage experiences that are value-oriented as well as built and created on the premise of tourist interests, local cultures and communities. Such interactions provide `unique` experiences, representing a form of creative tourism. These experiences cannot be bought, but have to be created by tourists and local people together, and staged through festival encounters.

10 Future research

To my knowledge there is research on lifestyle entrepreneurs related to festivals, while there is less research on how they have influenced tourism development in *rural* areas. Also rare is research related to creative tourism where one ‘lives like a local’ in terms of festival experiences in rural areas, or like a “permanent tourist”, or from the perspective that experienced volunteer tourists hold that they do not consider themselves as tourists anymore.

In this thesis I find that most festivals depend on a volunteer workforce. How this workforce is sustained in the future is important for the overall sustainability of festivals. It would also be enlightening to study the volunteer role in terms of development, management, knowledge building, values and tourism experiences in future research.

In previous research, volunteer tourism has mostly been related to helping poor people or rescue projects for threatened animals. Related tourism products are often sold as a package through a tour operator. Research is needed into volunteer tourism related to festivals and events, in so called developed countries. While such tourism is based on tourists living out their special leisure interests or work interests through a working holiday predicated on personal goals, and enrichment of their lives; limited research exists with regard to this.

In addition, there is a lack of research on natural and cultural venues related to festivals and events. In particular, what is the importance of a venue and to whom? For the local people and society, or for tourism development with a focus on the use of new areas and the development of new tourism products based on local culture and nature? Consideration of this is especially important in the Arctic, where there is pressure on the use of natural resources because of the mining industry, tourism as well as the development of infrastructure with roads and leisure cabins. As these pressures may create challenges for local

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traditional businesses such as reindeer herding, and other traditional culture and nature-based businesses, this lack of research requires further study. This view is also acknowledged by Keskitalo and Skilar (2016), who suggest a more critical approach should be enacted with regard to how destination discourses are packaged in relation to potential tourism market requirements. However, in the Arctic, most small communities still are characterized by lack of interest from outsiders, rather than the high amount of visitors coming to certain places.

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List of Articles and Book chapters

- I Jaeger, K. & Mykletun, R. J. (2009). The Festivalscape of Finnmark. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 9(2/3), 327-348.
- II Jaeger, K. (2012). Diverging Interests in Small-Scale Festival Tourism. In Furunes, T., Mykletun, R. & Marnburg, E. *Current Research in Hospitality and Tourism*, pp. 333-351. Fagbokforlaget.
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- VI Jæger, K. (2018). Event start-ups as catalysts for place, sport and tourism development: Moment scapes and geographical considerations. *Sport in Society*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2018.1555218>

Paper I

The Festivalscape of Finnmark.

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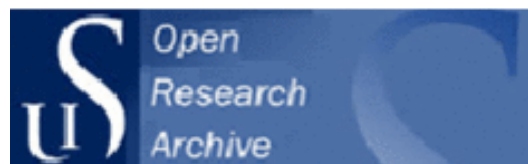
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The Festivalscape of Finnmark

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ABSTRACT *The diversity of festivals in Finnmark, Norway, was researched with the aim of creating a festival map of the county's Festivalscape. Data were collected by questionnaires to the registered festival managers. It was concluded that Finnmark is a festive county where 72,000 people share close to 60 festivals arranged annually in 19 municipalities across the county. The festivals were categorized as either music, arts, sports or market festivals, however the largest group were named thematic festivals as they are each built around rather unique themes, thus representing a diverse example of festival variety and creativity. Even so, live music and food sales are found at most festivals, and all festivals have more than one main activity. Festivals are by no means a source of paid employment for the inhabitants, but rich opportunities for more than 3000 volunteers to participate in creating compressed cultural expressions and develop social networks. The number of visitors at the festivals varies from 100 to 10,000 persons. It is also a cost effective way of culture production as most of the festivals present budgets below 500,000 NOK. Entrance fees, sales of merchandise, sponsorship and public municipality funding are the most important source of sponsorship. A wide range of themes are represented in these festivals in which ethnicity, nationality and various border themes also play roles as ideological bases and cultural framing of the events. The tourism potential of the festivals and their actual production processes seems underdeveloped.*

KEY WORDS: Festival, festival ecology, festival categories, festival ownership, festival management, festival tourism-orientation, Finnmark, Norway

Introduction

This research study aimed to contribute to a clarification of the festival concept by: (a) discussing its defining characteristics, and (b) exploring these characteristics by means of establishing a first *Festival ecology* and *Festival map* of Finnmark. As it is not completely clear what types of events fall under the term festival, the first purpose of this research is to discuss the festival construct and gain a clearer understanding of the "festival" term in order to facilitate its operationalization, both for the reasons of research and for public policies and financial support. Hence, the first research question was: What are the defining characteristics of a festival and the meaning of the

term festival? This is dealt with in the theory review and illustrated by the empirical investigation. Second, little research has so far addressed the ecology of the festivals, which will be attempted here. Thus the second research question was: How can the diversity of festivals in Finnmark be described with respect to their localization, age and continuity, profile, content, vision, size, activities, attendance, ownership and financing, and to what extent does this diversity reflect their context?

As seen elsewhere in Norway and in Europe, the number of festivals is rapidly increasing in Finnmark, the northernmost part of mainland Europe, and their growth has accelerated mainly throughout the last 5–7 years, with 56 festivals identified in this study in Finnmark. This rapid growth contributes to the leisure sector and has a great potential for the tourism business. Festivals represent a solid amount of voluntary work and consumption of culture and services. They may be rooted in historical, socio-cultural and/or natural features (Falassi, 1987; Getz, 2007) or several “capitals” of their place (Mykletun, 2009). Moreover, they are believed to contribute to local cultural and economic growth (Allen, O’Toole, McDonnell, & Harris, 2002; Getz, 2005), thus balancing the capitals invested in their organizing (Mykletun, 2009).

In this respect, Finnmark is rather unique as a festival context. Situated entirely north of the polar circle it is the northernmost county in Norway stretching from latitudes of 68 degrees and 20 minutes to 71 degrees and 11 minutes north, and eastwards approximately to the same length as Leningrad and Istanbul. In 2007 it had 72,473 inhabitants, and an area of 48,649 square kilometres or slightly more than the size of Denmark. Population density differs though as Finnmark has 1.5 persons per square kilometre compared with 125 persons per square kilometre in Denmark. The inhabitants have indigenous Sámi, Kven (Finnish), Russian or Norwegian ancestries and live mainly in small and often multi-cultural villages and towns (see Figure 1). The county borders Russia and Finland which is particularly special for the area. Over the centuries there have been rich trading and social contacts across the borders with Russia and Finland, and settlers have moved into Finnmark from those areas and vice versa. It may be referred to as the Barents region which contains a unique blend of traditions, ethnicity and history, which is different from its neighbouring areas. There are few man-made attractions in this area today. During World-War II the county was of high strategic importance and consequently occupied by German troops who in 1944 burned down and destroyed all man-made constructions when they withdrew under pressure from the Soviet army, who again returned to the old Russian-Norwegian borders in the summer of 1945. Also the natural contrasts make Finnmark unique with its contrasting “light” seasons with midnight sun in the summer and polar nights with northern lights in the winter. The main employment in the county is from fishing, farming (including reindeer), trade and service.

As the festivals in Finnmark are supposed to reflect the county’s unique blend of contextual factors (i.e. nature, culture, history, ethnicity and borders with Russia and Finland), they constitute an adequate population for a study of festival ecology. Ecological research in organizations typically begins with three observations: “(1) diversity is a property of aggregates of organizations, (2) organizations often have difficulty devising and executing changes to meet the demands of uncertain, changing environments, and (3) the community of organizations is rarely stable – organizations arise and disappear continually” (Baum, 1996, p. 71). The festival organization is

described in an ecological perspective by Getz and Andersson (2008). They argue that, first, a smaller organization is more vulnerable when density of the population increases, and also that organizations without close ties to institutions are less likely to survive. Second, they point out that age is a difficult variable, because a young organization that finds a more effective and efficient way (or perhaps a better festival product) could conceivably replace older, less adaptable festivals; and third, that the structure and processes of organizations (linked to their culture) tend to change slowly, and this inertia might make them vulnerable. On the other hand, festivals have a dynamic inherent with their increasing exposures to competitions that sharpen their innovative edges which leads to more creativity compared to many other areas of cultural life.

The Festival Phenomenon

It is difficult to create a list of all the festivals that are arranged in Norway as the use of the term "festival" is unclear both among the organizers and the surrounding population, and no complete register is to be found. Annually, more than 600 festivals are supposed to be arranged in Norway (Aronsen, 2006; <http://www.aktivioslo.no/festivaler.php>; <http://www.abcnyheter.no/node/40795>). "Norske Festivaler" (Norwegian Festivals) is a membership organization consisting of festivals, cultural festivals and theatre productions. They include 70 festivals in their listing of Norwegian festivals. On their website the Arts Council Norway, *Norsk Kulturråd*, lists the events receiving their financial support, where music is the only art form that is connected to the term festival in their list. The Norwegian Parliament's White Paper on "Culture and Trade" (St.meld. 22, 2006/07) presents a definition of commercial activities that belong to the field of culture-trade or experience economy, including: architecture, design, film/photo/video, art, books, newspapers, magazines etc., advertisements and commercials, TV and radio, library, museum, music. The term "festival" is not listed among them. The term festival is not mentioned either on the web pages subsection of *Finnmark County* (Finnmark Fylkeskommune) or in their presentation of culture in Finnmark. *Statistics Norway* (Statistisk Sentralbyrå) presents an alphabetical A – Å list of activities but there is no listing that includes the term festival. A search for the term festival on their website results in nine hits, and the latest entry is from 2004. Thus, there seems to be a need for ways of creating an overview of the plethora of festival activities and for sharpening the definition of the concept.

Festivals are important as an area of leisure and possibly also tourism activities. In 2004 *Statistics Norway* showed that almost three out of ten Norwegians attend festivals. Festival consumers are mainly young people, and no gender differences apply. Music festivals and especially rock festivals are most frequently visited. According to the *Norwegian Rock Association* (Norsk Rockforbund), more than half a million people attended music festivals in Norway in 2007 (population size = 4,800,000); and more than 150 rock festivals were arranged (*Dagbladet*, 30 July 2007 and 6 August 2007).

The festivals might reflect our ways of living and also our ways of creating and enjoying the cultural scene. Throughout history festivals have been connected to religious celebrations, weddings, state ceremonies and a good harvest. As the festivals

have entered a society's cultural scene over the years, the understanding and definition of the phenomenon and concept of "festival" has changed. According to Kwok-bun and Sai-shing (2005), people used to hold the tradition of celebrating in the marketplace or in the streets, but these public celebrations tended to disappear some years ago. When amusements started to be enjoyed in amusement parks, recreation as consumption accelerated. It was a social happening where people were together sharing activities and experiences, as opposed to being alone in their activity in front of TV, or the computer, or in the cinema and theatre. The recent rejuvenation of public celebrations as seen in the new wave of festivals may reflect a search for a "lost" feeling of togetherness that is supposed to have existed in the old days. Festival participants share the same "voluntary time" for some days, listening to music, participating in competitions, eating, drinking and sleeping together. Compared to the needs of daily living a certain quantity of surplus resources are needed to create celebrations. The sharp rise of festivals and energies that are applied in their productions may be a sign of recent wealth (Fjell, 2005), and a growing self-centeredness expressed through the celebration element of all festivals.

Festivals are different but have similarities that may be said to constitute the core of the festival phenomenon. Media contribute to identifying festival variability to consumers as illustrated by headlines like: "Clip fish, samba and cook fight" – (*Dagbladet* 24 August 2007); and "Sun, rain, laughter and metal" (*Dagbladet*, 26 August 2007). Moreover, media also support the idea of festival life as different from everyday life: "On a festival it is different, here we can discover the unknown, open doors to new room, get our senses and taste challenged and satisfied" (*Dagbladet*, 27 August 2007); and also highlighting the deviant and socially negative behaviour of festival participants: "The drunken party is over", "Violence, drunkenness and – narcotics" (*Finnmark Dagblad*, 16 July 2007); and "Wild, wonderful and wet" (*Nordlys*, 27 August 2007). These features of festivals were noticed by Falassi: "At festival times, people do something they normally do not: they abstain from something they normally do; they carry to the extreme behaviours that are usually regulated by measure; they invert patterns of daily social life. Reversal, intensification, trespassing, and abstinence are the four cardinal points of festive behaviour" (Falassi, 1987, p. 3). In the context of festivals, Getz (2007, p. 179) places the time out of time as "... conative, cognitive and affective dimensions of experience modified by level of engagement/involvement", preceded by antecedents – needs, motivations, moods and expectations; signalled by separation, valorization rituals and entry statements; and followed by reversion such as feelings of loss, renewal and transformation.

A basic criterion defining all types of festivals is that they are temporary and one of the most common forms of cultural celebrations (Getz, 2005). Some of these are traditional with a long history, while most of the festivals have started in recent years. There are many different themes that are presented in festivals, for example themes such as art, food, music and sports. A festival is characterized by being arranged at a certain time, they are public and they contrast daily life due to the themes that are presented and the activities that are offered. There are different ways to describe and promote festivals, and some sports events have chosen to name a specific *Festival* in the sports event and they have their own *Festival program* (e.g. Ekstremспортveko in Voss, Norway (Olsen, 2007; Mykletun, 2009).

Most festivals are based on voluntary work and have been initiated for ideological reasons; while others are pure commercial enterprises or they are a combination of the two. According to Getz (2007, p. 31) "...a festival is a themed, public celebration". All the Finnmark festivals studied here are public in the sense that people could either be an audience in for example a music festival or participants in for instance the Finnmarksløpet (a dog sled competition), or most often also a volunteer. They are themed with different cultural and natural aspects, as for example The Easter Festival (Påskefestivalen) with the Sámi culture and Polar Spectacle with the King Crab. The celebration in these festivals is a festive act, where people with the same interests spend time together in the different activities, for example listening to music, drinking, eating and dancing. Relating to Falassi's (1987) conceptualization: "Festival is an event, a social phenomenon, encountered in virtually all human cultures. The colourful variety and dramatic intensity of its dynamic choreographic and aesthetic aspects, the signs of deep meaning underlying them, its historical roots and the involvement of the "natives" have always attracted the attention of casual visitors, consumed travelers and men of letters alike" (Falassi, 1987, p. 1).

The term festival comes from the Latin words "festum" and "feira" (Falassi, 1987). Both words describe festive happenings. "Festum" mean public happiness, the jolly and playful, while "feira" is the absence from work to honour the Gods. Over time these terms became synonymous in classical Latin. To Falassi, festivals are periodically recurrent, social occasions "... in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview" (Falassi, 1987, p. 2). This definition captures well some characteristics of the festivals in Finnmark as the population is multicultural with different ethnic roots. The festivals provide an arena for communication and togetherness across these ethnical and culturally slightly different groups where historical bonds may be rejuvenated, thus constituting an example of tourism at borders as a phenomenon.

The understanding of festivals may also be related to the driving force behind them, which may be both economically and socially motivated. At least three main types of festivals may be identified according to their ownership structure (Getz, 2005, 2007): (i) commercially motivated festivals, which are festivals constructed so that the organizers can make profit; (ii) public festivals, which are owned and arranged by municipalities or county authorities, and where profit-making is sub-ordinate to the celebration motivation; and (iii) non-profit festivals, which are owned and arranged by non-profit organizations for celebration or for enhancing the interests of the organizers, and run with or without support from the public sector. Clearly, festivals may be seen as exponents of the *experience economy* (Getz, 2007), which in Norway also has been named as *culture trade* (Hjemdahl, 2006). They offer experiences commodified by condensation in time and place to fit consumption in busy time-schedules of the visitors, exhibitors and performers (Mykletun, 2009). Pine and Gilmore (1998) argue that commodities are fungible, goods tangible, services intangible, and experiences memorable. A festival can just be experienced here and now, and the memorable experiences from a next festival would be different regardless the objective similarities of the two festivals compared, depending on many factors as for example different

people, music and weather conditions. Pine & Gilmore (1998) also see festivals in the perspective of an outdoor shopping mall. People get charged to get in to the festival, as for example the Garlic Festival in California, where the visitors judge them worth the fees because the festival operators script distinctive experiences around enticing themes, as well as stage activities that captivate customers before, after and while they shop. An economizing of the culture, with a stronger connection between financial resources and culture – an experience economy, is a trend into business sectors as tourism, events, lifestyle products, leisure time and culture. Acting in the border areas between culture and market, between arts and finance, the festivals may establish new arenas and meeting points, thus they may be forerunners for cultural developments (Aronsen, 2006). Festivals have always provided meaningful connectivity and spectacles for visitors, although they have only recently become a part of organized domestic and international tourism (Picard & Robinson, 2006).

The understanding of the festival concept has thus far been quite open and inclusive. However, the definitional criteria are important for those who wish to have financial support for their event from the public sector. In Norway the Parliament has pointed out some festivals that will have a leading role within their class. These are called Hub Function Festivals (Knutepunktfestivaler). These festivals will receive state funding and are limited by nine criteria: They should be anchored to the place, produce festival activity every year, give artistic contributions, play a role as coordinator and co-adjutant to other festivals, show a national and international orientation, be creative and take a developmental orientation, contribute to public development, be parsimonious in the use of their resources, and be involved in regional co-operation (St. meld nr.10, 2007/08). One should expect that such criteria might influence festivals with regard to their choice of philosophy, themes, organizational practices and promotion.

A festival definition applied by the authors in this study is created based on the above discussion of the festival concept and the nature of the festivals in Finnmark. *A festival is a public, themed celebration with a formal program. It has a core activity and additional activities. The festival has a timescale, in which it accomplishes both the core activity and the additional activities.*

Applying the above definition, the empirical part of this research aims at broadening our understanding of the festival concept by establishing a profile of festivals in one region in Norway – namely Finnmark. The profile is drawn by examining different issues: Where are the festivals located and how are they composed with respect to size and ownership? What are their major content and themes, and what are their budgets and potential for establishing trade and employment? How are they staffed and financed? How may their “festival ecology” be described as a “Festivalscape” of Finnmark? As the context is unique, the contribution of the research is limited to being a first and basic step to a deeper understanding of the festival phenomena in these northernmost and thinly peopled societies.

Method

After discussing the research with festival managers and representatives from the county and some municipality administrations, a cross-sectional design was chosen to

collect the profiling data from all festivals in Finnmark. The population and the sample for this study were identical, i.e. all events in Finnmark during 2007 that matched the definition of a festival as launched in the present study. The data collection became complicated, however. No complete register of these festivals existed. Also, some events were festivals according to our definition, but did not see themselves as such and were named otherwise. Others did not use the term festival in their name but believed that they were festivals. A third group used the festival name without matching the criteria set by the definition.

A first request was sent to all Municipality Departments of Culture in Finnmark, asking for information about festivals and events arranged in their district, including the names of all festivals in the municipality, the names of the largest festivals, which of the festivals have received support from the public sector, how many times have they been arranged, and the name and contact information for the different festivals/events. The Finnmark County Department of Culture was also contacted for supplementary information, which referred to the web pages of Finnmark Tourist Board (Finnmark Reiseliv). The final population and sample consisted of 83 organizations, which then received the questionnaire.

Data were collected by the "Questionnaire for festival managers or owners" (Andersson, Carlsen, Ali-Knight, Jaeger, Mykletun, & Taylor, 2008; see also Andersson & Getz, 2008; Getz & Andersson, 2008). It was translated from English to Norwegian by the second author, and collected information regarding festival name and content, vision, year of inauguration, number of visitors attending, number of employees and volunteers, tourism orientation, ownership, stakeholders, budget, use of entrance fees and questions about other sources of financing.

Of the 83 questionnaires distributed, 65 were finally returned, most of them dependent upon numerous reminders over a ten month period. Of the 18 that have not answered the questionnaire, ten did not acknowledge the request, while eight answered by letter, e-mail or phone giving different reasons for their lack of participation. The reasons for non-participation included: did not define themselves as a festival (even though the term festival is part of the name), did not feel that the questionnaire was relevant, thought that the questionnaire was too big, no time to answer, thought that the festival had changed, or had new organizers. They defined themselves as fishing competitions, volleyball tournaments, fairs, memorial days, cultural weeks and theatre shows. Seven managers returned the questionnaire empty claiming that their festivals were not festivals. Examples were the Cultural Event for Youth and the Culture Week, which were arranged by the municipalities. Some of the "culture weeks" arranged by the municipalities did not feel that the questionnaire was relevant to them. Some festivals, for instance Aronnesrocken in Alta avoided the festival term in their name arguing that there are too many festivals, and they will lose their special brand in the market by using the phrase festival in their name. The use of the questionnaire thus became difficult both for the organizers and for the researchers. Consequently, the findings in this paper are based on the 56 of the 65 questionnaires that were returned, with an effective response rate of 67%.

Data were entered into SPSS for analyses of frequencies and descriptive statistics. The validity and reliability of the measurements from the festivals were to

be judged at their face value; however, the questionnaire-based information was as far as possible checked as to their correspondence with other available information about the festivals. This triangulation supported the questionnaire information in general, and exceptions were checked by contact with festival managers.

Results

Festival Density and Diversity

Finnmark of today presents itself as a festive county, offering approximately one festival per 1,000 inhabitants. The 56 festivals included in this study were located mainly in towns and townships: Alta hosted nine festivals, Kautokeino seven, Vardø and Tana five each, and Sør-Varanger and Hamarfest four each (Figure 1, see also Table 1). Together they presented a great diversity, ranging from indoor music festival with quality jazz concerts with emphasis on Norwegian musicians in Vadsø; Sled-Dog Race 1000 km through the Finnmark County; and a Christian festival with Catholic talks and Russian Orthodox and Lutheran services in Vardø. Included also were the Polar Spectacle (a 3-year-old king crab festival in Vadsø), the old and traditional Bossekop Market in Alta (the oldest Market festival in Finnmark which is still held. According to the Alta Museum, there has been a market there since the 14th century, which in 1836 became an official market according to the law. It was arranged annually until 1959 and, after a break it was reintroduced in 1989, and it is still held every year). Many of the festivals used nature as themes in their festivals as for example the Nordic-skiing-at-midnight-for-women, which takes place on the first night in the spring when they can see the midnight sun. Another example was the Sámi Film Festival which showed films on an outdoor snow screen, while the audience was sitting on warm reindeer skins on snow benches. Finnmark festivals have colourful varieties based on the different venues as for example snow stage, a rock festival out on the Tana River beach and themes that described witches, fishing culture or ballet. The historical roots are represented through the Sámi culture which has meant a lot for festival visitors throughout the generations. The different ethnicity in some of the festivals in Finnmark gave two different aspects to the understanding of ethnicity in festivals. First, inside the community a festival played the role of unifying humans with the same ethnicity. As shown in an example in one of the festivals, where a young Sámi girl was asked why she liked this music. She answered that the most important thing was that it was "Sámi music – our music." Second, the different ethnicity could be attractive to visitors and people from different cultures could feel more welcome. The biggest and the oldest festivals in Finnmark are in this sample, and all of the 19 municipalities in the county were represented.

Festival Vision and Typology

"Why" the festival was arranged – was reported by 53 of the festivals. Two of the festivals had no vision, and one did not respond to this question. The reasons for

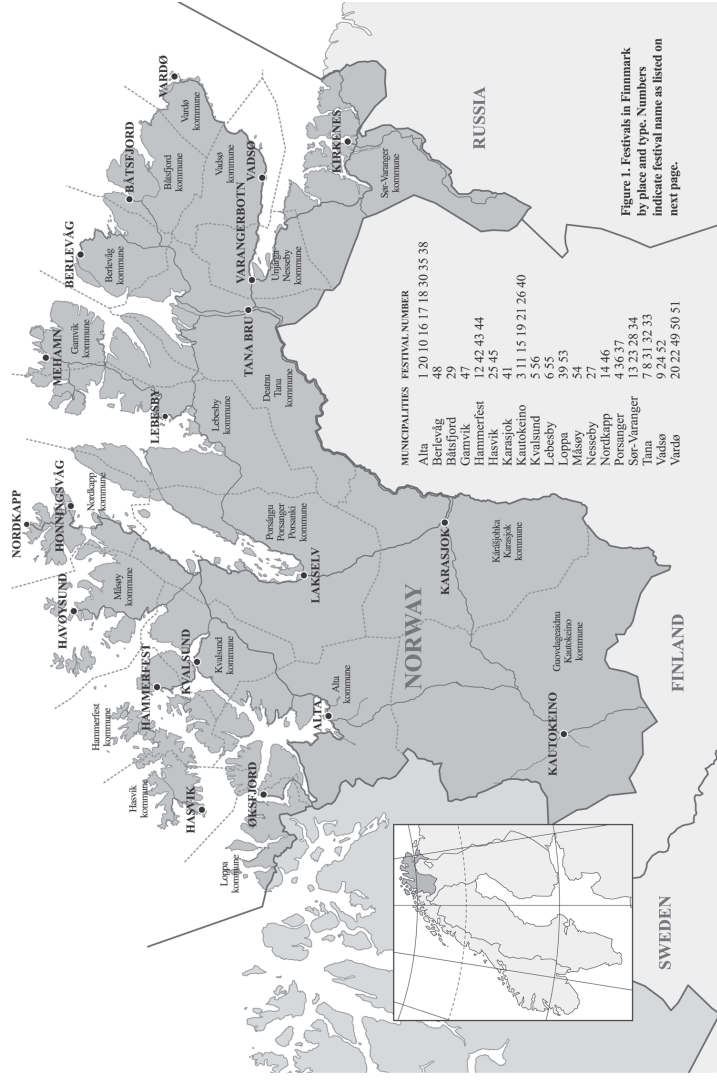


Figure 1. Festivals in Finnmark by place and type. Numbers indicate festival name as listed on next page.

Figure 1. Festivals in Finnmark by place and type. Numbers indicate festival name as listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Festivals in Finnmark by name, place and main content ($N = 56$). Festival number refers to map in Figure 1.

Type	Festival number/name	Festival location	Main content of festival
Music ($n = 10$)	1. Aronnesrocken	Alta	Rock festival for young musicians. (Outdoor and indoors)
	2. Alta Soul & Blues festival	Alta	Indoor soul & blues festival
	3. Kautokeino Country festival	Kautokeino	Outdoor country festival
	4. Midnattsrocken	Lakselv, Porsanger	Outdoor Midnight Rock festival.
	5. Fegstokkfestivalen	Kvalsund	Outdoor music festival
	6. Chrisfestivalen	Kjøllefjord, Lebesby	Outdoor and indoor music festival
	7. Skippagurafestivalen	Tana	Outdoor music festival
	8. Austertana Musikkfestival	Tana	Indoor music festival
	9. Varangerfestivalen	Vadsø	Indoor music festival
	10. Alta Canyon festival	Alta	Outdoor music festival
Art ($n = 5$)	11. Sámifilm festival	Kautokeino	Outdoor Sámi Film festival (on snow in polar night)
	12. Dansefestival Barents	Hammerfest	Dance Festival
	13. Barents Spektakel	Kirkenes, Sør-Varanger	Art festival focusing the Barents region
	14. Nordkapp Filmfestival	Honningsvåg, Nordkapp	Film festival
	15. Sámske kunst dager i Maze	Maze, Kautokeino	Sámi art festival
Sport ($n = 14$)	16. Altaturneringen i håndball	Alta	Indoor handball tournament for young people
	17. Altaturneringen i fotball	Alta	Soccer tournament for young people
	18. Finnmarksløpet	Starts in Alta	Sled-Dog Race, 1000 km through the Finnmark County
	19. Vanndrag Kautokeino	Kautokeino	Snow mobile race on lakes
	20. Arctic Giant Snowmobile Enduro	Ends in Vardø	Snowmobile race on snow from Finland to Norway
	21. Nilut Cup i Kautokeino	Kautokeino	Indoor football (soccer) tournament
	22. Yukigassen	Vardø	Snowball competition
	23. Pasvik Trail	Kirkenes, Sør-Varanger	Sled-Dog Race
	24. Arctic Kite Challenge	Vadsø	Kite competition

Table 1. Continued.

Type	Festival number/name	Festival location	Main content of festival
	25. Havfiskefestivalen på Sorøya	Sorvær, Hasvik	Sea-fishing competition
	26. Sikfestivalen i Kautokeino	Kautokeino	Sweetwater-fishing competition
	27. Fjordfiskefestivalen i Nesseby	Nesseby	Fjord-fishing competition
	28. Havfiskefestival i Bugøynes	Bugøynes, Sør-Varanger	Ocean-fishing competition
	29. Midnattski for kvinner	Båtsfjord	Nordic skiing at midnight for women only
Market (<i>n</i> = 5)	30. Bossekopmarkedet	Alta	Traditional Market
	31. Vuonnamárkanat	Tana	Market with Sámi subject and Sámi goods (Duodji)
	32. Tana Vintermarked	Tana	Winter market with Sámi goods for sale (Duodji)
	33. Tana Marked	Tana	Market with goods for sale with Sámi theme (Duodji)
	34. Kirkenesdagene	Kirkenes, Sør-Varanger	Market with goods for sale, concerts and activities
Thematic (<i>n</i> = 22)	35. UKA	Alta	Student week at the University College in Finnmark
	36. Fylkesrevyfestivalen i Finnmark	Lakselv, Porsanger	Cabaret competition attracting competitors from the whole county
	37. Arktiske mældager	Lakselv, Porsanger	Arctic food presentation
	38. Borealis Vinterfestival	Alta	Winter festival, mixed themes including Sámi market
	39. Øksfjordfestivalen	Øksfjord, Loppa	Different culture themes
	40. Påskefestivalen i Kautokeino	Kautokeino	Traditional Easter Celebration and Sámi Grand Prix
	41. Påskefestivalen i Karasjok	Karasjok	Easter Celebration with concerts, reindeer racing, snow mobile race
	42. Ølfestivalen i Hammerfest	Hammerfest	Beer festival with music, beer and meal experiences
	43. Mørketidsfestivalen	Hammerfest	Polar night festival with different local culture themes
	44. Hammerfestdagene	Hammerfest	Goods for sale, concerts and sport competition
	45. Sorøydagene	Sorvær, Hasvik	Hiking, excursions and concerts arranged through one week
	46. Nordkappfestivalen	Honningsvåg	Different culture themes arranged through one week
	47. Nordkynfestivalen	Mehamn, Gamvik	Different culture themes arranged through one week

Table 1. Continued.

Type	Festival number/name	Festival location	Main content of festival
	48. Sommer i Berlevåg	Berlevåg	Different culture themes arranged, one summer week
	49. Pomorfestivalen	Vardø	Cultural exchange between Russia and Norway
	50. Mikaelshelg i Vardø	Vardø	Christian festival
	51. Heksefestivalen	Vardø	Witch festival
	52. Polar Spectacle	Vadsø	Culture festival with food theme based on the King crab
	53. Råtstokkfestivalen	Loppa	Social happening for children and grown-ups
	54. Mørketidsuke i Kokelv	Kokelv, Måsey	Polar night week with music, food and different activities and old narrator traditions
	55. Utematfestivalen på Kunes	Kunes, Lebesby	Outdoor festival sharing and practicing knowledge about local food and old food traditions
	56. Snefford Highland Gathering	Snefford, Kvalsund	Outdoor festival with music, art, dance and competitions

arranging the festival was used to develop categories by themes and sort the festivals into them. Five different festival categories were decided upon to include all these festivals: *Music festivals*, *Art festivals*, *Sport festivals*, *Market festivals* and *Thematic festivals*. While the first four categories are commonly found, the fifth is unique in that it contains a large variety of specialized festivals. This is also the largest category counting 22 different events, followed by the Sport festivals counting 14, the Music festivals counting 10 events, and the Arts and the Market festivals counting five events each. *Music festivals* (Table 1) consisted of festivals where music in some way or another was exposed as the main festival theme. Among these, some were achievement-oriented, for instance the festival made it possible for young musicians from Finnmark and Northern Troms to perform on a professional stage to develop their professional skills. Others wished to show the rest of the Norwegian population what Finnmark had to offer and/or to create an arena for rock music in Finnmark. The border culture was argued by some to be important, and some wanted to promote Sámi and Nordic traditional music and to show a cross-section of culture in the Barents region. One festival even paid one Norwegian Kroner to the visitors instead of charging entrance fees, and the moneys collected at the festival were given to charity. The underlying belief was that the audience and local businesses would support a festival where the main aim was to develop knowledge about local music and not to make money for their own development.

The second group was named *Arts festivals* (Table 1). Visions for these art festivals included the will to create a forum where Sámi and other film producers could make new films and to make Sámi film visible to the rest of the world. A second strand of visions for art festivals included making spectacular art experiences with the use of nature. Finally, some art festivals wanted to present dance performances of high national and international quality, focusing on art and culture from the Barents region.

The third distinct category of festivals was dedicated to sports. These *Sports festivals* (Table 1) also had ambitious goals such as remaining the biggest youth soccer tournament in Northern Norway (Altaturneringen i fotball) or being the most challenging and sought after Sled-Dog Race in the world (Finnmarksløpet). There was also a vision to gather children that love handball to a weekend focusing on handball (Altaturneringen i håndball) and another to gather soccer players from all of Sápmi in a football tournament (Nilut Cup in Kautokeino). The ocean fishing competitions wanted to rejuvenate their local communities and attract fishing tourists. Also, a stated aim for some of the sport festivals included increasing business in the town, and creating future festivals.

The fourth category is named *Market festivals* (Table 1). For some of these festivals the vision was to strengthen Sámi language and culture, and to promote duodji (Sámi handicraft) and traditional products from local society. They also wanted to encourage cooperation between local trade and organizations.

A large group of festivals each had very unique themes or visions and were thus difficult to categorize like the other four groups of festivals. The aim of these festivals ranged from cultural exchange to creating good relations between Norway and Russia to celebrating and visualizing Sámi culture. Some wanted to

create contentment in the polar night period of the year with a meeting-point for the local inhabitants, or market local raw-materials through Sámi and Kven food traditions and to recreate old coastal cultures. Several of these festivals wanted to represent the geographical area and the nature they belong to by making the music, art, food and local cultures from the Barents region visible. This large group of festivals was thus categorized as *Thematic festivals* (Table 1). Most of these had an ideological reason behind their creation, such as celebrating and displaying the Sámi culture, and increasing the well-being of inhabitants and visiting summer guests.

All the festivals reported more than one activity no matter what category they belonged to (Table 2). Food for sale and musical entertainment were the themes included in most festivals. Meal experiences and sportive games were in particular reported by the Thematic festivals. Parades were the least frequently occurring activity.

Festival Continuity

The oldest festival, which was a Market festival, dated back to 1836, and the second oldest was a Thematic festival established in 1956. The next festival to be established was in 1972, and three festivals were inaugurated from 1972 to 1979. Another 11 festivals were launched between 1980 and 1989 and 13 festivals appeared between 1990 and 1999. The bulk of festivals started from 1990 and onwards with a peak between 2003 and 2005, and a total of 26 were created between 2000 and 2007. The median year within this range was year 2000 and the mode was 2004, which was the year that saw eight new festivals being installed. The five Market festivals were initiated from 1836 to 2005, while the Thematic festivals appeared between 1956 and 2007. Music festivals were launched between 1972 and 2006, and Sports festivals from 1981 to 2004. The youngest were the Arts festivals, which were inaugurated from 1996 to 2007. Festival continuity was the major trend – 48 of the festivals had been produced annually since their inauguration while seven had not.

Festival Attendance

The number of visitors at the festivals varied from 100 to 10,000 persons. Most festivals were small as measured by attendance. Mean attendance rate was 2,435 visitors, however the standard deviation was high (SD = 3079). The median value was 1500 and the mode 2000. Seventeen of the festivals had less than 500, and 23 of the festivals had less than 1000 visitors. The larger festivals (9000–10,000 visitors) were typically the market festivals, and the music and the thematic festivals each reported one of these larger festivals. Arts and sports festivals were mainly smaller festivals. Increasing numbers of visitors over the past five years were reported by 27 of the festivals, 26 reported no change, and one festival reported decreased participation rates. Attracting tourists to the festival was seen as a relevant way of growth. On a scale from one to seven (1 = completely disagree and 7 = complete agree) the average response was 3.8 (SD = 1.67), the median value was four and the mode value was five. This tourism focus was most pronounced among the music, the market and the arts festivals while the thematic and especially the

Table 2. Festival activities across the five festival categories ($N = 56$).

Activities	Categories of festivals					Total (56)
	Music festival (10)	Art festival (5)	Sport festival (14)	Market festival (5)	Thematic festival (22)	
Live music	10	2	5	4	19	40
Dance/other performing arts	4	3	1	4	12	24
Visual arts	4	3	1	1	8	17
Exhibitions of products	0	1	5	5	12	23
Demonstration of educational purposes	0	2	4	2	7	15
Food for sale	10	1	10	5	16	42
Alcoholic beverages for sale	9	0	4	2	13	28
Games, sport	2	1	11	6	14	34
Parade	1	0	1	1	6	9
Meal experience	1	1	1	2	14	19
Other	2	3	6	4	11	26

sports festivals were less interested in tourism. Twelve festivals did not respond to this question.

Employed Staff and Volunteers

The Finnmark Festivalscape is mainly staffed by volunteers. Only four full-time employees and ten part-time employees work for a few of the festivals. One thematic festival and one arts festival had two full-time employees each. Another thematic festival and a sports festival had one full-time employee each. Two thematic festivals had only part-time employees. Forty-six festivals had no all-year employees, 25 of the festivals hired employees only for the period when the festival was being arranged, and 26 used volunteers only. Only two of the festivals did not use volunteers, 30 of the festivals had between 0 and 49 volunteers, and the maximum number of volunteers used by one festival was 350. Only three sports festivals and one market festival used between 200 and 350 volunteers. The mean number of volunteers was 61.5 (SD = 80), median value was 28.5, and the mode was 15 volunteers. The arts and the thematic festivals used few volunteers. The fact that most festivals were arranged on a non-profit base was in conjunction with the extensive reliance on volunteers and the rare use of paid staff. Six festivals did not report the number of paid full-time employed staff; seven did not report the number of paid part-time staff, and ten did not report the number of volunteers.

Ownership, Budgets, Entrance Fees and Other Income

A variety of festival ownership was reported. Sixteen of the festivals were owned by the municipality, 17 by individual clubs and seven by co-operations between

clubs. Five festivals were owned by a non-profit foundation and five were owned by private companies with commercial aims. Six festivals did not respond to this question.

Budget details were reported by 46 festivals, and the total budgets ranged from 2,000 to 3,900,000 Norwegian kroner (NOK). The mean budget value was 586,457 NOK (SD = 829,223), median budget value were 225,000 NOK and mode budget value was 100,000 NOK. Thus, budgets were generally modest: 24 festivals reported budgets below 300,000 NOK, and another six had budgets between 300,000 and 500,000 NOK. The highest budgets were found among the music festivals, followed by the sports and arts festivals. Market and thematic festivals generally had the more modest budgets.

Generally the visitors paid tickets or fees to participate in parts of the festivals. Some combination of free access and some activities to be paid for were practiced by 36 of the festivals, among them five music festivals, four arts festivals, seven sports festivals, two market festivals and 16 of the thematic festivals. Paid admission only was reported by five of the music festivals, two of the arts festivals, two of the sports festivals and one thematic festival. However, 15 of the festivals charged no admission fees. Among these exceptions were one of the music festivals, five of the sports festivals, four of the market festivals and five of the thematic festivals. No arts festivals were completely free to enter. Ticket sales constituted the most important source of income (median value = 25% of the total 2007-budget), and at most this income made up for 85% of the budget for one festival.

The festivals also had other sources of income. Fifteen festivals reported sales of merchandise. Support from local Municipality administrations was central (received by 27 festivals) although the size of the contribution was generally not so high (median value of 12.5% of the festival budget, the maximum proportion reported was 100% for two festivals, and nine festivals got less than 11% of their budget from their local municipality). Finnmark County Administration contributed to 19 festivals with a median value of 5% of the budget, the maximum proportion reported was 50% for one festival, and 12 festivals got less than 11% of their budget from this source. The national state level contributed to ten festivals only; however, they contributed at best 50% of the budget for one festival. Corporate sponsorship was reported by 18 festivals with a median value of 10% of the budget, the maximum proportion reported was 56% for one festival, and 12 festivals got less than 11% of their budget through corporate sponsorship. Twenty-one festivals reported income from the unspecified "others" with a median value of 22.5% of the budget, the maximum proportion reported was 70% for one festival, while three festivals reported this source as contributing to less than 11% of the budget. These "other" sources of income were: film funds, participant fees, The Sámi Council, goods labeled with ads, support from industry and commerce, project funding, EU funding, advertisements, member fees, public grants, accommodation and rental of stands.

Discussion

The defining characteristics of a festival and the content of the term are quite complex issues. No official category system or overviews of festivals exist, and the population

is unstable as some disappear while new-comers enter the scene. In response to this, the first aim of this study was to contribute to the clarification of the festival concept by theory review and an empirical investigation.

Several authors describe contextual factors, attributes and processes of festivals that may contribute to the understanding of festival management and operation issues and the experiences of visitors, exhibitors and artists. However, such aspects contribute less to the definition of a festival as a unique type of event. To limit the population of festivals the study applied a definition of festivals as *a public, themed celebration with a formal program. It has a core activity and additional activities. The festival has a timescale, which accomplishes both the core activity and the additional activities.* This definition is more liberal than the central criteria applied by the Norwegian national government when enhancing the status of some festivals to Hub-function festivals (St. meld. nr.10, 2007/08), but it is still possible to utilize it for empirical research. However, as shown by this empirical research, events may demonstrate the characteristics of a festival without using the notion of festival in their name, and some would even avoid being conceived of as festivals due to connotations related to the festival concept that they would not like to be associated with. On the other hand, some use the festival term without displaying the characteristics of a festival. Also, some respondents (i.e. festival managers) were uncertain whether their event was a festival or not, and some did not respond because they felt the study was not really relevant to their event. The data collection took 10 months, and from the 83 organizations that were approached at the outset based on the theoretical definition of a festival, only 56 festivals (67 %) were finally included in the data set applied here. The loss of respondents was also caused by uncertainty and resistance from respondents to participate which were displayed in various ways. Consequently, the construction of a festival map within a region is quite difficult by means of survey research alone. Other methodologies supporting the survey are needed, for instance, documents and newspapers, internet, telephone or face-to-face interviews and observation. This outcome was not expected. It might reflect a tendency to regard festival management as a kind of casual as opposed to serious leisure activity (Stebbins, 2007) if not formalized as a paid staff position and if so, this outcome may be shown to be quite general in character. On the other hand, the development of festival management is towards increased formalization and bureaucratization (Getz, 2007), which may limit the generalizability of this research outcome over time.

In discussing the second aim of this study which focused on the festival map or ecology of Finnmark, the empirical part of the study showed that; although each municipality throughout the county had established its own festival, most of the festivals are localized in the towns. One of the festivals dated back to 1836, another to 1956, some are established from 1972 and onwards, but half of the festivals have been developed after 2000 and thus represent new assets to the Finnmark cultural life. This appears to reflect a global trend (Getz, 2007). The recent growth of wealth correlates with increases in festival arrangements according to Fjell (2005), and this may apply also here both to the timing of the festival developments and their localization in the most densely populated areas. These findings regarding the recent onset of these festivals might thus be generalized.

The Finnmark festivals are generally small (half of them with less than 1500 visitors), managed, operated and staffed by volunteers, and they offer paid employment only to very few staff. This could be expected from comparing the number of festivals to the number of inhabitants in this county. Moreover, the relative participation at festivals in small places may be higher as compared to larger places (De Bres & Davis, 2001). Most of the festivals are owned by non-profit based clubs or organizations, co-operations between such clubs or organizations, municipalities or non-profit foundations. A minor portion is based on commercial interest and private ownership. The festivals that are established the closest to a commercial motif are the market festivals and the commercial (for profit) festivals. Although commercial, they wish to maintain distinctive local characters and cultures, and they are owned and arranged by local people. This finding may prove to be of general value, as one should not expect that investors, especially from outside the region, would not be likely to finance festivals with small budgets and possibilities for minor revenue only. Also, it may be claimed that local inhabitants would dislike working with companies and managers from outside their own region when organizing festivals (Gursoy, Kim, & Uysal, 2004). Limiting the festival size and budget revenues should thus be a way of protecting the festival for the local ownership.

Budgets are modest and less than 255,000 NOK for half of the festivals. However, positive economic side-effects are also likely to occur from festivals without permanent employees (Getz, 2005; Hall & Sharples, 2003; Hall, Mitchell, & Sharples, 2003). For instance, participants, locals and foreigners spend money at and around the festival. The establishing of the arena or venue will provide work and increase sales, and sponsors use the festival as exhibition windows. The public sector is the most important sponsor of these festivals, and they provide large volumes of cultural expressions and activities at a low price for the public, which is one of the intentions proclaimed by the ministry in their White Paper, "On Culture and Trade" (St.meld. nr. 22, 2006–2007). Ticket sales, public support and corporate sponsorship along with sales of various products are the main sources of income. Although the festivals are almost non-significant as employers in this county, the economic turnover gives them legitimacy as belonging to the cultural trade or experience economy.

Festivals may be categorized in sub-groups by various measures (e.g. Getz, 2007), for instance localization, age and continuity, profile, size, content, vision, activities, ownership and financing. Here, an attempt was made to group the festivals according to their main themes. Five groups were identified: music festivals (10), art festivals (5), sport festivals (14), market festivals (5) and thematic festivals which were festivals with special main themes that did not fit in with the other groups (22). Although this classification was possible according to the main festival themes, all the festivals had side activities making the festival mapping quite complex. Among these was especially music as an activity, but also sales of food and beverage, games and sports, dance and exhibitions were common means of celebrations, while parades were not. A wide variety of themes is observed, most of which are anchored to the context, either in nature and natural resources, history, culture, handicraft, arts and religion, and ethnicity. Most of the festivals are clearly context-related in the sense that they employ the relationship to or resources in their context for their program. Thus the variety of festivals in Finnmark displays a unique blend of themes and activities in special

environments that, even if provided mainly for the local inhabitants, might constitute a resource also for tourism businesses. This typology and the varieties of additional activities might be possible to generalize, however the actual festival themes will be unique to the place as long as the festivals hold local anchorages within the culture, history, borders, nature or social features (or “capitals” as described by Mykletun, 2009) of the place.

While market segments probably could be identified, the managers of the larger groups of festivals, that is, the thematic festivals and the sports festivals, generally displayed a low interest in orienting their festivals towards the tourism business. One reason might be their fear of having strangers disrupting the festival atmosphere by their presence and “otherness”, and their gazing offending the locals. However, the study has no data to support these arguments and further research should address the potential along with the pros and cons for the festivals to move more into tourism. Northern Norway and especially Finnmark are areas with a low density of man-made cultural attractions. The area has, at the same time, a type of tourism and level of costs that makes it hard to build private attractions. Some of the festivals like the Sámi Easter festivals in Kautokeino and Karasjok, the Sea-fishing festival in Sørvær and Finnmarksløpet – the Sled-Dog Race, are known outside Finnmark and Norway and are used by the tourism industry in the marketing of Finnmark. Together with the market and arts festivals they may be adequate starting points for joining tourism and festival operations.

The density of festivals in Finnmark is remarkably high, possibly reflecting that the inhabitants of this area more than most other places have discovered festivals as a way to congregate and rejuvenate their sense of place and belongingness to their own region. Festivals may prompt local continuity by constituting opportunities to draw on shared histories, shared cultural practices and ideals, as well as creating settings for social interactions: “They are arenas where local knowledge is produced and reproduced, where the history, cultural inheritance and social structures that distinguish one place from another, are revised, rejected or recreated” (Quinn, 2005, p. 928). The festivals may influence identity development for its visitors, organizers and the host communities, and thus the experience of the place identity could be influenced and expressed through a festival arena. Counting on 56 events that apparently fit the definition of a festival, there is on average 1300 inhabitants behind each of them. In comparison, Rogaland, a county in South-Western Norway, has 85 festivals shared between 420,000 inhabitants in 26 municipalities (Einarsen & Mykletun, 2009), thus close to 5000 inhabitants are behind each festival on average.

Smaller organizations might be more vulnerable when the density of the population increases and organizations without close ties to institutions are less likely to survive (Getz & Andersson, 2008). However, the festival arena in Finnmark shows small club and community-based festivals, mainly staffed by volunteers, and only one festival reported declining participation and the rest were either stable or on the increase. So far the density seems to have been resting on local involvement, possibly counteracting the vulnerability of the small organizations, and hence a future topic for research could be to discover what meaning the festivals have for the local inhabitants and how they explain the role of the festivals in their environments. The findings also

challenge this proposition in the theory of organizational ecology (Baum, 1999; Getz & Andersson, 2008).

Contrary to expectations from ecology theory (Baum, 1999; Getz & Andersson, 2008), festival age does not seem to influence festival vitality in Finnmark. The two festivals that could be defined as “hallmark” events in Finnmark, the Sea Fishing festival at Sørøya and the Easter festival in Kautokeino are more than 20 years old and are built on local culture and traditions. One reason may be that the festivals in Finnmark are club- and community-based and have a core activity that is strongly connected to the place identity. Thus, the age argument is not supported with respect to organizational survival among the Finnmark festivals.

Third, ecology theory (Baum, 1999; Getz & Andersson, 2008) argue that the structures and processes of organizations (linked to their culture) tend to change slowly, and this inertia might make them vulnerable in a competitive market. Fifty-three of the festivals answered that they had a vision, where most of them are strongly connected to ethnicity, culture, geographical location, place identity and nature. The festivals are created and arranged with a focus on people in Finnmark and the Barents region. The festivals have participants and performers both from Finnmark and outside the county, and the visitors are mainly from Finnmark. To the extent that inertia exists in these festivals while they stick to their visions, it may have turned into advantages in giving a sense of stability to participants in a changing environment, thus making duration and consistency a part of the festival experience. Thus this third prediction from the ecology theory does not apply well to these festivals, and future research should address the extent to which the festivals display such inertia, and what the consequences for the festival participants and organizers could be.

The study has a number of limitations. First, although the response rate is acceptable the missing data might conceal information that would have impacted on the findings and conclusions reached. Second, the study is cross-sectional and addresses a dynamic field, thus there is a limited validity over time for these findings and conclusions. Third, there might be misunderstandings and false reports in the data, which may blur the structures and relationships of the findings. Fourth, the findings are based on the Finnmark region which is atypical for Norway and Europe, thus generalization of some of the findings to areas outside Finnmark should not be accepted without also comparing contexts. The study therefore also calls for replications in other contexts.

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Trude Furunes, Reidar J. Mykletun and Einar Marnburg (eds.)

Current Research in Hospitality and Tourism

CHAPTER 19

Diverging Interests in Small-Scale Festival Tourism

Abstract

In recent years, festival research has focused increasingly on the meanings of festivals for both local and visiting populations and their tourism function. The purpose of this article is to explore the connection between tourism and festivals, and from a holistic perspective, to assess what participating in festivals seen as tourism could mean when the direct economic benefits are not there. It is also interesting to explore the contribution of festivals to a community related to tourism as well as the tourism providers' perceptions of the festival contribution to tourism. In small-scale festivals, visitors

and local residents attend together and their interaction is important, both internally for the local people and externally for the visitors through positive communication. Case studies of four festivals with 43 interviews conducted in Finnmark, Norway revealed a gap between the festivals and the tourism providers in terms of the understanding of the role that festivals play in tourism within the community. By emphasizing the positive role of festivals in a local community, the tourism providers could exploit the potential value of a festival, and this could also strengthen and sustain the festival.

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Keywords: festival tourism, interaction, festival contribution, Finnmark, Norway

Introduction

As the number of festivals has been growing, the focus on festival and event tourism has increased. Research perspectives on event tourism have focused mainly on strategic management construed as a sector driven primarily by the goal of economic benefits (Quinn 2009, Stokes 2005). This article focuses on the contribution of small-scale festivals, on people who live in the community and on tourists as both participants and audience, moving beyond the economic contribution. Festivals create values that are not always visible and measurable in a traditional economic way, with local residents and tourists interacting in different roles. Newly changed festival tourism products may strengthen individual and social identities and increase the feelings of belonging to a place, creating “alive” communities and giving the tourists a feeling of connectedness and authentic experiences together with the local people. The festival could also accentuate the “right” values, which a community wishes to emphasize and communicate (Derrett 2003), making it interesting for the tourism business.

The interaction which occurs among the festival organizers, local participants and audience, may strengthen the festivals, communities and the tourism business. The broad range of people involved in and around festivals could have some of the same effects, as shown in a Nordic study done on successful innovation systems in tourism enterprises by Hjalager et al. (2008, p. 7). These researchers pointed out that a successful innovation system was characterized by several factors. First, they stressed the importance of “*a multitude of actors*,” where the cooperation includes numerous entrepreneurial cooperating actors and key persons in voluntary organizations and public sectors. A second factor involved “*a diversity and density of relations*,” which suggests that people involved represent a variety of personal backgrounds, knowledge and connections. A bridging of cultural, social and institutional gaps occurs, resulting in new initiatives, and increased sense of coherence, cohesion and belonging. “*An open resource access*” is the third feature, which refers to the open and inviting cooperation among the actors, with shared knowledge and resources. Festivals are offering creative arenas with different core activities, which depend on people who participate in festivals in different roles at different levels. In small community festivals, local participants represent their interests in different roles, such as volunteers, participants, organizers and audiences. The visitors from outside of the community, filling some of the same roles, can be considered tourists or special interest tourists.

Cooperation in the community between festivals and local actors including the tourism business differs. There is a gap or diverging view between the festivals and the tourism providers, in the understanding of the value festivals have for the tourism in the community. Getz and Andersson (2008) also

pointed out that local and regional festivals could be problematic from a tourism perspective because even though some festivals have a potential to invite tourism, they often lack an investment and interest in tourism. However, the opposite could also hold true, in that tourism does not focus on a festival and is unable to exploit the benefits of a festival. This article investigates small-scale festivals and, as Quinn (2009) pointed out, small-scale events draw less interest because they do not attract so many tourists. Rural areas like Finnmark, which has few inhabitants, have a limited tourism market. Most festivals are created inside-out, with a lack of economic focus. At the same time, Finnmark organizes about 60 festivals each year (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009), which makes it interesting to visualize what the tourism-related contributions of festivals are to a community, and how tourism providers evaluate the festival contribution to the tourism.

Theoretical Frame

Tourism

Tourism mirrors the society and the way we live as modern people. According to Franklin (2003), it is important to understand tourism as a cultural activity, not just as a commercial exercise. Festivals also mirror the values of people and from Franklin's perspective, tourism is not something that happens away from the world of everyday life; instead, it reflects the way people live their lives. From this perspective, the role of tourism becomes a bit blurred, and could help in understanding the many different roles that festival tourists can have. Tourism has experienced a change from a postmodern world of the 1990s to the so-called "post-tourist" world, particularly due to changes in virtual reality and embodied perspectives on tourism. There was no longer a need for authentic objects to confirm the gaze – the tourists enjoyed the fakery (Franklin, 2003). From the year 2000, tourism changed and people wanted to get their hands on the world so they could taste it, feel it, smell it, do things and not just look at it (Franklin, 2003).

Tourism in Finnmark

Tourism in Finnmark is characterized mostly by summer tourism, with the North Cape as the main attraction that attracts about 230,000 visitors yearly. Other attractions and activities are built on nature safaris, fishing, hunting and presentation of local culture through museums, exhibitions and festivals. The winter tourism is small; the main winter attractions include snowmobile safaris, husky safaris and activities built around Sami culture and cultural themes through the festivals. Nature is the main reason why tourists visit Finnmark and Norway. The "light" in Finnmark gives a special frame with

the Midnight Sun in the summer and the Northern Lights in the winter. Finnmark is in the same latitude as Siberia and Greenland, but thanks to the Gulf Stream, the harbors along the coast of Finnmark do not freeze. The county borders Russia and Finland, and the Sami people in Norway are related to the Sami people that reside in Sweden, Finland and Russia. Today, very few tourists visit Finnmark in the autumn and winter season, which makes it difficult for the activity providers to maintain their businesses year-round. The mainstay in tourism in Norway revolves around culture and nature-based experiences, which are small and vulnerable (Jakobsen & Espelien, 2011). Festivals can increase attractiveness to a destination during low seasons. One example is the Tromsø International Film Festival, where every year all the hotels are nearly fully booked the second week of January.

Festivals

To understand the festival phenomenon and its contribution to the people involved and the tourism business, it is important to see festivals from a holistic perspective. The festival phenomenon could be described in a broader context as embedded in a multiplicity of spatial, socio-cultural, political and environmental contexts (Quinn, 2009). Small-scale festivals anchored in local communities are based on their culture and interests, which is essential for people who wish to organize them on their own premises. A festival's contribution to the community, local people and economy depends on being anchored locally. The festival as a phenomenon is placed in many different contexts, such as between idealism and commercialism, between volunteering and paid professionalism, between culture and business (Vestby, Samuelsen & Skogheim, 2012).

Festivals may contain historical, socio-cultural and/or natural features (Falassi, 1987; Getz, 2007). Moreover, they are believed to contribute to local cultural and economic growth (Allen et al., 2002; Getz, 2005). In general, festivals share common features in that they are temporary and reflect the most common forms of cultural celebrations (Getz, 2005). The events and festivals are appealing in that the people you meet are never the same, and you have "to be there" to enjoy the unique experience fully; if you miss it, it is a lost opportunity (Getz, 2008). Festivals provide places for people with the same interests to meet and become a part of the experiences. There is a "festivalization" trend today, as it is not just the number of festivals that has increased, but also some festivals have expanded into many small festivals during the year. Moreover, festivals are expanding in length, for example from two days to a week, and other arrangements, like meetings, are added to an existing festival. With festival expansions, the use of new facilities, venues and people is also increasing (Viken & Jæger, 2012).

Finnmark is characterized by small-scale festivals in small communities, where most of the participants come from the local community or from other communities in the county. But some of the festivals have attracted participants from the rest of Norway and foreign countries because of their special core activity. The festivals investigated in this article are the Sea Fishing festival in Sørøya (Havfiskefestivalen på Sørøya), the Easter festival in Kautokeino (Påskefestivalen i Kautokeino), the Midnight Rock festival in Lakselv (Midnattsrocken i Lakselv) and the Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes. The festivals are created from the inside out, and the Barents Spektakel is a border festival built on local culture represented through Norwegian, Russian, Finnish and Sami culture. The other three festivals are based on the local culture and traditions of sea fishing in Finnmark, Sami culture in the North Charlotte, and the first big rock festival in Northern Norway. Three of these four festivals have been in existence for more than 20 years, and two of the festivals have been used by the tourism sector to market Finnmark and represent the values of the Finnmark County.

Because most festivals in Finnmark create and arrange the festivals for themselves, they build a strong platform for further growth in the community, preventing an escape of all the talented people that are important to the total community's existence. Festivals also motivate talented people to move back to their home regions or attract other visitors to settle down. Previous research shows that to attract and keep a qualified laborer, it is important to consider what a place can offer outside the job, such as cultural events, public and private services and spare time activities. In their research, Kvidal and Nygaard (2010) reported that local festivals are important especially for the young people in the community. Hjemdahl (2009) also pointed out that the clever ones can get a job wherever they want, but they also wish to have a cool life. Most of the festivals are not created with a commercial goal, and some festival organizers are afraid of arranging a festival with a theme that could be presented everywhere so that the place would have no meaning in itself.

Festival Tourism

As part of tourism, festivals can be viewed from different angles, as an attractive product in the form of, for example, concerts, fishing, movies or reindeer racing. They could act as a guardian of cultural heritage in which local people re-discover or maintain their own culture and create a unique destination, as tourists seek out special experiences. Festivals are often described as cultural events or cultural celebrations, and according to Getz and Andersson (2008), there are many different ways to look at events in the tourism context. Festivals are a sort of social construction that shapes people's expectations of the program they offer, their arrangement and organization. Festival tourism

is often described as a part of the cultural tourism concept, which could be defined in this way;

Cultural Tourism is defined as a form of tourism concerned with a country or region's culture, especially its arts. This form of tourism includes historic sites, cultural facilities (museums, theatres), architecture – including houses of writers and artists, outdoor festivals, rural landscapes and monuments (Razak, 2007; ICOMOS, 1999).

McKercher and Du Cros (2002) identified culture tourism as “*the oldest of the ‘new’ tourism phenomena.*” They included festivals as cultural tourism in both the definition and the brief description. Quinn (2006) stated that the term festival tourism is often used interchangeably with the term event tourism, as event refers to a place-marketing tool related to city-branding, place positioning and tourism objectives. Most small-scale festivals are started by volunteers with an idealistic aim and not as a tool for marketing, city-branding or reaching economic goals. These festivals build on local culture or the interests of local people. This could give a unique communication of a place outwards to the tourists, but also inwards as a common activity that shapes local identity. Comparing festivals to events, it seems that festivals have a social and cultural complexity that is not covered in the definition of an event (Quinn, 2006). Festival tourism is like other forms of special interest travel and can be viewed from both the demand and supply perspectives. The demand side is concerned about “*who travels, why, who participates, what they do and how much money they spend*” (Getz, 2008, p. 405). Festivals also have a value in the marketing of a destination, where they can have several effects. They can attract tourists especially during low season, act as a catalyst for urban renewal, and improve infrastructure and tourism capacity of a destination. They could retain a positive reputation by building and contributing to general marketing of a place, including a contribution to creating a better place to live, work, and invest by highlighting specific attractions or areas (Getz, 2008).

In Norway, around 88% of the festivals focus on a local audience, and many of the festivals also use local artists (Aagedal, Egeland & Villa, 2009). Attracting tourists is not the main reason for creating a festival. Although the festivals in Norway and Finnmark are not a reason for tourists to travel to Norway, many of the festivals depend on domestic and regional tourists. Some of the smallest festivals may attract tourists who experience both the production and the consumption of the festival as musicians, anglers, actors in a theater, ice artists, or volunteers. Some of the participating tourists who stay overnight during the festival in private homes could be seen more as

guests and perceived from the same perspective as the horse-based tourism in Iceland, where tourists are viewed as guests and travel companions. In Iceland they do not use the term “tourist” but try to create an experience whereby the guest is to feel included, part of the family and team (Helgadóttir & Sigurdóttir, 2008).

In Norway, some of the organizers argued that their cultural arrangements should be used in the marketing of Norway to other countries. Today, most tourists choose Norway because of its nature (Innovation Norway, NRK, 30.07.2009). Tourists are searching for authentic experiences and some outdoor culture such as festivals, which have an important role in the communities by presenting the local culture practices, traditions and heritages in an authentic way. This was also mentioned by Quinn (2009).

One example of festivals being communicated outwards is the description of the American band N.E.R.D., which shared their first visit in Norway and Finnmark on Twitter in a newspaper article (Aftenposten, 2010):

The American band N.E.R.D had never experienced the midnight sun, and they were just getting a glimpse through the clouds during their performance at the Midnight Rock in Finnmark. But still after the concert they wrote enthusiastically about the unique experience on Twitter, with a picture from the stage with a message that ‘the sun is up 24/7!!!’ The nature here is fantastic. The clouds formation and the landscape we saw when we flew in to Lakselv is spectacular,’ says Pharrell Williams. ‘It is serious climate jumping we are doing,’ and he peers into the air where the temperature is 13–14 arctic summer degrees. ‘In another respect; is it the South Pole or the North Pole we are close to no? This is undoubtedly the northernmost any of us has been.’

Festivals could provide a high quality of life for residents based on their interests and culture, and this gives tourists a chance to experience vivid local culture. The aim to create small-scale festivals is beyond economy and tourism, rooted in the local people’s everyday life, as Quinn (2006) pointed out. The positive festival arena motivates homecoming tourists to visit their home place and first time visitors who are not related to the place to gain new experiences. Festivals of the future are likely to focus on smaller events responding to residents’ demands. Festival organizers will adopt a more holistic approach that would not separate tourists and tourism from residents and leisure, that is, they would consider a complex approach with people playing different roles at different times (Quinn, 2009).

Special interest tourism and festivals

Participating in festivals is a form of special interest tourism, where the activities are related to one person's interests or skills. In small-scale festivals, some of the participants are from the outside of the community, and the audience comprises mostly local people. People that participate as anglers in a sea fishing festival or as volunteers in a music festival are usually on their holidays. Different perspectives could be used to analyze and define special interest tourism. From the consumer or the provider perspective, one of the new terms to describe special interest tourism is "*that tourism denotes mass participation while special interest suggests non-commercialized individual travel*" (Trauer, 2006, p. 183). Some researchers characterize special interest tourism as a search for personal life fulfillment and happiness and as a part of quality of life itself. It is also described as "*paradise does not have a specific place, so does happiness not have a specific time*" (Opaschowski, 2001, in Trauer 2006, p. 184). Special interest tourism has different understandings and definitions, with a focus on either activities or destinations. Some see it as the new form of tourism and the opposite of mass tourism. Trauer (2006, p. 186) mentions that special interest tourism "has the potential to meet the needs of tourists and hosts, including rural tourism, adventure and nature-based tourism, cultural and heritage tourism, and festival and event tourism."

The anglers, musicians, dog sled drivers, actors, and volunteers are living out their special interests through the festival arena. They act like other tourists in their travel, overnight stay, and meals, but their motive is to be a part of activities in a festival arena. In a festival context, people can play different roles in festivals as participants, audience or volunteers, connecting to what Hjalager et al. (2008) labeled as "*Prosumers*," that is, consumers who are co-constitutive in the tourism product. During a festival, they could participate in activities and be an audience at the same time.

Methods

This article uses a qualitative approach, examining four festivals in Finnmark, Norway. In order to investigate the research questions, four community based festivals were examined from a tourism perspective. The festivals were sampled from a descriptive study of 56 festivals in Finnmark in 2007. Based on the findings of these 56 festivals, four festivals were selected for further investigation: The Sea Fishing festival in Sørøya (Havfiskefestivalen på Sørøya), the Easter festival in Kautokeino (Påskefestivalen i Kautokeino), the Midnight Rock festival in Lakselv (Midnattsrocken i Lakselv), and the Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes. Table 19.1 summarizes the characteristics of the four different festivals.

Table 19.1: Festival characteristics

Festivals	Characteristics
<p><i>Sea Fishing Festival at Sørøya</i> (<i>Havfiskefestivalen på Sørøya</i>) Established in 1987. Vision: The festival aims to be a rallying point for the people in Hasvik and for other people who want to take part in the festival. Number of visitors: 1000 The host municipality Hasvik has 970 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival is organized in July every year. • The festival participants are mostly from Norway but some come from other countries in Europe. • The festival has hosted the Norwegian championship and the European championship in sea fishing. • The festival has a great reputation because they always catch the biggest fish there. • In recent years, other activities have expanded around the sea fishing festival, such as concerts, hiking trips, fishing competitions for children and markets. • Fishing has always been the main basis of income.
<p><i>Easter Festival in Kautokeino</i> (<i>Påskefestivalen i Kautokeino</i>) Established in 1972. Vision: The aim of Påskefestivalen is to present a broad range of Sami music. Påskefestivalen has become a 10-day celebration and display of Sami culture. Number of visitors: 10,000 The host municipality Kautokeino has 2917 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival is organized during the Easter period every year. • The festival is built around Sami traditional activities and cultural heritage. • Activities in the festival include different concerts with one main competition "The Sami Grand Prix," which presents both modern and traditional <i>joik</i>, a unique form of singing for the Sami people. • Various other activities include reindeer racing, ice fishing competitions, snow scooter racing and more recently an outdoor film festival. • It is a native Sami community, where the main source of income has always been reindeer management.
<p><i>Midnight Rock in Lakselv</i> (<i>Midnattsrocken i Lakselv</i>) Established in 1984 (but not held in the second and twelfth years) Vision: To create a rallying point for rock music in Finnmark and increase Lakselv's profile in the market. To encourage culture and music in the local community, with profits going to young musicians. Number of visitors: 5500 in 2007, 13,000 in 2010 The host municipality Porsanger has 4000 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival features musicians from the local community, national and some international performers. • Lakselv is a small community situated in the heart of Finnmark, which makes it possible to attract spectators from the entire county. • The main employer in the region is the Norwegian Army.
<p><i>Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes</i> Established in 2004. Vision: The aim of the festival is to motivate, stimulate and encourage arenas where people and organizations can transverse the borders, levels, and sectors. The festival negotiates art and knowledge to the local people and visitors from the entire Barents region and other guests on the festival. The festival is process oriented. It implies that artists get invited to Kirkenes for shorter and longer periods before the festival, and they attend a Barents Scholarship Program. The themes are based on actual and tendentious conditions related to the northern areas and reflect the challenges this region is facing. Contemporary art and culture are the festival's foundation. Number of visitors is estimated at: 2500. The host municipality Sør-Varanger has 9623 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival is organized in February every year. • It is a border festival situated mainly in Kirkenes, a small town bordering on Russia and Finland. • The festival has a strong border theme from the Barents region and offers seminars, trans-border cafes, exhibitions, concerts and other events with local and international contemporary artists, musicians and theatre. • The festival starts with concerts in Russia before the main events commence in Kirkenes.

The Interviews

The data collected in this study were gathered in the summer of 2008 using open-ended in-depth interviews of the festival organizers, the municipality officers, tourism firms, the festival visitors, and festival participants. The aim was to interview a broad spectrum of people with different roles involved in the four festivals. In total, 43 interviews were conducted. The questions were adapted according to the different roles of the informants.

- Why do you attend the festival?
- What importance does the festival have for the tourism business?
- How does your company cooperate with the festival?
- What importance does the festival have for you?
- To whom is the festival important?
- What are the most important milestones in the festival's life?
- What are your goals and dreams for the future of the festival?

The questions asked depended on the role of the informant in connection to the festival. The data collected helped identify the role of the festivals related to festival tourism. Examining the findings across four diverse festivals also helps provide a broader insight into festival tourism. The researcher did a preliminary study on two of the festivals in 2007 through observations in addition to the interviews.

Analyses

The aim of the current article has been to clarify the connection between tourism and festivals and, from a holistic perspective, identify the meaning of the festivals in terms of tourism when the direct economic benefits are not there.

What are tourism-related contributions of festivals to a community?

Pride and positive communication of a place

Many people in the community where the Midnight Rock Festival is held every year have a strong relation to the festival, and people that have moved from the community still visit their home town during the festival. They arrive before the festival starts and stay until it has finished. Participants that have not been in Finnmark before are impressed by the beautiful nature. "I have fallen in love with the whole place, and people are great, pleasant and open minded." The possibilities for tourists to be a part of the local community and in a way being a guest instead of an ordinary tourist provide positive values. Two volunteer tourists described their feelings this way: "We got

a nice welcome, got picked up at the airport and have become a part of the gang.” “I have fallen in love with this place; people here are ‘madly’ nice and open-minded.”

The festival Barents Spektakel creates civic pride, and one informant described it this way: “You are proud of the festival when it is in the media, and when you are out traveling and people have heard about the festival.” Others also value the festival and see it as an attraction and a brand for Kirkenes. One employee in the community expressed it this way: “I consider the value of the festival as big. I think that from the start in 2004 and until this year, it has increased its value for the community. It is an attraction – both for the region and maybe beyond that. In relation to people, we cooperate, which has big importance, it has in a way become a brand – and that is interesting.”

The Sea Fishing Festival at Sørøya often has good media coverage because they have many world records in catching big fish, and as one informant said; “The Festival has put Sørøya and Sørvær on the map.” Others stated that the festival is important for the island’s brand and that the festival says something about “who we want to be and what opinion we want others to have about us.” The nature frame is important for some of the festivals, as one of the informants expresses it, “It is not getting dark, so you can’t feel if it is day or night.” The island gives the festival good nature-based conditions with big fish of good quality, beautiful nature and hospitable inhabitants. The local people also express the same values. “We are relaxed people, the tourists feel welcome here.” Few people on the island feel anything negative about the festival, and many people from the island take their holiday on the island during the festival.

Focus on local interests

The core activity in a festival could be a value in its own right. Some festival organizers have strong opinions about the core theme for the festival and the role it should play in the local community “We decided in 2005 that the Barents Spektakel should be a thematic festival, not a repetition festival, where you see the same artists travel from festival to festival. So you don’t have to know which festival you are visiting, it is the same things that happen. Finding a current theme for the festival is something we have been working on a lot.” “The festival says something about who we want to be and which opinion we want others to have about us.” The Barents Spektakel is a festival with art exhibitions of a high national caliber. It has also built strong national and international contacts, which consolidate the festival’s value. The festival has been developing and the way local people in Kirkenes look at the Barents Spektakel has changed.

“We are using the festival more actively. We invite people to arrange meetings at the festival or try to exploit the power and energy that is in the community. The festival has a very positive meaning. I am glad that the festival now has a wider program that gives the festival a different foundation.” “There has been a change among the local people; they can see that something is happening. It is not just a narrow festival where artists are displaying for other artists. Maybe it is about working up an audience. The festival is about being engaged in the present.”

Others see the “future” festival and its potential contribution to the cooperation between Russia and Kirkenes and to the Barents region in general. “It is desirable to increase the Russian dimension in the festival. It tells something about getting a better platform in the region, especially in the northern areas. That, I think, is the future for the festival Barents Spektakel.” Communication between local people and festival visitors is creating new knowledge and gives inspiration to the local people, “We are fascinated about the cultural meeting with different languages between participants on the stage. The participants use their own language and in “‘Busses and stories,’ we had nine languages that were used all the time. Our opinion is that it is possible to understand each other, even if we do not speak the same language.” In addition, since festivals make it possible for the local people to interact with the visitors, it gives something more to the participants and the community than just the festival performance,

“When you are working as an artist in Kirkenes, if you are not traveling a lot, it is important to get clever people to come to Kirkenes. That is the reason why we have been working here for 18 years; we have had external resources. The Barents Spektakel is very fun for us because so many artists come to participate during the festival. I think that is a big difference between the Barents Spektakel and many other festivals I have been playing in. We travel around to festivals, but the meetings between artists that occur during the Barents Spektakel I think are unique to this festival because you take part in so many processes.”

The Sea Fishing Festival conserves the local culture since it is built on local fishery and a fishing tradition that has been for generations the main basis of income for the community. The area in which the festival is held is well known for big fish, and this has made the festival attractive for anglers from many countries in Europe. The creation of the Sea Fishing festival had the goal to create pride for Sørøya and to get more people to visit the island. The Sea Fishing festival has strict rules for preserving the fish. The festival organizer states that tourist anglers can do what they want with the fish, and often, it is the hunt for the biggest fish that is most important while the smallest fish are just thrown away. The festival is worried about the fish resources

and lack of regulations. The festival is not driven by commercial motives, unlike the tourism business. “The tourists do not have feelings for the place and the fish stock,” one informant says. It was the publicity around the festival that increased tourism. However, later on, people involved in the festival became worried about the consequences this has for the fish stock. The festival focuses on sustaining the future fishery.

Authentic tourism arenas

In small-scale festivals, tourists are often involved in the festival in different roles, which connects them to the festival organizers and participants as well as to the place. The tourism role has changed a little from special interest tourists who are participating in the festival to also include holiday and leisure tourists. At the Barents Spektakel, one of the informants described it this way. “I think I saw my ‘first’ tourist who has come to the festival this year. Normally, the participants have been visitors who have a role in the festival.” The Easter festival in Kautokeino is organized around Sami traditions through Sami music and activities related to reindeer, which have been the main source of income for the Sami people for generations. Because of the engagement from the local people in all the festival activities, the festival creates a genuine arena in which to experience Sami culture compared to other more staged attractions where the Sami culture is displayed as a product for tourists. One of the informants described it this way, “Many of the external musicians are motivated to play in Kautokeino, because it is here.”

The Easter festival has inspired new arrangements to start during Easter – the snowmobile race, the Sami Film festival, and a fishing competition. In addition, the Easter festival also has created ripple effects outside of Kautokeino as an inspiration for other Sami and native festivals, such as the Film Festival in Kautokeino and the Easter festival in Karasjok and Riddu Riddu in Troms County. The Sami Film festival is now part of the Easter festival, and Kautokeino is constructing a film camp based on the historical happening in the Easter of 1852, the Kautokeino revolt and on the movie *Kautokeino Opprøret* made by film director Nils Gaup. A new international Sami Film Center connected to the film camp has also been established in Kautokeino. The sustaining of the *joik* and the inspiration to create new festivals has helped preserve the Sami culture. It has also helped to create an authentic arena for expressing the Sami culture, for the Sami people themselves and for the tourists.

How do tourism providers evaluate the festival contribution to the tourism?

Lack of cooperation between the tourism business and the festivals

Most people who visit the Midnight Rock festival come from the neighboring

communities, although other tourists also visit the festival. One of the informants from the tourism business said, “We don’t use the festival in our marketing, but at the same time, the festival is used.” The festival is something that just “exists” without a direct engagement from the tourism business. An informant from the tourism business says there is uncertainty about how predictable a festival is: “It is hard to go in for an event if you don’t know if it will be there next year. I personally will not prioritize it.” The informant pointed out that the festival and the tourism business live two different lives, and that it is important also to sell the festival to the local people.

From the perspective of lack of visible income, some individuals from the tourism business ask questions about the use of public money:

Barents Spektakel is a big publicly financed event. The festival is fine for some of us who sometimes get a little business out of it. But it has no extended effects for us. People can’t establish a relation to something like this festival. It soars above people’s everyday life. In a way, we live two different lives.

Moreover, other people from the tourism business cannot see the values of the festival, or they do not know how to contribute to the festival; they do not feel like a part of the festival: “We will always feel pity for them if they do not succeed with the festival”; “We have not been asked to cooperate with the festival”; “I can’t see today how we can contribute more than what we do today.” The festival tourists that are mainly participants in the festivals are not valued as “ordinary” tourists by the tourism providers.

From a marketing perspective, diversity is important in the understanding of “how” useful the festival could be and how it is related to tourism, “We have our regular tourism programs; we don’t know anything about what the festival does and how they are marketing themselves.” Other informants can’t see the festival values for their own tourism company: “It is great because some of us sometimes get some ratio, randomly. But it doesn’t have any influence on our business.” “Barents Spektakel is important, but not to our company the days the festival is arranged.” “We are a bit surprised that we didn’t even have day visitors during the festival.” Diversity is also important for understanding the effect that festivals have on tourism as well as on the way in which festival tourism could develop.

Logistics regarding enough hotel rooms and a big enough runway at the airport make it difficult for some of the informants to see how the festival could become bigger through tourism:

“How big can the festival be? How many beds do we have in Kirkenes?” “The communication between the tourism business and the festival has not been good enough. This year, the festival started to think more systemati-

cally, how could it be possible to sell tourism products out of this? How could it be possible to make tourism packages that are visible so people outside Kirkenes could also know that something is happening here?"

"You fill up a place with activities and conferences, and the problem every year is where people shall live? There is really not any more space for more visitors. There's little point in making tourist packages, when there is no overnight accommodation." In Kirkenes, the hotel capacity has increased by building a new hotel two years ago because of increased tourism, industry growth, and more conferences.

Other festivals, which are arranged in the summer peak season, also face challenges with the overnight stay, "Here, it is fully booked. The festival is arranged at the wrong time of the year. It displaces other tourists." For small places that depend on summer tourists, it is important to maintain the overnight stay for tour operators who have been regular customers for many years. If a festival seems unpredictable, and it is not sure that it will be there next year, it could be difficult to prioritize tourists. With a stronger cooperation between the tourism business and the festivals, it could be possible to sustain the festival and make it more predictable. Some festivals could also be arranged in low tourism season.

Contribution to the tourism business

Those who see the value of festivals state: "For us in the tourism business, it is ok that the festival is here, we think it is great that there is a week like this in the middle of the winter." "The festival is very important for Kirkenes at a time of the year when it is very difficult to arrange anything." This attracts new guests in the low season, when there are normally too few guests. Others feel that their businesses relate to the festival: "Those who are arranging the Barents Spektakel are using our company outside the festival to serve food and provide experiences."

Another informant from the tourism business saw the value in the festival, "This is the biggest rock festival in Finnmark, and the best! The community Porsanger must be visible on the map." The Sea Fishing festival has made the island famous and attractive to anglers, and it has increased the fishing tourism in recent years. The festival's role in tourism was expressed by some of the informants, as "The tourists came with the festival"; "Once in a life time experience"; "I beat my own fishing record"; "Unique nature"; "Nice people, everyone we have met are friendly"; "We came for tourism fishing and participated in the sea fishing festival at the same time."

The Sea Fishing festival means sales, and the festival increases the economy on the island. One informant said, "We would not be able to market the fishing possibilities on the island so well without the festival." An infor-

mant from the tourism business said, “The people on Sørøya have been able to cooperate and indulge the neighbor to earn money,” and “The festival is important for the total yearly business.”

In a way, the increased tourism business on Sørøya has changed a negative competition culture to something positive because of the Sea Fishing Festival.

Conclusion

Tourism is today the way people live their lives, also in their home regions and at the festival arena, which instills pride in people’s home region, and creates experiences local people share with festival tourists. This happens through a “festivalization” with increased activities, where the festival arena is used to create other arrangements and meetings during the festival. It also happens when local people invite friends, important contacts, and media to the festivals. The festival arena also inspires the development of new cultural products built on local culture. This strengthens the tourism business and the products a community can offer to their guests.

Residents who are returning rediscover their own culture together with other tourists, and local people take part of their holiday at home in order to participate in the festival. The festival tourists give a positive recommendation of the place, nature, and the local people, particularly if they feel welcomed by the local people.

Local interests also involve giving a contribution to tourism when meeting and sustaining the interests of local people through festivals. This makes a community unique and could attract special interest tourists as well as inspire people to move to a place. It also makes local people proud and satisfied with their choice to settle down in this place and inspire other innovation projects. Small-scale festivals are mostly created and arranged by the local people. At the same time, many tourists are participating in the festivals in different roles, where the interaction between the tourists and the local people also gives trustworthy experiences.

This research discovered a lack of cooperation between the tourism business and some of the festival organizers. The festivals did not give enough information to the tourism providers, indicating a lack of cooperation. Some of the tourism providers did not profit from the festival at all, which made the festival less interesting. Another problem was that the festival appeared unpredictable, and they were not sure if it would be arranged next year, which made it difficult to invest in. Some providers pointed out that it was of no use to sell tourist packages during the festival because all hotels were fully booked.

Positive effects of the festivals to the tourism business included the fact that something happens for the whole week in the winter season, when it is difficult to arrange anything. The festival became known for the fishing possibilities, which increased the tourism also in the low season. The Sea Fishing Festival has also shaped a new cooperation culture among the fish tourism providers, allowing them to earn money.

It seems like Franklin's (2003) way of understanding tourism, as an integrated part of the world of everyday life, is a view on tourism that the tourism business in Finnmark does not subscribe to. Festivals are not just about the festivalization of everyday life but also a festivalization of tourism. The festivals are ahead of the tourism business in this respect, as the tourism business does not yet consider a change in people's tourism behavior. Festivals reflect a new tourism product because they have been established for other motives than commercial thinking.

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Paper III

Festivals, Identities and Belonging.

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FESTIVALS, IDENTITIES, AND BELONGING

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Research has suggested that festivals may influence the identities of the people involved and the host community itself. This impact may be a result of the events functioning as occasions to express collective belonging to a group or a place, and provide opportunities to create united histories, cultural practices, and ideals, but there is little evidence for this. Hence, this article seeks to investigate (1) how festivals *influence individual and social identities*, (2) what this influence on identities means for the *people involved (collective identities)* and *identity with a place (place belongingness)*, and (3) how festivals *influence the self-image and place identity of the local community*. The findings are based on a qualitative study with 32 in-depth interviews with festival organizers, operational festival workers, municipality officers, and tourism firms related to three festivals in rural areas in Finnmark, Norway. These festivals provide core activities that build on or are displayed in a frame of local culture and heritage. The area has different challenges, in some ways related to a difficult climate, lack of work, and different ethnicities, represented by Norwegian, Russian, Finnish, and Sami cultures. In line with the approach, it is concluded that festivals do influence the identities of people and place and that all processes related to festivals influence the need to belong.

Key words: Festivals; Identities; Place; Belonging; Sami; Finnmark

Introduction

The concepts of identity and belongingness are central to theories in social psychology and are acknowledged as important driving forces in human activities. However, identity in its various conceptual nuances has not yet been extensively explored within festival research. Hence, this article explores how festivals influence individual and social identities; what this influence on identities means for the

people involved, in the sense of collective identities, identity of a place, and place belongingness; and how this relates to community identities and “bolyst,” understood as the desire for rural living. The study considers three empirical cases of festivals in Finnmark, Norway. A qualitative approach is employed. It is argued here that festivals may constitute an arena that satisfies the need to belong and social identity creation, and facilitates the development of place and personal identities. The area of

the festivals in the wider context of place identities, and a sense of belonging to that place, may develop or be strengthened. Identity is important, especially when societies are challenged and contested in many ways.

Finnmark County, the host for the festivals investigated in this article, is challenged in some areas that can be characterized by different marginal factors. First, the geographical setting, 71°N, is difficult for some people, with an arctic climate where the winter is long with 2 months of polar night, and where the temperature can go below -45°C. The summer is short with midnight sun and daylight 24/7, which gives intensity to the nature of life and influences the way people live their lives. The county has a population of 71,000 people settled in an area approximately the same size as Denmark, with small communities of an average of around 3,000 inhabitants, the largest having 19,000 inhabitants. Sami people comprise a proportion of the population in Finnmark, and, for a while, the Norwegian government demanded that they only speak Norwegian. In addition, they were not allowed to perform Joik, a Sami way of singing, in public. The labor market has declined in the last 15 to 20 years: The mining industry AS Sydvaranger in Kirkenes was closed down and the fishing industry has declined. This has resulted in emigration from Finnmark. All these changes have consequences for the local communities and make both the people and the communities vulnerable.

Today, industry is changing with the newly established oil and gas industry in Finnmark, some areas of the fishing industry are improving, especially fish farming, and AS Sydvaranger has started up again in Kirkenes. This gives new challenges for the communities, as workers that have moved to Finnmark expect "living" communities, with job possibilities for their partners and interesting activities for their children. The festivals involve a great number of local people, including the new inhabitants, and by promoting interaction; the festivals influence the identity of many people. Who you are and where you are influence each person's identity and sense of belonging to a place and make them willing to live and create a meaningful life under these conditions.

In an attempt to satisfy the need to belong, the individual will enact social roles that develop in terms of role relationships and membership in social

categories (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). In line with this, it is argued here that such role-taking behavior and related experiences may be facilitated by participation in festival organization and patronage. Hence, both the increase in frequency of festivals organized by groups, organizations, and networks, as well as the increased patronage that the festivals have from participants and visitors, and all the processes related to festivals may be regarded in part, at least, as a manifestation of this psychological need to belong. External threats to one's identity, for instance, recent signs of globalization, could trigger the search for identities, as demonstrated by the increase in cultural celebrations and revival of old festivals and events (Ekman, 1999).

Identity

Identity and the Need to Belong

Identity is formed by the interaction between self, others, and society, and builds a bridge between the inside and the outside, the personal and the public worlds (Karlsen, 2007). Three identity levels may be differentiated: personal identity, social identity, and collective identity (Snow, 2001). *Personal identities (or the personal self)* are the attributes and meanings ascribed to oneself by the subject himself/herself. They are self-designations and self-attributions regarded as personally distinctive, that is, "those aspects of the self that differentiate the self from all others" (Brewer & Gardner, 1996, p. 83), and also imply the identities attributed or imputed to others in an attempt to situate each individual in the social space. Added to this, the development of an extended self, a *social identity* or *social self*, is seen as a basic or fundamental human motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). These social identities may be differentiated into two levels: "those that derive from interpersonal relationships and interdependence with specific others, and those that derive from membership in larger organisations" (Brewer & Gardner, 1996, p. 83). They may be referred to as *interpersonal* and *collective identities*, respectively, and capture the shared sense of "oneness" or "we-ness," a feeling of real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the in-group, as opposed to an actual or imagined set of "others."

The difference between the latter is the intimacy of the relationship and the frequency of actual contacts, which is high in the interpersonal identity, whereas the collective level of identities may be more depersonalized and does not require personal relationships.

Moreover, Baumeister and Leary (1995) have introduced the idea of belongingness, stating, "human beings have a pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 497). This hypothesis implies that there is a need for frequent, affectively pleasant interactions with others and that they take place within a temporarily stable and enduring framework of affective concern for each other's welfare. As a motivational structure, the need for belonging may be satiated and one object may substitute another to some extent. On the basis of their review of research evidence, Baumeister and Leary (1995) argue that humans easily form social bonds, hesitate to break established bonds, apply much of their cognitive resources to developing social relationships, react emotionally to changes in their belongingness status, and display aversive and pathological consequences when they are deprived of belongingness. The need to belong shows signs of satiation when met to a high extent, and one new object may be a substitute for others. One of the consequences of this hypothesis is that "many aspects of human culture are directly and functionally linked to enabling people to satisfy the psychological need to belong" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 521).

Place Identity

Recent discussion within environmental psychology has hypothesized that *place* may also be treated as a unifying concept, reconceiving places as dynamic arenas that are "both socially constituted and constitutive of the social. . . . The question of 'who we are' is often intimately related to 'where we are'" (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000, p. 27). This extension of the self toward place adds a new dimension to the identity concept. *Place identity* is defined by Korpela (1989) as:

". . . cognitions of those physical settings and parts of the physical environment, in or with which an individual—consciously or unconsciously—

regulates his experience of maintaining his sense of self. . . . This formulation does not necessarily limit a person's place identity to home and its surroundings but applies to every physical environment and object that has a role in one's self-regulation. . . . Place-belongingness is not only one aspect of place identity, but a necessary basis of it. Around this core the social, cultural and biological definitions and cognitions of the place which become part of the person's place identity are built (pp. 245–246).

According to this view, place identity may be a part of the personal identities with dynamic needs toward preferred environments representing place attachment. These needs are central and place identity may be defined as "a psychological structure that arises out of individuals' attempts to regulate their environments" (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000, p. 28). Central to this psychological structure is the sense of belonging. "Feelings of place belongingness involve aspects of place connectivity and affiliation that may develop into a communal bond with the environment and/or other people through place-people interactions" (Hammit, Backlund, & Bixler, 2006, p. 22). Although being conceived of as individual psychological representations, place identity also includes collective phenomena such as social relations and material settings (Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997; Korpela, 1989), and may also be developed through and exist in interpersonal dialogues and practices in specific places (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). In sum, *place bonding* may be composed of place identity, dependence, familiarity, belongingness, and rootedness (Hammit et al., 2006).

Festivals and Place Belongingness

In recent years, cultural geographers have focused on how places are socially constructed through human interaction (Bird, 2002). As arenas for such interaction, it might be hypothesized that festivals can contribute to the development of identities through storytelling, explaining who we are through the concerts and other events, and through the media, which retells those stories to others (Karlsen, 2007, p. 186). "Through stories, people continue to make aesthetic and moral sense of places, at the same time endowing these places with a sense of their own cultural identities" (Bird, 2002, p. 544). The sense of place is made through a determined effort to

continue the event, thus trying to provide a symbolic system of continuity to the past (McCabe, 2006). Tales about a place may be used to mark out spatial boundaries and confirm that a defined piece of space actually means something, and delineate who belongs in that space and who does not (Bird, 2002). In its strongest case, places where festivals are arranged could be seen from the perspective of a “home” in the sense explained by Morley (2001) as “both a physical place—the domestic household—and symbolic ideas of Heimat—the ‘spaces of belonging’ (and identity) at different geographical scales—the local, national or transnational communities in which people think of themselves as being ‘at home’” (p. 425).

Festivals constitute an arena to strengthen local continuity by creating opportunities to draw on:

“... shared histories, shared cultural practices and ideals, as well as creating settings for social interactions. They are arenas where local knowledge is produced and reproduced, where the history, cultural inheritance and social structures that distinguish one place from another, are revised, rejected or recreated” (Quinn, 2005a, p. 928).

For migrants visiting their home place, the festival arena might represent positive values by having a “good time” and strengthening the connection to their place of origin. The festival frame is where you bring “people back to generously share their special space and favourite places with visiting friends and relatives, assist in healing, awareness raising . . . through understanding issues of sustainability associated with some delicate environments” (Derrett, 2003, p. 52).

Festivals may influence place identity through strengthening the place-belongingness for the people involved in the festivals and for the host community itself. “Interrogating festival settings has yielded insights into how people’s sense of their own identity is closely bound up with their attachment to place” (Quinn, 2005b, p. 239), and the sense of place may contribute to the shaping of individuals (Derrett, 2003). In many festivals, central criteria are that the festival should reflect local values and that the festival is arranged in order to promote and preserve local history or culture (De Bres & Davis, 2001). These researchers explain the reasons for the festivals popularity by a boosting of community “pride of place.” Community-based festivals

celebrate both group and place identity, and, often, festival patronage among locals is higher in smaller places than in larger ones, relative to population size. The greater involvement in producing and attending small community festivals gives possibilities for increased social interaction between the local people compared with larger communities.

Festivals, Identity Formation, and Visible Communities

The impacts of festivals, including their possible effects on identity formation, may be discussed in relation to the population structures of areas. A challenge for the small communities in Finnmark has been a shortage of new and interesting job opportunities, and people have had to migrate to find employment. Lack of local educational opportunities forces young people to move to other places for education and they do not return to settle in their home place. Today’s national and global competition for labor makes it even harder for sparsely populated counties such as Finnmark to stay attractive (Kvidal & Nygaard, 2010, p. 3). Munkejord (2011) argues that rural *bolyst* or the desire for rural living is constructed through the ways people interact with places, that is, through the practices, narratives, and articulations created in these interactions. The term *bolyst* itself is composed of two elements: *bo*, denoting “to live,” and *lyst*, denoting “desire.” Attracting and retaining qualified labor is strongly connected to what a place can offer outside of the job in terms of cultural events, public and private services, and spare-time activities. In their research, Kvidal and Nygaard (2010) report that local festivals were of importance for the place, especially for the young people in the community. Festivals can help to restore self-esteem in the community and “provide the heart to a community as their celebratory nature provides residents with conditions of freedom and connectedness rather than a fixation on the forms and structures of the community” (Derrett, 2003, p. 51).

From the perspective of becoming attractive, places should make efforts to stay visible as a place or community. Becoming invisible undermines the ability to articulate outward (Kvidal & Nygaard, 2009). The self-image of a person or a place is connected to *how* and *if* one is visible from the outside.

Festivals may keep places visible, for instance, through storytelling and media. Moreover, a festival can bring benefits to a rural community, such as short-term employment, skills development and an increased capacity for residents to find future work, enhancement of social cohesion, and reinvention of places and their images (Brennan-Horley, Connell, & Gibson, 2006). They also argue that some community centers continue to grow, whereas some “have become caught in a vicious cycle of decline, losing residents, industries and confidence about prospects for a sustainable future” (Brennan-Horley et al., 2006, p. 72). Festivals may be a positive influence when a community struggles, and as Gerrard (2000) argues: “for the residents the festival is a sign of development potential and viability despite the decline in population and poor recruitment to industries” (p. 303).

Place identities are not easy to change and are hard to build through top-down processes. If a community struggles with its reputation, it is difficult to create new pictures on what a community *is* through *votes* or *decisions*. Festivals may be part of bottom-up processes that contribute to change. Because a festival is an arena connecting people in new ways and roles around new tasks, it may be a potential arena for self-examining, self-realization, expressing negative and positive feelings, announcing new policies, launching new art forms, and challenging traditions and truths. Hence, a festival may contribute to the development of local culture and idealism to renew community life.

Other previous studies have addressed related issues within the festival sector: Gibson and Davidson (2004) found in their study of Tamworth as Australia’s country music capital, that ruralities are constructed within festivals. This has been important to Tamworth’s success in the transformation from a service center, to a cultural industry and tourism center; Viken (2011) discusses identity changes in a coastal Sami area in North Norway with a focus on the international indigenous festival Riddu Riddu, which has had a significant role in these identity processes. The Coastal Sami area has been changed to a double identity; they are both Sami and Norwegian. Saminess is something to celebrate, not as heritage, but as something that is lived and practiced. Jeong and Santos (2004) show, in their study of the Kangnung Dano

Festival, conflicts between globalization and tradition and place identity. It discusses cultural politics in action, where the political nature of place identity benefits some groups more than others, and that it also involves conflicting ideologies. Owusu-Frempong (2005) discusses that through festivals the life of the community is renewed, and how festivals could be a tool for cultural reconstruction and transmission of knowledge to younger generations. Winchester and Rofe (2005) show in their study of Lobethal Lights Festival that the intersection of the rural heritage and community brought joy and pleasure to the givers and the receivers. Lobethal’s Christmas wonderland gives simplicity, community, and Christianity in a time and place set apart from the urban every day. Elias-Vavotsis (2006) discusses cultural identity in different spaces and how festivals contribute to reinterpreting cultural identity. Sabanpan-Yu (2007) shows how Cebuano food festivals as community-building activity strengthen the communities’ collective memories and town identity. Food and fiesta provide the town residents a sense of history through storytelling, with a link to a physical landscape. McClinchey (2008) discusses politics and image, social identity and representation, cultural authenticity and neighborhood differentiation as concerns for festival promotion and place marketing. Festivals could become placeless because of increased globalization and transnational connections and with the strong commodification of culture. Duffy (2005) explores the dynamic and fluid constructions of identity at two Australian community music festivals and how identities are constituted and performed. It shows that music is significant to the geographic inquiry of place and identity as it provides a means of examining the emotions and their role in understanding why individuals feel they belong to particular communities and groups. Just a few of these studies have focused on identity in the context of festivals in small places, which is also the most common festival context in Norway. To our knowledge few, if any, empirical studies have addressed the impacts of festivals on identity and “desire for rural living” in rural areas. This research, therefore, examines three festivals in Finnmark, Northern Norway, and uses a qualitative approach to reveal the possible identity and “desire for rural living.” The three festivals investigated in this article

are located in small communities, where traditional employment has decreased and people have migrated away.

Methods

The aim of this study is to get new knowledge about how festivals may constitute an arena that satisfies the need to belong and aspects of the social identity creation, and facilitate the development of place and personal identities. A qualitative research approach was chosen with a case study design to create a new, rich, and deep knowledge from the people involved in festivals. This method was chosen because the investigator has little control over the event; the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a particular, real-life context (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007; Yin, 2003).

Three festivals were selected from a population study of 56 festivals in Finnmark County, North Norway (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009), for further investigation: the Sea Fishing Festival in Sørøya (Havfiskefestivalen på Sørøya), The Easter Festival in Kautokeino (Påskefestivalen i Kautokeino), and Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes. These festivals were chosen because of their unique values based on the heritage and traditions of sea fishing in Finnmark, Sami culture, different ethnicities, and festival traditions. All three festivals attract international participants and audiences as well as strong “core” local-based activity. The festivals have been used in the marketing of Finnmark by the tourism sector and as a representation of the values that the Finnmark County communicates. Hence, they were expected to have a potential for influencing identity formation processes of their attendants. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the three different festivals.

A broad spectrum of people across different roles was sampled, and a total of 32 interviews were conducted, including three festival initiators, six festival organizers, four volunteers, seven tourism employees, nine community employees, and three festival participants. In these small communities people often have many roles in a festival; you could for example guide the fishermen in the daytime and work as a volunteer in the café on the festival in the evening. Hence, the broad sampling gave opportunities for cross-validation of information while also providing different views on the

same phenomena. Open-ended in-depth interviews were used, and the questions asked were (1) Why are you involved in the festival? (2) What have been the most central festival milestones? (3) Who is the festival important to? (4) What are your goals and dreams for the future of the festival?

The interviewer has visited and observed the three festivals in former years and has also arranged other festivals. This gives useful knowledge to be able to ask questions that are valid for this study and pay attention to details in the responses given by the interviewees. At the same time, it is important to be aware of the danger with the pre-understanding of a field. The researcher did not know most of the informants previously, but for those few, it was important to clarify roles and challenges before the interview started. The interviewer has also previously used qualitative research methods. The interviews at one of the festivals; Barents Spektakel, were done together with two other researchers, and data were cross-checked and discussed with respect to accuracy and meaning. This was instructive, but no major inter-researcher differences in interpretation of the data collected appeared. The interviews were recorded at the same time as supporting notes were taken and the total data were later transcribed.

Each interview lasted between 1 and 2 h. Data analysis commenced with classifying the findings from interviews for each festival and subsequently relating them to the different roles and themes in a cross-case analysis. The analysis focused on data relating to the core issues of the study—identity and belonging—both within each festival and across the three festivals, and consequently extracting a broader insight into how the festivals are related to identity.

Results

The Easter Festival in Kautokeino

The Easter Festival is a Sami festival arranged in a Sami community. Such communities may face different challenges compared with Norwegian communities because the inhabitants may be dependent on different types of employment, in particular, agriculture, fisheries, and reindeer herding, anchored in the old culture. Why they arrange

Table 1
Festivals Included in the Study, With Name, Vision, Context, Size (Number of Participants), and Festival Characteristics

Festivals: Name, Vision, Size, and Context	Festival Characteristics
<p>Sea Fishing Festival at Sørøya (Havfiskefestivalen på Sørøya), established in 1987</p> <p>Vision: The festival aims to be a rallying point for the people in Hasvik and for other people who want to take part in the festival.</p> <p>Estimated number of visitors: 1,000</p> <p>The host municipality Hasvik has 970 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival participants are mostly from Norway, but some come from other countries in Europe. • The festival has hosted the Norwegian and the European sea fishing championship. • The festival has an excellent reputation because they always catch the biggest fish here. • In recent years, other activities have expanded around the Sea Fishing Festival, such as concerts, hiking trips, fishing competitions for children, and markets.
<p>Sami Easter Festival in Kautokeino (Páskefestivalen i Kautokeino), established in 1972</p> <p>Vision: The aim is to present a broad range of Sami music. Páskefestivalen has become a 10-day celebration and display of Sami culture.</p> <p>Estimated number of visitors: 10,000</p> <p>The host municipality Kautokeino has 2,917 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival is built around Sami traditional activities and cultural heritage, with participants from different countries. • Activities in the festival include different concerts with one main competition “The Sami Grand Prix,” which presents both modern and traditional Joik, a unique form of singing for the Sami people. • Various other activities include reindeer racing, ice-fishing competitions, snow scooter racing, and, more recently, an outdoor film festival.
<p>Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes, established 2004</p> <p>Vision: The aim of the festival is to motivate, stimulate, and encourage arenas where people and organizations can meet across borders, levels, and sectors. The festival presents art and knowledge to the local people and visitors from the whole Barents region and other guests. At the core of the festival are the different processes started. The festival is process-oriented. This implies that artists are invited to Kirkenes for varying periods before the festival, and they attend a Barents Scholarship Program. The themes are based on actual and tendentious conditions related to the northern areas and reflect the challenges this region is facing. The festival is founded on contemporary art and culture.</p> <p>Estimated number of visitors: 2,500</p> <p>The host municipality Sør-Varanger has 9,623 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is a border festival mainly situated in Kirkenes, a small town on the border of Russia and Finland. • The festival has a strong border theme from the Barents region and offers seminars, trans-border cafes, exhibitions, concerts, and other events with local and international contemporary artists, musicians, and theater. • The festival starts with concerts in Russia, before the main events commence in Kirkenes.

the festival and who the target group was were clearly stated, with reference to the Sami culture. Informants described the formation of personal identities and the differentiation of the Sami from the others (informant number shown in parentheses): “The festival is a Sami gathering—you are one in the group. The Swedes, for example, miss this kind of meeting place” (6). Retaining the Sami language and culture could be difficult and festivals may have a role to play in influencing individual and social identities: “The festival is first of all for

the local general public and for the Sami North Calotte—it’s about Sami identity” (2).

The festival concerned the history of the Sami people, and through the festival arena the personal identity was seen in relation to others and situated each individual in a social space. Some of the informants pointed out their Sami connections and that “The festival is a gathering of the Sami from four different countries. . . . The Sami is the foundation: by the Sami, for the Sami, and about the Sami” (2). Furthermore, the Easter Festival was seen by some as

special because it was built on old roots as opposed to other festivals that were recently “invented”: “People also met at the Easter in former days. Then, as now, it was traditional to have confirmation, weddings, and christenings” (1). “The festival is special because it has old roots, it was not recently created. The main phrase is that the festival is for us. That gives a genuine festival (8).” “This is the week during the year w[h]ere no one go[es] away, and a lot of relatives and friends are coming to participate in the festival” (7).

A limited number of hotel rooms and rental cabins were available for the visitors to the Easter Festival; hence, visitors mainly lived in rooms in private homes, for rent or for free. This has also been a tradition in Kautokeino in former days. Then, the Sami people who looked after the reindeer, the herders, lived out on the mountain plateau as nomads during the winter. In the spring, they moved the reindeer to their summer areas by the coast, and on the route they visited Kautokeino. However, as they owned no houses there, they stayed with relatives and friends. In a way, this old tradition was continued in the present festival: “In former times the reindeer herders lived by others when they came to the village. The festival is continuing to pursue an old culture by offering musicians and festival goes an overnight stay in private houses” (2). When the Kautokeino Hotel was destroyed in a fire, the number of festival visitors increased the following year. According to the organizers, the musicians, artists, and other visitors described this as a different festival experience, and that they, in a way, were being a part of the local community.

The festival facilitated interactions that helped in developing an extended self—a social identity or a social self. This development of personal identity was seen as a basic or fundamental human motivation building up through the festival: “The festival does something to our pride and does something to us. The most important is that the identity builds up” (32). For instance, the Sami people, especially on the coast of Finnmark, had for many years not made themselves identifiable as Sami through their traditional clothing and language. The festival had contributed a rediscovery of their Sami origin: “Because of the festival, there are more people out on the coast that dare to bring out the Sami traditional costume” (4).

The unique and traditional Sami singing—the Joik—became a symbol of the importance of the Easter Festival. For many years, public performance of the Joik was forbidden. The Church had conceived of the Joik as a way to “connect to the ancient gods of the nature” (4), which was central to the pre-Christian Sami mythology. Moreover, the Joik had also been associated to antisocial behavior because it was sometimes performed when people were drunk: “When it was forbidden to perform the Joik in public, you had to drink a lot to build up your courage to do it” (4). The first official public performance of the Joik was undertaken by Nils-Aslak Walkeapää at the 1972 Easter Festival in the gym at the Kautokeino Public School. The festival arena became “. . . an inspiration to develop the Joik” (3). This value was strong: “The most valuable aspect of the festival is that the Joik has become public through the festival arena and that it is inspiring the young people” (4).

At the same time as the festival became an arena for ethnic revitalization through making the Joik, the traditional Sami costume, and the Sami culture visible, it also communicated acceptance by the Sami people of the modern: “It is central not to stagnate in the expression. The festival reflects all arts—and the time it is in” (28). The festival gave a strong reflexivity of the Sami culture and ethnicity. This also became visible when the national musicians work together with the local Sami people: “The band at Sami Grand Prix has been playing for 12 years. This arena is something different, and the national musicians are creating new songs together with the local Sami musicians” (2). One informant argued that the festival should be responsible for communicating the Sami culture outwards: “The festival is ensuring long Sami traditions. It has a national perspective and responsibility and it is also important in an international perspective” (6). One informant argued the importance of being culturally visible, and referred to a Norwegian magazine that listed the top 10 festivals in the world that should be experienced before one dies. Among these, the Easter Festival in Kautokeino was listed as number five: “culturally this means that we are visible” (3).

The festival also became a meeting point across generations. “It is important that the young people join the festival, so they get a relation to the festival” (3).

“Last year a 70 year old woman was participating in the Joik competition, so now all ages are represented” (4). It became an arena that empowered the Sami in relation to their past, present and future: “The festival expresses the Sami history up to today” (8). “The festival is important because it is always others that have told our story” (5). Festivals are arenas for local storytelling and provide an opportunity for local people to tell their own story.

The above examples show how the Easter Festival produced and reproduced identity for the Sami people while displaying history and cultural heritage that distinguished them as a group across national borders. Moreover it strengthened the perceptions of the uniqueness of Kautokeino as a center for both their traditions and modern culture and thereby also created a sense of belonging to this place.

The Sea Fishing Festival at Sørøya

Similar to the Easter Festival, the empirical evidence from the Sea Fishing Festival revealed identity development as a central topic. However, issues about collective identity, togetherness, belonging, and the sense of place were more pronounced. As in Kautokeino, there was a shortage of hotel rooms and cabins to house the festival visitors, and some of them stayed in private homes. Participants did not expect luxury accommodation; their focus was on the core festival activity of fishing and socializing in this unique environment. Enjoying breakfast around the kitchen table with fishermen, visitors, musicians, and local people might develop identities that were influenced in the interaction between self and others, different from identities developed as an ordinary hotel guest. When the owner of the house comes by in the morning and says: “Good morning, did you sleep well in my bed last night” (48), the communication is on a different level than in the standard hotel guest and host roles.

Moreover, this event illustrated that the question of “who we are” is often intimately related to “where we are”: “The week the festival is arranged, the whole island is alive” (31). “People have become proud of the place, to come from Sørøya. First, Sørvær was the place that arranged the festival, but because of migration from the island, people from the whole island wanted to join the festival organization” (29).

“Because of depopulation people from the whole island have come along, not just from one village as in the beginning.” “One third of the population in the community is engaged in the festival” (27). The Sea Fishing Festival was important to the inhabitants’ relation to their home place: “The festival is not created for tourists, but by the people in the village and for the people in the village” (8). “The festival means a lot for the people in the village. This is the big celebration during the year. It gathers families from the whole area” (7). “The festival is a rallying point for the people that have moved from the island” (32). “The festival is the peak event of the whole year” (31).

From the perspective of creating a desire for rural living, places must stay visible as a place or community. The Sea Fishing Festival legitimates the islands brand as being “In the Kingdom of the Big Fish,” because the festival is well known for establishing world records in fish sizes. “This is a way to build up the image” (34). “The festival means that we are visible” (3). “We like to show our nice island” (31). “It is life in the village with the festival. I hope someone will want to move home again” (32). Thus, festivals keep places visible, and the benefits a festival can bring to a rural community include short-term employment, skills development and increased capacity of residents to find future work, enhancement of social cohesion, and reinvention of places and their images: “The goal was to create pride in coming from the island, and recruit more people to visit the island as tourists” (29).

Some respondents conceived of the festival as a positive influence on the community that has struggled to stop ongoing depopulation: “We observed that the fisheries declined and we hoped the festival could give some new income” (29). “The festival has become central to all three villages on the island” (32). “The main purpose of the festival is to make other people happy” (2). “To lose the festival would be like cutting off your hand” (3). “Everything that has developed in the community [has] grown around the festival” (27). To stay or become attractive is crucial for sparsely populated communities. There is national and global competition for labor, and young people, especially the women, are moving to bigger cities. From this perspective, the festivals are contributing to keeping places attractive.

The Barents Spektakel in Kirkenes

Kirkenes and the area around had experienced unemployment and a decline in economic activity after the local mining industry reduced their production. Hence, there was a great need for new initiatives during the first years of The Barents Spektakel. The festival helped in forming a new culture business in the community, different from those that had been the foundation of income for many years: "What we used to say is that this community was a community characterized by 10-ton thinking. Everything that was valuable had to weigh more than 10 tons. This was because the former industrial workplace was still in the minds of people. Such things that dealt with culture were considered to be women's enterprise" (11). "To get people *ut av hemhusan* (out of their homes) to participate in cultural events was a kind of teaching/learning process. When we started here in the '90s, it was not possible to live off a theatre job. That was some of the first comments we heard. This is a mining community; you can't have a job where you are not getting your hands dirty" (28). The change was substantial: "What I see is that the festival is growing and from being unknown by locals to being of importance for the community as a whole. It is no longer just a narrow festival where artists are looking at other artists. Maybe it is about working up an audience" (18).

Although the festival could by no means replace the previous mining industry as a source of income, it blended into the changes in the perceived importance of the place. This process was accelerated by the increased political importance of the area, as new offshore resource exploration by the petroleum industries started in the Barents region: "The festival has been central to the consolidation of the identity around Kirkenes from a Norwegian and an international perspective. It has become a concrete, visible symbol of Kirkenes as a border city and, in a way, a political capital in the Barents region. This is a small city, but many decisions have been taken and important issues debated, which is positive for the Barents region. In this way, the festival has had great importance" (16). "It is polar night, and we should lie in hibernation, and suddenly all the hotels and shops are filled with people. I think this awakening comes from outside" (16). When people from outside the community appreciated

the Barents Spektakel, and the local people experienced that other people liked the festival, it was easier for them to see: "Wow, this is good" (16).

Traditionally the Barents region has been a melting pot with cross-border trade and intercultural interaction, but it is also located in a border zone with political tension. The festival could strengthen local continuity by creating opportunities to draw on shared histories and shared cultural practices and ideals, as well as creating settings for social interactions, here described by one of the informants: "I think that Barents Spektakel is going to be a kind of symbolic lighthouse in the cooperation between Petchenga in Russia and Sør-Varanger" (26). "Barents Spektakel has also been a symbolic lighthouse for the cooperation between people-to-people. It is a success story which demonstrates that it is possible" (26).

Festivals connect art, business, and politics, as one of the informants described: "One of the interesting things is the cultural meeting and the tongue meeting that occurs between the actors on the stage that do not speak the same language. The actors use their own language, and in the play 'Busses and stories' we had nine languages that were used all the time. We think that it is possible to understand each other, even if you don't speak the same language. It is something when you as an actor can go out on the stage and have a dialog in Norwegian-Turkish. It is interesting to look at the different sound in the languages, the cultural differences, and the cultural likeness. To be aware of the different tensions that occurs between the different cultures. And what is thrilling is that the festival is connecting art, business, and politics together. I mean that they belong together. When you make theatre here in the border region, you become focused on the political discussions" (18). Thus the festival could mirror our time and announce new policies and art forms, challenge traditions and truths, and inspire local artists. As an up-to-date local artist, inspiration also comes through traveling and other artists on the move: "When you work as an artist in Kirkenes, you have to travel to get inspiration. And what has made us keep it up for 18 years is that we have got resources and inspiration from outside. Barents Spektakel is very fun for us, because there are so many foreign artists coming to Kirkenes to work. And I think this is a difference in the Barents Spektakel from many other festivals

that I have participated in. We are traveling a lot, but the meetings that occur between actors in the *Barents Spektakel*, I think, are unique to this festival, because it is working through processes" (28). Festivals create meeting places where people get to know each other's culture: "It was about meeting places where Norwegians and people from other nations met—so they get to know each other. That was the most important function the festival had" (11).

Discussion and Conclusion

In conclusion, the study shows that festivals may contribute to the development of individual and collective identities, strengthen a sense of cohesiveness and belonging to a place, and also make places more visible, thereby increasing their capacity to attract people. However, the study has not demonstrated that festivals may have the capacity to develop *bolyst*, the desire for rural living (Munkejord, 2011) to the extent that migration from places exposed to depopulation is reversed. Even if *bolyst* develops, actually moving to a place requires more profound changes to take place. Although new jobs may be developed by festivals, their contribution to the local economy has so far been mostly in nurturing existing activities. But parallel to the growth in festivals and new cultural arenas, new ways to cooperate between artists, management, and other business has resulted in some new employment opportunities.

In line with Derrett (2003), it could be suggested that festivals slow down migration from these rural areas as they create inspiration and a sense of freedom and connectedness rather than a fixation on the existing structures of the communities. Hence, the contributions of these events to individuals and societies are more psychological, social, and cultural. For residents in these areas, the events constitute major changes to their everyday life, experiencing their hometowns becoming an important focus, filled with visitors and activities, signifying the importance of the place and the event. For visitors to the festivals, the celebrations are milestones that mark when and where to meet to enjoy these unique communities of Sami or sea fishermen or cultural workers.

Particularly in Kautokeino, visitors included a large proportion of relatives and friends of the residents, and here traditions and history plays a central role in unifying individuals and groups, and the

past and the future are brought together during the hectic festival days. The consciousness of identity provides positive images for the young people and shows respect and acceptance of the Sami culture for the older Sami people. Old and new cultures are melted together and shape the "new" Sami identities and a consciousness about what it is to be Sami today. The festival also provides strong positive communication and inspiration to other Sami communities. The open, snow-covered highlands of Kautokeino are used both as a playground for and scenery framing the celebrations.

Thus, the Easter Festival, which is the largest of these festivals according to number of participants, seems to create and strengthen place attachments, cohesiveness, and social and collective identities for the Sami as an ethnic group, across the North Calotte. Individual identities are established when the Sami people differentiate themselves from others through the festival arena and when the personal identity of the Sami people is seen in relation to others and situates each individual in a social space. The "why" they arrange the festival and "who" the target group is, is clear; it is for the local general public and for the Sami on the North Calotte, and it is about Sami identity built on Sami culture. The formation of identities and the attributes that a person has could be seen as aspects of the self—as, for example, the Sami culture that differentiates the self from others. In this way, the festival is becoming an arena for ethnic revitalization through making Joik, the traditional Sami costume, and other aspects of the Sami culture visible. It allows the Sami people to be modern Sami people and, at the same time, conserve the old culture.

The event contributes to social identities as described by Baumeister and Leary (1995) and Brewer and Gardner (1996), and place bonding as discussed by Hammit et al. (2006) to encompass place identity, dependence, familiarity, belonging, and rootedness. Among these three festivals, the Easter Festival most likely has the largest impacts on identities and belonging. The "how" of these processes is a complex interaction between historical, cultural, social, and psychological factors within a limited space with its unique nature. The motivational capacity of the identity formation processes (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) might be one central component that makes this event sustainable.

For the Sea Fishing Festival at Sørøya, the wild arctic coastline, archipelago, and ocean are active resources as well as a magnificent backdrop in the festival. Here, family and friends of the residents are also among the visitors, returning to their home place, accompanied by some foreigners to the area. The festival week is a social, cultural, and sporting highlight of importance to the residents and visitors alike, and a sense of fellowship develops because of the festival. The event employs history and traditions in ways different from those of the Easter Festival, as here the great fishing and social and cultural life are the central for the local and visiting fishermen. The event builds on old fishing traditions and makes the local people proud. They communicate acceptance by conserving the old culture and bringing it into the modern arena through the festival.

Participants make aesthetic and moral sense of a place through stories, and this also endows their own cultural identities (Bird, 2002). The psychological and social impacts of this event on the residents are strongly evidenced by the study. For the Sea Fishing Festival, visitors with family bonds to the island and the present residents of Sørøya would most likely feel proud of their home place and their roots; hence, these events will foster place belonging and satisfaction regarding a person's own roots when they are away from the place. The alternative is a devaluation of the place and abandoning of roots, as discussed by Derrett (2003). Kvidal and Nygaard (2009, p. 78) state that if a community becomes invisible its ability to articulate outwards will become undermined. The Sea Fishing Festival is building up its image, and the inhabitants say that it makes them proud to show their nice island to others. Festivals influence the identity of a place and place belongingness through the way the self-image of a person or a place is connected to *how* and *if* they are visible from outside. In this way festivals may reinvent places and their images and help to keep them visible. The sense of place is, according to McCabe (2006), not made through "legend or recreation of events, but in a determined effort to continue the event as a means to provide a symbolic system of continuity to the past" (p. 116).

In the case of Kirkenes, the Barents Spektakel Festival blends into an ongoing change in employment and business structures and particularly contributes

by boosting cultural activities. Its history as a border town is also exploited in the festival theme, but in a more abstract manner through art and performances. Barents Spektakel constitutes an arena that mixes old traditions based on trade and cultural cooperation across the borders with a labor market changing from a strong industrial community to a broader spectrum with creative business and tourism. The cultural arena that the festival creates is here, in a way, connecting the past to the future and contributes to form new border identities through the festival. Festivals with workshops producing different arts are not dependent on having the same language, and communication is through expression in the activities, which have no borders. Festivals are joy, and the happiness among the people creates strong communities and can help to restore self-esteem in the community. The Barents Spektakel has developed into a northern and international event as a broad cultural arena with specific border themes. It has been part of a transformation in its surrounding community from a focus on 10-ton thinking to more culture values. Women have moved from backstage in the industrial community to be at the forefront in the cultural expressions of the festival. The northern and international focus has become stronger and more visible, both among the people and on the festival arena. The dark winter days are the backdrop while the celebration is more in arts than in nature.

As the search for identity and relatedness to people and places may be conceived of as human motivations (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hammit et al., 2006), individuals will tend to search for arenas and places, such as festivals, where these motivations may be met. Festivals, like those studied here, invite local residents, relatives, and friends that have migrated from the place, and some foreign to the area, to live out such motivations within the frames of their communities, traditions, culture and history, and nature. These frames may vary between the foreground or background, and they may be used as active means to produce and support the event and be regarded as *capital* that the organizers invest in the event (Mykletun, 2009). By attracting participants to meaningful activities and successful celebrations, the places get involved in benign and upward spirals of storytelling and image formation, with participants sharing social realities and being

bonded to the event and the place. Thus, places also develop identities in processes that are parallel to the personal and social identities of the participants. The sustainability of these processes depends on event organizers that give a return on the investments from the local capital employed in the production of the event.

Some limitations apply to this study. Foremost, it is based on a low number of face-to-face interviews held at only three different festivals in sparsely populated areas in Northern Norway. These festivals are organized in areas exposed to depopulation, and generalization of the results should be supported by new studies in similar and different locations to assure their external validity.

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Paper IV

On commodification: volunteer experiences in festivals.

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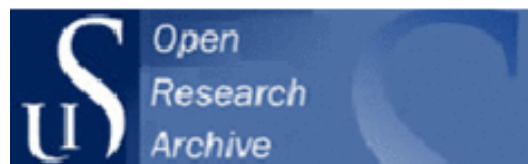
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On commodification: volunteer experiences in festivals

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This paper is about the creation of non-commodified volunteer experiences, for tourists and local volunteers participating in festivals. How is the tourist experience created when most of the traditional tourism demands are not fulfilled? And what are the experiences and how do they relate to different ‘regimes of value’? The experience context includes tourists who work together with locals voluntarily in a festival, where the volunteers pay for their own travel, food, overnight stay, and work for free. To gain more knowledge on the volunteers is important because local cultural life becomes more festivalized, most festivals are reliant on the involvement of volunteers, and the festivals gain an important role in an economy where even small places are engaged in branding [Löfgren, O. 2003. *The new economy: A cultural history*. *Global Networks*, 3, 239–254]. This paper uses a qualitative approach. Interviews were conducted (n = 23) and participants were observed during four festivals in Finnmark, Norway. Nothing in the experiences was facilitated, and the experience creation occurred in the work tasks together with volunteer colleagues. It was like a holiday experience, without a stream of commodified moments. It was a value creation that could be seen as authentic and real, created in the interaction between the local and visiting volunteers.

To be a non-commodity is to be ‘priceless’ in the full possible sense of the term, ranging from the uniquely valuable to the uniquely worthless. (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 75)

In this paper, we explored the gained experiences of participating volunteer workers in four different festivals in Finnmark, Northern Norway. The aim is to understand how these experiences are shaped in relation to different ‘regimes of value’ that guides the understanding of social relations. The study was based on a quantitative study of 56 festivals, where 54 of the 56 festivals were dependent on a volunteer workforce. Four of the festivals were chosen for a qualitative study by conducting interviews with volunteers and observing participants. The aim was to demonstrate how non-commodifiable values are dominant and legitimize their participation. These values were created during the festival by participants spending their leisure time and money to make their involvement happen. The four festivals differed in activities, aims and scope, and in that respect, some of them attracted national and international interest, but all of them were based in small communities and located in remote areas (within a national context).

Rather than analysing the volunteers’ motivation inside the frame of theories usually applied in event management (Elstad, 2003; Monga, 2006), we turned to the field of volunteer tourism where people pay for doing a job for a – from an economic point of view – less advantaged communities (Wearing, 2001) and theories investigating different ‘regimes of value’ (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986). Even if Norwegian rural communities do not fit into the economically less advantaged societies in this world, there are several reasons for applying the perspectives originating in this field of volunteer tourism research. First of all, to our knowledge, it is few (Jæger, 2012), if any, studies related to this particular type of volunteer tourism to events in European Welfare states, except for those more built on economic theories. Then, some of the volunteers, in all of these festivals, come from the outside, spend money in the local community, contribute with new knowledge during the event, and nearly all of the volunteers spend parts of their holiday working for the festivals and what appears to be the common good for the local community. Often, it is hard work in a period where they have to use their own money to pay for their expenses with few, if any, material rewards from those they are working for. What they gain and what makes them volunteer is primarily the possibility of experiences that in Western ontology seldom can be commodified, and have to be kept outside the frames of ordinary tourism activities. It is the moral aspect of volunteer tourism where people spend their holiday working for a community (McGehee &

Santos, 2005, p. 760) and these people's aim of becoming 'interactive' contributors to a community (Wearing & Neil, 2000, p. 392) and thereby transcending the ordinary tourist role that are features that could also be applied to volunteers in rural festivals in Norway.

Thus, we aim to extend the often narrow and business-dominated boundaries of tourism studies. In the current situation that emphasizes experiences, the phenomenon must be understood from the angle of what people are doing rather than from the delimitation of economic structures. From the perspective of people's actual activities when engaging in festivals, the differences between locals and visitors, and leisure and tourism become blurred in a society characterized by differentiation and consumption of experiences. Furthermore, such experiences have the potential for creating identities in societies where individuals appear to be autonomous in their subjective consciousness, with the responsibility of creating the self by means of their own choices (Beck, 1992, p. 133).

Theoretical considerations

Aims of disciplinary delimitations between tourism and leisure, with strong ties to the industry, have made tourism research emphasize the commercialism of travel and leisure that benefits those industries that are regarded as a part of the economic field of tourism and hospitality (Franklin, 2003). Such a demarcation of tourism can be questioned. A change of perspective, moving from the industry angle to people who are engaged in those activities and are partly subsumed in the categories of tourism research, reveals a rather blurred distinction between tourism, leisure and ordinary everyday life. For example, visitors to a museum can be divided into separate groups according to their place of residence. This might be important for the tourism industry that provides certain services to those who do not live in the community. From the perspective of the visitors, tourist and locals alike, the immediate activity of cultural consumption can be rather identical whether on holiday or not (Mehmetoglu & Olsen, 2007). Tourism is also increasingly characterized by relational spaces with new types of tourism accommodation such as Airbnb, and new spaces where people can meet, as in festivals (Richards, 2014). These new spaces of tourism are also described as in-between spaces because they are not purely tourism or local spaces (Richards, 2014). This becomes visible in local festivals where tourists fulfil their desire to live like a local, combined with the desire of locals to become producers of tourism experiences, which has stimulated a new 'live like a local' trend that has been met by a range of bottom-up products and experiences (Richards, 2014, p. 15).

We propose a shift from a perspective that emphasizes export revenue and differentiates people according to location of living a perspective that obviously is out of interest in many cases, to a perspective that highlights people's actual experiences and activities on certain occasions. This will give a better understanding of many of the activities that are hybrid, in the sense that tourism is only a part of their complexity (Olsen, 2002).

On the other hand, volunteer tourism has often been defined as an activity that, at least in its motivation, reaches outside the commercial field. Wearing (2001) defined volunteer tourists as,

... those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment. (p. 1)

This moral aspect of volunteer tourism is also found in a definition provided by McGehee and Santos (2005) who stated that volunteer tourists, '...utilizing discretionary time and income to travel out of the sphere of regular activity to assist others in need' (p. 760). Thus, this form of tourism becomes connected to social movements, development projects and conservation (McGehee, 2012; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Mostafanezhad, 2013; Wearing, 2001; Wearing & Wearing, 1999), all activities that at least pretend to be, outside of the commodified realm of where the tourism industry is firmly situated.

On the other side, volunteering also blurs the boundaries for what is paid work. As Stebbins (2013, p. 342) states according to leisure, this might also include professionals using their skills for the benefit of an event and are compensated significantly less than in their ordinary job. This relates to how veterinarians who work as volunteers in the dog sled race, The Finnmark Race (Finnmarksløpet), are rewarded. Some costs are covered, but the payment is much less than they would have earned in their regular job as veterinarians. Additionally, they have to travel, eat and sleep in some challenging conditions. People participating in volunteer tourism are not necessarily experiencing it as a non-commodified event as suggested by Coren and Gray (2012). Additionally, Wearing and Neil (2000) aimed to demarcate volunteer tourists from ordinary tourists by using the term for the individual(s) who, '... moves beyond the "gazer" to become an "interactive" contributor to the site' (p. 392). This focus has led to an increased scrutiny of volunteer tourism in relation to post-colonial perspectives involving among others, the matters of hegemony, resistance and othering (McGehee, 2012; Mostafanezhad, 2013).

Less attention has been paid to the growing form of volunteer tourism in rich countries where people undertake holidays to utilize their discretionary time, income and/or skills (professional or not) to travel out of their sphere of regular activity and assist in events and festivals. In Norway, as in many other European countries, the cultural field has gradually become an event economy. This is an economy where cultural activities and sports are conducted inside the time frame of a festival or an event. Such cultural activities have developed from previously being the realm of volunteer organizations to becoming a rather heterogenic field of limited companies, individual entrepreneurs and volunteer associations, often merged inside the frames of the same event (Elstad & De Paoli, 2014; Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009; Jæger, 2012). Still, such festivals and events are usually totally dependent on volunteers, and often dependent on volunteers who travel to partake in certain events. This is the case for the festivals analysed in this study. For example, The Finnmark Race has many volunteers who come from other parts of Norway and abroad, to work as professionals or as unskilled labourers for an event that is owned by shareholders in a limited company, The Finnmark Race AS, but is conducted by the non-commercial local sled dog association, Alta Trekkhundklubb. This is an organizational form that has become common in the field of festivals and events in Norway. For volunteer tourists who participate in The Finnmark Race, the contradictions of the post-colonial world highlighted by McGehee (2012) and Mostafanezhad (2013), among others, are probably less present than the fact that the volunteers are in danger of using their time and money to work for shareholders who run a commercial activity. This is a contradiction also experienced by those who invest their money and labour in companies who own the festivals, and with a legitimate need of protecting their investment by working to enhance its reputation as a brand. Thereby, these festivals demonstrate what Crossley and Picard (2014, p. 202) state a 'plurality of regimes of values existing in any given set of practices' that also frames those social relations volunteers enter and also frames their recollection of experiences in those practices they engage in in festivals.

This development in the organization of cultural events might be understood as part of a neo-liberal practice where social movements, '... increasingly intersect with lifestyle movements that find a primary mode of articulation within alternative consumption practices' (Mostafanezhad, 2013, p. 151). The perspective draws upon Haenfler, Johnson, and Jones (2012) who regarded Lifestyle Movements as predominantly individualized and personal identity work. This was the result of, 'Individualistic, consumer-oriented societies emphasize the importance of lifestyle in identity construction, encouraging people to individualize the self by altering daily habits (especially consumption)' (p. 15). Thereby, festivals enable people to engage in certain activities in civil society, not necessarily at their place of living, and, as an individual, to make a difference for certain purposes they find important during their holiday. To regard volunteering in festivals as a part of what Beck (1992, p. 199) has labelled the development of sub-political fields makes it possible to analyse the phenomenon of volunteering as a form of holiday within neo-liberal practices. These are practices where individual consumption inside

the frame of established social practices can be understood as the construction of lifestyles oriented towards authentic identities and – in some occasions – social change (Haenfler et al., 2012, p. 15).

This form of volunteer tourism also has elements that are common with tourism that is directed towards ecological work and social change in poorer countries. First, its grounded in a lifestyle oriented towards an authentic identity and second, there is an emphasis on a ‘lived experience’ that implies interactions with others and doing some-thing that is usually not connected with tourism, that is, work, even if an aesthetic visual experience often is included but not as sightseeing (Gray & Campbell, 2007,p.477; Wearing & Wearing, 1999). Still, the basic contradiction of modern tourism, as proposed by MacCannel (1976), remains when an individual ‘...seeks to build identity through consumption; her desire for authentic interaction with other cultures (and natures), however sincere, is obscured by the commodification of the interaction’ (Gray & Campbell, 2007, p. 466). And as in other forms of volunteer tourism, ‘the tourist’, or rather more correctly, the culturally constructed ideas of the tourist become the outer other in such an identity work.

Volunteer ecotourism has been understood as situated in a continuum where the different projects range from commodified to non-commodified (Wearing & Wearing, 1999, p. 58). Wearing (2001; Wearing & Wearing, 1999) proposed a commodification continuum on which volunteer ecotourism projects (or just ecotourism projects) may be placed, depending upon the aesthetic, economic and ethical values supported. At one end, tourism is commodified; it resembles mass tourism where economic values equate to profits accrued by non-local companies and local environments and people are aesthetically consumed, and tourists neither question these values nor seek to demonstrate more ethical values. At the opposite end, tourism is de-commodified; economic benefits are locally retained, tourists engage in meaningful experiences with local environments and people, and they seek such ‘ethical’ engagement with local culture rather than the enhancement of their own ‘cultural capital’. In a critique of Wearing (2001), Gray and Campbell (2007, p. 479) stated that there is seldom one meaning suggesting where a project will be placed in the continuum. Rather, there will be multiple meanings and the inclusion of the local people’s opinions, not directly connected to such projects, will add to the *mélange* of meanings associated with volunteer tourism.

As suggested by Gray and Campbell (2007, pp. 466, 479), the idea of a continuum between commodification and de-commodification is a rather simplified idea as long as the multiple meanings found among different actors involved in the activity are not considered. Nonetheless, the idea of fluctuating inside a continuum, for some of the actors involved, opens an understanding that is not grounded on a fixed dichotomy. Rather, it allows for analysing commodification as a process set in space and time. Therefore, Appadurai’s(1986) analytical concept of ‘commodifying situation’ (p. 13) the social life of things, and Kaul’s (2007) attention to power relations in commodifying processes might be helpful for a better understanding of volunteering in the events.

Appadurai (1986) approached the topic of commodification of things in a processual perspective to overcome the dichotomy embedded in the concept. According to Appadurai (1986):

Let us approach commodities as things in a certain situation, a situation that can characterize many different kinds of thing, at different points in their social lives. This means looking at the commodity potential of all things rather than searching fruitlessly for the magic distinction between commodities and other sorts of things. (p. 13)

This implies that things, and in modern society nearly all things and relations, can be com-modified in certain contexts, but by de-contextualization and re-contextualization, they move in and out of different conditions (Briggs & Bauman, 1992; Kopytoff, 1986, p. 65). Thereby, commodification of things occurs in certain cultural contexts, in certain spaces and at certain times. Or as Appadurai (1986) stated, ‘Thus, commoditization lies at the complex intersection of temporal, cultural, and social factors’ (p. 15). Therefore, when approaching volunteer tourism, we need to understand these factors that direct the

experiences of concrete actors as their understandings unfold in their narration of the specific events. Hence, it is necessary to be aware of the ambiguity in modern society that is always immanent in the ideas of commodification, authenticity and sincerity, founded on binary thinking, but can only be grasped in the heteroglossia of different actors. As Kopytoff (1986) described it,

Thus, the economies of complex and highly monetized societies exhibit a two-sided valuating system: on one side is the homogenous area of commodities, on the other, the extremely variegated area of private evaluation. Further complications arise from the constant referring of private valuation to the only reliable public valuation that exists – which is in the commodity area. (p. 88)

As such, the meaning attached to the specific festivals in volunteer tourism might be understood from different perspectives. The same event can just as well be understood inside the frame of societal processes, where commodification is dominant, and by the variegated area of the private evaluation of individual experience. Hence, as Kopytoff (1986) claimed, this – analytical – division will always be complicated by them referring to each other.

The perspective of Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) related primarily to things, but as the former stated, services and goods are hardly separable in modern societies (Appadurai, 1986, p. 55). Furthermore, in Appadurai's (1986) view, services are the dominant and definitive feature of a modern exchange of commodities. Increasingly, such a perspective has entered the realm of service management, and under the heading of service-dominant logic (S-D). Vargo and Lusch put this rather boldly: 'S-D logic says that the application of competences for the benefit of another party – that is, service – is the foundation of all economic exchange. Thus, even when goods are involved, what is driving economic activity is service – applied knowledge' (Vargo & Lusch, 2008, p. 4, italics in original).

It seems it is necessary to add to Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff's (1986) perspective when it comes to services, or rather social relations and experiences in general, is a perspective on power that can be utilized to analyse the different festivals and plots in certain particular actor's narration of being a volunteer – and we add: tourist. This is a recognition of the private evaluation that shapes the experience, but still have in mind how such private valuations, when retold, always also will refer to public valuations. As Bruner (2005) stated,

The emphasis on the particular is essential because disembodied decontextualized narratives have no politics, as there are no persons or interests involved. This privileging of the specific leads to a consideration of the complexity of forces and the multiplicity of voices and meanings at work. (p. 128)

Such a perspective, in this case, gives priority to the narrator's retelling of his or her experiences as a volunteer and relates it to an important point in the commercialization of culture as suggested by Kaul (2007), who proposed a distinction between commercialization and commodification. Kaul's argument relied on Cohen's (1988) definition of commodification as something that is primarily valued in trade value. In Kopytoff's (1986) vocabulary, this definition of commodification relates to things that are apprehended entirely inside the realm of 'the homogenous area of commodities' (p. 88). Or rather, specific contexts that deny 'the extremely variegated area of private evaluation' (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 88). Accordingly, the commodifying processes 'inevitably lead to the loss of productive control, or "creative freedom" for the producer' (p. 88). To Kaul (2007), it is the issue of control that is crucial in commodification, or in other words, dominance of the 'homogenous area of commodities' as Kopytoff stated (p. 88). It is the issue of control rather than the presence of money that is key. Commercialization is a more general process; it is simply the introduction or intensification of monetary exchange in relation to the production and/or consumption of a thing. If productive control remains in the hands of the producer, then an activity can become commercialized without becoming commodified. So, these two

categories are not distinct. All commodities are commercialized, but not all commercial activities are commodified (Kaul, 2007, pp. 706–707).

Without following Kaul's (2007) division between commercialization and commodification, we rather emphasize the perspective of control in relation to volunteering, and on Appadurai's (1986) perspective on processes rather than dichotomies of concepts. Therefore, volunteer tourism might be understood as a series of specific activities where actors –not necessarily always – feel outside the realm of commodification. Not necessarily as either/or, as their totality of their involvement as volunteers, are in the control of themselves. Rather, the task is to understand in what way the volunteers describe their experiences as being outside the dominance of commodifying processes that inevitably lead to the loss of individual control and creative freedom. This becomes visible when volunteer tourists do not see themselves as tourists, but as guests and friends. Rather, we are interested in those moments where 'the extremely variegated area of private evaluation' (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 88) defines the festivals and practices where individual consumption inside the frame of established social practices, can be understood as the construction of lifestyles oriented towards authentic identities and – in some occasions – social change (Haenfler et al., 2012, p. 15; Kopytoff, 1986). And in particular, what kind of dilemmas arise when these private evaluations necessarily relate to what Kopytoff (1986) claimed to be 'the only reliable public valuation that exists', the commodity area? (p. 88). What have guided this research is to see what kind of regimes of values volunteers at festivals relate to when narrating their experiences set in a context and in relation to practices where a plurality of possible valorizations exists (Appadurai, 1986; Crossley & Picard, 2014, p. 202).

The festivals and the method

This study builds upon a sample from a descriptive study of 56 festivals in Finnmark in 2007 (Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009). Based on the findings and a mapping exercise of these 56 festivals, 4 festivals were selected for further investigation: The Sea Fishing Festival on Sørøya (Havfiskefestivalen på Sørøya), The Easter Festival in Kautokeino (Påskefestivalen i Kautokeino), The Midnight Rock Festival in Lakselv (Midnattsrocken in Lakselv) and the Finnmark Race. The festivals were chosen because of their unique values based on the heritage and traditions of sea fishing in Finnmark, the indigenous Sami culture and the different ethnicities represented by Norwegian and Sami culture. The Finnmark Race started as a sporting event, a dog sled race, but has been developed to be the festival core (Jæger & Viken, 2014). It has grown from a little sled dog race for a few mushers, to a festival with many local culture activities throughout an entire county. Not considering the multitude of festival activities built up in relation to the race, The Finnmark Race alone has around 600 volunteers, and just 4 employees. These 4 festivals also build on long festival traditions where 2 of the festivals have been in existence for more than 20 years. The Easter Festival in Kautokeino builds upon a long tradition of Easter as the time for marriages in Kautokeino. At that time, the semi-nomadic reindeer herders had their herds in proximity to the village. Three of the festivals also attract international participants and audiences, as well as a strong 'core' of local-based activity. The festivals have been used in Finnmark marketing by the tourism sector and as a representation of the values of Finnmark County, promoting nature-based experiences and Sámi culture.

The data included 23 interviews from volunteers at the 4 festivals – 5 from the Sea Fishing Festival, 5 from the Easter Festival, 5 from the Midnight Rock Festival and 8 from the Finnmark Race. The volunteers interviewed included the festival initiators, operational volunteers, organizers and professionals working for free. At The Finnmark Race, data were also gathered by observing participants systematically for three years. In the last three years, one of the authors, herself a long-time volunteer and musher, had occasionally been asking other volunteers about their participation in volunteering (Table 1).

The interviews were part of data material gathered by one of the researchers in her work on festivals in Finnmark (Andersson, Getz, Mykletun, Jæger, & Dolles, 2013; Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009, 2013; Jæger,

2012) and builds on previous joint research on The Finnmark Race (Jæger & Olsen, 2005). The 23 interviews were conducted by Jæger as semi-structured interviews lasting from 30 minutes to more than an hour. This material consisted of interviews with local volunteers and volunteers coming from other parts of Norway and abroad. There were volunteers who were both new and volunteers who had worked at the festival since the start. Of the participants, 14 were men and 9 were women, and most of them were interested in the core activity of the festival. Of these, 17 regarded themselves as locals while three were from outside the county. The participants' roles in the festival included four who were Festival Initiators and were among those who started the festival, eight were Operational Volunteers who worked in different roles within the festival without any skills related to their work task, five were Festival Organizers who were volunteer leaders in the festival organization who worked throughout the entire year, and six were Volunteer Professionals who did their ordinary job for free before, during or after the festival. The systematic observation and shorter conversations we drew upon from the Finnmark Race covered the same roles as in the interviews but with a larger number of non-local volunteers (see Table 2).

The interviews were transcribed and then analysed by the two researchers to illuminate usages about the volunteers' motivation to participate and their experiences that contributed to their participation.

Table 1. Festival characteristics.

Festivals	Characteristics
<p><i>Sea Fishing Festival at Sorøya (Havfiskefestivalen på Sorøya)</i> Established in 1987. Vision: The festival aims to be a rallying point for the people in Hasvik and for other people who want to take part in the festival. Number of visitors: 1000 The host municipality Hasvik has 970 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival is arranged in July every year. • The festival participants are mostly from Norway but some come from other countries in Europe. • The festival has hosted the Norwegian championship and the European championship in sea fishing. • The festival has a great reputation because they always catch the biggest fish here. • In recent years, other activities have expanded around the Sea Fishing Festival, such as concerts, hiking trips, fishing competitions for children and markets. • Fishing has always been the main basis of income on the island.
<p><i>Easter Festival in Kautokeino (Påskefestivalen i Kautokeino)</i> Established in 1972. Vision: Påskefestivalen aims to present a broad range of Sami music. Påskefestivalen has become a 10-day celebration and display of Sami culture. Number of visitors: 10,000 The host municipality Kautokeino has 2917 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival is arranged in the Easter every year. • The festival is built around Sami traditional activities and cultural heritage. • Activities in the festival include different concerts with one main competition 'The Sami Grand Prix', which present both modern and traditional joik, a unique form of singing for the Sami people. • Various other activities include the reindeer racing, ice fishing competitions; snow scooter racing and more recently an outdoor film festival. • It is a native Sami community, where the main source of income has always been reindeer management.
<p><i>Midnight Rock in Lakselv (Midnattsrocken i Lakselv)</i> Established 1984 (had breaks in the second and twelfth years). Vision: To create a rallying point for rock music in Finnmark and increase Lakselv's profile in the market. To encourage culture and the music in the local community, with the profit going to young musicians. Number of visitors: 5500 in 2007, 13,000 in 2010 The host municipality Porsanger has 4000 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The festival features musicians from the local community, national and some international performers. • Lakselv is a small community situated in the heart of Finnmark, which makes it possible to attract spectators from the whole county. • The main employer in the region is the Norwegian Defence Force.
<p><i>The Finnmark Race (Finnmarksløpet)</i> Established in 1981. Vision: The aim of the festival is to be the most challenging and sought after sled dog race in the world. Number of spectators at the start in Alta is estimated to be several thousand. Most people are following the race through social media, where during the race in 2014 they had: 64,000,000 Hits, 974,000 Visitors and 132,000 Unique IP. The host municipality Alta has 20,000 inhabitants. The race goes through the whole Finnmark County which has 76,500 inhabitants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Race is arranged on the first Saturday in March every year. • It starts and has finish line in Alta • It has three classes, where the longest is 1000 km, and goes through the whole Finnmark County. • The 2 other classes are one with 5000 km and a Junior class with 205 km. • Number of participants was in 2015, 150 Musers (dog sled drivers) from 13 different nationalities, and around 600 volunteers.

Table 2. Volunteer work-experience in the four volunteer roles.

Volunteer roles Number of volunteers interviewed (N = 23)	Years the different volunteers had worked in the festival	Numbers in the different festivals
<i>Festival initiator</i> (4) The volunteer person who has initiated the festival	Two had worked every year One had worked four years One had worked one year	One Sea Fishing Festival One Easter Festival One Midnight Rock festival One Finnmark Race
<i>Festival organizer</i> (5) The volunteer leaders in the festival organization who are working through the whole year	Two had worked every year One had worked eight years Two had worked six years	One Sea Fishing Festival One Easter Festival One Midnight Rock festival Two Finnmark Race
<i>Operational volunteer</i> (8) Volunteer who work in different roles under the festival, without any related skills to their work task	Two had worked every year Two had worked six years One had worked three years Three had worked their first year	Two Sea Fishing Festival Two Easter Festival Two Midnight Rock festival Two Finnmark Race
<i>Volunteer professional</i> (6) Volunteers who do their ordinary job for free during the festival, or donate their special skills for the festival	One had worked every year One had worked 15 years One had worked for 10 years One had worked two years Two had worked their first year	One Sea Fishing Festival One Easter Festival One Midnight Rock festival Three Finnmark Race

Volunteer experiences

According to Elstad and De Paoli (2014, pp. 197–198), sociality and interest are the motives generally regarded as the most important for volunteering. In our opinion, this ranking comes close to the perspective of Haenfler et al. (2012) who emphasized that events and practices can be understood as the construction of lifestyles oriented towards authentic identities shaped by involvement in social relationships. This is an individual consumption inside the frame of established social practices on arenas that enables an individual valuation in concordance with a general perspective of certain social relations and interests outside the realm of the commodified (Haenfler et al., 2012, p. 15; Kopytoff, 1986, p. 88). A more altruistic motivation was found in the expressions of one of the festival initiators, ‘The goal was to create pride to come from the island, and recruit more people to visit the island as a tourist’ (Inf. 2). Social change necessitated by the decrease in fishery income also caused a link to tourism, ‘We observed that the fisheries went down and we hoped the festival could give a new income’ (Inf. 2). ‘After 22 years, the circus becomes a part of you’ (Inf. 2). Through the Sea Fishing Festival, according to the informant, the tourists got unique experiences because of the big fish, but also, the local people experienced the fisheries in a new way with rod fishing, and the tourist’s positive comments about their home place. At the same time, the festival influenced the local volunteers’ life on the island.

The initiation of the two other festivals was started by interest or hobby. The sled dog race started as such without catching any interest except for the die-hard racers, while the Easter Festival was explained as both an interest in the Sámi song tradition – Joik, and its symbolic value as an ethnic marker due to the suppression of Sámi identity by a period of more than 100 years of official Norwegianization (Olsen, 2010). As stated; ‘The most important thing with the festival is that the Joik has become public and that it inspires the young people’ and ‘The fact that the Joik had been forbidden, made it even more attractive’ (Inf. 3). Joik was never forbidden by law. However, it was stigmatized as a marker of an inferior Sámi identity and in many Sámi communities regarded as a heathen practice by the dominant lay Christian Leostadian congregation (Olsen, 2010). Because of the latter association, Joik had, until recently, been regarded as un-proper in public in many Sámi communities and as opposition to Christian faith. For both the participants in the sled dog race and the Sami Easter Festival, the experiences created were first, important for the locals, but later, the visitors’ influence strengthened the festivals as a product for the residents. It also became an arena for volunteer tourists to experience local culture.

The festival gave spaces for creating experiences that could only be experienced within the festival. As one local volunteer described his feelings

It is about relive what you was participating in as a young musician ... To meet the musicians, the mood and the milieu. Musicians are a special breed. You talk about other things backstage, than you do at the local Coop Cafè. We talk about music, not everyday things. It is nostalgic – a milieu you miss. (Inf. 4)

To relive earlier positive experiences in life is important. At the same time, as new fellow-ships are developed, new experiences and friends are shaped, and some volunteers felt:

A fellowship with everyone and work towards a common goal ... Under the festival you associate with the people that are there, not those you have chosen. You get acquainted with quite different people than you normally talk with. (Inf. 4)

For the other volunteers, the interest, in one way or other, for the core activity was dominant. Just one, a local, claimed no interest at all in the core activity. To her, the social part of the festival was the reason to volunteer. This was a motive that related to both those living in the community, 'The week the festival is arranged, the whole island is alive', and to different categories of visitors, 'It is important to show our nice island Those who are home on holiday are also coming along' (Inf. 5). Nevertheless, most of the volunteers had an interest in the activity that was at the core of the festival, or they, as was often the case with volunteers to the sled dog race, catch an interest while being a volunteer. Even if interested, except for one interviewed who mentioned free tickets as a motive, all others expressed sociality and/or coping with interesting tasks as important for them volunteering. As shown in the quotations from two non-locals,

It's fun to be together with people with many good qualities. It creates good and close relations, solidarity and fellowship ... [and] I would like to travel to different festivals. You got new acquaintance and new knowledge that you could use to your own arrangement. (Inf. 7)

And as a woman said, 'It is hectic, you must distribute the tasks, dare to make decisions and trust in that people do their job. It is important to show confidence' (Inf. 8).

Gaining new knowledge might be characterized as developing competence, but might just as well describe, such as the latter quote, working close with others, trusting in them and the positive experience of making something together. Meeting people seemed to be important to volunteer. Welcoming guests to the festival, volunteers felt they were the host or represented the host, and felt valuable. They also felt that visitors trusted them, and it created good feelings to be able to solve problems for other people. Volunteers could get a glimpse into other people's lives, moods and feelings in that moment on that day.

An extract from the fieldwork notes based on conversations with volunteers described it as, 'you change role from your daily life'. As a volunteer in a new place, they were often only known from the volunteer role they had. This gives possibilities to 'start a new life', and to relax due to the expectations of volunteers. It also gave the possibility to get in contact with new people who were in the 'same boat'. Solving problems together with other people, volunteers got to know them in a different way while they were 'testing' out cooperation, coordination, skills and different understandings of how to solve challenges. If volunteering with people they knew, volunteers also got to know them in a new way and discovered other values, different from what was seen in daily life. This gave new dimensions to friendships as well as common experiences and values.

To be a part of this work made the arrangement tempting for many volunteers and made them come back each year. The tension, the feelings of coping, being in control, managing well the situation and the final success was their rewards. Like one of the volunteers who worked with communication both as a professional and at the Finnmark Race expressed it:

The Finnmark Race is a kind of repetition [of his profession learning]. You work under heavy pressure and try to stay calm. That's the rational part of it. The other part is that it is exciting to come back to the same place year after years. That kind of repeating experience. To see a part of the country that I love and at a time of year when I else would not be able to be here. To be a part of it. It is something about being important. That makes me tick. Even if I'm exhausted like everyone else working in the press centre – I'm totally knocked when it is over. Despite of this I get some kind of mental gain that I bring with me back home in my private life and my ordinary job. (Inf. 21)

For locals, it was the community that usually mattered. Like one owner of a tourist business put it:

Everyone comes along. It is important to come along and contribute. Most of the people think it is fun to join in. We have chosen not to book tourists during the festival, so we can be there for the festival. I am proud of what we have succeeded in doing here. Everyone contribute. It is important to come along. It is a strong solidarity and a tradition to contribute to the festival. (Inf. 18)

This is not to say that communities were 'closing up' their celebration for themselves. Even if locals could claim that the festival was for them and not outsiders, many of them also pointed out that this identity work also was strengthening and communicating a greater community. The same person who closed her tourism business during the festival also recognized that, 'The festival is important to us, we become visible' (Inf. 19). And a woman who first explained her volunteering as community work also added, 'The festival is an advertisement-board that you hang about yourself, your community' (Inf. 20).

The inward-looking motives of the locals did not necessarily exclude volunteers coming from the outside. Through the joint work as a volunteer, they felt that they were a part of the festival, they felt a belonging to the people and the festival. Even if they were not local, the volunteer role gave them the 'belonging ticket'. As a volunteer tourist, they got the belonging ticket in two ways, both as participants in a core activity and as an audience. Second, the belonging builds on the values of being part of the host community. As one of the volunteer tourists claimed,

As a foreign volunteer on a new festival it was interesting to see how you suddenly are a part of a local activity and in a way is one of the locals. As a tourist you always experience the locals from the outside as a spectator. So the volunteer role helps you in changing status from tourist to 'local'. (Inf. 22)

Another volunteer tourist emphasized that 'They gave us a great welcoming and we got private car transportation from the airport' (Inf. 9).

At the same time, they became a member of a more close-knit fellowship of temporary co-workers:

The social aspect is very important. You meet people with the same interest as yourself. A lot of good stories. It means a lot. Just as much as competing. It's an important quality in my life. When you live in a small place – sometimes it can be too narrow – everybody knows who you are and people have made up their opinion about you. It is amazing to get away and meet all these wonderful people living all over. At least to gather once a year. One can look forward to such occasions. Just after three years I feel that it has become a very large part of my life. We look forward to next year. When we get home and start telling, to try to get people to come, it is this you tell about. (Inf. 23)

In our opinion, in these festivals, it is the identity work, the aim of social change, the feelings of mastering, belonging and being a part of someone working together or within a community that is important. Even if being an extremely variegated area of private evaluations in the material presented – outside the dominance of commodifying processes that, in a general western European thought, seems inevitably to lead to the loss of individual control and creative freedom. This is not to say that

commodification was not present, but mostly outside the realm of the volunteers. Sometimes, there were glimpses when participants referred to the need for the community being visible in a neo-liberal economy with the value of being visible and attractive for investors. Therefore, there is, as Kopytoff (1986) stated, in general, a constant referring of private valuation to the only reliable public valuation that exists – which is in the commodity area.

Discussion

Like ‘the tourist’ (MacCannel, 1976), the volunteer seeks to build identity through consumption of experiences, but the desire for authentic interaction with others, however sincere, is obscured by the potential commodification of the interaction being framed by the tourist role (Gray & Campbell, 2007; Olsen, 2002, 2012). As demonstrated in the empirical material from the four festivals, although there were a variety of motivations described among the locals and visitors who worked as volunteers, the dominant motivations were related to wishes of sociality, utilitarianism on behalf of the communities and identity building. These are all motives connected to phenomena, or rather, relations that usually are regarded as outside the realm of commodification. Making a difference for the youths in the community, creating pride in a local community, and reclaiming indigenous Sámi traditions are all motives that cannot be commodified. The same applies to the experiences that are created through volunteer’s spending money and their free time to make this possible. The fun of being together with other people with similar interests, and working together creates close relationships and belonging as they have to make decisions on their own and have to have confidence in those others the volunteers, often accidentally, are dependent on for conducting tasks. Such experiences might be understood and explained by extremely variegated private evaluations (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 88). Therefore, the emphasis on the particular is essential, to understand the complexity of voices and meanings at work among the volunteers during a festival (Bruner, 2005, p. 128).

Still these evaluations and meanings can be understood by their constant referral to public valuation systems. Spending free time might give someone experiences that are priceless and non-commodifiable because they are ranging from the uniquely valuable to the uniquely worthless (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 75). Usually, in their retelling, like in the material presented here, they also relate to the commodity area, which according to Kopytoff (1986) is, ‘...the only reliable public valuation that exists’ (p. 88). Building the economy of the local community, branding places, making them attractive for people, and the more private aims of building competence and repetition of professional learning are all valuations that relate to a neo-liberal world where the borders between commodification and non-commodification increasingly become blurred. As lifestyle and identities become articulated through consumption practices (Haenfler et al., 2012, p. 15; Mostafanezhad, 2013, p. 151), volunteering might be an activity where people remain in control of their own relation to activities operating within the intersection of commodification and sociality (Kaul, 2007, pp. 706–707). Volunteering means spending their free time and often their money for doing work with, at least in the case of small festivals in rural areas in Norway, few, if any, direct economic benefits.

Conclusion

Therefore, to regard commodification and non-commodified experiences as either-or makes it difficult to grasp why people spend free time and money as volunteers in their local community or away from home. Rather, we suggest that such arenas provide spaces for non-commodified experiences and relations in a society where the border between tourism and everyday life at home has become blurred. Still, the neo-liberal character of festivals, in societies as Norway, renders that the realm of commodification always exists as a potential reference for individualized experiences.

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Paper V

Co-creation in events: values of volunteers and volunteer tourists at Iditarod in Alaska and the Finnmark Race in Norway

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Paper VI

Event start-ups as catalysts for place, sport and tourism development:
Moment scapes and geographical considerations.

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