

**It wasn't me, it was my festival me: the effect of event stimuli on attendee identity formation**

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**Abstract**

Consumption of tourism activities plays a symbolic role in the formation of individual and group identity. However, research into specific tourism contexts is unequal, with live music and festival events often overlooked. This research helps rectify the imbalance by exploring consumer identity formation during a live festival event. Literature first reviews identity theory, before contextualizing to the festival event. Inconsistencies in identity *levels*, and confusion over the contribution active context plays within identity formation are emphasized. These uncertainties are explored using an interpretivist methodology, namely thematically analyzed, semi-structured interviews and researcher observation. Discussion identifies four unique levels of identity and highlights stimuli that contribute to these levels. Positioned within the 'Event Identity Model', Event Identity – a harmonious identity between the individual, other attendees, and the event, is deemed the optimal identity state. Recommendations focus on providing a consistent consumer identity pre-, during, and post-event to increase consumer enjoyment.

**Keywords: Consumer Identity; Event Identity; Identity Formation; Festival Event**

## 1. Introduction

Resulting in visitor spend of over £2.1 billion in 2014 (Intel, 2015), domestic and international tourism generated by live music provides an important contribution to the United Kingdom economy (Getz and Page, 2016). With expenditure set to rise a further 42% by 2020, increasing participation can be explained by a number of factors, including: promoting happiness (Nicolao, Irwin and Goodman, 2009); creating lasting memories (Zauberman, Ratner and Kim, 2009); and increasing consumption knowledge (Clarkson, Janiszewski and Cinelli, 2013). Richards (2011) unifies these factors under the heading of *capital* accumulation, citing the positive role of cultural, social, symbolic, creative, and relational capital within the creative tourism industry. Responsible for not only advancing personal development, the inclusion of social and relational capital also emphasizes the role of live music events in providing a focus for social cohesiveness and community celebration (Arcodia and Whitford, 2007). As a consequence, the role of such events becomes more intricate; *“tourism is not simply motivated by the desire for pleasure, but it is the medium through which individual and social identities are negotiated”* (Bond and Falk, 2013, pg. 438).

Attempting to better understand the complex relationship between identities and consumption, contemporary identity studies tend to adopt a more granular approach to research the phenomenon (Escalas, 2013), for example looking at identity allocation, identity perception, or identity relevance (see Reed II, Forehand, Puntoni and Warlop, 2012 for an overview). However, while looking at singular mechanisms of identity, these studies approach the topic from a broader contextual perspective, making identity development in context a *“largely unfulfilled promise”* (Bosma and Kunnen, 2008, pg.282). While it would be unfair to take Bosma and Kunnen’s words as fact – identity research has in the past focused on specific settings including heritage tourism (Palmer, 1999), sport tourism (Bosnjak, Brown, Lee, Yu and Sirgy, 2016), and gothic tourism (Goulding and Saren, 2016) few tourism studies have elected to understand *“the dynamic interplay between music consumption and self/identity making”* (Ulusoy, 2016, p.245). With theory citing a strong relationship between identity salience, behavior, and contextual cues (Oyserman, 2009), to overlook this area of study makes it difficult to apply identity theory to music events with any accuracy. At a time when there is an intense need for events and destinations to offer a compelling visitor experience (Manthiou *et al.*, 2014; Murray, Lynch and Foley, 2016), calls to address

this issue from a tourism perspective have been made in the form of further research on attendee behaviors (e.g. Dolnicar and Ring, 2014; Organ, Koenig-Lewis, Palmer and Probert, 2015), consumer perception of experiential settings (e.g. Lugosi, 2014), identity-related desires (e.g. Bond and Falk, 2013), and active social identity (e.g. Coleman and Williams, 2015). This paper answers these calls with an aim to understand the construction of the festival attendee's identity, and explore how this identity influences behavior during live music and festival events. To do so it will specifically explore: the consistency of identity – from pre-festival prototype to identity at the festival; the role active context plays in identity construction; the role of intergroup and collective identity during event consumption; and the role active identity plays in behavior enactment.

To achieve this, the paper divides into four sections. First, literature introduces identity theory, before applying the concept to a festival context. The festival, as an example of a tourist event, is deemed appropriate due to a) the large contribution festivals make to the live music tourism industry and b) the liminal space they create, allowing individuals the opportunity to “*temporarily suspend conventional norms and play out carnivalesque illusions and fantasies*” (Kim and Jamal, 2007, p.182). Exploring the role this context plays on identity, the literature highlights inconsistencies in extant work specifically levels and influences of identity, as well as the role active context plays in the consumption process. Following this a detailed overview of the methodological approach is given. Qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews and researcher observations within the festival environment are selected. Opting out of methodological convenience which has, in the past, restricted contextualization of research, exploration and understanding in context is necessary to show the role of both active context and active identity at the festival. Interpretation of data is then offered to understand the construction of the festival attendee's identity, and explore how this identity influences behavior during live music and festival events. The final section draws together all threads of the research, and in doing so confirms academic development whilst providing key implications and recommendations for music event organizers, as well as the broader event and tourism industry.

## 2. Literature Review

Treating identity as process-driven construct (Burke, 1991), the literature review is structured so as to demonstrate the complexities and nuances of this process. Applying this specifically to the festival context, the literature review overcomes weaknesses associated with context-less research whilst simultaneously emphasizing the critical role of identity during the consumption of events.

### 2.1. Identity Theory and Live Music Events

Attempts to apply identity theory to events and festivals have, in the past, stalled for two main reasons. Firstly, long-standing intellectual tradition has limited the scope and applicability of identity studies out with life science-based disciplines, with many researchers struggling to operationalize the concept (Bond and Falk, 2013). Secondly, contradictions in terminology have obscured commonalities in identity theory (Reed II *et al.*, 2012) leading to disagreement of application (Côté and Levine, 2002). Attempting to avoid the contradictions associated with “*endless and often sterile discussions of what ‘is’ identity*” (Tajfel, 2010, pg.2), this research adopts the simplified identity definition offered by Reed II *et al.* (2012) of “*any category label to which a consumer self-associates either by choice or endowment*” (pg. 312); “*as soon as it [the label] becomes sufficiently central to a person’s self-concept, he or she strives to be that kind of person*” (pg.319).

While necessary to understand consumer labels in any situation, this understanding becomes especially important as it is believed that active group selection and participation becomes more influential during leisure activities (Falk, 2009). For example, Green and Jones (2005) claim participating in serious leisure activities (i.e. those we systematically pursue in the hopes of gaining advanced skills, knowledge and experience) (Stebbins, 2010) offers a context to construct one’s leisure identity and a stage on which to celebrate this identity with others sharing the same ethos. While this work provides a favorable route to further investigate identity during leisure events, attempting to classify attendance at a festival as an example of serious leisure may be a mistake, with Barbieri and Sotomayor (2013) concluding serious leisure requires elements of effort, ethos, career, identity, perseverance, and long-lasting personal benefit. Instead, festivals better fit the definition of casual leisure, that is “*immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activities requiring little or*

*no special training to enjoy it*” (Stebbins, 1997, pg.18). While an abundance of work exists on the broader forms of causal leisure (Stebbins, 1997), empirical work exploring the relationship between causal leisure and identity is less well developed, however, there does appear to be evidence of a link between leisure activities and self-concept (Carter and Gilovich, 2012); this link will therefore be further investigated.

Festivals, as an example of causal leisure, are often used by individuals to enact societally defining differences (McNay, 2010). A decision to patronize a festival is therefore not only based on attendance at the event, but as a way for the individual to “reinforce their individual self-image, communicate to others their desired identity, and signal allegiance to a desired social group” (Grappi and Montinari, 2011, pg.1138). So although festivals are only temporary, the associated identity label provides a degree of meaning prior to, or in the absence of, full commitment to a social category (Meyer, Becker and Van Dick, 2006). With this, lifestyle and values become symbolically reflected in the experience-scape (Cuthill, 2007), that is the site of market production in which experiences are staged allowing for diverse groups to come into contact with each other (Ritchie and Hudson, 2009). While the introduction of experience terminology may hint toward the more classical *experience* literature (see Woodward and Holbrook, 2013 for a discussion), this paper intentionally chooses to concern itself more with the interaction between the *diverse groups*, and how perception of *agency* becomes bound in those external influences (Kivetz, 2005), that is, how festivals can both support and constrain identity construction (Barnhart and Peñaloza, 2013).

### 2.2.1. *Creating an Event Identity*

To support identity construction, *experientialization of identity* must be treated as a transactional outcome of dynamic person-context interactions (Berzonsky *et al.*, 2013) so as to reconstruct and mobilize culturally specific expressions of values and behavior (Lugosi, 2014). This can be achieved through manipulation of stimuli to achieve *theming* – a means of capturing the essence of phenomenon (Brown and Paterson, 2000), or *quasification* – a means of using narratives to create event spaces that operate *as if they were something else* (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999). Suggested through the ‘Principle of Identity Salience’ and ‘Principle of Identity Association’ the more these stimuli are manipulated to represent a desired label, the more intense and purposeful

interpretation becomes, helping to transform weak self-labelling into a stronger event identity (Reed II *et al.*, 2012).

Communicating stimuli through identity-defining messages, that is, persuasive messages from event organizer to consumer which explicitly communicate the desired identity (Bhattacharjee, Berger and Menon, 2014), associated *myths* concerning pre-consumption desire, fantasy, anticipation and preparation are stimulated (Lugosi, 2014). Providing identity meaning, myths encourage individuals to coalesce around a collective core of similar traits causing an in-group to form (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Choosing to internalize these traits affords the individual membership into the in-group community (Wenger, 1998), and the more salient and tangible in-traits and out-traits become, the more a person engages as part of the group (Stryker and Burke, 2000) and takes part in group-related activities (Grappi and Montinari, 2011).

Being a part of a group is “*perceived to rectify the social isolation, depersonalization, and emotional detachment generated by the dominant structures that overlook the alternative modes of life and the notion of plurality*” (Ulusoy, 2016, p.251). The role of the group therefore becomes especially important during *Dionysian* consumption as “*construction of identity in consumption discourse and practice fundamentally and paradoxically entails individual agency within a collective endeavor*” (Barnhart and Peñaloza, 2013, pg. 1148). While individual agency is more easily explained, the *collective endeavor* is somewhat difficult to accurately define, however, is a vital exercise due to improper use of terminology. For example, the assumption that a collective event enables individuals to enact a collective identity while experiencing close relations with all other members of the collective (Hopkins *et al.*, 2016) is too simplistic to provide applicable recommendations to either event theory or practice.

### 2.2.2. Group Formation at Events

Relational or social identity is said to exist on two levels – interpersonal identity and collective identity. Jaeger and Mykletun (2013) use a festival setting to distinguish between the two levels based on frequency of contact and level of intimacy within the group; while interpersonal identities are high in both, collective identities tend to be more depersonalized. Providing a means of setting normative standards, these groups

are reproduced in a hierarchical structure set against other groups (Barnhart and Peñaloza, 2013). This notion of *another* (i.e. the out group) helps to further create and emphasize social cohesion and affiliation while creating feelings of dissent towards this other group (Bhaba, 1996). To assist in this assertion of identity (Weinberger, 2015) and to tangibly legitimize group differences, consumption (Hogg and Bannister, 2001) or anti-consumption (Cherrier, Black and Lee, 2011) based on constellations and anti-constellations decisions is used (Karanika and Hogg, 2010). This is especially important for festivals and music events, as it believed within cultural industries consumption preferences represent a means through which people construct their sense of social identity (Goulding and Shankar, 2004). For example, Chaney and Goulding (2016) show how clothing is used by fans of heavy rock music to transform themselves into a part of the ritual community. However, while they claim this physical transformation forces individuals to strictly conform to the codes of the sub-cultural festival group, final category judgements are often based primarily on the individual's own unique self, specifically the presence and absence of traits that are deemed personally critical. Such fixed, unvarying traits are commonly discussed, for example, Lugosi's (2014) core identity (vs. associate identity), Falk's (2009) big 'I' (vs. the little 'i'), while Ourahmoune (2016) adopts Ricoeurian terminology of *idem* (vs. *ipse*).

While personally relevant, over-reliance on personal core traits may result in self-prototyping – that is the individual deeming themselves to be representative of the category prototype which is then used to differentiate from others (Deschamps and Devos, 1998). However, self-prototyping is quickly criticized for its failure to reflect context sensitivity, instead providing an anticipated caricature of reality (Brewer, 1988). This becomes especially problematic in unstable contexts (Oakes, Turner and Haslam, 1991), for example a festival, during which time the identity of the individual changes in accordance with the category (McGarty, 2001). As such, the search for an essential source of identity is deemed, by some, to be futile (Hall, 1996), with Reed II *et al.* (2012) contending that indexing identity to a specific level is fundamentally flawed, as it is the situation in which identity is enacted that defines the most appropriate outcome. Neurologically, however, Chen *et al.* (2013) do show a difference between the individual-self and the collective-self, with Reed II *et al.* (2012) also conceding there are “*some slight definition-based differences*” between terms (pg. 312). With identity subject to contestation, rather than fixed prototypes Lord, DeVader

and Alliger (1986) propose context specific prototypes which better emphasize context dependent judgements of prototypicality.

### 2.2.3. *Effect of Active Event Context*

Both fluid and dynamic, identity is frequently determined by the immediate context (Bond and Falk, 2013). This means the ability to refine symbolic information is vital when entering a new physical or mental context. Assisted by *structure*, the new societal context provides the introspective feedback necessary to verify progress toward an ideal representation of identity (Reed II *et al.*, 2012), allowing individuals to better articulate their meaning of self (Lugosi, 2014). Building contextual variability into the definition of the prototype makes the degree of perceived representation not just a function of properties (Jenkins, 2008), but actually bases it on the social context in which the properties are defined. As a result, the individual becomes better equipped to enact, from a repertoire of identities, an identity that is situationally primed (White, Argo and Sengupta, 2012). Using this identity-specific lens (Kleine, Schultz and Kernan, 1993) the active identity allows the individual an opportunity to view their world through an appropriate knowledge structure (Coleman and Williams, 2015), helping them perceive and make sense of the immediate environment (Oyserman, 2009). Active identities also direct consumers' attention toward stimuli that best support those identities, allowing engagement in identity-congruent behaviors (Whelan, Goode and Cotte, 2013) while avoiding inconsistent activities and conflicting objects (Berger and Heath, 2007). Acknowledging the role of active identity in a changing context also acknowledges the individual's ability to engage in anticipatory attention shifts, which allows the individual to pre-emptively distribute attention in preparation for potential identity inconsistency (Coleman and Williams, 2015). However, while necessary for identity consistency, pre-emptive shifts may not always occur.

Crocetti, Rubini and Meeus (2008) claim that becoming overly involved in evaluating and contemplating current commitments may cause commitment maintenance, which is commitment to an identity rather than a dynamic development of person-context interaction. Willingness to adapt identity may also be constrained by self-imposed boundaries that restrict ability to cue identities most appropriate to future situations (Whelan *et al.* 2013). Research into reconsideration of commitment is therefore encouraged so as to better capture the iterative process of constructing and

revising one's identity (Crocetti *et al.*, 2008). This is especially necessary for leisure events which are prone to quicker satiation when self-concept dissonance does occur (Chugani, Irwin and Redden, 2015). A second barrier to a stable contextual identity is that while society can sustain an action, it cannot define the interaction – the individual is still ultimately in control of their action (Sarup, 1996). Applicable to the festival, Ourahmoune (2016) terms this instance as *situational transformation*, that is, an early stage shift by buying into the temporal transformation which create excitement and differentiate from the daily self, but which ultimately have little impact on the overall self in the long-run. Therefore, a need for agency must be acknowledged in all self-expression (Botti and McGill, 2011), even in a group setting.

### 2.3. Literature Summary

Failure to incorporate context and active identity correctly, extant research tends to look at broader, less contextualized identity structures (Pham, 2013) and becomes separated from the true nature of what it intends to measure. This is not to say that it does not measure an identity related to the festival encounter, it just measures identity at the *wrong* time without full consideration of context (Ourahmoune, 2016). Responding to this, and as encouraged by Coleman and Williams (2015), the process of identity construction in relation to context (as envisioned in Table 1) will be explored further.

Category/Stage	Theme	Reference(s)
Environment	Leisure (and Identity)	Stebbins, 1997; Palmer, 1999; Falk, 2009; Grappi and Montinari, 2011; Carter and Gilovich, 2012; Barbieri and Sotomayer, 2013; Chugani <i>et al.</i> , 2015; Bosnjak <i>et al.</i> , 2016; Goulding and Saren, 2016.
	Festivals and Music Events	Arcodia and Whitford, 2007; Getz and Page, 2016.
	Communicating Festival Identity; Theming and quasification	Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999; Brown and Paterson, 2000; Bhattacharjee <i>et al.</i> , 2014; Lugosi, 2014.
	Person/Leisure Context Interaction	Falk, 2009; Oyserman, 2009; Richie and Hudson, 2009 McNay, 2010; Berzonsky <i>et al.</i> , 2013; Bond and Falk, 2013.
Impact on Individual	Sense of Identity; Identity Salience/ Association	Falk, 2009; Reed II <i>et al.</i> , 2012; Lugosi, 2014; Ourahmoune, 2016.
	Identity through consumption; (Anti) Constellations	Hogg and Bannister, 2001; Goulding and Shankar, 2004; Karanika and Hogg, 2010; Cherrier <i>et al.</i> , 2011; Weinberger, 2015; Chaney and Goulding, 2016.
	Perceived Event Identity (Prototype)	Deschamps and Davos, 1998; Crocetti <i>et al.</i> , 2008
Impact on Group	Versus Out-group	Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Bhaba, 1996; Berger and Heath, 2007; Barnhart and Penaloza, 2013; Whelan <i>et al.</i> , 2013.
	Intergroup/Collective Identity	Wenger, 1998; Stryker and Burke, 2000; Jaeger and Mykletun, 2013.
	Confirmed by environment	Oakes <i>et al.</i> , 1991; McGarty, 2001; Jenkins, 2008; Oyserman, 2009; Grappi and Montinari, 2011; Reed <i>et al.</i> , 2012; Bond and Falk, 2013; Coleman and Williams, 2015.
	Actual Event Identity	Crocetti <i>et al.</i> , 2008; Botti and McGill, 2011; White <i>et al.</i> , 2012; Ourahmoune, 2016.

**Table 1: Process of Group Identity Formation (Literary Themes)**

### 3. Methodology

Attempts to account for context are often offset by a tendency to rely on methodological convenience (Pham, 2013). With suggestions that salient identity must match the context at the time of purchase (Kirmani, 2009) it is vital that, despite a less convenient testing method, the research explores the individual during the consumption of the festival. Acknowledging this as a *neglected discipline* Medway, Warnaby and Dharni, (2011) advocate an exploratory qualitative approach to achieve this goal. This also follows Lugosi's call for "*further qualitative studies...to examine consumer's broader subjective experiences*" (2014, pg.178).

Heeding these suggestions, an interpretive paradigm is adopted which allows for engagement with theoretical constructs and an understanding of attendees' identities *in situ* (Silverman, 2010). To understand such subjectivities, the interpretive researcher does not aspire to be an *“objective, politically neutral observer which stands outside and above the study...rather the researcher is historically and locally situated in within the very processes being studied”* (Denzin, 2001, pg.325). The intention of the research is therefore not to live in the realm of the positivist researcher (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001) by providing an empirically founded *“God’s eye view that guarantees absolute methodological certainty”* (Denzin, 2001, pg.325). Instead it celebrates and appreciates the socially constructed, lived, contextual aspects of human subjects (Zavattaro, Daspit and Adams, 2015) and in doing so, provides a fitting dialogue for future event and tourism identity conversation. Allowing for the necessary collection of personal accounts, in-depth semi-structured interviews during the festivals are selected. Delivering a degree of systematic collection alongside a more conversational and informal interview tone (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008), semi-structured interviews allow empowerment within the respondent to discuss new and unexpected ideas while remaining within the realm of interest specified by the researcher (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995), thus simultaneously capturing the objectivity of consensus alongside the meaning for the individual (Ryan, 2000). Interviews are complemented by a researcher-as-participant observation approach. Using multiple data sources in this way provides a degree of credibility (Decrop, 1999) and more importantly to qualitative methods, trustworthiness (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). This can be further strengthened with the incorporation of Shenton’s (2004) proposed criteria of trustworthiness – credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability. These are achieved by providing complete transparency at each stage of the research process, which can be demonstrated by the inclusion of an overview of festivals selected, a table of respondent profiles, an interview topic guide, an exemplar interview transcript, and complete coding schedule.

To maximize the scope and range of information collected, purposive sampling – a method that *“allows the researcher a chance to find instances that are representative of a particular dimension of interest”* (Teddlie and Yu, 2007, pg. 80) is chosen, and applied in such a way as to provide a contingent and serial sample (Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba, 2011). Prior knowledge of the universe assists this (Wengraf, 2001) by

providing a set of criteria which allow selection of individuals who possess distinctive qualifications (Honingman, 1982). This ensures every individual is capable of providing a valuable story due to their relevance to the research questions posed (Guarte and Barrios, 2006). With this Cresswell (2013) advocates selection of heterogeneous actors within homogenous cultures, allowing for what Teddlie and Yu (2007) term maximum variation sampling, and in doing so provides an effective means to address identity-based research questions. This approach to sampling is appropriate at two levels – to identify the festival and to identify the individual.

Operating as a segregated environment for a number of days, the festival allows attendees freedom to enact identity and identity change. Three music festivals were selected with the intention to provide similarities in terms of geographic location (Scotland), entertainment genre (mainstream pop music) and duration (3-4 nights).

Festival	Musical Genres	# of Acts (approx.)	Other activities	Location	Camping Facilities	Attendees	Years
Festival A	Popular music and dance, international headliners	155	Comedy stage, fairground rides	Disused airfield, Central Scotland	Tents, campervans, luxury camping, pre-made camping	60,000	22
Festival B	Scottish bands, Celtic bands, local bands, domestic headliners	75	Craft area, outdoor pursuits, Wickerman burning, musical workshops	Farmland, Southern Scotland	Tents, mobile homes	20,000	14
Festival C	SCtish bands, Celtic bands, local bands, domestic headliners	50	Poetry stage, debate and conference area, fashion shows, meditation area, dance classes, "flash" performances, craft area, children's play area	Country Estate, Northern Scotland	Tents, caravans, mobile homes	12,000	12

**Table 2: Overview of Festival Sample**

Fifty-one individuals across the three festivals were selected for interview. Individuals were approached at various areas of the festival grounds, including food areas, "chill-out areas", camping areas, or shopping areas, all of which provide a quieter, more relaxed setting for interviews to take place. Respondents provided variety in terms of age, gender, previous festival involvement, musical preference, and home location, ensuring a range of valuable narratives are provided. Interviews were conducted and recorded during the festivals and lasted between 30 minutes and 75 minutes. Due to the informal environment, interviews had a conversational temper, with researcher-observed behavior of the festival combined with literary themes and research questions to guide interviews. While following a semi-structured process, questions were tailored to each individual encouraging meaningful and personal

discussions. Approximately 300 hours were spent within the festival environments and over 41 hours of interview data collected during this time.

Verbatim transcription took place at the conclusion of each festival, allowing the addition of notes and commentary regarding the context of the interview. After the conclusion of all festivals transcripts were re-read, this time with marginal notes referencing specific comments and observations. This allows for generation of a primary index which can be used in latter stages of the analysis process (Hutchison, Johnston and Breckon, 2010). While emphasis is still on the researcher in interpreting meaning in text (Wynveen, Kyle and Sutton, 2010), adopting a more structured thematic analysis maintains systematic and analytical interpretation, and allows naturally occurring themes to be better realized, reflected, and interpreted (Parry and Johnson, 2007).

#### **4. Findings and Analysis**

As advocated by Strauss and Corbin (2008), the proceeding section takes the conceptual form most consonant with the research's analytic message, that is, a contextualized retelling of the process of identity construction. To comprehensively and contextually demonstrate the issues of the research participants then, conceptual detail is presented concurrently with descriptive quotations so as to provide complete understanding. Due to the natural flow of interviews, themes emerged lending themselves to a chronological discussion of identity construction at various points of the festival encounter. Thus, the analysis and discussion presents data in a procedural manner, beginning with consideration of the attendee's recollections of their identity and behavior prior to attendance at the festival. Emphasis is placed on the role of the perceived festival prototype in creating an appropriate festival identity. Discussion then moves on to the identity felt during the festival. Specific data surrounding the formation of a collective identity and interpersonal identity is considered before conclusions are drawn regarding what constitutes a festival identity.

##### *4.1. Establishing a Festival Prototype*

To understand identity associated with the festival, it is necessary to first understand how consumers perceive symbolic stimuli and general cues associated with the prototypical festival culture and lifestyle. Demonstrating these feelings, discussion

focusses on the notion of the modern festival as a medium to replicate and recreate the feelings of the original festivals of the 1960s and 1970s with the Glastonbury Music Festival – the largest greenfield festival in the world, described as the model for the modern music festival. Phil (at Festival C) who has been to Glastonbury reveals his views on the culture of the festival:

*I think it's the people that really made it special for me. I think because of its history it still attracts the eccentrics who are trying to emulate the original years. I mean they still have the spirit of the 70s in them and I think even though it's dominated by younger generations, all the kids still look to the older guys and take some of the energy from them. It sounds a bit hippy-ish, but I mean that's the vibe you get there.*

This opinion is mirrored by Caroline (at Festival A) who mentions that “everyone knows about Glastonbury – it's the biggest and the best. It still has its reputation based on hippy days – free love and all that” and Esther (A): “Well Glastonbury is ‘the’ festival to go to”. With this, Glastonbury becomes the benchmark for what a festival should be, with individuals often concluding comments with “...like you see at Glastonbury”. Talk of Glastonbury in such a manner hints towards a self-inclusion in the wider festival culture, and with it an affinity to the prototypical festival-goer.

Perceived aggregation in the wider festival culture is often accompanied with an acceptance of the festival lifestyle. Lifestyle is used to describe the prototypical festival goer and associated values and behaviors (Hogg and Hardie, 1992), with individuals attempting to replicate these actions. General festival along with idiosyncratic festival information (Ren and Blichfeldt, 2011) is gathered from official websites and music forums, joining social media groups, purchasing festival-related products, and listening to festival bands as a way to “get in the festival mood”. Televised highlights seem especially important in informing the lifestyle; “I'd love to go to Glastonbury, but the highlights I watch on TV. I watch most of the festivals on the telly just because that's where you see some epic performances you'd never ever get anywhere else other than Glastonbury!” (Esther, A); “There's no chance in hell I'd go to see her if she was touring normally, but she looked excellent at Glastonbury and, you know, getting the opportunity in a festival environment to see her really mixes it up” (Phil, A). These

perceived cultural and lifestyle stimuli seem to suggest what is considered desired to be part of the larger festival community.

Tangible manifestations of a prototypical lifestyle are observed across the festival weekend, with a visual transformation to be expected when involvement increases (Goulding and Shankar, 2011). For example, shared dress sense (with clothing displaying festival or band images), tents covered in writing from festivals gone by, adornment in festival merchandise, and perhaps most visible, wearing wrist bands from past festivals. Justin (A), who had visited Glastonbury, Leeds Festival, and V Festival along with a number of smaller festivals tells of numerous encounters with strangers approaching him to tell him “*what a festival ledge [legend] I am*” based on nothing more than the wristbands he wears. Along with inclusion in the ritual festival community (Chaney, 2014), tangible transformation appears also to be linked to an apparent festival expertise, with a clear prototypical hierarchy beginning to form – those who have attended more festivals are considered better than first-time attendees. This does, however, imply that the individual is no longer self-perceived as the festival prototype. So while possible, through identity-defining messages, to promote a prototype prior to the event (Bhattacharjee *et al.*, 2014), sustaining this during the event setting can be more difficult, with culture and lifestyle that manifest beforehand not necessarily matched during the festival itself.

#### *4.2. The Impact of Active Context on Identity*

The idea of a transition between daily life and festival life is a common theme in interviews, with the festival viewed as a chance to escape, relax, and experience different things. This change appears most pronounced among those with professional careers who maintain a *proper appearance* during the working week. For example, Garth (A) (a 37-year-old investment analyst) comments; “*it’s probably fair to say that if any of my clients saw me this weekend they wouldn’t be my clients for that much longer...it’s just a break from normal etiquette...it’s as if you resort back to being a kid when you’re here*”. This is confirmed by Phil (C); “*I mean it’s just a time to relax and chill out that I don’t normally get during the week*”; Greg (A); “*...with a profession like mine it’s quite regulated and serious; that sort of goes out the window for the weekend*”. Change is not only reflected in job transition, with student Laura (A) treating the festival as; “*a chance to get away and chill out with friends...for them it’s more a*

*complete blow out – they forget everything about the real world and they completely change into crazy drunken fools*". Apparent across all festivals, a basic transition from daily lifestyle and behavior to a festival lifestyle and behavior occurs; "*...it's the times when the rules change for what you can and can't do*" (Caroline, A). While all social contexts have associated rules (Goffman, 1959), van Gennep (1981) indicates that in certain situations these rules may be more meaningful and indicative of a collective identity transformation.

#### 4.2.1. *Ascribing to a Common Way of Thinking*

Individuals appear to loosely follow a prescribed, standardized routine; "*...having seen it before I knew what to expect which was good...obviously you come with that in mind and kind of stick to the rules you know are in place here*" (Mitch, C). This acceptance of a code of conduct appears to be defined by social interaction (Gardner, 2004); "*...it's kind of the crowd ethos...if anyone's struggling everyone will help out. I remember ending up on the ground at Glastonbury and within a second there were a lot of people pulling you up...it is a case of everyone looks out for each other...at least during the music...there seems to be a certain unwritten set of rules when you're in the midst of the crowd*" (Phil, C). Rita (C) recounts a similar story; "*last night we were in the crowd, quite close to the front and we saw a little girl being crushed. She'd been near the front with her mum and got separated, and then obviously you're left with the situation of a little girl being jostled about in a crowd of thousands. We tried to find the mum, so in the end I ended up walking out the crowd to the security*". Stories like this seem to resonate with other attendees, for example Phil who brought his 3-year-old son comments; "*...in that respect I feel safe for us and Charlie...I think if anything were to go wrong the general etiquette of the crowd is to help out...so apart from the major 'what ifs' I have no worries about him being here*". These examples hint towards a transition not only from daily lifestyle to festival lifestyle, but also from a personal way of thinking to a social way of thinking making individual-social transformation central to the festival event (O'Shea and Leime, 2012).

Evidence of this is strengthened when comparing the music festival to other music events, for example a concert. Robert (at Festival B) speaks about a concert he attended; "*there wasn't much respect. The place was a mess. Not a festival atmosphere; more of a concert atmosphere where you turn up see the band and then go home you know*". It

would appear then that the transient nature of a concert is not sufficient for: a transition from daily behavior to concert behavior; an amalgamation of community-mindedness during the concert; or the creation of a properly formed social code. This somewhat contradicts Lugosi (2014) who claims compression of the proposition actually serves to reinforce the liminoid offering. Although not possible to pinpoint the exact reason for this, *its* presence at the festival is sufficient to cause a festival transition, festival community, and most importantly, a festival identity to occur.

#### 4.2.2. Formation of a Collective Group Identity

Transitioning towards a collective of similar persons, individuals begin to share similar perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors (Ashforth, 2001). Even small discernible changes are sufficient to provide feelings of an *us* (Tajfel *et al*, 1971). For example, attendees at festival A base part of their collectiveness on geographic location with Phil calling it “*the Scottish music festival*” and George referring to it as “*your local festival*”. This association between festival A and Scotland provides a broad identity which the group can coalesce round as observed by Justin (A) as “*...a lot of flags – Scottish flags and singing of the anthem*”. While heritage as part of the experience can be a powerful force in the construction of a national identity (Palmer, 1999), its contribution to producing a festival identity is less well known. Groups may also form around their differences to other groups (Hogg and Abrams, 1988), with self-enhancing qualities singled out and used to judge out-group members (Sherif and Jackman, 1966; Onorato and Turner, 2004), or in this case out-group festivals. Comparison is abundant at festival B, with comments commonly describing the perceived negatives of festival A, for example accommodation and arena layout; “*I mean the area is really nice and it’s so much less crowded than A and everything is closer together. You can get from arena to car to tent in like 10 minutes...definitely better than the A ‘walk of death’*” (Alwyn, B), quality of bands; “*...but I find it’s just big bands that you can see anywhere. I mean they’ll play festivals year on year. And once you’ve seen them and they’re crossed off your list of bands to see. You don’t then want to spend £200 seeing bands that you only saw 2 years before*” (Richard, B), and attendee anti-social behavior; “*But I know like A there is a lot more trouble...drugs, drink, fighting and stealing, which partly goes with a larger crowd*” (Michael, B). Illustrating these perceived weaknesses, festival B attendees justify their inclusion in the festival B group through in-group versus out-group categorization.

As groups take shape and self-esteem becomes bound in the collective fortune (Turner, Wetherell and Hogg, 2011), depersonalization and self-stereotyping also occur (Deschamps and Devos, 1988). Behaviors becoming the norm are reported as “*sharing the buzz from the crowd*” and taking parts in chants, dancing and jumping “*because everyone else was*”; “*I think you just have to go with the flow*”. Other common behaviors hinted at include; “*it’s just nice to be able to drink more than normal and know that there are a whole lot of people doing the same. I think I could go without drinking, but I think so many other people are doing it, it’s a lot more fun if you get involved too*” (Emily, A). As simple a thing as increased alcohol consumption is, Aitken (1985) points to this as sign of increased conformity to social norms. Other ways of fitting in include the choice to see a range of bands; “*a lot of people aren’t necessarily huge fans, so you still can see them [the bands] and enjoy them without feeling out of place*”, or just general activities; “*it’s my first time so I’ll just do what everyone else does and blend in*”. John (A) feels that the formation of this collective is assisted by the overnight orientation of the festival; “*you are more a part of the weekend and of the music...I think it makes it a lot friendlier here*”. While manipulation of social density (Tombs and McColl-Kennedy, 2003) and experiential socialization (Lugosi, 2014) can generate group-oriented consumption, enacted mutuality, and behavioral depersonalization, individuals are still reluctant to admit any cognitive depersonalization.

#### 4.2.3. Barriers between Collective and Interpersonal Identity

Denial of depersonalization is especially strong at festival A, with Claire quick to differentiate how she would speak to others:

Researcher: *Have you spoken to many of the other festival goers?*

Claire: *Not really...some of the guys were off with a group of girls they met and it is just like a club and you do talk to randoms but not in a friendly way...more in a social way if you know what I mean.*

Justin confirms this; “*I may occasionally speak to other people, but it’s not like you’re going to go make new friends and see any bands with them*”, while when

questioned 'do you find yourself socializing with other people?' Emma explains:

*Not really that much. I mean you're standing next to people for hours on end [during the music] so I'll probably end up talking to them at some point – it's quite friendly in that respect, but then you end up bouncing away from them and it's not like you're going to go look for them again.*

Going one stage further, there are those who actively dissociate from the other festival attendees, for instance Caroline (A) comments; *"They're pretty scummy looking people so we're keeping our distance...I think our group's big enough that we don't have to worry about getting bored with each other which is nice"*.

So while behavioral consonance is experienced, this can be explained by the close social vicinity in which the festival is consumed, with moments of increased interaction common (Brown *et al.*, 2006). During these instances, primal urges take precedence causing evidence of physical convergence between individuals (Ashton-James *et al.*, 2007). These behavioral displays are often aided by a basic form of impression management (Goffman, 1959), with individuals showing a conscious, albeit basic, concern regarding acceptable behaviors. While this *collective disguise* helps to break down barriers, it does not necessarily, as Chaney and Goulding (2016) suggest, 'act as an illustration or metaphor for identity shifting' (pg. 163). Instead, on such occasions, the result of social interaction is likely to be emulation rather than affinity (Ashforth *et al.*, 2001), that is, by accentuating the gap between personal and collective identity, individuals will modify their behavior in order to fit in (rather than to belong) and create a basic rapport (Stel, van Baaren and Vonk, 2008). Although not necessarily motivated by a need to form a collective identity, such action is shown to assist in pro-social behavior and creates an affective empathetic mind-set (Stel and Vonk, 2008). While Reed II *et al.* (2012) claim that even without public expression or conscious perception identification towards a category label is strengthened, Ahuvia (2005) questions whether consumers would abandon their desire for coherent identity narratives. Ahuvia's perspective seems to be supported at Festival A – a lack of evaluative component required of social investment results in only surface acceptance of group involvement (Ashforth, 2000).

A second observation that may explain the lack of a strong festival collective is seen in other divisive aspects of festival A, for example the diverse genre of music which often acts as the main motivation to attend, the accommodation type; Garth talks about his girlfriend agreeing to go with him to the festival only if they purchased the more *civilized* camping option in a pre-made, large tent; “...so I mean there were other reasons we wanted to come but if that option hadn’t been available to us then we wouldn’t be here right now”. This is similar to James (C) who elected to bring a mobile caravan for the weekend; “as much as I’d like to stay young forever, it’s not always possible. There are certain things that you have to give up and camping is one of those things I can give up”. These additional social divisions weaken any overall social festival identity in favor of more specific, but often more artificial identities (Hogg and Terry, 2000), for example *we who like this kind of music*, *we who choose to pay for the premier tickets*, or *we who choose to take caravans*. With entitativity divided, group identity is immediately diluted (Hargreaves and North, 1999) resulting in individuals becoming isolated from the more general festival identity in favor of more localized festival identities.

This discussion shows that transitioning from the principle of identity to the principle of totality (Touraine and Duff, 1981), that is, from an individual to a social way of thinking, while possible, is not always straightforward. While individuals agree that groups do exist at the festival, the strength of these groups is not sufficient to cause common goals to be shared. So appearing to cultivate a strong social identity, a more realistic appraisal of A would be to classify it as a collective identity, that is, low levels of both intimacy and depersonalization (Jaeger and Mykeltun, 2013) which occurs in lieu of actual social membership. While these examples do not always disrupt attendance, certain social divisions may be perceived as more negative, for example, when discussing age; “I don’t really care about things like location, price, or type of music, regardless of them there’s no way I’d be going [to A], I think it’s just a thing for the younger generation” (Harold, B); “I haven’t been for a couple of years now [to A]; maybe 3 or 4 years now. I really don’t like it anymore...you just get a bunch of young folk going through and getting absolutely pissed” (Richard, B). In making such comments, individuals appear to consciously avoid objects and activities, or in this case festivals, that are inconsistent with their identities (Berger and Heath, 2007), actively dissociating with the Festival A collective.

#### 4.2.4. Formation of an Interpersonal Group Identity

Contrary to the negativity surrounding age at festival A, James (aged 65) and Harold (aged 48) at festival C talk about the more diverse age group which motivates them to attend the festival; “we’re 65 and nobody bats an eyelid, in fact it’s quite the opposite – I think they think we’re quite cool”; “coming here...this has all ages and it doesn’t discriminate at all. It’s great to come here and not feel inhibited in any way”. Participating in *effortful consumption* (Barnhart and Peñaloza, 2013) inscribes the older individual with social meaning ensuring they are positioned as *young* enough to take part in the activity. Along with age, festival C, and to a lesser extent festival B, seem to contradict many of the other negativities highlighted at festival A. For example, while interpersonal socialization is limited at A, it appears to be the norm to speak with unknown individuals at the smaller, more intimate events. The friendly nature of the crowd is acknowledged; “...there are so many new interesting people as well. Everyone’s walking through and they’ll just stop and talk” (Angela, B); “...it’s brilliant...you just meet people from all walks of life...all sorts of people” (Hayley, B); “...we’ll happily talk to others and I think it’s the crowd that really makes the event what it is” (Gordon, C).

Community at festival C appears to be reinforced by the strong links between C and the local area. The first time Phil heard about the festival was through *murmurings* around town; “I mean you couldn’t not hear about it. So we asked a few friends and they explained...obviously we knew it was a music festival but they explained the type of music and the local connections”. Gavin’s first experience of the festival was when his son was involved as part of the school jazz band. It was for this reason alone that he and his wife originally decided to attend, but since then they have become regular attendees. Gordon tells a similar story of his neighbors; “...it promotes a lot of local...or at least Scottish bands and artists. My neighbor’s son played last year as part of the school band. And because of that my neighbors and the family came along for the weekend and were part of the festivals. They’re back this year too, and they’re in their 50s. I don’t think they would ever have even thought about going to a festival had their son not been involved”. Involvement of the locale in this way provides a spotlight on the local area:

*...there's definitely a buzz in the area just before the festival...the spotlight is on the Highlands and this is the biggest festival up here. I personally feel Inverness is overlooked by Glasgow and Edinburgh...even Aberdeen for the big attractions and shows...so it's a case of music fans always travelling elsewhere for the big shows. So to have this here everyone is quite proud about it and they want to show off as much as possible...even the folk who are 16 or 17 or 18 are quite proud of the festival and don't want to drive the family feel away...that's what makes it so different to the likes of other festivals. (Jeremiah, C)*

Described as being *owned by the community*, it appears that through inclusivity a social space is reconstructed during the festival (Davis, 2016), emphasizing freedom and connectedness rather strict community structure (Derrett, 2003) and facilitating individual to social transitions (Kruse, 2010).

Putting this in terms of general festival culture and lifestyle, talk turns to the uniqueness of the festival and how it creates its own special atmosphere. For example, Gordon talks about how a stereotypical festival would be bigger than festival C; *"I think as a stereotypical festival yes...it could be made bigger, more commercial, more money, but that would just ruin it. It has its place in the festival market. It doesn't try to be something it's not...it's not trying to be A. It is what it is and for me there's nothing that could be done to improve it"*. Remaining more intimate, individuals are very positive about the size and *feel* of festivals B and C. Amongst other things, the community brings with it a friendlier feel; *"it has a much more local feel to it – everyone takes pride in this being their festival. It's maybe a tenth the size of the likes of larger festivals, so it also feels a bit more exclusive"*, which Gordon believes accurately reflects and represents not just the community but his own personal values. In doing, so the festival makes conscious efforts to stay visible as a community-inspired event rather than adopting a generic festival cloak (Jaeger and Mykletun, 2013). The result of this is a homogenized festival event in which a temporary community is formed based around comradeship and egalitarianism (Gardner, 2004), that is, a social identity with high intimacy and a depersonalized relationship. Becoming full of *similar people* who are more cognitively accepting of a social identity, festival C contains the *missing* element, that is, a desired sense of community and inclusiveness, which seem to act as a catalyst for identity formation during the festival.

Social acceptance seems to be stronger when associated with more important aspects of an individual's lifestyle, and rather than inverting daily identity, a true festival identity appears to intensify daily identity; "...the way the people react [as a community] makes it really stand out from a lot of other festivals. I honestly think if more people experienced it once then they would choose it over the likes of A...I really think it's an all-round great festival" (Gordon, C). This is compared to those at A which is seen as *just another festival*. As Phil (A) says; "as nice as it is to be here it could be anyone of the big UK festivals and you wouldn't be able to tell the difference". This appears to highlight the faceless nature and duplication of larger festivals which, to an extent, is mirrored in the generic collective identity it inspires. Providing evidence of context influencing identity in a variety of ways, the role of context and levels of identity will be discussed more as part of Discussion and Conclusions.

## **5. Discussion and Conclusions**

Lugosi (2014) claims "*in any experiential context there are likely to be divergences between expected and thus permissible identity performances and actual identity performances*" (pg. 176). This lack of unified identity is very much apparent during the festival event, with the pre-event label unable to be sustained during the festival. This disparity leaves individuals with a diluted idea of what the festival represents, and a dissonance between interpersonal identity and collective identity becomes apparent. Finding it difficult to abandon deeper-rooted values in favor of temporary values (Meyer *et al.*, 2006), individuals revert to an identity that is more familiar. Because this change does not take effect immediately, some basic actions are carried out in a similar manner, and last until the pre-established collective identity is replaced (Postmes and Jetten, 2006). Accepting this as a conclusion, the notion of any real homogenous identity during the festival, be it interpersonal or collective, is swiftly rejected, however, this leaves several examples of social consensus at latter stages of the event unexplained.

A possible explanation – the values emphasized at the festival are consistent with the values already held by those in attendance, as witnessed at festival C. During interviews there is agreement that festival C is essentially an extension of the local community. Examples highlight the prominent use of local businesses, local produce,

local traditions, and local artists over the course of the weekend. Constructing a community festival identity label beforehand, this is compounded during the weekend allowing festival values to seamlessly inter-twine with personal values and behaviors. So rather than a separation from home-based ties – a requirement of the liminal condition (Gardner, 2004) – behavior is actually an intensification of home-based interpersonal behaviors. *Us as a community festival* can be clearly compared to festival A, which appears to allow for a shallow collective identity resulting from social competition. Again, however, this leaves some unexplained instances of group behavior at festival A above and beyond those explained by synchronous consumption.

Common social behaviors at A can be attributed to the process of refining group identity – a necessary process as part of identity reconstruction (Abrams and Hogg, 2006). For example, rather than one all-encompassing *Festival Identity A*, reinterpretation during the festival allows for more specific identities to form (North, Hargreaves and O’Neill, 2000). Behaviors witnessed and reported therefore reflect a refined, affiliated identity, for example *we who are fans of this band*, rather than any weak general festival identity. This acts as an identity within an identity, so from a broad collective identity, significant comparison is made resulting in a more specific and more valued interpersonal identity that plays out during the festival.

### 5.1. A Festival Identity?

Prior to attending a festival, individuals look for stimuli to help form an appropriate identity that can be enacted during the event. As dominant points of reference, these stimuli encourage a specific label (Solomon, 1983), and the individual starts to subscribe to *me as a festival-goer*. Against a backdrop of non-attendees, individuals make self-categorization tangible through consumption (Karanika and Hogg, 2010), aiming to demonstrate semblance to the festival label prototype, and in doing so validate themselves as part of the festival community (Deschamps and Devos, 1998). While more rigid identity research accepts this prototype label as dominant in guiding behavior throughout the event, such a view represents a static concept which fails to account for reinterpretation during the festival. To address this, the significance of the individual and context must be further emphasized.

This research demonstrates that observation of pre-event identity-defining stimuli is not sufficient to make individuals fully subscribe to an identity – rather it merely introduces the idea of homogeneity and prototypicality. Influential in early interactions, this collective identity helps explain commonalities in physical appearance and basic similarities in behavioral actions. In reality, however, these observations are largely surface behaviors – a caricature of reality (Brewer, 1988) – decided on under the influence of the imagined prototype before the event begins. For this behavior to continue, no conflict could exist between a) the festival social group and day-to-day social group and b) the festival self and the day-to-day self, however, data shows a notable difference between expectations and reality. Compounding this, at the festival the attendee versus non-attendee comparison becomes redundant resulting in a lack of antagonistic out-group to give a sense of collectiveness to the in-group (Abrams and Hogg, 2006). With this, any homogenous group identity appears to actually diminish as the festival progresses.

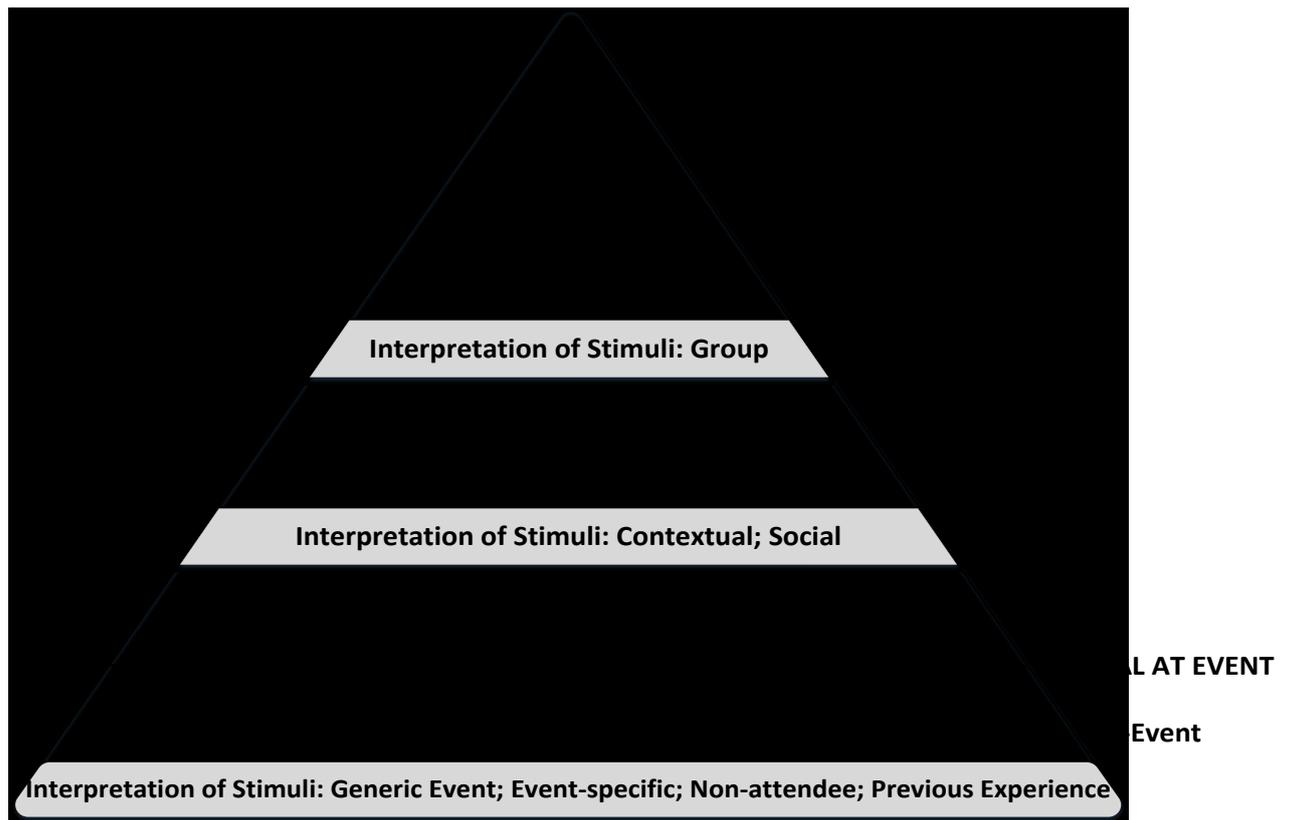
While Whelan *et al.* (2013) question the ability of the individual to cue a new appropriate identity, it appears individuals do actively seek further categories by which to differentiate from the general collective (Lawler, 2001); “*as distinctions between the self and the in-group become more prominent, individuals start to respond to simplified social categories allowing discrimination between similar and dissimilar individuals*” (Brewer and Gardner, 1986, pg.91). However, due to the temporal nature of the event there is little time for new category membership to form. Decisions therefore correspond to the highest ranked and most salient group an individual is a member of (Meyer *et al.*, 2006), relegating the original collective identity to a *primer* – a context-specific lens (Oyserman, 2009) through which more valued identities can be enacted. Relating this to the first objective – to explore the consistency of identity – it can be said that the identity of both individual and group are fluid at all stages of the festival. While early interactions mimic Lord *et al.* (1986) and Brewer’s (1988) view of context-specific prototypes, due to an individual’s need to verify their identity in the surrounding context (Reed II *et al.*, 2012), decisions later in the festival move away from context-only judgements to become deeper in nature; becoming aware of context actually drives the individual away from context as a predominant influencer of identity. Explaining objective two – to explore the role of active context in identity construction, findings show that context plays an incredibly important role, however,

the relationship is not as simple as first thought. Rather than purely inspiring certain identities, context can also discourage other identities, and must therefore be acknowledged and treated as an active part of the experience-scape. To explain this in a more structural manner, four distinct levels of identity are recognized: Festival Prototype Identity, Festival Collective Identity, Festival Interpersonal Identity, and Festival Identity (see Table 3).

<b>Identity Level</b>	<b>Explanation</b>	<b>Key Features</b>
<b>Festival Prototype Identity</b>	A personal identity representing the individual as the category prototype	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weak, surface behavior</li> <li>• Individualistic</li> <li>• Pre-festival</li> </ul>
<b>Festival Collective Identity</b>	A social identity based on enactment of prototypical behaviors in a group event context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weak, surface behavior</li> <li>• Group level</li> <li>• Early festival</li> </ul>
<b>Festival Interpersonal Identity</b>	A sub-social identity based on enactment of personal values primed by a contextual lens, in a group event context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong, deep behavior</li> <li>• Sub-group level</li> <li>• Mid-late Festival</li> </ul>
<b>Festival Identity</b>	An event-wide identity based on enactment of personal values which correlate closely to the festival collective's identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong, deep behavior</li> <li>• Group level</li> <li>• Mid-late festival</li> </ul>

**Table 3: Levels of Festival Identity**

While emerging from the festival, with few exceptions (see section 5.2) it is anticipated that these identity levels exist within other temporal, liminal and liminoid events, and are thus renamed to reflect their broader event applicability. These levels are plotted in the Event Identity Model as part of a bottom-up process of identity change during an event (see Figure 1). The pyramidal model shows not only the four levels of identity that individuals must pass through in order, but also offers key influencing stimuli at each stage of the process which guide this progression. In doing so, the model demonstrates the role of intergroup identity and collective identity during the event as requested in objective three.



**Figure 1: Event Identity Model**

Exploring the model, level 1 – the Event Prototype Identity – a personal identity representing the individual as the category prototype, exists prior to attending the event and is stimulated by generic and specific event stimuli and categorization against non-attendees. Reaching the event itself (level 2), the power of the prototype label stimulates an Event Collective Identity, which manifests as similar surface behavior by the group as a whole during early interactions. As the event progresses and identity dissonance arises, the Event Interpersonal Identity is reached. Represented at level 3, individuals actively seek to differentiate from the homogenous collective identity, and make category judgements based on the environment and those within it. With a weakened collective identity and due to the temporal nature of the event, it is often the case that individuals look to their core identity traits as a means to direct affective and cognitive behaviors. Although not capable of directing behavior, collective identity does still play a role at this level, acting as a primer for core behaviors and leads to distinct event-oriented sub-groups forming. The final level – Event Identity, is similar to the previous level, however, in this situation due to group reinterpretation, the interpersonal group’s identity is reconciled to correlate more closely with the overall event identity, resulting in a single harmonious identity between the individual, others at the event, and the

events itself. Addressing objective four then, it can be seen that identity does have an impact on behavior, however, the extent of behavioral change and belief in that change very much depends on the level of identity enacted at the time – the lower levels will only inspire surface behaviors while the upper levels will allow for more impactful behavior modification that is in-line with the social context. Application of these findings offers a way to optimize the role of identity during an event.

### *5.2. Producing Festival Identity at Events*

Attempting to cater for the more prototypical, collective identity both before and during the event can cause conflict with an attendee's core identity. In such a case, the individual must attempt to balance collective and interpersonal pressures. If this is not achieved the individual is forced to disregard their situational role in order to meet their sense of self. This is demonstrated to an extent at festival A, which primes an authentic, traditional festival experience beforehand, but provides a much more commercialized experience during – in essence, selling a false identity.

To avoid this, it is important that both collective identity inspired by the prototype label and interpersonal identity are similar from the outset. In such instances: a consistent message is displayed both before and during the event; primed behavior and actual behavior are similar; collective identity and interpersonal identity are relatively harmonious; and the overall festival event is positive for the consumer. Although further categorization and reinterpretation of stimuli may still occur, if the event is created with underlying values considered, expectations and reality are of a better fit. For example, priming a prototype label based on a community festival attendee, regardless of whether it is the attendee's own local community, may differ very little from the actual attendee at a community-based festival. Upon reinterpretation, deeper values sought may already revolve around community-mindedness and will be both salient and accessible, essentially creating a community-primed community identity. Although further categorization does still occur, it represents intensification rather than inversion of daily core behavior, and is therefore more appealing than events advocating a radical change in behavior.

### *5.3. Managerial Implications*

To achieve positive identity changes, the identity proposed by festival organizers through symbolic and physical cues must be based on more than just generic and stereotypical event symbols – cues must correlate to the actual identity of the event. Although not possible to show subjective interpretations of the event, realistic messages concerning values, history, traditions, and audience of the event can be conveyed. This is easier to achieve at events with a unique identity (e.g. festival C) in which identity defining messages can be used, for example, to demonstrate a sense of community. Modern marketing communication tools should be adapted to let individuals envisage themselves as part of the festival community, for example by providing information on the history of the festival, links between the festival and the local community, and photo/video galleries of previous events. While social media and immersive websites should be a core of the marketing portfolio, organizers should also look towards the growth of augmented reality and virtual reality. Providing a richer, partially subjective experience, these technologies can help fulfil the consumer's need for festival self-relatedness and self-congruity, in turn effectively influencing pre-trip behavior and intentions (Huang *et al.*, 2016).

This must be considered alongside the likes of festival A which has a more generic festival identity. Providing a fixed and defining message in this situation would be inappropriate, and instead identity-suggesting messages should be used to allow for flexible interpretation of stimuli (Bhattacharjee *et al.*, 2014), allowing each individual a chance to create a festival prototype appropriate for themselves. As part of this process, it is important to demonstrate the role that prototype plays during the festival (i.e. compared to other prototypes), which alerts the individual to the possibility of several smaller social collectives within the larger festival group. While the technologies mentioned previously can achieve this, the messages they deliver should be better segmented and targeted to appeal to the variety of groups who may attend the event. In such cases, the generic prototype becomes less influential, making it easier to ascend the pyramid, albeit only to level three, without identity conflict at any level.

Managing attendee expectations in this way assists in achieving a realistic and true identity from the outset. Helping individuals better accept the event as an extension of themselves allows cognitive, affective and emotional bonds to form with the event and those within it. While this requires more understanding of the attendee on the part of

organizers, attendees will greatly benefit from a holistic and enjoyable experience more in-line with their values, beliefs, and behavioral limits, and with which they actively associate. However, failure to do so will result in lower satisfaction and lower repeat intention. This may partially explain why boutique and genre-specific festivals as a product category have emerged and proliferated in the last decade (Johansson and Toraldo, 2015) often at the expense of larger generic festivals – catering to one holistic and valued identity appears to be more beneficial and easier to achieve than trying to cater to the whims of many.

#### *5.4. Limitations and Further Research*

Current findings attempt to overcome theoretical and methodological weaknesses in existing academic and industry research. By revisiting traditional identity literature, and accurately contextualizing to consumption of festivals, theoretical and industry developments are provided. Future research should build on these foundations.

While tested specifically at festivals, similar exploratory research can be replicated across other event and tourism contexts. It is suggested, however, that the model provided is better suited to event or tourism situations that allow for identity renegotiation, with very time-constrained encounters (e.g. single concerts) appearing less suitable. While less constrained temporally, the festival is to an extent, still inhibited by its liminal nature; future research should consider a more longitudinal approach to accurately track identity changes before, during, and after the event, as well as during multiple attendances at the same event. This would also overcome the weakness of a singular testing point during the festival. Also with each event providing idiosyncrasies, further exploratory research is necessary before attempting to provide ‘event-wide’ solutions. While immediate research purposely calls for a continued exploratory approach, future research must also consider large scale quantitative studies to test the Event Identity Model across a larger number of recipients and genres of event. Adopting these changes will further help overcome confusion and inconsistencies in current identity research, whilst allowing for implementable and beneficial recommendations when consuming live events.

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## Appendix A: Profile of Interviewees

Given Name	Age	Location	Occupation	Attended Before	Other Festivals	Camping	Attending With
<b>Festival A</b>							
John	22	France/Edinburgh	Student	No	Yes	Yes	Friends
Steven	46	Motherwell	Engineer	Yes, 14 <sup>th</sup>	Y	Y	Friends, son*
Patrick	18	Motherwell	Student	Y,1	No	Y	Friends, dad*
Emma	22	-	Design Intern	N	Y	Y	Friends
Laura	24	Newcastle	Student	N	Y	Y	Friends
Jane	24	Newcastle	Financial Accountant	N	Y	Y	Friends
Garth	37	Close	Investment Analyst	Y, 6	N	Y, residence	Wife
Esther	19	Edinburgh	Student	N	N	Y	Friends, school and university
Emily	19	Edinburgh	Student	N	N	Y	Friends, school and university
Phil	28	Edinburgh	Investment Management	Y, 10	Y	Y	Friends
Greg	28	Edinburgh	Financial Analyst	Y,8	N	Y	Friends
Claire	21	Edinburgh	Student	Y,1	N	Y	Friends
Lucy	24	-	Trainee Accountant	Y,2	Y	Y	Boyfriend
Caroline	20	Australia	Student	N	Y	Y	Friends
Justin	20	Leeds	Student	Y, 8	N	Y	Brother, girlfriend
George	21	Dunfermline	Retail Manager	Y,10	Y	Y	Friends
Robert	19	Glasgow	Chef	Y,1	N	Y	Colleagues, friends
<b>Festival B</b>							
Tim	21	Dunfermline	Student	N	Y	Y	Friends
Randy	22	Dunfermline	Teacher	N	Y	Y	Friends
Richard	55	Greenock	School Teacher	N	Y	Y	Friends
Maureen	50-60	Newcastle	Market Researcher	Y, 1	N	Y, quiet	Family*
Hayley	50-60	Newcastle	Retired	Y, 1	N	Y, quiet	Family*
Jane	30	Glasgow	Journalist	Y,4	Y	Y	Friends
Mary	36	Musselburgh	Software Engineer	Y,4	Y	Y	Friends
Colin	35	Musselburgh	Post-doc Researcher	Y,4	Y	Y	Friends
Hannah	19	Local	Unemployed	Y,4	N	Y	Friends
Dawn	20	Local	Student	Y,2	N	Y	Friends
Alwyn	22	Glasgow	Student	N	Y	Y	Hen Party
Mandy	23	Glasgow	Graduate	N	Y	Y	Hen Party

Alesha	29	Glasgow	Solicitor	N	Y	Y	Hen Party
Michael	40	Glasgow	Performer	Y,4	Y	Y, artists area	Friends, band
David	25	Glasgow	Performer	Y,4	Y	Y, artists area	Friends, band
Angela	24	Local	Child Care	Y,2	N	Y	Friends
Dean	21	Local	Electrician	Y,2	N	Y	Friends
Stephanie	20	Local	Student Nurse	N	N	Y	Friends
<b>Festival C</b>							
Anne	20	Inverness	Student	Y,2	N	Y	Friends, father*
Harold	48	Inverness	Technical Support	Y,5	Y	Y, quiet	Friends, daughter*
Jill	19	Dingwall	Student	Y,1	Y	Y	Friends
Hilary	20	Dingwall/Edinburgh	Student	Y,2	Y	Y	Friends
Ben	20	Dingwall/Edinburgh	Student	Y,1	Y	Y	Friends
Sam	59	Aberlour	Retired	Y,3	N	No	Wife
Gavin	47	Local	Builder	Y,1	N	N	Family
Andrea	45	Local	-	Y,1	N	N	Family
James	65	England	Retired	N	Y	Y, caravan	Wife
Gail	65	England	Retired	N	Y	Y, caravan	Husband
Gordon	39	Inverness	Engineering Consultant	N	Y	Y	Family
Phil	36	Newton	Consultant	N	Y	N	Family
Rita	33	Newton	F/T Mother	N	Y	N	Family
Charles	3	Newton	-	N	N	N	Family
Mitch	19	Muir of Ord	Student	Y,1	Y	Y	Friends
Jeremiah	19	Muir of Ord	Student	Y,1	Y	Y	Friends
Carl	23	Glasgow	Mechanic	Y,2	Y	Y	Girlfriend

## **Appendix B: Sample Interview Transcript**

### **A Interview – File A, 1**

**6.00pm Thursday**

**Gareth, 37, Investment Analyst**

#### ***Introduction and Consent Confirmed – Consent Form Signed***

R: So is this your first time at A?

G: No, no. I've been here 6 times in the past 12 years. I first came in my last year of university...so it would have been 2000.

R: And can you remember anything from that first year...why you came, what you did?

G: I think the first year I came it was just something different to do. We decided as we were going into our last year we'd all get away together. There was a group of about 15 of us, and not everyone could afford a big holiday so this was our best option. We had quite a crazy weekend...a lot of drink and a lot of music. But it's changed a whole lot since back then. It was a lot smaller...not so much in terms of the area but the amount of people. Or at least it seemed that way. You could buy your tickets a couple of weeks before the event for about half the price they are now, but you were still getting the big bands...Travis and Iggy were definitely what I remember most from that weekend. But it just seemed different. It's hard to explain. I think back then it was reserved as a musical event with the extras as more of a bonus. So the people who came were a lot more similar in that they were here for the music. Now it seems the music is a consolation and the main reason to come is to get as drunk as you can and sleep with as many girls as you can.

R: So could you see it developing over the last 12 years?

G: Definitely. I did 2001 as well but then moved away for a couple of years for a graduate job. Then 2004 was my first year back. It was still nothing compared to what it is now, but I'm pretty sure it's increased year on year in terms of both capacity and price. So I was back and forth over the next 6 years...obviously your priorities change and it became relatively low in my list. But don't get me wrong, I love it and I enjoy coming back to it every year, but just in a different way than I used to.

R: So tell me how your trips have changed over the past decade?

G: Well the first few trips were all with friends. So I was still quite young then...I started coming here quite late, so for the first few years I was still acting as if I was a kid....drinking far too much, staying up all night, trying to get with as many girls as possible...don't tell the wife that! Compared to this year I can't believe how much we did. We'd probably see 20 or so bands...down at the front for all of them. Then when the music finished we'd be straight to the Boom bus, which was the Beat 106 bus back then, but pretty much exactly the same. As it went on though fewer and fewer friends were coming...married, settling down, kids, jobs...there were so many reasons you couldn't come. So I would always make the effort but when you're only there with one or two friends, I think you're a lot more relaxed about the whole situation. We'd see the same number of bands but the Boom bus was replaced by chatting at the tents and then crashing out. The past two visits I've come with my wife who I managed to rope into it. Well saying that, last year she was actually the one that had mentioned the idea...there were a couple of bands...Eminem and Muse, Shed Seven and Stereophonics...that she really, really wanted to see. We made it through the Friday and Saturday nights, but Sunday was a pretty horrible day and I think Jane had had enough so we left on the Sunday night after all the music. But that was definitely the most relaxed year I've had. This year Jane agreed to come again but only if we paid for the good camping...the Residence they call it, so we bought one of the Yurts with another couple...one of the original guys I came with. 10 years ago I wouldn't even have considered doing that but you know what...I think at the moment that's the only way I can really enjoy it; music during the day and a decent, quiet sleep at night.

R: So tell me about the Residence?

G: It's essentially just a large tent. It sleeps the four of us quite comfortably...has a heater, has private toilets in the area. It's so comfy in there and warm, but really it's just a lot more relaxed...you don't need to worry about carrying huge amounts of bags and tents and stuff. There's security in the area so you get away without the worry of kids stealing from your tent. It's just a lot more hassle-free. You get access to the hospitality area too, although that's not all it's cracked up to be. We just use it mainly for the toilets which are a lot nicer than the main ones.

R: So how did the fact that you could stay in a more luxurious setting influence your decision to come?

G: I think that was the decisive factor. There's no way Jane would have come and camped normally, so we were considering coming just for the day but then that rules out even having a social pint. We'd looked at the Residence but thought it was a bit pricey between 2. I threw the suggestion out there and luckily Mark was keen so we thought why not. So I mean there were other reasons we wanted to come but if that option hadn't been available to us then we wouldn't be here right now.

R: And what were those other motivations for coming?

G: I can imagine this being my last year at A for good. I've a feeling that due to personal changes there will be another priority in our lives next year. So I think it's about putting to rest a certain chapter of my life...which is a bit sad when you think about it like that, but on to bigger and better things I guess. But apart from that, for me it's still about the music, and it's even better to share it with Jane. This year's pretty good because there are a lot of older bands...bands that I listened to when I was a lot younger. So Pulp, the Manics, Cast, and the Fools; I guess it's extra poignant that I'm saying goodbye to that part of my life and get to do so with the bands that I started it with and that made that part of my life so special. On top of that I guess it lets me escape from the job, which is pretty heavy going at the moment. It's amazing how everything else disappears when you're put in this situation.

R: What situation's that?

G: A field...with a beer...and good music....and 100,000 other people. I still find it quite a surreal experience. It's just not quite like normal day-to-day life...in fact it's nothing like normal day-to-day life.

R: Could you expand on that at all?

G: There just seems to be no convention here. Everyone's up early with a beer in hand and that's perfectly acceptable. And then you have the music...hundreds of bands on over the weekend, so you can just walk between stages and there would be another big name band on. There's also always a good contingent of dress up going on, so it may be torrential rain but you have people walking around dressed as batman or some other random creation; and it's not as if the rain bothers people...you just get on with it and it gets to a point when you're wet enough that you just decide enough is enough and you start to embrace the rain. I love seeing the people dancing or jumping about in the mud. It's just a break from normal etiquette...it's as if you resort back to being a kid when you're here regardless of how old you

actually are.

R: You included?

G: I won't be taking it to any extremes, but it's probably fair to say that any of my clients saw me this weekend they probably wouldn't be my clients for that much longer.

R: So out with A, do you have experience of any other festivals?

G: I don't. I was always tempted, especially when I was down south. But I almost didn't want to ruin the memories of A...I mean all festivals are good, but you can have bad experiences that put you off forever.

R: Such as?

G: Well I imagine if I went with the wrong group of people or went to the wrong type of festival then I would be left with a bad memory of it. I've always had great times at T, so I didn't want to ruin those memories with bad experiences elsewhere. Do you know what I mean?

R: Not entirely?

G: It's like, I don't know, going to the cinema. If you see a bad film, the next time you think about going to the cinema you always remember your most recent trip...and if it was bad you have that memory and if it was good you have a good memory. But even if you have a bad memory it's only a few pounds at the cinema so you go anyway. I imagine if I had had a terrible festival experience down south, when it came to booking my ticket that would play on my mind. Then you couple that with all the other reasons not to go...price, age, other engagements and the decisions made for you.

R: So what is it that makes A 'the one festival' that you're concerned about?

G: It was my first. It's my local festival. I've had so many good experiences here. I met my wife through a friend I met here. Take your pick.

R: So tell me about your best experience of A?

G: I think it has to be the first year. It was a new experience so everything seemed special to me. Just that whole year would stick in my mind, especially when you compare it with T nowadays. Everything's more expensive, there are more idiots here. Like I say it's not just

about the music anymore...it's about everything else, but unfortunately A provides very little else. I've never been but when I worked down south I was an hour or so from Glastonbury and a lot of the other guys went. They said it was amazing! They have the best music but they have everything else...you could keep yourself busy all weekend without even hearing a note. That's what T's missing and it was fine when it was about the music, but now there are too many idiots that don't care...there must be somewhere to put them that doesn't annoy everyone else.

R: Who exactly are you referring to when you say 'idiots'?

G: There is a very large contingent at T of kids...in fact not just kids... who are too drunk. They're obnoxious, fighting, throwing bottles around. They don't seem to care about anyone or anything. They're the people who will push kids out the way to get closer to the stage. And for them the weekend isn't about the excitement of seeing a band; it comes from another source and to be honest I don't know what that is. I've always felt safe at T; there are plenty of security and police around, but you still give those people a wide berth just in case. I think it does spoil it for a lot of other people. They're the idiots I mean.

R: So has that ever put you off?

G: More so now that I'm with Jane. But I don't think it would be significant enough to stop me coming. It just acts as an annoyance more than anything and I honestly think gives the festival a bad reputation.

R: So you mentioned certain other factors in your decision? Looking at these...how does the price influence your decision to come?

G: Em...I mean it used to. But back then when I wasn't working it was a lot more reasonable in terms of price. My first year was...don't quote me on this...about £110. Now that was only for 2 days but the bands were top notch. To double in price over 12 years is a bit extreme. But I mean it's done now...no point complaining or even thinking about it...I'll get to do that when I see the bill!

R: So do you mind me asking how much the Residence works out at?

G: Roughly £500 each. So for that you get a Thursday ticket, hospitality, car park pass and your little home. So we were pretty late on the band wagon and a ticket would have cost us around £250 from eBay I reckon. Then add the tent on is another £50 each. Car park is £20.

Thursday upgrade £20. So when you add it all up, for the ease of use, I don't think it's such a bad deal we're getting. But we're in a position now that we can afford it. I think if I were like most people here...I mean the same age range I would be a bit peeved paying in excess of £200.

R: And what about the price of food/drink/merchandise?

G: I think I'm passed the age when I can get away with buying a T t-shirt! The food is to be expected, although there seem to be a lot more healthy options in the campsite and I hear the arena has a healthy section too, which is really good. It's still expensive but you feel full in a good way...not in a greasy burger and fries kind of way. Drink is again to be expected. I mean you're on nearly £4 a pint and that's a pint of Tennents, but people just accept it and don't bat an eyelid. I've always thought that Tennents must make enough from all the publicity; they could at least ease up on the drink prices.

R: And you mentioned age a few times as a factor. Can you expand on that?

G: I'm too old to come here (laughs). I think A...in fact I think all music festivals have become mainly directed at the youth generation...so from maybe 18 to 21 or 22. That seems to be the main population I've seen so far. I think a decade ago the main audience would have been much closer to their mid to late 20s. It's almost a rite of passage now...you come to T when you're a kid and I think many people stop when they hit their mid-20s. So you find most things, apart from the music strangely enough, directed at that specific age group. Then you have people like us who are much older than the average and I don't think it even tries to cater non-musically to our age range. I'm not sure what they could really do to be honest, but I know whatever that thing is they're not doing it.

R: So do you feel out of place here?

G: I wouldn't go that far. Credit where credit's due, most of the kids here are really friendly and they seem to be very indiscriminating about the people here. So you could be in your 60s and I don't think they would look twice. It's more from an organization point of view...the festival has gradually changed and the target has become a lot younger and has to an extent forgotten about other generations. That's why I find it strange that they've put on so many older bands this weekend...I mean bands I was listening to when I was 20 seem to be making a comeback but I honestly don't know if they'll have enough of an audience or enough of a passionate audience to make their set noteworthy. All you need is a little atmosphere, but I

can see some of the older bands struggling to get that.

R: And what about the rest of the people at A...tell me what you make of them?

G: Well it's kids isn't it? I would take a guess at an average age around 21. The one thing that I have noticed in the few hours I've been here is the lack of individuality. When I was young...that sounds bad!...but when I was young you tended to follow a band or at least a genre and you dressed like that and mirrored them. Now it just seems to be a generic genre of festival chic. Ten years ago you wouldn't get half the stuff you do now. I mean I felt like a fraud in the yurt, but you see the girls going in to get their hair straightened and styled...what's happening?! Festivals should be about getting muddy and wet and still enjoying yourself. Now it's about being seen and what you're seen in! So yeah, you notice that people are no longer dressing as their favourite bands do or even dressing in old clothes that can be ruined...they're dressing up as if they're on a night out...thank god I don't have to worry about that anymore!

R: So how does that affect the overall atmosphere of the festival?

G: I think it hampers the atmosphere to a certain degree. Like I was saying before, you'll go into the arena at 1 and see against the main stage barrier a group...usually younger girls. Now they'll stand there for 10 hours just to be at the front for the headliner. Now you can't tell me that they enjoy every band that plays on the stage. I could think of nothing worse than trying to play to a crowd and having the front few rows full of mildly interested kids. And it does take a way a little pizzazz from the performance. And that's what I mean by a very generic genre...the younger generation don't seem to follow bands the same way I did when I was their age. It wasn't about being in the front row for a band, or getting yourself on TV, but it was about seeing that band with others who wanted to see that band...others who cared about the band. But at the same time, it's always nice to see kids getting involved in the older generation of bands...maybe we can get rid of some of this current stuff in favour of the classic bands!

R: Just going back to what you said before, the line-up this year is dotted with the older generation bands...what are your thoughts on a move like that?

G: It's a great move for people like me. I love seeing Cast and Pulp and the Manics. I even appreciate the fact they've got Tom Jones and Blondie. But like I was saying they may all crash and burn. The vast majority of those there will be kids who didn't have these bands first time around so the love I have for them hasn't formed with the kids that will be seeing them. But

yeah, I hope they get a good reception.

R: So do you think that's the right route for A or festivals in general?

G: I think it's the new trend to a certain extent. These are the bands that are reforming and doing comeback tours and really are the bands in demand at the moment. I was reading an article on the BBC about festivals dying out mainly because they are becoming too similar. Basically the amount of headline-worthy artists has dropped in the last few years...well not dropped, but there are no new bands breaking through. So all you get are the same bands doing the same festivals year on year. Every year Muse will be headlining a selection of festivals, then the next year it will be rotation 2, then 3, then they're back to the first rotation. So essentially you'll get the same headliners at the same festival every 4 or 5 years. I guess the promoters are trying to look outside the box and they're finding these older bands and reintroducing them in to the mainstream.

R: So how would you go about improving A?

G: I think there are several changes that need to happen. I mean if thingy Eavis is worried about Glastonbury becoming stagnant, then they must be doubly worried about T. I think musically it works well; it does try to get the new bands and has its breakthrough stage, so come 5 years down the line I reckon it will have a new range of headline bands. It just lacks appeal to me in anything non-musical. There's the cinema area but that is hardly an attraction. I don't know if this year they'll have anything new, but from the map it looks to be the same Disco bus/disco tent at night. But to be fair I've not been in the arena yet, so I may still be surprised...I hope I'll be surprised. If not it'll just be back to the Yurt extra early.

***Thank you and debrief given. Email address provided and agreement to take part in follow up interview.***

## Appendix C: Interview Analysis Coding Themes

Identity Level	Stimuli	Response
<b>Establishing a Festival Prototype (Pre-Event)</b>	Musical Stimuli	Musical fit, Musical Variety, Genre-specific festivals
	Uncontrollable Stimuli	Media, Other festivals, Mainstream, Sustainable, Value (money)
	'Festival'	Culture, Lifestyle, Local festivals, Definition
	Information	Hearsay, Word of mouth, Reputation
	Celebration	Cultural celebration, Genre-based festival
	Expectations	Negative expectations, Sources of information
ARRIVAL AT EVENT		
<b>Establishing a Shared Identity (Early Event)</b>  	Physical Stimuli	Accommodation, Amenities, Capacity, Location, Organisation, "Artefacts"
	Non-musical Stimuli	Campsite activities, Non-musical activities
	Experiences	New experiences, Faux experiences, Unique experiences
	Audience	Class, Loyalty, "Proper" fans, Child/Family friendly
	Behaviour	Crowd behaviour, Festival etiquette, Rules
	Atmosphere	Family, Safe, Social, Small festival, Drinking
	Social	Group dynamics, Similarities, New socialising, Attending with...
	Involvement	Community, Locality, Performing, Taking part, Inclusivity
	Individual Occurrences	Authenticity, Escape, Exploration, Own festival, Unique identity, Tradition, Memories, Novelty
<b>Establishing an Individual Identity (Mid/Late Event)</b>	Expectations	Met?