

The Local Community's Social and Institutional Influence on The Development of Music Festivals in Denmark.

A comparative study of urban and rural music festivals.

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Abstract & Keywords

This research paper examines the effect the community, in which a music festival is located, has on the music festival's construction and establishment. Previously academic literature has been focused on establishing the audience's motivation for attending music festivals as well as establishing how music festivals influence the community. Research has not been conducted on how the community affect music festivals. The research has been conducted by executing eight expert interviews with representatives from three urban festivals and three rural festivals. The expert varies from volunteers to paid personnel within their respective music festivals. The research was conducted with a social constructivist philosophy as the evolvment and changes within culture happen in interactions between individuals. The method used for coding was the IAD framework as it gave a structure for analysing the interviews. The codes generated were split into three themes, 1. Volunteers 2. Collaborators, and 3. Urban/rural. The results showed that volunteers were one of the key representatives of the community attributes, hence the festivals' different use of volunteers specifically influenced the construction of the festival. The rural festivals had volunteers in critical managerial positions, hence the volunteers' opinions regarding the orchestration and decisions had to be considered. Furthermore, the festivals' use of collaborators showed that rural festivals to a higher degree than urban used local collaborators as producers, which meant their opinions were a factor when developing the festival in the rural areas as well. The urban/rural theme showed that urban festivals primarily focus on the audience's opinion towards the festival, which is reached through different interactions. This interaction and focus on audience satisfaction means that the urban festivals' outcome primarily is influenced by the willingness to achieve legitimacy from the consumers. It also shows the complexity of using the terms urban and rural as the definition within music festivals is not binary but a spectrum. The research establishes based on the results three criteria which define how much influence the community has on the development and structure of music festivals, these criteria are: volunteers in critical managerial roles, paid personnel, and collaborators as producers. As the definition of rural and urban should be regarded as a spectrum these criteria can help further research establish if a festival is influenced by the community. The research results showed that the rural festivals are more influenced by the community than the urban due to the influence of volunteers in critical positions as well as using local businesses as producing collaborators. Aside from this, the rural festival's differences occur due to personnel being paid, an aspect that could also be researched further in future research.

KEYWORDS: music festivals, institutionalisation, iad framework, location, community attributes

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1 Introduction

In Denmark, there are around 190 music festivals each year (Statistics Denmark, n.d.). Music festivals' role within society can be differentiated into different categories, as a financial benefit for the surrounding area (Gibson, 2017, Paleo & Wijnberg, 2006) and a social benefit (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018, Clayton 2016, Moscardo, 2007). The social benefit can be for the festivalgoers as social gatherings, social influence on the surrounding businesses etc. Earlier research has shown that music festivals engage the community it is situated in while representing the community (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018). Current academic research has investigated consumer behaviour within music festivals, showing that consumers have several reasons why they attend music festivals (Bowen & Daniels, 2005, Perron-Brault et al., 2020). Furthermore, present research has mainly focused on the motivation for attending music festivals or how music festivals benefit the community it is situated in. Only a few research has been done on how festivals are influenced by the surrounding community. Laing & Mair (2015) stated that music festivals are mainly influenced by the behaviour of the portable society and how to attend festivals, whereas other research says that festivals are a representation of the society it is in (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018, Chaney & Martin, n.d.). This thesis aims to answer the gap between Hjalager & Kwiatkowski's (2018) and Laing & Mair's (2015) views and answer the question of how the community influences the orchestration and development of music festivals. Furthermore, as previous literature has shown there is a difference between urban and rural living, especially within the entrepreneurs' opportunities (Clare, 2013, Fortunato, 2014, Pateman, 2011, Steblay, 1987), the research will have a comparative perspective to investigate if there also is a visible difference within the institutional framework between urban and rural festivals. The paper will try to have a neutral perspective on urban and rural festivals as the goal is not to criticize either perspective, but to establish possible differences that can add to the current academic research on institutionalisation effect on short-time events. Music festivals should be regarded as an example of a short-term event, as it was chosen due to its general appeal and because it typically includes different activities which are beyond music. The research will with its objective perspective on location nuance the debate that culture has its best possibilities in the biggest cities in Denmark (Smidt-Jensen et al., 2009). Urbanisation's impact on society has been discussed in both politics and academic literature (Easterlin et al. 2011 & Herslund, 2012). Urban organisations have the benefit of being located in a cluster of firms that they can share knowledge and experiences with. Rural organisations have been forgotten, and some researchers such as Wijngaarden et al. (2019) have taken the discussion into academic research and

investigated why some entrepreneurs move out of the bigger cities (Wijngaarden et al., 2020). Even though firm clusters within the bigger cities, events keep popping up outside of the metropolis in search of ways to improve their position (Blichfeldt & Halkier, 2013). Most of the research is from the perspective of urbanisation and its knowledge, but that does not mean that all the efforts should go into these types of research. A lot of people live in rural areas and a lot of policy efforts are made to positively affect rural areas, so they are more desirable to live in (Smidt-Jensen et al., 2009). This research paper will add to the discussion and see if the rural organisations with the example of music festivals, offer something different than the urban counterparts. It will research this based on institutionalisation and if it has any effect on where a music festival is located. This will add to the discussion by researching the influence the community surrounding the festival has on the festival, hence describing what positive attributes within the society are visible in the creation of music festivals.

The previous academic literature and the societal and scientific purpose for the thesis have constructed the following research questions:

How do institutional, social, and geographic differences influence the creation and development of music festivals in Denmark?

To answer the research question, a qualitative approach has been chosen, as the qualitative approach has been regarded as the most fitting when trying to establish underlying rules and norms (Bryman, 2012). The qualitative research has been achieved by conducting eight semi-structured expert interviews, at around 45 minutes, with three festivals located in Aarhus and Copenhagen and three festivals located in different rural parts of Denmark. The method used to create the interview guide was the IAD framework by Ostrom (2009) which has been used as the guideline for the interview questions and later coding the interviews. Furthermore, the interview has also been analysed through a thematic analysis where the subjects volunteering, collaborating firms and urban/rural have been analysed to nuance the perspective of the IAD framework. The analytics have been looked through the lens of social constructivism as in this paper the society surrounding has been regarded as a constructed reality where it is ever-changing in relation to the interaction between the individuals living within it. This is related to music festivals, where reality is also constructed by the interactions between individuals. Moreover, the IAD framework will be regarded as a hermeneutic circle that never closes as the institutionalisation process of changing and

establishing new knowledge can never be finished. The dissertation will in chapter 2 present a literature review where the definition of when a music festival can be regarded as a music festival. The literature will also contain a presentation of the different institutional concepts (Furesten 2013, Dimaggio & Powell, 1983, Ostrom, 2009) and especially the IAD framework. Furthermore, the literature review will contain a description of the differences between urban and rural entrepreneurship and which consequences it has on an organisation. Moreover, the description will also contain a discussion on how to establish when an area can be regarded as rural, something academic literature does not agree on. Lastly, the literature review will collect all the different theoretical perspectives and describe their relevance to the paper. Chapter 3 provides a presentation of the methodology which will include research philosophy, research methods, a table of the interviewees, limitations and data collection. Hereafter, in Chapter 4, the results will be presented based on the thematic analysis. Moreover, Chapter 4 will contain a discussion regarding the themes' coherence with the current literature. Lastly, the dissertation will in Chapter 5 conclude the results and the implications and limitations of the research. Furthermore, the conclusion will contain an explanation of possible further research.

2 Literature review

The theoretical framework will be concentrated around three different theoretical concepts, festival, institutionalisation and location. The first part of the theoretical framework will establish what is meant by a music festival and how it is possible to determine whether a festival can be regarded as a festival in academia, to be able to do that five criteria will be presented. Secondly, a description of institutionalisation will be done with the inclusion of the theoretical concept presented by Ostrom (2009) called the IAD framework which has an immense influence on the possibility of analysing social activities. Thirdly, a description of locations' influence on organisations will be presented. This will be done with the inclusion of different factors that occur mainly because of the location of the organisation. The literature review will end with a summarisation of the three theoretical concepts and combine them.

2.1 Festivals

As the research is situated around music festivals, an in-depth description of what the term festival is seems adequate. The term music festival will be determined by Anderton's (2019) and Hjalager & Kwiatkowski's (2018) definitions as they are similar in several aspects. A music festival is

typically held on a cyclical basis, where it mostly occurs one time annually (Anderton, 2019). Typically, they do not follow one specific genre but include multiple genres that are popular at the time the festival is occurring (Bowen & Daniels, 2005). In the paper, music festivals are, therefore, festivals that do not have a general theme besides being created with the purpose of attracting the general consumer. The authors Hjalager and Kwiatkowski (2018) provide five criteria that help define a festival. The first one is that the festival, as described by Anderton, is limited to a certain amount of time with a clear start and clear end. Second, is that the festival is rooted in a specific location, this can be a physical place or within a specific city where the festival occurs in two or more places. The second criterion is important as festivals typically are related to the community it is situated in (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018 & Anderton, 2019). This is an important criterion for this research paper, as institutionalisation influence would be minimal or hard to measure if the festival would be moving to different locations. Even though festivals are related to their environment according to Hjalager & Kwiatkowski (2018) and Anderton (2019), an opposite view is described by Laing & Mair (2015) where festivals have switched their focus from the local environment to the portable community which includes both the local environment and travelling consumers. This is worth mentioning as it will be discussed later in the results given that Laing & Mair (2015) is proven correct that the consumers have a bigger impact than the surrounding environment. The second criterion in this thesis is that festivals cannot move, due to them being rooted within their community, as place helps festivals create a recognizable identity over time (Anderton, 2019). The third criterion is that festivals are planned occasions with predefined objectives, programmes, and themes in a recognizable structure (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018). The purpose of the festivals, program and themes related to the festival, must be predetermined before the start of the festivals, as it is related to determining the success of the music festival. The fourth criterion is that festivals combine activities that are in beneficial symbioses (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018). The important aspects to mention concerning this criterion are that festivals act as social gatherings, entertainment (Anderton, 2019), and aesthetic expediencies (Zhao, 2022). This creates a huge task for the festival as some of the motivations from consumers are at odds with each other (Dekker & Morea, 2023). The music festivals need to incorporate these different perspectives into their concept and figure out how it is beneficial for their festival to optimize their income and consumer experience. It is wrong that consumers visit music festivals solely based on the artists announced (Bowen & Daniels, 2005), consumers want a recognizable concept and different activities that increase the satisfaction of attending the music festival. The fifth and final

criterion is that festivals are open, hence everyone can join if they want to (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2019). The music festival must be open to the public, to be regarded as a festival, where the only barrier is buying a ticket to the festival.

In addition to the five criteria, research has determined that festivals are both beneficial for the festival-goers well-being (Tan et al., 2020) and the society surrounding the festival (Gibson, 2007, Paleo & Wijnberg, 2006, Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018, Clayton, 2016, Moscardo, 2007). Music festivalgoers' well-being has been described by Tan et al. (2020) the study determined that the happenings surrounding the festival had a positive impact on individuals' well-being, with the music programme having the greatest effect. Even though the music programme had a significant impact on the study by Tan et al. (2020), other research has determined other motivations for attending festivals as well (Bowen & Daniels, 2005, Perron-Brault et al., 2020). Bowen & Daniels (2005) determined that festivalgoers' motivation for attending festivals was down to four categories being social enjoyment, enrichment over music, the music matters, and love it all. In addition to the music matter, Perron-Brault et al. (2020) separated that into four categories, well-being enthusiast, open to discoveries, looking for stars or just for bands. When looking at previous research it is visible that the motivation for festivalgoers has been thoroughly covered. It is noticeable though that even though the music programme matters, festivalgoers also prioritize the atmosphere and community involved in the festival. This makes festivals interesting as the general appeal to them includes activities and diversions beyond the music (Laing & Mair, 2015). Furthermore, with music festivals' deep embedment in the local communities (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018) and consumers' higher willingness to create loyalty to the festivals if they are a representation of the community's rules and norms (Chaney & Martin, n.d.) music festivals seem like the perfect example to investigate how the community impact the music festival organisation and development.

2.2 Institutionalisation

Institutionalism is an academic term that is defined in two branches: old institutionalisation and new institutionalism. The thesis will concentrate on the new institutional theory described by DiMaggio & Powell (1983). The new institutionalism helped organisation theorists to explain why organisations change and how organisations over time tended to look alike. (Palmer et al., 2008) The new institutionalism is discussed in academic literature as an umbrella term, where different perspectives with institutional theory are included, therefore institutionalisation itself is a term that covers different branches that affect the organisation (Palmer et al., 2008). The new institutionalism,

therefore, discusses behaviouralism (Immergut, 1998) where the emphasis is not on observable behaviours but on interactions between organisations and their stakeholders (Immergut, 1998). The organisational changes and behaviour are described by Furesten (2013) who addresses which factors have an impact on organisational changes. The theory by Furesten (2013) does not address why organisations tend to look similar, why the three types of isomorphism by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) can help determine changes and similarities within organisational change. Institutional theory describes what can influence an organisation, the influence can come from external pressure, for instance, the state or civil society, or from inside the organisation (Zucker, 1987). These two distinctions occur from two types of environments described by Furesten (2013) as immediate and indirect environments.

The immediate environment is defined as the environment that influences the organisation from within the same organisation. (Furesten, 2013) This description hereby includes institutional products and institutional actors. The institutional products are the products which are exchanged between the organisation and other stakeholders related to the organisation, these stakeholders could be, employees, collaborating firms and governments. Furthermore, institutional products do not have to be physical objects (Zucker, 1987), but also includes knowledge sharing and ethical codes within the specific sector. These ethical codes could be doctors or lawyers who would be judged by fellow colleagues if they choose not to either help a sick or lie in court. (Furesten, 2013) The ethical codes relate to a certain degree on an organisational level to the professionalization in DiMaggio & Powell's (1983) normative isomorphism, where organisations adapt to the formal rules that are related to what consumers or the given industry consider as a professional way of acting. The normative isomorphism is therefore not only related to official laws but behaves in relation to the general perception of what professional behaviour is and how an organisation should behave within a specific field. The institutional actors are typically the stakeholders that influence the organisation. (Furesten, 2013) Some actors have greater authority to influence the organisation as their importance is imminent to the organisation's success. Although some stakeholders are more important, the organisation must be aware of the demands from the institutional actors, regardless of authority, as it can create dissatisfied stakeholders if their needs are not met. Concerning music festivals normative isomorphism is visible through the adaptation of stakeholder criteria, these could include municipalities demanding certain demands for representation of gender or a representation of a specific set of professionalism from the music festival (Brown, 2014). As a lot

of festivals in Denmark have volunteers (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018) municipalities and other stakeholders can demand the volunteers to have a professional persona (Brown, 2014)

The indirect environment is, as the name implies, institutional factors that influence the organisation externally. (Furesten, 2013) The two factors described by Furesten (2013) are institutional movements and societal trends. Institutional movements are when changes occur within an organisation, where the idea of change is shared by many of the actors. The institutional movements are a mimetic change, where organisations change due to others' success. This is what DiMaggio and Powell (1983) call mimetic isomorphism, where organisations imitate other organisations typically due to technological changes or due to pressure regarding consumer trends. Mimetic isomorphism within music festivals can be visible through the intensified use of social media platforms to create stronger brand awareness (Hudson et al., 2015). The strong social media platform also has arisen due to market changes where social media is a way to interact with the festival audience (Hudson et al., 2015). Mimetic changes are also visible in the fact that more and more medium-sized festivals are starting to prefer to book upcoming artists because the changes in the market have forced the festivals to prioritize first-time touring bands to compensate for the increasing costs (Hiller, 2015).

Societal trends for Furesten (2013) are the rules and norms that are impeded within the society and therefore not something the civil society necessarily thinks about when asked about them. It is so embedded in their behavioural pattern that it has become a law, these trends can differentiate in different areas as they occur over a long period of time and through interpersonal cultural exchanges (Furesten, 2013). When firms change due to consumers underlying rules and norms it is called coercive isomorphism. (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The change in festival structure through underlying rules and norms can be seen in the incorporation of different aspects to the festival than just music as the audience for the festival has developed an expectation that a festival has to be a complete experience that has both music experiences as well as art, food and ties to the community (Bowen & Daniels, 2005, Gibson & Gordon, 2018, Mulders & Hitters, 2021).

The changes are typically to maintain a consumer pool, hence if changes were not met, consumers would substitute for other related products. (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). For DiMaggio and Powell (1983) the organisational changes are related to the organisation's need for legitimacy and image. An organisation therefore changes to survive in the market, where to Furesten (2013) organisations change regardless of the need for consumer legitimacy as external and internal institutions have interests in the organisation. Furthermore, the government as an interested party in the

organisations can influence organisations by inflicting laws and subsidies that can influence these organisations heavily. (Furesten, 2013). The laws and regulations can be local, national and international regulations. It forces the organisation to behave in a certain way, and therefore laws and regulations are an institutionalisation that can influence the organisation directly and instantly when a law is enforced. As this paper focuses on festivals within the same country it will not discuss national laws as it does not seem relevant. The interviews will contain which laws or subsidies affect the music festivals as it has an impact on the behaviour of the organisation. The governmental rules and regulations are also enforced through education, which consequently influences organisations' institutional actors.

2.2.1 IAD Framework

The institutional changes to an organisation by Furesten (2013) and DiMaggio & Powell (1983) primarily state that changes in the organisation are due to changes in the market or internal change. They do not offer an analytic tool to analyse how these changes occur and in what interaction they arise. So, to understand how some of these changes occur the analytic tool called the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD) described by Elinor Ostrom (2009) will be used. The IAD tries to create a common language to describe the underlying structure of diverse action situations (Ostrom, 2010). Furthermore, the IAD framework can be seen as a systematic method which can be put into the context of other theoretical aspects, such as place and policies. The IAD framework gives the possibility to understand social situations and divide them into manageable sets of practical activities (Polski & Ostrom, 1999, Grossman, 2018, McGinnis & Ostrom, 2014). This complements the described theories by Furesten (2013), as the IAD framework creates an analytic framework to analyse the institutional actors and social trends and how these two when combined can influence an organisation's way of establishing new initiatives.

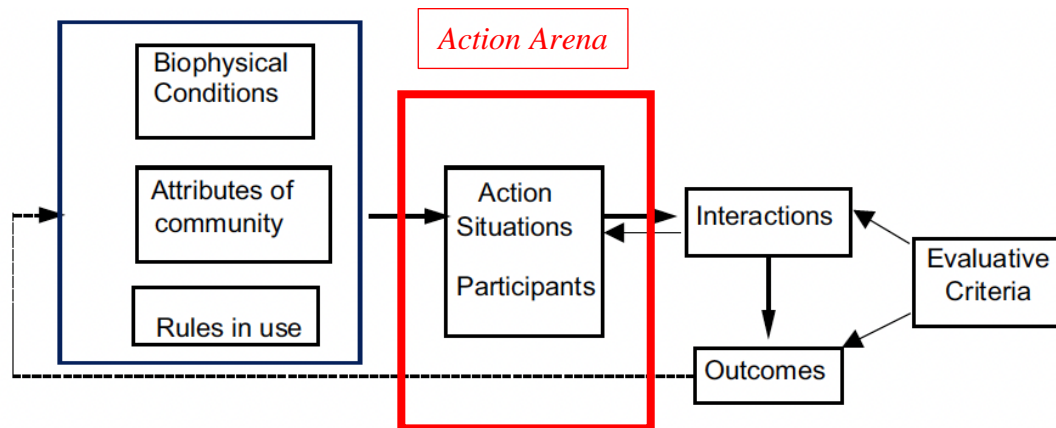


Figure 1 The IAD framework (Ostrom, 2009)

The most important aspect of the IAD framework is the action arena which is marked within the red square in Figure 1. It is in the action arena participants and action situations interact with each other. (Ostrom, 2009, 2010, 2011). Participants should be understood as individuals or groups who act in a determined environment and interact with each other, either by exchanging services or goods (Ostrom, 2009, 2011). Several participants can be understood as one group the individuals need to have the intention to act as a collective with the purpose of having a joint product and common goal (Ostrom, 2009) for instance a music festival board or volunteer group. The participants involved in exchanging goods can have different roles, either producing or providing (Ostrom, 2015). The providing collaborators' role could be the state when giving the rights and financial supporting the action of distributing water (McGinnis, 2011). The producer's role is an organisation producing the good, in the case of water resources, this would be distributing and making managerial changes (Ostrom, 2015). Concerning music festivals, this is relevant as music festivals receive different public funding and sponsorships (Rowley & Williams, 2008) which would be regarded as providing collaborators to the music festival. With the producing collaborations, the music festivals can both provide a location for producers to sell their products as well as they themselves produce a product (Adongo & Kim, 2018).

Action situations are the spaces where the actors interact, solve problems, exchange goods and services etc. These action situations can be situated in a physical environment, but can also appear online, on social media, through mail and texts (Grossman, 2018). The important part of the action situation is that the language is a common ground between the participants as the language is one of the main structures in developing underlying social situations (Ostrom, 2010).

The action arena is the main analytic perspective in the IAD. To understand the action arena, it is important to understand how exogenous variables affect the action arena. These exogenous

variables are split into three different categories, biophysical environment, attributes of community, and rules-in-use. The biophysical environment is the climate, geography etc. in which the action arena is operating (Ostrom, 2009) This is important because there is a big difference if a music festival is occurring in the western part of Denmark where it is windy and less public transport compared to the Copenhagen where the infrastructure is way better (Mattson, 2011). Attributes of the community are the social opinions, religion, skills, social relationships, language etc (Ostrom, 2011). The last exogenous variable is rules-in-use, here there are two distinctions, rules-in-use and rules on paper i.e. laws (Grossman, 2018). Rules-in-use are the rules that are known and understood and can be regional rules as mentioned earlier by Furesten (2013), where the rules on paper are the laws which the action arena is obliged to follow. When analysing rules-in-use, seven different definitions have been mentioned by Ostrom (2010, 2011). These seven are as follows.

1. *Boundary rules*: Specifies how the actors are chosen to enter a situation.
2. *Position rules*: Specifies positions and the number of actors holding each position.
3. *Information rules*: Specifies channels of communication and how information is shared between the actors.
4. *Authority rules*: Specifies which actions are assigned to which position.
5. *Aggregation rules*: Refers to rules being up to the majority or not.
6. *Scope rules*: Specifies the affected outcomes.
7. *Payoff rules*: Specifies how benefits and costs are distributed to actors in positions.

When the exogenous variables have been determined, and it has been placed into context with the action arena. it will be possible to put it into the context of how the different participants are interacting with each other, this includes the flow of communication, language, and the organisational structure (Polski & Ostrom, 1999). Lastly, the evaluative process can be analysed where the different aspects of criteria the participant must evaluate their process. This evaluative process is an ongoing process which is done both before and after the music festival for instance. When every part of the IAD framework has been carefully analysed it should be able to tell which aspects of institutionalisation have an influence on the organisation and for this paper, from there it should be possible to conceptualise the rural and urban festivals' institutional aspects and compare them to each other.

Furesten (2013) explains which different external and internal factors an organisation can be influenced by. The description therefore is quite similar to the IAD framework presented by Ostrom (2009) which helps conceptualize social situations into practical matters. Furesten's description of the immediate environment is quite like Ostrom's action arena. Where Ostrom's action situations and Furesten's institutional products are both concerning when organisations exchange different products or services, there are still differences in their two theories. The difference is that Furesten includes the ethical codes that are related to jobs within the immediate environment whereas Ostrom has included Rules-in-use as an external variable for itself, which is further split into seven different rules. The rules-in-use can also be related to DiMaggio & Powell's (1983) normative isomorphism both having an external and internal variable. The participants and institutional actors are in both theories related to the employees or stakeholders. The exogenous variables are the external variables that can influence the organisation, which is quite similar to Furesten's indirect environment. Furesten primarily works on the same level as DiMaggio and Powell (1983) where the organisation changes due to changes in the market or the law, but Furesten's theory regarding societal trends is quite like Ostrom community attributes, as they both concern rules and norms that are embedded within the society. Even though both theories are similar in several aspects, Ostrom's theory is more focused on social situations whereas Furesten primarily views changes from a market perspective, with the inclusion of societal trends. Furesten's theory explains how important institutional theory is to understand why an organisation change not only from market mechanisms but from both internal and external institutions. Ostrom's framework helps concretise theories such as DiMaggio & Powell (1983) and Furesten (2013) which makes it possible to research the effect of these institutional dynamics.

2.3 Place

Even with the world becoming more globalised, individuals and firms tend to cluster in urban areas (Clare, 2013). With that, the role of location has an important role in the organisation's ability to evolve. The consequences of an organisation's placement have a huge influence on how the organisation can gain knowledge, experienced employees and collaborators (Wijngaarden et al., 2019, Fortunato, 2014). Rural entrepreneurs and organisations have different issues that urban organisations do not experience, the different aspect is the lack of clusters which has an impact on the third-tier cities' possibility of sharing common knowledge (Wijngaarden et al., 2020). Sharing

creative thoughts within the same buzzing sector is a clear advantage that urban organisations have because clusters and mutual collaborators within the same sector enhance the changes of tacit knowledge being shared (Wijngaarden et al., 2020). Moreover, as described by Drake (2003), location is important for entrepreneurs because of its ability to create motivation because of the buzz a creative cluster can have. Furthermore, urban organisation has an easier chance of attracting qualified employees because of the buzz mentioned before (Saxena, 2012). The employees are also easily attracted due to the higher education being situated in urban areas (Florida, 2012). The qualified employees who move to the rural areas of Denmark to obtain some peace run into different problems with the need for face-to-face meetings and the attachment to the bigger cities anyway due to their current network (Herslund, 2012). Location and the buzzing environment have a high influence on the employees' decision to pick their future jobs, which favours urban organisations (Florida, 2012). Because of the education and job opportunities being in the urban areas, the age of the inhabitants in the rural cities is generally higher than in the urban areas (Pateman, 2011). Even though rural organisations have issues regarding education and the possibilities of sharing knowledge within the same creative sector, rural areas have different aspects where they excel. Rural environments compensate for the lack of knowledge sharing by broadening their collaboration across different sectors (Gibson & Gordon, 2018). This is also supported by Steblay (1987) who described that rural environments have a higher tendency to have a helping behaviour, than urban environments. The location's impact on music festivals where exemplified by Higham & Ritchie (2001), in their research of rural festivals in New Zealand, here they concluded that the main problem of rural festivals was the lack of qualified employees or knowledge and the lack of resources applicable. These issues align with the problems regarding rural entrepreneurship described by Wijngaarden et al. (2020) and Pateman (2011).

2.4 The Relation Between Place, Institutionalisation and Music Festivals.

When reading previously conducted research involving music festivals, it is possible to divide them into two dominant categories. The first is the research regarding guest motivation to attend music festivals (Laing & Mair, 2015, Bowen & Daniels, 2005, Perron-Brault et al., 2020, Tan et al., 2020, Zhao, 2022) and the second is the music festivals' contribution to the local society both financially (Gibson, 2007, Paleo & Wijnberg, 2006) and socially (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018, Clayton, 2016, Moscardo, 2007). Most of the existing literature has been focused on what the festivals do for the society surrounding them, where research shows that all festivals are deeply embedded in the local community (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018) and the more the festivals have adapted to the

rules and norms in the community the more loyal is the guests (Chaney & Martin, n.d.). This is exemplified by Vestrum (2014) who mentions that festivals in rural areas incorporate villagers and external factors such as firms and volunteers in the decision-making. Other research has a consumer's perspective where it is the motivational aspect of attending that is in focus with a perspective on how consumer taste formation towards music (Tan et al. 2020) and social aspects shape the festival. As described earlier Laing and Mair (2015) do not regard the surrounding community as an important factor for the construction of the festival, their research showed that festivals are more focused on the portable societies as they are the income base for the festivals. This means that the music festival primarily uses surveys sent out to their guests to evaluate if the festival should consider changing some aspects of their product (Driscoll, 2015). This contrasts with Hjalager & Kwiatkowski (2018) who say that the festivals are embedded within their community. It can also be stated that guests have different purposes when attending festivals, from social motivations, the music, or curiosity (Bowen & Daniels, 2005, Perron-Brault et al., 2020), collectively it can be said that it has a positive impact on their well-being (Tan et al., 2020). As the two main research perspectives within music festivals have been thoroughly covered in previous literature, a missing aspect is the view Hjalager & Kwiatkowski (2018) propose which contrasts with Laing & Mair's results (2015). This paper therefore researches that gap, as current literature does not have a clear perspective on how the community attributes impact the organisational decisions within the festival. With the perspective of entrepreneurial place theory being different for rural and urban entrepreneurs (Clare, 2013, Fortunato, 2014, Pateman, 2011, Steblay, 1987), it also seems relevant to include this to music festivals so the perspective of the research on institutionalisation influence on music festivals has a binary stance. The changes in taste formation can be connected to music festivals as they practise normative isomorphism as described by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). Furthermore, a voluntary aspect has been covered by Clayton (2016), the research shown that satisfied volunteers lead to a repeat in volunteers. Clayton's (2016) research does not cover the volunteers' influence on decision-making, and since almost every festival in Denmark uses volunteers to some degree (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018), this subject seems reasonable to cover. To cover all these institutional perspectives, the IAD framework is a useful tool (Ostrom, 2009). Normally the IAD framework is primarily used to research policy and decision-making regarding common pool resources (Brodrectova et al., 2018, Hardy & Koontz, 2010, Nigussie et al., 2018, Wilkes-Allemand et al., 2015). In this paper, the IAD framework will help cover the underlying social trends (Furesten, 2013). The IAD framework will help to organise the

gathered data, hence making it more applicable to investigate if the differences in urban and rural entrepreneurship also are visible in the creation of festivals, hence claiming the opposite to Laing and Mair (2015) and hereby supporting Hjalager & Kwiatkowski's (2018) claim that music festivals are deeply embedded in the community while building on the theory by research the community's influence on the festival instead of only the opposite way around as previous research have done.

3 Methodology

The methodology of the thesis will in this chapter explain how the empirical research is conducted. Research has been conducted to answer the following research question.

How do institutional, social, and geographic differences influence the creation and development of music festivals in Denmark?

The methodology chapter will also help to gain an understanding of the criteria for the interviews as well as how these were analysed. Firstly, the chapter will give the reader an understanding of the assignment's philosophy, which explains the thesis's thought process and why this has affected the chosen research method. Secondly, the chapter will explain the strategy of the research and explain the objective of the research. Thirdly, a description of the chosen criteria for collecting the data will help the reader understand what the thought process of the interviews has been. Concerning this, a description of the analytic methods will be made as well. Lastly, the chapter will explain the operational problems the research has experienced by using rural and urban as a criterion for the comparative study, as the definition of urban and rural is not coherent in previous academic research.

3.1 Research Philosophy

The research philosophy is a description of the philosophical perspectives in which the research has been conducted and analysed. The philosophical perspectives used are social constructivism and hermeneutics. Social constructionism is a research philosophy where all the knowledge developed is constructed in a social context where reality is constructed on common assumptions. (Kim, 2014) In social constructionism, objectivity is a social construct where it always is dependent on the social concept the individual is in. Hence reality is created within social relations, language has a big influence on the perception of reality and within the language it is possible to understand social

norms and rules. Some of the rules and norms that have arisen through social activities can for the civil society within the community be seen as truths or values which are not questioned. (Kim, 2001) The use of social constructivism is important in this paper because social constructivism is regarded as meaningful when discussing processes and interpretations (Gammelgaard, 2017) Furthermore, as the IAD framework concerns social interactions and situations the perspective of social constructivism seems relevant to use (McGinnis & Ostrom, 2014) as it gives an understanding on how the interviewees gather knowledge and how the surrounding environment helps the interviews/organisation construct their reality (Kim, 2001). The thesis therefore has a close relation to the mindset described within social constructionism that knowledge, rules, and norms occur when people interact. The social constructivism theory states that knowledge and reality are constructed by interactions within the environment you live in. Combined with the academic literature on the differences in the environment between urban and rural areas by Wijngaarden et al. (2020), Drake (2003), Fortunato (2014), and Pateman (2011) it seems relevant to answer the research question by comparing the urban and rural festival results and relate them to the current academic literature. Because if social constructivist theory is correct the differences in the environment should have an impact on the reality of the festival, which would be visible in the comparison of the rural and urban festivals. Another research philosophy that is relevant to discuss is the hermeneutic approach. The reason hermeneutics is relevant is its ability to understand constructs and practises (Patterson & Higgs, 2015) For hermeneutics knowledge cannot be seen as objective or independent of the individual. Every message you read is interpreted by you, when you communicate the message to another individual the message is interpreted again (Gadamer, 2013). Therefore, every individual knows acknowledgement, and this influences decision-making and the interpretation they have. Therefore, every interviewee discusses themes related to the academic literature on institutions, collaboration, location and festivals. All these terms when described by the individual are influenced by the interviewee's previous knowledge, it is therefore important to be aware of the interviewee's background and previous experience to minimize conclusions that could be avoided. Moreover, hermeneutics is an ongoing process of gathering information and reevaluating previous knowledge, hence there is, therefore, no end goal (Debesay et al. 2008). The hermeneutic circle in this paper is used as a backbone of the knowledge the interviewed persons have, it is also used as a means to describe the process the IAD-framework illustrate. The IAD framework by Ostrom (2009) can be stated as an ongoing process where the outcome is processed and seen through the exogenous variables, and action arena again until there is another outcome,

making the IAD Framework a continuous process as the hermeneutic circle. An example of the circulating process of the IAD Framework could be illustrated by Wilson et al. (2017) definition of the music festival being a continuum. When a festival starts the festival is placed within a specific area, with a specific set of exogenous variables. The action arena is pre-determined and the interactions a limited. When the first outcome is achieved, i.e. profit, the feedback, interactions and evaluative criteria are returning to the action arena which can lead to outcomes related to the festival, this could be the size, new initiatives, structure etc. These outcomes can change the exogenous variables, the biophysical conditions can change due to size changes, community attributes can change due to new knowledge or inhabitants and rules-in-use could change due to the structure of the festival. This continuum process of the festival makes the analysis of applying the IAD framework to a festival challenging as the results of the IAD framework would change with the festival changing each year.

To avoid wrong conclusions the interviewee is asked about their background and experiences first. Furthermore, the interview guide is based on a deductive principle where academic articles and papers have been read through before conducting the interviews, so the interview questions are based on academic knowledge which can be compared to the data afterwards. The approach is therefore a process from theory to collecting data and hereby reevaluating the previous theory with the collected data.

3.2 Research Strategy

The research tries to investigate what effect the underlying rules and norms have on the construction of festivals, something that has not been widely reported. The thesis aims to gain an understanding of institutionalisation's influence on the construction and development of music festivals and how the differences between rural and urban festivals are embedded in these institutional theories. The purpose is not to describe urbanized areas as problems, but to analyse how the knowledge of institutional differences can help create opportunities and ideas in both rural and urban areas. The thesis wants to shed light on the knowledge that can be in both places, hence, the thesis will not discuss place as a limiting factor but discuss place and institutionalization effect on live events within the cultural industry with music festivals as an example. The research will be done by having a qualitative approach by conducting eight expert interviews with music festival organizers from the rural and urban parts of Denmark and examining these in context to already existing theories within institutionalization. Information about the interviewees can be seen in

Appendix 2. The information about the chosen festivals' attendance numbers, time of year, and location are visible in Table 1.

	Urban			Rural		
<i>Festival</i>	U1	U2	U3	R1	R2	R3
<i>Location</i>	Copenhagen	Copenhagen	Aarhus	Southern Jutland	Southern Jutland	Fyn
<i>Inhabitants (2022)</i>	800.000	800.000	355.000	7.500	22.000	800
<i>Attendance</i>	10.000	10.000	6.000	10.000	9.000	1.500
<i>Time of Year</i>	Summer	Summer	Spring	Summer	Summer	Summer
<i>Interviewees</i>	TN & LK	BF	AR & JM	SK	BL	LJ/VC

Table 1 An overview of the Interviewee's

Especially the IAD model made by Ostrom (2009) will be used to put the gathered data into context and help conceptualize the data into an understandable conclusion. The IAD framework has also been the structure of the interview guide (Appendix 1) as the interview guide has been structured so the questions are related to each of the elements from the IAD framework. The part of the interview guide in blue is the introduction question and the final remarks, they are intended to allow the interviewees to start with an easy and personal question. The orange part of the interviewee guide is the IAD framework elements. First is the establishment of the action arena, which includes the different action situations and participants. The next part of the orange is the establishment of the exogenous variables, which include biophysical environment, community attributes and rules-in-use. The third is the interactions, which include the interaction with the surrounding community which is the objective of the research. The last orange part is the evaluative criteria and feedback, this is how festivals establish when the festival is successful and how they receive feedback to evaluate their evaluative criteria properly. As the interviews are semi-structured the questions written in the interview guide (Appendix 1) and the sequence described may vary from interview to interview (Bryman, 2012). The semi-structured interview approach seems reasonable when looking at social constructionism and hermeneutic philosophy with the addition of the research question

being the research of the underlying institutionalisations and how to interpret them (Bryman, 2012, Ramsook, 2018). When looking at underlying rules, norms, knowledge, and approaches to problems, analysing the language is the best way to get an idea of how institutionalization impacts the organization. This gives the possibility to construct a table of the different and shared institutional norms that influence the creation of music festivals in Denmark.

The general objectives have been determined by the literature review and the societal and social relevance. The objective of the research is separated into six different objectives, which can be seen in Table 2, these align with the interview guides questioning. The first objective is related to the orange parts of the interview guide (Appendix 1) as the objective is to identify the institutional themes that can occur when creating a festival. The objectives 2-4 are focused on the presentation of the results and presenting the different institutional themes that were shown throughout the interviews. The last two objectives, 5-6, are the discussion of the established institutional themes, which both compare the results to the current literature and discuss how the different themes impact the structure of the festival.

Aims & Objectives	
<i>1</i>	Identify institutional themes from rural and urban areas that can have an impact on the creation of music festivals.
<i>2</i>	Estimate how the institutional differences affect the process of the music festival organisers.
<i>3</i>	Construct a visible representation of institutional norms mentioned by the music festival organizers.
<i>4</i>	Compare the identified institutional norms and identify how they affected the music festivals that have been interviewed.
<i>5</i>	Compare the gathered data to the current academic literature and investigate if there are differences.
<i>6</i>	Discuss if the differences are expected to have a substantial impact on the festival organizers work.

Table 2 Overview of Aims & Objectives

3.2.1 Data Collection Method

The collection of data has been carefully chosen to fit certain criteria. As the interviews are expert interviews it has not been gathered freely and will therefore not be classified as representative of all music festivals and creative events. The data should be seen as an example and insight towards how institutionalisations affect organisations within the live-performing creative industry (Döringer 2020). The criteria for the music festivals interviewed have been to find festivals of medium size, between 1500-10000 paying guests. The reason the festivals, chosen for this research, are medium-sized is that it is expected that these festivals have the best possibility to have a professional distance to the society they are constructed in, but also small enough that interactions with the civil society are necessary, either because of professional collaboration or simply because of local

attachment. Furthermore, the festivals chosen needed to be more than one day, as it is the criteria for the definition of festival in this thesis. Moreover, when the paper mentions music festivals, it must state that it is pop music festivals that are mentioned. Classical- and jazz music concept festivals have not been included, the goal where to find festivals that represented a variety of genres and therefore were willing to change their program if there was a demand for it.

The interviews conducted were all done on Teams and were around 45 minutes. The festivals chosen are three from rural areas of Denmark and three from urban areas. The three rural festivals are in different countryside in Denmark, two are located in the southern part of Jutland and the third is in Fyn. The three urban are in Aarhus and Copenhagen. All conducted interviews have been with experts within their field, as there are only a few festivals and the interviewee's profession has been in the leading positions, the interviews will be regarded as expert interviews (See Appendix 2 for more information). Interviewee 8, which is the eighth interview, was done with two interviewees within the same interview. The reasoning for this was, that when the interview started the invited interviewee had invited his fellow board member with him to answer the questions related to their organisation properly. To cancel the interview would potentially result in distrust from the interviewed individuals, negatively affecting the further interview process. The interview has not resulted in any different results regarding the conclusion, and both individuals interviewed within interview eight were board members and founders of the festival and can therefore still be regarded as experts. The different type of interview has not affected the results in a different direction but acted as supporting evidence for statements made by interviewee 7. The interviewees have been included as the same interviewee in Appendix 2 and both roles and pseudonyms are mentioned (See Appendix 2)

Expert interviews offer the possibility to interview participants with extensive knowledge regarding festivals, they have constructed festivals for several years and therefore know the ongoing circle of producing festivals (Van Audenhove & Donders, 2019), which relates to the hermeneutic circle and knowledge a priori. In relation to social constructivism expert interviews are in a position within the festival organisations where they have important roles in the decision-making and evaluation of the festival (Döringer, 2020). Furthermore, the social constructivist also acknowledges that the knowledge that the expert possesses is not exclusively from insights or academic disciplines but may arise from local knowledge private as well as professional (Döringer, 2020). Therefore, the language they use regarding volunteers and collaborators' interference in this process of deciding makes them relevant as they know who is involved in this process.

The difference between the rural and urban festivals is that all the rural festivals offer guests the possibility to sleep at the location, whereas none of the urban does the same. As it is not possible to attract only local guests and expect guests to buy hotels this had to be an expected variable.

3.2.2 Data Analysis Method

To analyse the data that has been collected through the interviews, different analytic programs will be used. To start with, Teams helped do the transcripts, which allowed transcribing the interviews while the interviews were conducted. The transcript still must be read again to see if there have been any mistakes. After all the interviews have been transcribed it will be possible to place them all within Atlas.Ti and code the interviews. The coding will be analysed with a thematic analysis. The thematic analysis is done to interpret how the interviewees talk about important participants within their organisation (Bryman, 2012). As with social constructivism language is how reality is constructed, hence a thematic analysis of the interviewee's use of language related to volunteers and collaborators is done. Furthermore, the thematic analysis will also look at urban and rural differences in regard to the elements of the IAD framework, so the thematic analysis wishes to identify the themes that are determined within the IAD framework so the objective of comparing rural and urban festivals is easier to visualize, which also illustrate the problematics of the binary classification of urban and rural (Bryman, 2012). As the objective is to gain an understanding of how institutionalisation impacts the creation of music festivals, it seems relevant to look at how the organisers of the festivals talk about different aspects of institutional theory. The reason the approaches have been chosen is concerning language's importance in describing different themes and opinions. The analysis of the interviews will therefore be done by coding the interviewee's answers into three different themes and look how they communicate these themes.

With the IAD framework as the base for the interview guide the coding has been done by using the exogenous variables, action arena, interactions, evaluative criteria, feedback and outcomes (Appendix 3). After the first coding process was done with the elements from the IAD framework, the coding was reevaluated where it was clear that volunteers and collaborators were themes that crossed different sections of the IAD framework. Therefore, the coding was done a second time to code the interview in relation to these two themes and ensure that all aspects of the two themes were included in the results (See Appendix 3). The two themes became visible as they were represented in several of the sections within the IAD framework when the first coding process was done. They were visible both in the exogenous variables and action arena, and as the objective is to

identify how the community influence the festival, the combination of volunteers and collaborators being represented within the community attributes and action arena the themes became desirable to research. The third theme urban/rural became visible prior to coding as the missing classification of what is urban and what is rural. The memos attached to the codes used were in the classification of urban/rural as complex as the academic definitions. Therefore, a theme and discussion regarding the complexity of using a binary classification as rural and urban in a comparative study seemed relevant.

3.3 Operational Problems & Multiple Definitions

As the paper is a comparative study where the consequences of the festival's location are discussed and compared, it seems rather fitting to explain what the definition of urban and rural theory is and what other academic literature has described what influences the location of an organisation has on the organisations' possibility to evolve. The academic literature is in disagreement when an area can be seen as a rural area, Pateman uses the definition that every area under 10000 inhabitants (Pateman, 2011) can be regarded as rural, but he also mentions that in the UK some also suggests that cities between 3500-10000 cannot be regarded as rural. Cities with over 10000 inhabitants can be regarded as rural or non-metropolitan areas depending on which criteria you use (Beshiri et al., 2002). Denmark does not have a clear definition of when an area is regarded as rural (OECD, 2020) Statistics Denmark describes an urban area as an area where there are at least 200 inhabitants and the distance between the buildings is less than 200 meters (Petersen, n.d.). The unclear definition of urban and rural areas can also be defined by the social opportunities in the area (Long et al., 2021), this can be a lack of access to hospitals, educational institutes and governmental institutions (Castle, 1998 & Budge, 2006). Commonly the definition of rural areas is that they have a relatively sparse population and are independent from urban systems (Castle, 1998 & Budge, 2006). This paper will use the definition of rural cities as cities that are independent of urban areas and have around 10.000 inhabitants and under 100.000 inhabitants. These cities also have the name third-tier cities, which is the area between metropolitan and rural areas (Wijngaarden et al., 2019). Urban areas are typically defined as areas bigger than 100000 inhabitants (Beshiri et al., 2002), which would be the four biggest cities in Denmark. It therefore also seems fitting to define urban areas on behalf of subsidies from the Ministry of Culture. Table 3 describes how much per cent the four biggest cities in Denmark receive in public subsidize, in percentage, for music-related purposes. Furthermore, the table also shows how much of the population, in percentage, the four biggest cities in Denmark have. The numbers are calculated based on numbers from Statistics Denmark.

Payment, Music, Ministry of culture	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
<i>Copenhagen*</i>	35%	35%	38%	34%	35%	35%	36%	44%
<i>Odense</i>	8%	9%	8%	7%	8%	8%	8%	6%
<i>Aarhus</i>	20%	20%	19%	17%	19%	16%	19%	19%
<i>Aalborg</i>	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	10%	7%	5%
<i>Denmark Total</i>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Payment to the fourth biggest cities in DK	70%	71%	71%	66%	69%	69%	70%	75%

Population, total	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
<i>Copenhagen*</i>	13%	13%	13%	13%	14%	14%	14%	14%
<i>Odense</i>	3%	3%	3%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
<i>Aarhus</i>	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%
<i>Aalborg</i>	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
<i>Denmark Total</i>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total population the four biggest cities	26%	26%	26%	26%	27%	27%	27%	27%

**Copenhagen is the areas, Copenhagen, Frederiksberg, Tårnby and Dragør*

Table 3 Subsidies from the DK Ministry of Culture (Statistics Denmark, n.d.)

The numbers clearly show that around 27% of the population in Denmark received around 75% of the possible subsidize from the Ministry of Culture. The big economic difference between the four biggest cities and the rest of the population supports the definition that the non-metropolitan/rural areas in Denmark have less access to governmental funds and governmental systems. A clear definition of urban and rural areas is hard to find, hence in this research the definition will be that urban areas are regarded as cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, whereas rural are the cities under 100,000.

3.4 Methodology Summary

The research conducted has been with the objective of establishing the different institutional differences and their impact on music festivals. This will be done through a comparative study based on eight semi-structured expert interviews distributed across six different festivals. Three of the festivals are based in urban parts of Denmark and three are in rural parts of Denmark. The methodology for the research conducted has been from a social constructivism and hermeneutic stance. Where the interviews and research methods have been establishing the use of language regarding different themes and the continual re-evaluation of the festival's outcome and structure. The data gathered from the interviews have been coded in an inductive manner, where the elements in the IAD framework have been used as coding mechanisms. The coding results resulted in three different themes: Volunteers, Collaborators and Urban/rural. The two themes' volunteers and collaborators were adapted to the interviews by coding with the themes in manner, whereof the

theme urban/rural were based on the disagreement within academic literature of what urban and rural which therefore seemed relevant to discuss the implications of this.

4 Results & Discussion

The following chapter will present the results and discuss how the results relate to the theory presented in the literature review. The results will be based on eight expert interviews separated between six festivals. The interviews are split between three festivals from the urban part of Denmark and three from the rural parts of Denmark. Information and names regarding the music festivals are visible in Table 3. The table includes the location of the festival, the festival name used, the attendance, the time of year and the pseudonyms of the interviewees representing the festival. The pseudonyms are what they will be referenced to when a quotation occurs.

	Urban			Rural		
<i>Festival</i>	U1	U2	U3	R1	R2	R3
<i>Location</i>	Copenhagen	Copenhagen	Aarhus	Southern Jutland	Southern Jutland	Fyn
<i>Inhabitants (2022)</i>	800.000	800.000	355.000	7.500	22.000	800
<i>Attendance</i>	10.000	10.000	6.000	10.000	9.000	1.500
<i>Time of Year</i>	Summer	Summer	Spring	Summer	Summer	Summer
<i>Interviewees</i>	TN & LK	BF	AR & JM	SK	BL	LJ/VC

Table 4 Information about the festivals and interviewee pseudonyms

First, the action arena will be established as the participants and action situations of the music festivals differ. It will show how the action arena is structured within urban and rural festivals and what they share, which will clarify why the three themes chosen were relevant.

Afterwards, the results will be separated into three different themes, the first is the volunteers, the second is collaborators and the third is urban/rural. The volunteers are discussed as the volunteers are represented in all festivals, but also a representation of the community the festival

is situated in. It therefore is a relevant theme to concentrate on when discussing the community's influence on the structure of the festival. The same can be said about the collaborators. The collaborators will be explained further, but the intention is to show who the festivals collaborated with across industries and how these collaborators influence the festival from a collaborator to festival perspective. Included in the theme collaborators will the corporate social responsibility (CSR) also be presented as urban and rural music festivals are aware of their responsibilities therefore CSR and the perspective from collaborators to music festival can show a mutual exchange of goods. The last theme urban/rural discusses the binary classification of urban and rural festivals, as the concept may be more complicated than the binary classification. The urban/rural theme will broaden the concept of rural and urban music festivals and place it in context to urban/rural organisations and the current conceptualisation of what is rural and urban.

4.1 Volunteers

The chapter will include a presentation on how the festivals use volunteers and how they are incorporated into the festival structure. The structure will also present how the festivals influence decisions and the structure the volunteers have been placed within. Volunteers are important as they through the coding process were visible in several of the aspects of the IAD framework, they were included among the participants of the festival, established rules both written and informal, were a part of the community attributes and as evaluative criteria and place of feedback, all with several interaction points between the festival and its volunteers. All the festivals use volunteers to some degree, the volunteers are primarily from the area in which the festival is situated, even though some of them for instance, R1, which has a few volunteers from Norway and R3 where most of the volunteers from the area have moved. The volunteers besides being part of the festival also in rural festival uses the festival as a community and a place to hang out. In R1, the kids to the volunteers come and play at the site, the festival also has a high degree of loyalty among their volunteers, some have been with them for almost 50 years. At R3, kids participate as well, there is always room for a beer and a chat, and several volunteers are there from the start. The special thing about volunteering at R2 is that the festival does not have strict rules for which amount the volunteers can work; *“I think one of our really good helpers who is plus 100 hours, he says. I'm not doing anything throughout the year, I'm not playing soccer, I'm not going to do anything. My spare time is around the festival, so he was actually one of them who will take off work seven days”* (BL), the volunteers help out as much as they can. The same can be said about the festival R3, which is one big party for themselves. The volunteers have been their friends and their friend's friends, and their biggest

concern is; *“that we end up in a situation where people don't like each other, or they don't, you know, work very well with each other and I think that will happen if you start getting like random people in who's never talked before”* (LJ). The rural festivals talked about community feeling, fun and belonging as some of their main points when talking about volunteering and the community volunteer creates. The outlier regarding the use of volunteers is the festival U2 which does not use a lot of volunteers, as the biophysical environment makes the use of volunteers difficult, due to the site location; *“if you go into the metro train, you can't have 100 volunteers”* (BF). U2 instead uses a limited number of volunteers of 15 in their educational program and their curator group. The educational program is most comparable to the other festivals' use of volunteers, the volunteers follow the planning and structure a couple of months before the festival starts so they get an insight into the orchestration of the festival. The educational program is applied to volunteers within a tight-knit group and does represent the community but is more like an education. The festivals U1 and U3 have employed personnel who are hired to take care of the volunteers when they are at work, within these two festivals the volunteers primarily work within the festival days or at build-up. At U1 the volunteers only work within the festival and U3 have a few key volunteers who have responsibilities that stretch over the full year: *“she's [The volunteer] kind of coming in doing the year especially right up to the festival and she's kind of a key volunteer”* (AR). Both festivals take in applicants as the way they attract volunteers, the same can be said about R1. The festivals R1 and U3 also actively try to attract volunteers either from sports clubs, boarding schools or educational institutions. For the festivals U1 and U3 the volunteers offer their workforce and are awarded with a festival ticket and food and drinks, the responsibilities and decisions are divided among the paid personnel and therefore are not placed on the volunteers. The festivals U1 and U3 have similar volunteer structures where the volunteers are placed underneath some paid personnel within the festival organisation, where they are divided into different work groups, U3 exemplifies this: *“We work with three different kinds of volunteers [...] the technical one, the social one, and the creative one”* (JM). The division of labour within the volunteer group is also visible in the organisations R1, R2 and R3 but opposite U3 and U1 the structure in the rural festivals offers volunteers a more managerial role within the festival organisation. At the festival R1, which has 3200 volunteers, where 200 of the volunteers have managerial roles, each division in the festival has its own manager which results in 15 division leaders. Besides the 5 volunteer leaders, R1 has included the term AB-managers, which means that each section within the division has an A-leader who is in charge, and when the A-leader is not there the B-leader takes over. Even though R1 has a festival office as with

U1 and U3s the volunteers, due to their managerial roles, the volunteers have a saying when the festival board wants to go in a certain direction SK said:

“The most difficult thing is that you have 3200 people that also own the festival, so you can't just say this way guys. When you have volunteer managers, the first thing they say ... if they are not satisfied or you want to do some changes, it's always baby step. There's a lot of communication around everything you do because the first cut they will throw with, I'll just quit” (SK)

Due to the volunteer structure, R1 must gather a following before decisions are made within the volunteer group to maintain their volunteers. The structure forces the festival *“to have long conversations sometimes about something and of course, it is great because they really feel a big responsibility, but the downside is it takes a really a lot of time that could have spent doing development, but there of course when you are working with volunteers that is a difficult part”* (SK). The festival sees itself as one big community where kids, parents and employees all interact with each other throughout the year. Similar volunteer structures and inclusion as with R1 can be found in the festivals R2 and R3. The special about the festivals R2 and R3 is that they are completely voluntarily based, hence there is no employed staff. The reasoning that they are completely volunteer lies in their beliefs, R2 is an old grassroots festival; *“it's like a family, like returning back to your family. I think that the amazing part about being a volunteer is that you meet across a lot of classes”* (BL) and for R3 the volunteering is in the agenda of the festival: *“We want to keep that within the festival, that it's us making it for ourselves and by us”* (LJ). R2 has divided their structure into three sections, the board, the second level, and the third level. The second level consists of 17-20 managers from different sections within the festival much like the division's leaders in R2. The third level is the rest of the volunteers. The structure was decided three years back by the volunteers to minimize the number of meetings, this was done by show of hands. The volunteer decides on their new structure in their groups and their manager takes it to level two. At R3 they have almost the same structure, a board, managers and volunteers, which is around 350. The big difference is that R3 does not have the second level of decision-making. LJ said *“We make decisions kind of in collaboration but also we do the sketching of the ideas within smaller groups. Then we bring it to everyone”* (LJ) the small groups are the different divisions such as the kitchen. The volunteers discuss the decisions in plenum and reach an agreement through that, LJ mentioned that they *“try to listen [...] what's going around and then we take this information from the*

evaluation and from what we we've been hearing and experiencing from last year's festival" (LJ), but furthermore the board do not want to shoot any ideas down as long as they are in line with the rest of the volunteers and possible with the festivals budgeting. The results have shown that the urban festivals, U1, U2 and U3 volunteer control and inputs are primarily from a top-down approach, where the volunteers are placed within a structure where they work. In the rural festivals, R1, R2, and R3, the festivals tend to make decisions based on what the volunteers want to do as long as it is financially responsible, making their decisions more bottom-up. The differences between the rural and urban is primarily the approach, but as described with paid employees the festival R1 has agendas which they need to convince the volunteers about, therefore, the bottom-up approach is not completely fitting for this festival as there are several decisions coming from the top.

When looking at the different approaches to the volunteers several similarities can be drawn from current literature. The focus will first be on the criteria for the festival. As a festival should be related to the environment they are located within (Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018), all festivals apart from U2 are succussing in this, as the main amount of the volunteers are from the local area. The exception regarding R3 is that none of the volunteers is embedded in the local environment anymore due to them moving away for educational purposes, but as four out of five founders are from the town they still have parents and family living in the neighbourhood. The specific difficulties in the biophysical environment for R3 create problems regarding the connection between the volunteers and the community. As the festival's embedment within the community creates loyalty amongst their volunteers (Anderton, 2019, Chaney & Martin, n.d.) the number of volunteers who have been there since the start (+30 years) at the festivals R1 and R2 suggest from Anderton (2019) perspectives that these two festivals have succeeded in the integration of the local community. Even though their age can be regarded as loyalty the problems arise as the community attribute in these rural areas suggests that the high age of the volunteers is not changing supporting Pateman (2011) that the age of inhabitants is higher. The integration of the community's rules and norms can be further classified by criterion four by Hjalager & Kwiatkowski (2018) where the festivals should act as local gatherings is highly visible from a volunteer perspective in the rural festivals. At R1 and R2, the volunteers gather throughout the year, with room for beers and chats. The same social aspect is included in the festival R3 as the purpose of the festival is for the friends and families, i.e. the volunteers. Opposite the rural are the three urban, the social aspect within the urban volunteer group is not prioritised. The societal aspect of these festivals does not lay within the

volunteers. The volunteers are mostly defined as a workforce who get compensation for their work with festival tickets, food and drinks. The volunteer within the rural festivals is a bottom-up approach in terms of suggestions and decisions, this un-written rule within the festivals R2 and R3 is highly valued. The volunteers within R2 and R3 rules do not have a specific set of payoff rules (Ostrom, 2009, 2010) due to them being completely voluntary. The rules regarding workload, when you are working/not working are primarily based on what is best fitting for the situation. The societal trends (Furesten, 2013) in these two festivals are that there should always be room for fun and chat, this thinking is the motivating factor of getting something done and working as the payoff rule in the end. The unwritten rules within R2 and R3 can also be connected with the terms family and friends as these two terms suggest that you have a responsibility to each other which extends from the community feeling. Regarding the payoff rules, it is the opposite for the festivals U1 and U3 as the volunteers have prior to the volunteer application agreed on what they going to get and how much they should work. This application process also suggests stronger boundary rules within the festivals U1, U2 and U3 as they have people employed to place the volunteers into specific positions and know specifically how many they need; hence the position rules are greatly defined as well. Both the boundary- and position rules are not greatly mentioned described at the festivals R2 and R3 as the volunteers at level 3 are mostly divided where there is a need for them. They have to some degree authority rules as they have implemented a board and second level of management, but the unwritten rules of a looser attitude towards suggestions, especially in the festival R3, may suggest that the authority rules are less implemented. This is the same with R2 as the volunteers in level 2 decide almost all decisions at the festivals. The decisions and suggestions mainly arise from the general volunteer and the authority rules within the festivals R3 and R2 are mostly on paper, but in reality, the roles are more fluently intertwined. The opposite can be said regarding the urban festivals in general, their authority approach is a top-down approach where the volunteers do not have a deciding vote towards improvement and decisions. The aggregation rules within the urban festivals are not the majority vote within the festival, but the decisions are based on the employees, which contrasts with R2 and R3 where decisions are based on show-of-hands and agreement amongst the volunteers. R1 has not been mentioned so far, as the rural festivals R2 and R2 are in direct contrast to the urban festivals U1, U2 and U3, the festival R1 is a mixture of all of them. R2 both uses the top-down approach as the office takes decisions which are enforced over the volunteers, but they cannot disregard the volunteer's opinions as they are deeply impeded within the festival in different managerial roles. Especially the position rules regarding the managerial roles of

the volunteers create a diverse communication process within the festival R1 as the communication is more fluent between the volunteers and the employees. The feeling of belonging from the volunteers and embedment of the festival within the community at the festival R1 has created unwritten rules that the festival is also the volunteers and the community's festival. The feeling of belonging complicates the aggregation rules (Ostrom, 2009, 2010) as the festival's decision process must include the volunteers' opinions even though they do not have a direct way of voting. Continuity for the festivals in combination with loyalty When looking at the IAD framework, the rules in use in the rural festivals directly influence how the action arena is laid out. The volunteer's position within the festivals, where volunteers are placed within managerial positions and the ideas rise from the bottom of the volunteer chain, forces the festival to have interactions with the volunteers on a decision level. Festivals at the rural level seem to incorporate the volunteers within the decisions and structure of the festival, which is a confirmation of the theory presented by Vestrum (2014). This involvement and position – and authority rules make the volunteer's satisfaction a part of the evaluative criteria, which would suggest an impact on the outcome of the festival as well, where the satisfaction of the volunteers is more valued within the rural festivals than in the urban festival which creates repetition in volunteers (Clayton, 2016). These outcomes are mainly seen in the rural festivals R2 and R3 as they are volunteers, but also within the festival R1 where the employees are paid the structure and volunteer involvement is more alike with R2 and R3. It is not like the urban festivals do not value volunteer satisfaction, but the top-down approach does not have a specific effect on the outcome of the festivals. The urban festivals therefore can develop their festival more freely in terms of the interests of the employees as the volunteer's role within the action arena is primarily as a workforce. As R2 and R3 were mostly influenced by volunteers, as they are volunteer festivals this would be easy to suggest that this was the only reason. R3 is a small festival so it could be due to size, but as R2 is the third biggest festival participating the size of the festival is not the only element. Their being completely volunteer is a factor, but as R1 shows the rural festivals have incorporated the volunteers in their decision process more than the urban even with paid personnel and the same size.

4.2 Collaborators

The collaborators should be understood as the participants involved in the action arena. The participants can act as both providers and producers for the festival. This part will illustrate how the different festivals use collaborators and compare how they use them against each other. The chapter will also place the findings into the already established literature on urban and rural

entrepreneurship as well as its influence within the IAD framework. One of the main collaborators who were active across all festivals was the municipality where the festival was located. The only festival that did not have a lot of communication with their municipality was R3, they felt that due to their rural location, the municipality was not interested in them: “[the municipality] want, you know, to have the funds surrounded around the bigger cities” (LJ). Except for them the rest of the festivals had a close relationship with the municipalities. The urban festivals had close relationships in regard to location and infrastructure as the cities would be pressured when the festivals were happening, which forced them to have close interactions with the municipalities as the festivals have an impact on the city both regarding transportation and crowd control. The same connection can be said with R1 and R2, especially with R2 who also in collaboration with the municipality welcomes new citizens into their community. In combination with the municipalities the festivals U3, U2 and R1 have collaboration with the state i.e. Art Foundation of Denmark, in which they get compensated financially to create and develop the festivals. Besides the governmental institutions, two important collaborating partners the festivals use are business partnerships and educational institutions. Business partnerships can be understood as firms from the community or outside the community. Festival U1 have different business partners, for the festival, the important factor is the partners; “We look for partners who will involve themselves in the festival and who will bring us something that lifts the festival to another level” (LK). The partners have to offer something to the festival's atmosphere and experience. The business partnerships the festival U1 collaborate with are carefully considered with this focus in mind. Furthermore, U1 have collaborations with local schools and education institutions, this is the hotel & restaurant school that helps develop a new and improved type of festival dish, where the best dish will be served at the festival. Moreover, they are in collaboration with the local gymnasium regarding the aesthetics of the festival fence. The corporations with educational institutions are shared with U2 who have a summer school at Copenhagen University where the participants learn about urban events. Both U1 and U2 work with the educational institutions in regard to projects or education, the festivals R2 cooperate with the local school by getting breakfast there throughout the festival days; “We have a whole group, actually, a nearby school, who uses this as a project to make our food for the whole building process. So they make breakfast, they make lunch and make dinner for us, cake in the afternoon” (BL). The festivals R1, R3 and U3 do not cooperate with educational institutions, but R1 improves their brand by being visible at the local educational institutions, R3 shares knowledge with other local festivals by explaining how you develop a festival, something U2 also does, and U3 have their

own educational program where they teach young professionals. For the festivals R3 and R1 local businesses play a big role in establishing the festival. For R1 the local business feels a responsibility towards the success of the festival says SK *"Local businesses are really good to us"* (SK) and they offer manpower and knowledge. The local businesses release their employees so they can work on the festival while still getting some kind of salary, the firms also work within the festival for instance; *"when we are building the place, we have a building on site called Little Dublin. It's been renovated this year, and we have I think 4 different partners that went in together to help us do this task"* (SK). For the festival R3, the local businesses are where you borrow stuff for the festival, they mentioned *"I think people are just happy to help"* (LJ). The interaction between the festival and the local businesses is informal level, where it is normally people they know or somebody they know knows. This type of collaboration extends down to the community as *"the soul of the town is volunteering there's a lot of volunteering in the community. So, and if have like a big garden you make it public"* (LJ). The collaboration with local firms and neighbourhood is one big organisation where everybody helps a little bit to enrich the possibilities of the festival. As the biophysical conditions for the festivals U3 and U2 are different as they do not have site-specific locations, more specifically located within the city, their partnerships extend to music venues and churches as well. For U3 the music venues control some of their programs themselves which is included in the festival offering the music venue the opportunity to have control over some of their own program. For U2 churches and old water reservoirs have been used to enhance the experience of attending the festival, U2 controls what is on, but the collaborating partners gain exposure and guests through the festival's audience. Using space around the city is something R3 is considering for the future *"Next year we will maybe implement the church as a venue for the festival where can get some visual arts and maybe some sound art and stuff like that. So, you we try to make use of the village and its beauty"* (LJ)

When looking at the different collaborators highlighted for the different festivals. It will be possible to differentiate them into the category's provider and producers by Vincent Ostrom (See pdf). The festivals U1, U2, U3, R1 and R2 have the municipality as a collaborator. For the festivals U2 and U3 the municipality can be regarded as a provider of the festival due to them supporting the festival economically, the two festivals also have governmental institutions that have collaborators where the same can be mentioned. Given the provider role of the governmental institutions, the festivals have underlying rules they have to apply to, given these rules the festivals are underlying a normative isomorphism from the governmental state where they need to create

practises that fit the rules they have to follow. The indirect environment from the providers therefore has a direct impact on the structure and development of these two firms. For the festival U1, R1 and R2 the municipality acts as a participant for the festivals as through interaction the exchange of knowledge develops the festival in a positive direction. Knowledge sharing via collaborators is the most common regarding the festivals, both U1 exchange knowledge with the hotel & restaurant school, in that case, it is not possible to talk about a provider or producer as the festival provides knowledge for the school, whereof in exchange the school produce and supply the meals for the festival. The festivals as providers of knowledge are typically in their knowledge sharing of previous experiences, this concerns the festivals U1, U2, and R3. Both for the urban and rural festivals knowledge is being shared across the same industry even when the firms are not clustered according to Wijngaarden et al. (2020). The festivals seem to attract knowledge and share knowledge regarding their location, which suggests that knowledge sharing is a common theme across rural and urban festivals. When looking at the business collaborations the festivals have, it becomes clear that the urban and rural distinction is bigger. The urban festivals mainly function as producers for the collaborators, where the drinks companies and business partners are based on their addition to the experience. When it comes to the festivals R1 and R3 the role of the local businesses is different from the U1. They experience that the local collaborators act as producers of the festival as well as providers. The local businesses help create some parts of the festival when it is needed which influence the festival's visual look. If they provide a service or produce is difficult, but to some degree, they do both, as SK mentioned the local businesses feel a responsibility for the festival because it affects them positively. With R3 the high degree of helping behaviour within the local community as a collaborator and the local businesses does that they can be regarded as providers for the festival. The community attributes the collaborators shown within the festivals R1 and R3 suggest high degrees of helping behaviour and recognition across industries which is more likely to happen in rural areas (Stebly, 1987). The festivals U3 and U2 use local collaborators within the creative sector to broaden their festivals into different experiences. Importantly as the audience does not come only for the music (Bowen & Daniels, 2005) this has shown as an important factor for the festivals. The collaboration with different vendors changes the role of the festival from a producer to a provider, especially in U3's case where the music venues have a degree of autonomy. When speaking about collaborators it is difficult to differentiate the rural and urban in regard to their embedment within the community. Hjalager & Kwiatkowski's (2018) claim that festivals are embedded seems reasonable. The collaborators operate as a part of the biophysical

environment as they are located where the festival is happening, this especially concerns all festivals except U1. To some degree the collaborators also show the community attributes the society surrounding the festivals has, with the rural festivals R1 and R3 being the best examples. The switch from being close to the festival to producing for the festival is an important distinction as the festivals suddenly have to behave in accordance with the collaborators in their area. This is not specifically related to R1 and R3, but also to the festival R2, U3 and U2. But since U2 and U3 have several other options in their biophysical environment (Florida, 2012) the damage a bad relationship would have on the rural festival would be greater.

4.3 The Classification of Urban and Rural

As the action arena is the most important part of the IAD framework and the thesis purpose is to compare urban and rural festivals (See Table 2), a presentation of the action arena across the rural and urban will be presented to compare urban and rural and establish differences and commons in their action arena. The different kinds of action situations the urban described throughout their interview are that they have different meetings with collaborating firms, within the organisation and of course the festival. (LK, JM). The common ground for every festival is the festival due to all exchanges in the market occurring in connection to the festival. At the urban festivals, U1 and U3 the action situations are mostly set within the festival, regarding volunteers and guests and it is also here the official exchange with collaborators exists. It can be further noticed that the exchange of knowledge and goods between departments within these urban festivals exists throughout the year as it is in these meetings the participants exchange views and improvements but always concerning the festival. In the rural festivals, every exchange is also done in connection to the festival, they have volunteer meetings (SK, BL), attend fairs (SK), and participate in knowledge sharing with the municipality, collaborators and within the organisation. As these micro-action situations are all happening in relation to the music festival, the analysis will see these micro-action situations as interactions between participants which is highly important to be aware of as they are their action situations, regarding interaction with volunteers and collaborating firms.

The participants within the action arena are the individuals or organisations who influence the music festival. All festivals both urban and rural have similar participants, these include an audience, volunteers and different firms who they collaborate with. Music festivals U1, U2, U3 and R1 all have employees who are employed all year round to manage the music festivals' interests and organisational missions. Festivals R2 and R3 are completely volunteer-driven and

therefore have a board, even though the other festivals have employees R1 and U2 also have boards that help determine the mission and planning of the festival. Furthermore, the urban festivals all have a close relation to the municipalities where they are located, which R1 and R2 also have. U3 and U2 receive funding from their respective municipality and therefore have a close economic relation to them as well, moreover, the two music festivals also receive funding from the State Art Foundation. Another participant is educational institutions, which both U1, U2, R1 and R2 have collaborations with the collaboration and their involvement will be received further clarification in the chapter about collaborators. All the participants involved in the urban and rural festivals are shown in Table 3.

The urban and rural classifications in terms of the action arena have more complexity than a simple binary comparison. The festivals participating have several things that they share. They share a way of interacting with their audiences, through social media platforms and audience surveys. The festivals send out surveys to the audience to establish an evaluation loop from an audience perspective, the festival R2 interviewee BL explains the purpose of these; *“We always think audience experience, and that’s what you experience when you are on the festival, what kind of foods can you get, what are the beverage prices”* (BL), additionally the same thinking exist within the festival U1 who *“engage a lot it is good to see what people feel about what we are doing”* (LK). The festivals are in opposite categories in terms of rural and urban, but for both, they value the audience experience highly. All the festivals interact with their audience through audience surveys etc. as the audience’s perspective is valued when creating the festival. The only festival that does not send out audience surveys is U2 as the biophysical condition of the festival, being that the festival is primarily free and has multiple locations within Copenhagen, instead they *“either select a few key targets or do qualitative interviews with them”* (BF). The audience experience makes sense as previous academic literature has mentioned that audiences have different motivations for why they attend music festivals (Tan et al. 2020, Bowen & Daniels, 2005, Perron-Brault et al., 2020). The festival U1 established their festival based on being a Copenhagen festival:

“When we looked into this at the start, we became very quickly aware that the people in Copenhagen haven't got the time to take three days out of their diary and spend 3 days at a festival they want to. We're trying to provide them, come and have a look at the day you want to have your party, the day you want to have the experience and then go home and look after the family” (LK)

The purpose of the festival is to make room for the audience’s busy schedule. The other two urban festivals present different new initiatives and present interesting music for the audiences; *“the*

purpose of the festival is to work with Danish and Nordic music for the Danish and international music business and so that's kind of our primary role within the industry" (AR) and with the festival U2 the purpose is much alike U3, the audience here is described as curious and willing to try new things the same is mentioned by the people behind U3. Extending the audience and the surrounding community the festivals act on social responsibility as their way to interact with the local communities. The CSR is more from the festival to the community, which is a one-way communication. The CSR initiative is established in all of the festivals for educational purposes as mentioned in U2. U3 also support local initiatives through education, which brings up new local talents within technical and organisational perspectives in the music industry,

"Then they go to the festival to learn how to and get experience and how to make a concert and how to set it up and then they can go back to their cities and have new knowledge and network".

Another CSR initiative is local collaborations which U1 is well aware of its importance as a modern festival; *"Obviously one of the environmental inputs was the social side of our festival. What are we actually doing for anybody apart from providing music and making a lot of noise and a lot of rubbish?"*. As with the festivals U1, U2 and U3, the educational purposes of the festival and community engagement support their purpose of being the festival they are, which is included in their evaluative criterion. The other festivals R1 and R2 create CSR by donating their profit to initiatives in their local areas; *"if we make a million bucks, we have to give it back to the community"* (BL), the CSR initiatives are either donating or creating value for the community the like the three urban festivals.

The audience development and idea of creating and meeting the audience on their needs suggest that especially in urban areas consumers attend festivals on the basis of being open to discoveries (Perron-Brault et al., 2020). The music programme matters within these urban festivals, but the curiosity described by BF is well integrated into the social norms. The integration of the social norms and rules in these festivals suggests that especially the festivals in the urban areas practise normative isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) in a way to develop recognition and legitimacy. The adaptation of the social norms and rules shapes the festival, for instance, U1 sold tickets for only one day as the community were too busy to attend for three full days. The adaptation of normative isomorphism in regard to the audience is coherent within all the festivals, as the legitimacy of the audience creates better conditions for profit. With the profit, R1 and R2 support their legitimacy with the use of CSR. CSR can be used as a way to interact with the institutional actors in a way to achieve legitimacy through normative isomorphism as supporting the

local community is seen as a "good way of acting". The results suggest that the surrounding community is not an important factor for the urban festival regarding decision-making. They interact in the survey and use CSR as they are aware of their responsibilities to the local environment. The communication between the actors is one-way communication where the festivals do not receive direct consequences for their lack of actions. They lose legitimacy, which with the number of audiences available does not seem to be problematic. The rural festival is also depending on normative isomorphism as the audience is the main support for the festival's survival, but as the volunteers are integrated within the festival's immediate environment with the volunteers having leading roles coercive isomorphism is only secondary. Coercive isomorphism is a way to create profits to develop the local community even further through funding. R1 especially practises this by integrating local traditions within their festival structure as it creates loyalty within their consumer group (Chaney & Martin, n.d.) adding to their legitimacy.

The Relation Between Themes: Volunteers, Collaborators and Urban/Rural

Hjalager & Kwiatkowski (2018) claim that music festivals are embedded in the community they are situated in can be supported from different perspectives. When looking at the volunteer influence on the rural festivals the volunteers possess important managerial roles within the organisation. As the volunteers are primarily based within the community they have a great interest in the festival's success. The rural festivals' willingness to involve volunteers in the decision-making process (Vestrum, 2014) creates the bridge between the community attributes and the festival. This interest results in loyalty (Clayton, 2016) and willingness to participate in all levels of the festivals, these position rules (Ostrom, 2009, 2010) create several interactions between the festival organisation and the volunteers, in which the volunteers are in a position where the need to be met is a valid demand because of their importance. The volunteer's satisfaction becomes in the rural festival an established un-written rule (Grossman, 2018) within the festival organisation, where attributes such as helping behaviour, family, and having fun are not only community attributes but also the payoff rules for participating as a volunteer. The volunteer's opinion becomes an evaluative criterion, which can be evaluated and affect the outcome of the festival. As with the festivals R1, R2, and R3 if it does not comply with the general opinion amongst the volunteers they threaten to quit. As with R2 and R3, the volunteer's opinion has become a rule to apply by, it being an aggregation rule that the majority decides which way the festival moves. Especially with the festival R3, the majority decides by show of hands. R3 is where the community attributes are forced the most throughout the

volunteer group and into the festival, a distinction that supports Hjalager & Kwiatkowski's (2018) claim that the smaller the festival the more it is embedded within the community. The flow of communication within these festivals is a bottom-up approach where the opinions and improvements are raised from the bottom of the volunteer groups to the deciding parties. The main change to the organisation happens between the institutional actors. The small outlier is R1 as the only rural festival with paid personnel, the bottom-up approach does not always apply. Furthermore, the community attributes become visible from a collaborator's point of view as well. AS with R3 and R1 the collaborators are not only providing the goods for the festival, but they are also an integrated part of the festival structure. This integration within the festival structure, as with the volunteers, symbolises for the festival a great deal of helping behaviour and loyalty to the festival. The mixture of providing and producing as the collaboration firms create a lot of interactions between the festivals, which enhances the communication flow to a more informal level. When the business collaborates are local the community attributes are kept intact which is demonstrated in both the festivals R1 and R3.

As with the rural festivals, the urban festivals use volunteers as a part of their festivals. The exception is U2, who only has a chosen few. The structure behind the festivals U1 and U3 is different from the rural festivals as the volunteer is not placed in managerial roles and is guided by paid volunteer coordinates who define the position- and boundary rules for the volunteers. The approach from the urban festivals is a top-down approach where the volunteer's role in the decisions is non-existent. The volunteers' opinion is not part of the evaluative criteria for these festivals as they use the volunteers as a workforce in which they have agreed to their payoff roles before they start as volunteers. The urban festivals' evaluative criteria are more similar to Laing and Mair's (2015) claim that music festivals are more likely to listen to the travelling audience when deciding how the festival should be structured. As described earlier the festivals both urban and rural conduct surveys to change their product (Driscoll, 2015). In regard to urban festivals, this survey is the main evaluative criterion where the festivals use this to change their concept to the audience demands, which leads to normative isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) as the festivals adapt to the audience demands and needs, where of the rural festival is more entitled to practise coercive isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The other evaluative criterion for the urban festival is within their collaborators in relation to CSR. The festivals U1, U2 and U3 practise social CSR (Moscardo, 2007), the purpose varies from teaching where the festivals act as the provider for the collaborating institutions to producers regarding collaborating businesses for beer,

sponsorships and especially governmental institutions (Rowley & Williams, 2008). The collaborators of the urban festivals do not represent the community attributes within these communities, they are solely part of the biophysical environment (Ostrom, 2009). Because either the collaborators or the volunteers have shown community attributes with the combination of the top-down approach with strong aggregation rules it is the festival employees who decide the direction the community attributes do not have any influence on the outcome of the festival in terms of the development and improvements. With the terms urban and rural some difficulties have been visible, which questions the legitimacy of the binary classification. The rural festivals have some of the same similarities, they all incorporate volunteer decisions into their evaluative criteria and interact when new initiatives have to be made to minimize the risk of them being disappointed. But R1 differs from the two others, as they have employed personnel the bottom-up communication chain does not fully apply to their flow of communication, in that sense they are a mixture of the urban festivals and the two other rural festivals. In terms of rules-in-use the festival R1 mixes their rules-in-use with the rest of the rural festivals, with their position rules, information rules, authority rules, and payoff rules, but when it comes to aggregation rules, they are similar to the other festivals with paid personal as in the end the paid personal decides where the festival is heading. When defining how the community attributes affect the structure of the festival, there is a strong argument that the rural festivals integrate more of the community within their development and continued progress. The involvement of the community could be seen as a spectrum where the variables are dependent on the number of volunteers in critical managerial roles, with collaborators functioning as providers and paid personnel. These three factors all influence to which degree a music festival has embedded the community attributes into the festival organisation which will have a continued effect on the festival's development. If a festival has volunteers in critical managerial roles, with collaborators as producers, and no paid personnel it is more likely to represent the same community it is embedded in. These criteria have been used to show how the festivals included in this research are influenced by their surrounding community. The results from this can be seen in Table 4.

Urban/rural	Urban			Rural		
	U1	U2	U3	SJ1	SJ2	F1
<i>Festival name</i>	U1	U2	U3	SJ1	SJ2	F1
<i>Volunteers in critical managerial positions</i>	The festival does not have any volunteers in managerial positions.	The festival has a few selected volunteers, but none in managerial positions.	Have a few key volunteers., but no one in managerial positions.	Have several volunteers in critical managerial positions.	Have volunteers in every critical managerial position.	Have volunteers in every critical managerial position.
<i>Collaborators as producers</i>	Have a few collaborators as producers.	Have collaborators as producers	Have a few collaborators as producers.	Have several collaborators as producers.	Have some collaborators as producers.	Have several collaborators as producers.
<i>Paid personnel</i>	A lot of paid personnel.	Almost only paid personnel.	A lot of paid personnel.	Some paid personnel.	No paid personnel.	No paid personnel.
<i>Influence from community</i>	Almost no influence from the community.	Almost no influence from the community.	Almost no influence from the community.	Volunteers is regarded as an important factor. Some influence from the community	Experience influence from the community.	A lot of influence from the community.

Table 5 The three criteria regarding the festivals within the results on how community influences the festivals' structure and development

5 Conclusion

The community's impact on festival development and orchestration has not properly been researched in previous academic literature. Earlier research has previously been focused on the motivation of the audience motivation to attend music festivals or the music festival's influence on the community it is located within. The gathered data from the eight expert interviews show that the music festivals interact with the community they are situated within through the established CSR initiatives they use. The initiatives are practised in both the rural and urban festivals. The previous academic literature has not established if the attributes of the community and the placement of the music festival have any influence on its development. The research paper has established three criteria which have an impact to which extent the music festival is influenced by the institutional, social and geographic parameters. The results have shown that volunteers in critical managerial positions force the festival, even with paid personnel, to take their opinions and wishes into account when decisions are being made. Furthermore, if the festival is completely run voluntarily as with R2 and R3 the community attributes are deeply embedded within the music festival's structure. The second noticeable variable is whether the collaborators function as producers for the festival. If the collaborators are local and function as producers for the festival, the festival, as with the volunteers, needs to take the local collaborators' views and opinions into account which as with the volunteers has an impact on the music festival's outcome. The producing collaborators' needs and opinions are especially important for the music festivals in rural areas as the number of collaborating firms available is less imminent than in the urban areas. The last variable is the paid personnel, as the research wanted to research the differences between the urban and rural music festivals, it became clear that paid personnel had an impact on the flow of communication, hence an effect on the decision process. The paid personnel also question the use of the definition of urban and rural as comparable terms in the long run, as the paid personnel creates a split between the rural festivals R2 and R3 and the rural festival with paid personnel R1. The urban and rural classification should be regarded as a spectrum in which festivals can be located based on the three criteria. Generally, what can be established is that in this research Laing & Mair's (2015) claim that music festival primarily changes based on their audience, is primarily true when it comes to urban music festivals, as this is their primary evaluative criteria. With the rural addition of volunteer satisfaction and development the music festivals in the rural areas generally agree with Hjalager & Kwiatkowski's (2018) claim that music festivals are deeply embedded in the community they are situated within. With the addition of the three criteria, it can be noticed that music festivals in rural areas are more influenced

by community attributes than urban festivals as the community is a part of the music festivals' evaluative criteria, which affect their outcome.

5.1 Implications

The results build on existing evidence of both Hjalager & Kwiatkowski (2018) and Laing & Mair (2015) as the rural and urban festivals verifying both of the theories and suggest that their claims mainly are correct regarding the location of the music festival. The rural festivals support Hjalager & Kwiatkowski's (2018) claim that music festivals are deeply embedded within the community they are located within. Additionally, the findings suggest that rural festivals are not only embedded in CSR but also several interactions with local volunteers and local collaborators in several managerial and important aspects of the festival. Laing & Mair's (2015) research showed that festivals mostly are influenced by their travelling community. i.e. their audience. The results show that this may be true especially when it is regarding urban music festivals. Even though rural areas also have an audience as an evaluative criterion and interact with them in several different ways, the incorporation of the community through volunteers complements Vestrum's (2014) claim that rural music festival uses their villagers in their organisation which this research supports. The rural festival shows signs of coercive isomorphism whereas the urban festivals practise normative isomorphism. These results should be considered when research is conducted regarding events and their organisational structure (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Especially, when comparative research is conducted between urban and rural. The results have shown that urban and rural research should incorporate the complexity of the binary definition and see rural and urban classification as a spectrum. Previous research has been focused on the audience's influence on music festivals (Laing & Mair, 2015, Perron-Brault et al. 2020, Tan et al. 2020, Zhao, 2022) and the influence the music festival has on its surrounding community (Gibson, 2007, Paleo & Wijnberg, 2006, Hjalager & Kwiatkowski, 2018, Clayton, 2016, Moscardo, 2007). These results have shown that the community attributes play a role within the rural music festival decision structure, because of the critical managerial roles of the volunteers. Furthermore, the results have shown the complexity of using rural and urban definitions as either rural or urban festivals can be generalised as one type. The definition of the festival should be regarded as a spectrum, but the results have shown that rural festival is more influenced by community attributes due to their structure and the feeling of responsibility from the community. The complexity regarding urban and rural festivals is due to

paid personnel which have an influence on the communication chain with paid personnel a top-down approach is more common.

5.2 Limitations

The conducted research and results have different degrees of limitations which is important to notice. The conducted expert interviews have been conducted with experts within music festivals who have different organisational structures. Some of the experts were in organisations that were run completely voluntarily R2 and R3, others had paid personnel who were employed by the association which is volunteer R1 and U2 and others were businesses with a direction of leaders, U3 and U1. This different structure of management could have an impact on the research as they are not 100% comparable. A further limitation, as established the hermeneutic circle is not closeable, as well with the IAD framework. It is an establishment for the current state of the festival, to research the community attributes influence on the festival structure a continuous study would be optimal as it would research the changes and development over time, making the comparative study more thorough. Especially as a festival is a continuous event that happens one time a year it would be optimal to interview the interviewees after the event to get an idea of their evaluative structure when it is happening. Furthermore, the interviewees could have been interviewed twice as an option, after the establishment of the complexity of urban/rural and the themes of volunteers and collaborators were found a second round of interviews regarding these subjects could have given the results more depth as it would be more specified towards these two themes. Especially, the classification of the terms rural and urban has been a limitation for the results as there is not a clear definition and it turned out that the difference in the organisation's decision structure was a more desirable way of defining the difference in music festivals.

5.3 Further Research

The conducted research suggests that when establishing if a music festival is being influenced by community attributes several factors influence these. Furthermore, the conducted research has shown that even though there is a difference between urban and rural music festival's incorporation of community attributes within their structure, rural has some of the community attributes within their evaluative criteria. Even though the difference is there the results showed that the classification of rural and urban do not reach a substantial conclusion, due to the community attributes within the festival more can be regarded as a spectrum. Further research could research

this spectrum and test the three variables, hence extending these claims which this research has concluded. Further research could deepen the understanding of paid personnel's impact on festivals and develop measuring criteria which extend further than an urban and rural comparison. Furthermore, it could also be possible to research if the financial difference between urban and rural mentioned in this research also has an impact on the music festival's embedment within its society. The financial structure could force the music festivals to integrate the community due to a lack of financial support from the municipalities and especially the governmental institutions. The lack of financial support can force the festivals to find capital outside of the financial sphere with volunteers and favours as the primary capita. Further research could investigate if the structure of the festival has an impact on its development, the conducted research already suggested that paid personnel have an impact, but this could be researched further. The research could be done by investigating if completely volunteer festivals, festivals where the volunteer's organisation have hired personnel, and business festivals are the main differences between the community attributes than the rural and urban differences. Besides further structural research, further research could be done with interviews regarding the volunteers' views on the different festivals. Their view could significantly differ from the interviewees on managerial positions, as their experience is from a leading position. It could be interesting to interview volunteers and local firms and research if their opinions and feelings match the leading responsibilities within the festivals.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

<p>Prior to Interview</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of who I am and what I do. • Thank the interviewee. • Short explanation of the research project.
<p>Introduction <i>Personal & organisational information</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you tell me a little about yourself? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is your background, where are you from, what have you done before? • What is your professional profile? • Can you tell me about the festival?
<p>The festival <i>Establishing the action arena</i> <i>Broad questions</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you describe the process of creating and developing your music festival? • What are your goals as a festival? • How do you work, office, field work? • Who do you collaborate with festival? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you tackle disagreements?
<p>The exogenous variables <i>Biophysical environment</i> <i>Community attributes</i> <i>Rules-in-use</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What factors influenced your decision to host the festival in its current location (urban or rural)? • Was there something that surprised you when creating the festival? • Can you explain what rules and norms you had to be aware of when establishing the festival. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Was there something you did not know?
<p>Interaction <i>Community engagement</i> <i>Specific structured questions</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you work within the organisation • How does a day before, during and after the festival look? • Do you engage with local communities?
<p>Outcomes, Feedback & Evaluative criteria</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you receive feedback on the festival • How do you use previous experiences as a part of the feedback?
<p>Final remarks <i>Additional comments</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you have anything you want to add?

After the Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stop recording. • Thank the interviewee again!! • Announce the report if they are interested.
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Appendix 2: List of participants

List of Participants	Name	Gender	Festival	Job title	Location of workplace	Type of compesation
<i>Interviewee 1</i>	TN	Male	U1	CEO	Capital of Denmark	Paid
<i>Interviewee 2</i>	LK	Male	U1	Festival director	Capital of Denmark	Paid
<i>Interviewee 3</i>	BF	Male	U2	CEO	Capital of Denmark	Paid
<i>Interviewee 4</i>	AR	Female	U3	CEO	Eastern Jutland	Paid
<i>Interviewee 5</i>	JM	Female	U3	Chief of Communication	Eastern Jutland	Paid
<i>Interviewee 6</i>	SK	Female	R1	CEO	Southern Jutland	Paid
<i>Interviewee 7</i>	BL	Male	R2	Boardmember	Southern Jutland	Volunteer
<i>Interviewee 8</i>	LJ/VC	Male	R3	Frontperson/Treasurer	Eastern Jutland	Volunteer

Appendix 3: Coding

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