

The Music Festival as an Arena for Learning

Festspel i Pite Älvdal and Matters of Identity

Sidsel Karlsen

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Department of Music and Media

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of the present study was to explore the music festival Festspel i Pite Älvdal as a source of informal learning with implications for the identity of the audiences and the host communities. The main research question focussed on how the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affected the development of the audience's musical identity and influenced their relation to their local community. The research sub-questions were concerned with how the festival 1) affected the audience's construction of musical self-narratives; 2) contributed to the audience's development and maintenance of parallel musical identities; and 3) contributed to the development of local identity in the festival's host-municipalities. The study was grounded in earlier festival research as well as music educational research concerning informal arenas for learning. The study's theoretical framework was built on theories of modernity, which made it possible to put into perspective identity development in contemporary societies. The sociology of music provided theoretical perspectives on the close connection between music and identity. Also, theories of situated learning were employed as a basis for the discussion of how learning might come through audiences' peripheral participation in the festival community of practice. This research was designed as a case study, combining observations of festival events, surveys of members of the festival audience and interviews with survey participants and official representatives of the festival's host-municipalities. Due to its theoretical points of departure, the study came to carry strong features of narrative research. The study's findings showed that the festival affected construction of musical self-narratives by delivering contextual frames in which experiences, understood as material for construction of such narratives, were developed. Despite the festival offering good preconditions for maintenance as well as development of parallel musical identities, the majority of the audience chose maintenance, and the festival worked as a device for identity development only for those few who preferred to use it that way. The festival contributed to development of local identity by telling the audiences the stories of who they were, by deepening, re-telling and prolonging pre-existing municipality narratives. In discussing the study's findings, four identity dimensions of music festivals were brought to the fore: On the individual level, a music festival may function as an arena for lifestyle choices as well as a basis for individuals' self-regulatory strategies in connection with music. On the municipal level, the festival may be an outward manifestation of community identity and an occasion for reinforcement of social and cultural identity. The audiences' festival-related learning can be expressed in terms of learning music, learning about music and learning via music. Viewed in relation to theories of musical knowledge, it became evident that the total learning outcome was similar to expected outcome from other informal as well as formal music educational settings.

Keywords: festival research, musical identity, local identity, community of practice, informal music education

NORWEGIAN ABSTRACT

Karlsen, Sidsel (2007). *Musikkfestivalen som læringsarena: Festspel i Pite Älvdal og perspektiver på identitet*. Luleå tekniska universitet, Institutionen för musik och medier. ISSN: 1402-1544, ISRN: LTU-DT--07/60--SE

Målet med denne studien var å utforske musikkfestivalen Festspel i Pite Älvdal som en uformell kilde til læring med virkning på publikums og vertssamfunnets identitet. Hovedproblemstillingen fokuserte på hvordan Festspel i Pite Älvdal innvirket på utviklingen av publikums musikalske identitet og på deres relasjon til sitt eget lokalsamfunn. Delproblemstillingene angikk hvordan festivalen 1) innvirket på publikums konstruksjon av musikalske selvbiografier; 2) bidro til at publikum utviklet og opprettholdt parallelle musikalske identiteter; og 3) bidro til utvikling av lokal identitet i festivalens vertssamfunn. Studien var grunnet i tidligere festivalforskning og musikkpedagogisk forskning omkring uformelle læringsarenaer. Det teoretiske rammeverket var hentet fra modernitetsteori. Dette gjorde det mulig å perspektivere identitetsutvikling i nåtidige samfunn. Den nære sammenhengen mellom musikk og identitet ble belyst ved hjelp av musikk sosiologisk teori, og teorier omkring sosiokulturell læring ble brakt inn for å diskutere hvordan læring kan skje gjennom publikums perifere deltakelse i et festivalrelatert praksisfellesskap. Studien ble designet som en casestudie, og kombinerte observasjon av festivalarrangementer og en spørreundersøkelse blant medlemmer av festivalpublikummet med intervjuer med deltakere i spørreundersøkelsen og offisielle representanter fra festivalens vertssamfunn. Studiens teoretiske utgangspunkt gjorde at den fikk tydelige trekk av narrativ forskning. Funnene viste at festivalen innvirket på konstruksjon av musikalske selvbiografier ved å etablere kontekstuelle rammer der publikum kunne tilegne seg opplevelser og erfaringer som utgjorde materialet for konstruksjon av slike biografier. Til tross for at festivalen tilbød gode forutsetninger for utvikling så vel som opprettholdelse av parallelle musikalske identiteter, valgte majoriteten av publikum opprettholdelse. Festivalen fungerte bare som arena for utvikling av nye, parallelle musikalske identiteter for de få som aktivt valgte å benytte den på denne måten. Når det gjaldt lokal identitet, bidro festivalen til utvikling av denne ved å fortelle publikum historiene om hvem de var ved å fordype, gjenfortelle og forlenge allerede eksisterende fortellinger om lokalsamfunnene. I en diskusjon av studiens funn, blir musikkfestivalens fire identitetsdimensjoner trukket fram: På individplan kan en musikkfestival fungere som en arena for livsstilsvalg samt som en base for individets selvregulerende, musikkrelaterte strategier. På samfunnsplan kan en festival innebære en utadrettet manifestasjon av et lokalsamfunns identitet samt fungere som en anledning til å forsterke innbyggernes sosiale og kulturelle identitet. Publikums festivalrelaterte læring kan uttrykkes i termer av å lære musikk, å lære om musikk og å lære via musikk. Når læringen ses i relasjon til teorier om musikalsk kunnskap, blir det tydelig at læringsutbyttet som helhet har store likheter med læringsresultater som forventes i andre formelle og uformelle musikkpedagogiske praksiser.

Nøkkelord: festivalforskning, musikalsk identitet, lokal identitet, praksisfellesskap, uformelle musikkpedagogiske praksiser

PREFACE

In addition to being the result of one person's hard work, a doctoral thesis is also something that can be seen to have its origin in the communities of practice that the doctoral student has had access to. Having been a 'sole learner' most of my life, it has been a great pleasure to be a part of the research community of practice established at the School of Music in Piteå, and to explore the possibilities of learning that lie in interaction, cooperation and participation. I am indebted to all of you, my fellow research community members in Piteå, professors, senior researchers and doctoral students. I am also grateful for all the good advice and fruitful comments I have received from members of the wider, music educational research community, in the Northern countries and also internationally. Special thanks go, of course, to my supervisors, Sture Brändström and Mats Jakobsson. To Sture, for not looking over my shoulder, and for trusting me and giving me freedom during intensive periods of work. To Mats, for putting me on the track, theoretically speaking, and for teaching me the basics of SPSS. Also thanks to Petter Dyndahl for reading the manuscript in a very late version, contributing important and deepening perspectives.

Acknowledgments go to the structural funds of EU – the Objective 1-programme – and to the Department of music and media at Luleå University of Technology for providing the financial support necessary for conducting the present study. Thanks also to the board and directors of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, who allowed me to use their festival as the study's 'case'. Furthermore, I am deeply indebted to the participants of the study, the survey participants – all 350 of you – and especially the interviewees for sharing their life- and municipal stories with me.

Following a family member 1,200 kilometres north, allowing her to fulfil her dream, is one of the greatest gifts that can be given. I will always be grateful to my closest family, my husband Geir and my two sons, Sigurd and Eivind, for helping me make this dream come true. And Geir – combined, we have achieved two PhDs in four years – now we can finally push the button!

I grew up listening to a myriad of stories related to my parents' childhood, their parents' course of life and events that had taken place in my extended family throughout the years. Working with this thesis, I was able to put into words what I intuitively already knew, namely that all these narratives of who *we* were, as a family, helped me to shape my sense of self. Finally, I therefore want to thank my mother, my mother's sisters and cousin, and, in recent years, also my father, for being my models in narrating the world and for, through their stories, richly contributing to who I am.

Piteå, September 20, 2007

Sidsel Karlsen

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Festivals are events of ancient origin that have been arranged by human beings for thousands of years, as well as significant features of the cultural life of late modernity. In recent years, the number of festivals has increased, at least in the Scandinavian countries, but I dare say also in Europe as a whole, and nowadays most towns above a certain size host one or more. Hosting festivals is, however, not always connected to town size. Festivals can be found in capital cities, middle-sized towns, villages and even in the outskirts. They cover a vast array of topics from celebrations of wooden boats and seafood, a town's medieval origin, culture in diaspora, to promoting different kinds of arts: film, theatre, literature and music. The diversity is also significant for the social profiles of festivals, from large popular events to small, narrow avant-garde ones. Festivals are highly visible in the public life of the Nordic countries, and are important mediators of culture throughout. In Norway and Finland, cultural and arts festivals are members of overarching festival associations, such as Norske Festivaler¹ (Norske Festivaler, n.d.), which has 61 festivals, and Finland Festivals (Finland Festivals, n.d.), which has 80. In Sweden, the music festivals have their own association, Svenska Musikfestivaler² (Svenska Musikfestivaler, n.d.), which has 39 festivals. At the European level, the European Festival Association organises "more than 100 quality festivals and 11 national festival associations in 38 European and non-European countries" (European Festivals Association, n.d.). These numbers are high, bearing in mind that these organisations select their members, and that a multitude of other festivals exist, which are either too small or of insufficient artistic quality to be admitted.

Music plays a large and varied part in the culture and arts festivals. Music festivals can be found featuring almost every style along with their affinity groups, or presenting programmes of diverse styles, encouraging plurality, genre-mixing and crossover, both in the music and the audience. As music festivals mostly are small, easily manageable organisations, they are often able to change their programmes at short notice, and rise to 'what is new' in their musical domain. With increasing globalisation, world famous artists can be brought into small places, and the cultural flavour of out-of-the-way places can be exported globally. Beside the events' musical content, the festivals also offer several non-musical experiences, such as a special atmosphere and out-of-doors concerts combined with a picnic. It could be argued that the diversity of music festivals mirrors the diversity of our late modern lives. The present study is conducted within such a changeable and complex arena.

A rapidly changing society also changes the conditions for learning. Even though this thesis is written within music education, its main focus is not on teaching or on formal education, but rather on how learning goes on outside school. The main principles for how human beings learn may not have changed much over the decades, but the means available for learning are subject to change, as are the social situations wherein learning takes place, how we perceive of learning regarding where and how it is brought about, and our understanding of where and how we should investigate it as researchers. In recent years, there has been an increasing focus on how people learn through participating in social practices, showing that what Ziehe (2003) called 'uncommon processes of learning' are in fact some of the most common ways of gaining knowledge, at least in our present societies. What is referred to among policy-makers as 'lifelong learning', has also come more and more to the fore. Although music education is normally not open to adults, unless they attend some kind of higher music education, people continue to learn music, about music and via music

¹ Norwegian Festivals.

² Swedish Music Festivals.

throughout life. It may not necessarily be through some organised activity. The sources of musical learning in our society are multiple and continually increasing. This thesis investigates one such source, namely a music festival.

As will be seen from the next chapter, research into festivals' social and cultural impact has been sparse, and even more so when it comes to their educational role, or what and how people learn from attending festivals. For a long time, music education research has focused on investigating teaching and learning within formal schooling; and although there are signs that the field is starting to open up, music learning in the informal field has been largely ignored. By combining the blank spots in two different research fields, this thesis looks into how and what adult audiences learn when they attend a music festival.

Focus of the study – aim and research questions

This study is designed as a case study, with one case, the music festival, *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*³ (festival in Pite river valley). The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* is held in the north of Sweden, about 850 kilometres north of the Swedish capital, Stockholm, and 150 kilometres south of the Arctic Circle, in the county of North Bothnia. It goes on for about a week each summer, and is arranged in four different municipalities at the same time, Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur, Älvsbyn and Piteå. Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn are all rather sparsely populated, inland municipalities with between 3,000 and 9,000 inhabitants. Piteå is a coastal town with about 40,000 inhabitants. The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* features a variety of musical styles including classical music, various kinds of folk music, pop, Latin-based music, folk-rock and jazz.

This study presupposes that attending a music festival can be seen as participating in a social practice, or more specifically, in a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Such a practice provides the context in which individuals, in this case members of the festival audience, learn. Since music festivals are not part of the formal education system, learning when attending them must be considered informal. From a situated perspective, learning and identity work are closely connected, and these processes are integrated, mutually dependent and overlapping in both time and content. This idea makes it possible to investigate learning through looking into identity development. As said above, we live in a diverse and rapidly changing late modern reality. Since society and individuals co-produce with each other, the state of our society has implications for how individuals develop and maintain their identities. Giddens (1990, 1991) has provided a theoretical framework that can throw light on the creation of self-identity within present societies, and in connection with the conditions of modernity. This framework is this study's main theoretical basis. It allows identity development to be seen as a reflexive project, created and maintained by self-narratives. It also opens to the possibility of people having several parallel and mutually contradictory identities.

Earlier festival theory and research support the idea of investigating festivals' impact upon identity development on the individual as well as the municipality level. It was said above that attending a music festival can be seen as participating in a community of practice. Festival theory and research has been concerned with festivals *as* communities, as well as with the relationships between festivals and their host communities. As will be seen, both approaches have implications for the development of identity. According to Falassi (1987), a festival is a social occasion in which members of a community, united by ethnic, linguistic, historical or other kinds of bonds, participate and share a worldview. Regarding music festivals, attendees can be thought of as members of affinity groups or musical communities

³ The present study was conducted in relation to the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* in 2005, which lasted from July 6 to July 10.

of practice, united by their love for music, either in general, or for the particular style(s) featured at a festival. Waterman (1998) understands such festival communities as discursive arenas, in which social identities are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed. Festivals are also seen to have a central role in creating a sense of local identity in the municipalities in which they are hosted. This role is twofold, in that festivals are thought of as image-makers (Quinn, 2005), enhancing a community's image towards the outside world, and that they are seen to build strong ties within a municipality, reinforcing social and cultural identity and creating cohesion among the inhabitants (Delamere, 2001; Gursoy, Kim and Uysal, 2004).

By combining micro and macro perspectives, this study analyses how a music festival impacts upon identity development, both individuals' musical identity, and the local identity of communities hosting it. In line with the theoretical assumptions regarding identity development that were discussed above, musical identity can be seen to be found in and expressed through the individual's *musical* self-narrative. Also, identities, including musical, can be parallel, meaning that one person may possess more than one identity. And, just as the identity or identities of human beings are to be found in the individual's self-narrative, so the local identity of a community is found in the narrative told about it by its inhabitants.

Summing up the perspectives presented above, the aim of this study is to explore the music festival, *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*, as a source of informal learning with implications for the identity of the audiences and the host communities. The central research question, which covers the individual as well as the municipality level has been developed from this aim:

How does the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affect the development of the audience's musical identity, and in what way does the festival influence the audience's relation to their local community?

This overarching question is further explored through three specific research sub-questions:

- How does the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* affect the audience's construction of their musical self-narratives?
- How does the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* contribute, both as a happening and in terms of its content and form, to the audience's development and maintenance of parallel musical identities?
- How does the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* contribute to the development of local identity in the communities in which it is arranged?

As mentioned above, the main methodological approach used for gathering empirical material suitable for answering the research questions is that of a case study. Such an approach allows for, and even requires different kinds of data (Yin, 2003). This study uses four different sources of data, namely: 1) field notes from observations; 2) interviews, conducted through both semi-structured interviews and a survey;⁴ 3) documentation; and 4) archival records. Since the theoretical framework heavily emphasises the narrative aspects of identity development, narratives have been treated as central, both during the gathering of data and through the processes of analysis.

The concept of musical identity has already been introduced, and will be further explored in the coming chapters. However, before moving on to the next section, some short explanations of expressions used in the research questions may be helpful to the reader.

⁴ According to Yin (2003), survey, in the form of questionnaires, is a kind of interview data. See the methodology chapter for further details.

Identity, including musical identity, is created and maintained by self-narratives that are seen verbally constructed in order to produce knowledge and meaning. Language is central to the extent that constructionist theory claims that only through telling about ourselves do we come into being (Burr, 1995). Hence, the first research sub-question looks into how the festival audience places the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* within, or in relation to, their musical life-stories told to the researcher.

Parallel musical identities can be developed as well as maintained as is shown by the second research sub-question. By the *development* of parallel musical identities in a festival context, I mean that festival attendees, during the festival, have experiences that make them begin entirely new narratives about themselves and their relations to music. For instance, some might acquire a taste for a new musical style or develop new musical preferences that lead to further engagement with certain kinds of music. The triggering experience can be either accidental or sought after, self-initiated so to speak. The *maintenance* of parallel musical identities means that attendees use the festival to deepen, re-tell and prolong well-known narratives about their relation to music, thereby bringing forth pre-existing musical tastes and preferences.⁵

The third research question is concerned with the festival's contribution to the development of local identity in its host communities. The concept of 'community' is used here to denote people living in one place or district, considered as a whole. The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* takes place in four districts: Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur, Älvsbyn and Piteå, and has as such four different host communities. However, these communities are also *municipalities* in the sense that they are districts or towns with local self-government. Hence, when talking about the festival and local identity, I alternate between the two expressions, treating them more or less as synonyms.

Concepts and expressions not defined here will be treated in depth in the forthcoming chapters. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will concentrate on placing the present study in relation to the field of music education, revealing some of my own background to give the reader insight into how experiences in my own life are connected to my choice of topic, and presenting the structure of the thesis.

The study's relation to the field of music education

This thesis is written from within the Scandinavian field of music education research. For a long time, this field has concentrated mainly on researching music education activities within various kinds of formal school contexts. Also, strong voices have claimed this to be the most appropriate approach. To open up the Scandinavian field to non-Scandinavian readers, a short summary of some important topics of discussion during the last 12 or 13 years will be given here, concentrating mainly on attempts to define the field and its boundaries.

In 1995, Jørgensen (1995) gave an overview of research within music education at PhD-level in Scandinavia. He used this opportunity to share his opinions about what the music educational field should be occupied with in the future. Disassociating himself clearly from the rather wide definitions of music education research proposed by Rauhe⁶ (1978) and

⁵ The many and multifaceted connections between music and identity will be further displayed and discussed in the next two chapters, including using music for the inward construction (DeNora, 2000) and outward staging of the self (Ruud, 1997), music as a means of a simultaneous experience of the subjective and the collective (Frith, 1996), and musical identity as interconnected to and interplaying with other, extra-musical aspects of the self (Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald, 2002).

⁶ Rauhe (1978) said that music education as a research discipline should investigate the preconditions and possibilities for directed development and influence on the complex relationships between people and music.

Sidnell⁷ (1987), Jørgensen (1995) invented what he called a more narrow definition, namely: “Music education is the research discipline concerned with the situations of music education and music teaching” (ibid. p. 13⁸). He found support for his definition in Nielsen (1974), who is also a writer within the Scandinavian music education research field. However, narrowing the definition, meant limiting the field of research to include mainly intentional education given within formal schooling of secondary schools, municipal music schools or institutions of higher music education. According to Jørgensen (1995), defining music education in a wider sense would mean an “unfortunate extension of the area of responsibility of music education” (ibid. p. 14). He gave three main justifications for his definition. Firstly, the ‘narrow’ definition was not seen as narrow, but to include a multitude of situations and processes wherein music was used in connection with education or teaching. Secondly, he thought that there ought to be consistency between the ways ‘music education’ was used as a concept, institutionally, and the understanding that music educators had of their own practice. A lack of such consistency was seen to endanger the researcher’s legitimacy: “Without such a consistency, our legitimacy as music education researchers will be put on trial” (ibid. p. 14). Thirdly, Jørgensen (ibid.) emphasised how a narrow definition of music education would support the research discipline’s identity. According to him, a wide definition that would embrace everything about music, would leave music education without a core and without a “central idea to cling to” (ibid. p. 14). Furthermore, if the discipline’s identity became too indistinct and all-inclusive, it could lead to a state of dissolution, wherein the researchers an/or the discipline itself would become everything and nothing. “For the sake of our professional identity, I think that a foundation in ‘music education and music teaching’ gives us a broad, but still embraceable terrain to relate to, to state our professional questions within” (ibid.). To Jørgensen, it was of great importance to be able to tell what was part of music education territory and what was not. What was part of it for him, was “what I now call intentional music education, music teaching and music learning” (ibid. p. 15).

Jørgensen was contradicted by Karma (1995), who said that to make use of the narrow definition and only conduct research within that field could be potentially dangerous. The main reason given was that, as he saw it, one of the most important aims of research was to prepare for the future: “To make use of the narrower definition and limit research to its territory implies that one should only research problems, which are considered pedagogical at the moment” (ibid. p. 44). So by using the narrow definition researchers would be unable to meet changes in the field. Karma (ibid.) also said that it was “not of much importance to be able to know exactly what is and what is not music education research” (ibid. p. 45). Whilst it might be necessary to define the core of music education research, this should not lead to forgetting other interesting and important areas. Olsson’s (1995) critique of Jørgensen’s narrow definition was that it implied a focus on certain categories of age, from about 10 years to 22, because it was approximately within this age span that people attend any kind of formal schooling. A narrow definition of music education would exclude research concerning music education, music teaching and musical learning outside institutions. Hence, research concerning any other age categories than those mentioned above would possibly be “compelled to the fields of musicology, music anthropology, research on youth culture and media instead of being categorised as music education” (ibid. p. 49). As a consequence, Olsson (ibid.) was of the opinion that the definition of music education needed to be more open.

⁷ “Music education research will investigate what man has done with music, what man is doing with music and what may be possible for him to do with music” (Sidnell, 1987, p. 3).

⁸ My translation. All the subsequent non-English sources are translated by me.

Summing up ten years later, Olsson (2005) found that almost all research conducted in Scandinavia within the field of music education had been kept within the territory suggested by Jørgensen (1995). In fact, the emphasis on research into formal schooling was even stronger than in 1995. With reference to Nielsen's (1997) model of the object area of music education research, Olsson (2005) concluded that only a very limited part of the research map had been used: "Principally, Nielsen's core issues about the interaction between learner, teacher and the educational subject-matter are emphasised" (ibid. p. 22). One suggested explanation for this focus was that the research had been carried out by former music teachers, who had been exploring their own practices within music education in schools. Hence, most of the research conducted had been 'insider research'⁹. Also, Olsson (ibid.) saw the narrow focus of music education research as part of the natural process of developing a new professional field. In doing so, "you have to focus on the mainstream issues and legitimise your research with utilitarian arguments" (ibid. p. 23). Putting forward 'unique aspects' and core issues was hence seen as part of an emerging research field's struggle for power and influence. As the author also pointed out, a mature research field is normally more open to outside challenges.

Nielsen (1997) showed how music education is related to other disciplines. He situated it as a central core around which lie the fields of musicology and pedagogy. Around this hub, he placed the following disciplines in a circle: philosophy, anthropology, psychology, natural science, linguistics, physical sciences¹⁰, sociology, ethnology and history. Within this model, the present study would lie between the fields of musicology, pedagogy and sociology.

According to Olsson (2005), the influence of social-psychological and sociological theories of music has been, and still is, very small within the Scandinavian field. "Issues mentioned by Green (1999) and DeNora (2003) seem to be of no interest to such an emerging field of research on music education" (ibid. p. 21). These two authors, especially the latter, are among the most influential theorists for this thesis. In the above-mentioned articles both authors examine how key concepts within sociology, or rather music sociology can inform research in the sociology of music education. Green (1999) focuses on the social organisation of musical practice, and with relevance for the present study, the practice of consumption – "how commodities [music festivals] are used and who uses them in what situations" (ibid. p. 161). DeNora (2003b) connects music's role as a socialising medium, "in the broadest sense of that term" (ibid. p. 165), with education understood as practices of teaching and learning, rather than formal schooling or education as an institutional activity. According to DeNora (ibid.), the whole topic of connections between music and identity opens up with the shift of focus from teaching to learning. It is within the area of this 'topic of connections', that the present project belongs. It is also within the area of self-identity that Hargreaves, Marshall and North (2003) claim that the ultimate outcome of music education can be found in the twenty-first century.

DeNora's (2003b) writing was also concerned with how the boundaries between the sociology of music, musicology, ethnomusicology, the anthropology of music and social psychology of music seem to be more and more blurred. She welcomes, even salutes, this opening up of the distinctions between different fields, and invites music education to take

⁹ Another possible reason, not mentioned by Olsson (2005), is that prominent figures within the field may have been sympathetic to the narrow definition of Jørgensen (1995), and as a conscious or unconscious consequence, regulated the focus of the PhD projects in question. Decisions about who should be allowed to enter PhD studies in music education may even have been made with regards to 'appropriate' focuses.

¹⁰ 'Physical sciences' is a direct translation of Nielsen's (1997) 'kropsvidenskaber', which, according to the author includes sciences that in different ways concern our physical existence, among other things medicine, neurology and sport sciences.

part. A similar openness is evident in recent Scandinavian and international music education writings, not only towards adjoining fields, but also towards researching music education outside the core of ‘learner, teacher and the educational subject-matter’, and thereby outside the ‘intentional territory’ of formal school-related educational contexts. For instance, within *The new handbook of research on music teaching and learning* (Colwell and Richardson, 2002), some future perspectives are drawn, which seem to point in this direction. North, Hargreaves and Tarrant (2002) wrote about the necessity to take a broader view of music learning and development, including what happens in informal settings. Veblen and Olsson (2002) presented opportunities for research, which include the variety of teaching and learning strategies found in community music settings. They also encouraged researchers to build on insights gained through ethnomusicological and sociological research. Also, Paul and Ballantine (2002), in suggesting a research agenda for the future, encouraged music educators to create new sociological perspectives on the interactions between music, musicians and audiences. Apart from these, other researchers also have become increasingly aware that formal music education only forms one part of a much broader picture. This is visible in much of the research referred to in the next chapter, in the fields of community music, music teaching and learning practices outside formal schooling and music and identity. This research extends the frames of music education, and reaches towards other nearby disciplines. Folkestad (2006) claimed that the field of music education research must deal with “all kinds of musical learning, irrespective of where it takes place (or is situated), and of how and by whom it is organised or initiated” (ibid. p. 136). It is within such an open, wide and self-expanding field, that the present study has been conducted. Slowly, it seems that research in music education is moving out of Nielsen’s (1997) object area core, and, as one of several possible directions, towards investigating informal, sociocultural learning and people’s engagement with music throughout their lives.

The researcher’s own background

Our personal background and earlier experiences are parts of what forms the way we look at the world. These also greatly influence our choice of ontological and epistemological frameworks for research. Hence, displaying her background is part of revealing the researcher’s pre-understanding to the reader, and perhaps also to the researcher herself, in order to provide transparency and increased validity for a study. This is customary within most fields of qualitative research.

Throughout this study, I have asked for, and had the pleasure of receiving my interviewees’ musical self-narratives. On the next pages I will tell my own story, and explain my personal interest in the connection between music and identity. As all self-narratives, this is constructed reflexively, meaning that I have chosen what to tell and how to tell it, in accordance with who I want to appear to be to the reader. Other narratives could have been told about my life with music, which would have been equally ‘true’, however the one below emphasises some topics in my musical background that have relevance to the present study.

I am educated as a general music teacher, vocal teacher and classical singer. As with most musicians my ‘education’ began early. At the age of two and a half, I joined a ‘musical kindergarten’ twice a week, sang, danced and, little by little, learnt to play the recorder. At eight, my urge to play the piano was so strong that my mother and father bought one, and I remember jumping up and down before a mirror for an hour, just out of sheer happiness when they told me that we would have a piano. In my early teens I joined a gospel choir, continued to play the classical piano, but also learnt to play chords on my own, so I could play ‘my music’, not only the piano teacher’s. I joined a music class in upper secondary school, but after only one year, I developed an infection in my arms, caused by too much practicing, and

had to stop playing. I could either play or write, not both, and I chose writing. Then, I started singing. After a year and a half of singing lessons, I sat the entrance exams of the music conservatory in Oslo, which was then called Østlandets Musikkonservatorium, and made it through, much to my own happiness and my singing teacher's surprise. I graduated as a subject teacher of music and as a vocal teacher in 1997. Then, I took a master's programme at the Norwegian Academy of Music, from which I graduated as a solo singer in 1999, having specialised in improvisation in the *bel canto* style, and written a dissertation on that topic (Karlsen, 1999). To earn money while studying I worked as a choir conductor, teaching adult amateur musicians, sometimes two or three times a week. After having finished my master's degree, I continued to work as a conductor, gave song lessons as a private teacher, and worked as a singer in the tough freelance market. To earn some 'safe income', I also worked part-time as a secretary for Oslo Cathedral choir, a semi-professional choir, which had their own small administration, consisting of the executive director, and me. When I had worked for this choir for about a year, my boss decided to start a church music festival. For three and a half years, I worked as a project administrator for what has now become the Oslo International Church Music Festival, and learned the music festival trade from the ground up. Alongside this, I continued my singing, performing with such diverse groups as singers specialising in Gregorian chant, Balkan folk musicians and the Oslo opera choir. I also taught and conducted adults who wanted to take singing lessons, amateur choirs, and even a happy bunch of male gynaecologists, who wanted to sing and socialise.

The main point of describing my own musical self-narrative is that, whilst I am educated as a music teacher, I have never worked as a teacher *inside* the formal school context. This has been a personal choice: I have simply never applied for that kind of job. It was not until I accepted my position as a PhD student at Luleå University of Technology that I started to lecture inside the system of formal music education. My teaching, for indeed I have been teaching, has taken place in the informal field of community music. I have taught almost entirely adults, during which time I discovered that the learning of music certainly continues after the age of 22. In addition, I have facilitated audiences' musical experiences through working as a festival administrator. Because of these experiences, this study is also insider research. Like the former music teachers referred to by Olsson (2005) above, I have explored my own practice. The informal musical learning of adults through a music festival correlates with my previous music teaching practices and facilitation of musical experiences *outside* formal schooling.

Through my life as a musician and a music teacher within the informal field, I have had several experiences, which have evoked my interest in the relations between music and identity. I will only mention a few here. When my arms were infected, and I was unable to play the piano, I suffered a severe identity crisis. At the age of seventeen I identified already myself as a pianist, and playing the piano was a large part of who I was. Also, playing had for me been a way of processing emotions of all kinds. Now, more depressed than ever because I was unable to play, I had nowhere to go with my feelings. I felt locked up and devastated. In addition, I felt that I had lost a large and very important part of myself. If I could not play – who was I, what kind of person did that make me? As I said, I solved the problem by becoming a singer. However, 'becoming' a singer was quite problematic too. It was not that I could not sing, technically, or had a lack of talent. Looking back, I would say that the problem was that I simply did not identify myself as a singer, especially not a female classical one. From the beginning, I identified myself as a pianist, an instrument player. Despite this self-perception, I met the demands of how a classical, female singer should not only perform music but also behave, dress, look and act, on stage and elsewhere. I felt the role to be too narrow, and lacking in artistic freedom. My choice of topic for my master's degree was improvisation in the repertoire of early Romantic opera, which was a kind of revolt, an

attempt to extend the frame of what it meant to be a singer, in order to find some space for expressing my own artistic will.

In cooperating with the Balkan folk music group, I came to experience how close the connection between national identity and music can be. The musicians were Bosnians, living in exile in Norway because of the Balkan war. Together with one of my choirs, we toured the eastern part of Norway playing a mixture of Bosnian and Norwegian folk music. Large parts of our audience were other exile-Bosnians, who would usually sing along the tunes they knew (which was almost every Bosnian tune we could play), dance, cry and cheer wildly. It was obvious that it meant a lot to them to be able to hear their own folk music. That we, the Norwegians, performed their music was not seen as lack of respect, on the contrary, we were told that it contributed to the feeling that their culture was valued, and that their cultural self-esteem was hereby enhanced. I remember one particular episode clearly. We had sung a couple of verses of the popular folk tune 'Kad ja podoh na Bembasu', and the music was about to fade out, when a man suddenly jumped out of the audience, reached for the microphone, encouraged the musicians to continue playing, and started singing all the remaining verses, which were many. While doing this, he cried, and afterwards gave a short statement about what this music meant to him and how much he missed being in Bosnia. We, the performers were all astonished. When we started the project we did not realise how deep an impact we would have on other people's lives.

For many years, my listening to music was sparse. When not making music myself or listening for professional reasons, I preferred silence. However, in later years listening has increased, and I have re-experienced how music is related to the emotions, to memories and to my sense of self. Hearing Wham's 'Wake me up before you go-go' in the supermarket can make me instantly expectant and joyful. Actually, I did not like Wham much in the 1980s, but the song makes me remember how it was to be a teenager, waiting for life to happen. When I listen to Lauryn Hill's 'To Zion', it makes me cry. Every time. That song is for me connected to the joys and pains of motherhood.

The account of my musical life story ends here. Hopefully, it has given the reader an understanding of some of the ways in which my background is connected to my choice of topic, and the way I have chosen to write this thesis.

The structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured in a quite traditional manner, at least when seen in relation to how similar monographs are normally written in the music education literature and that of related fields. After this introductory chapter, dealing with the focus of the research, the research questions, where the study is placed within the field of music education research and how the researcher's own background is related to her choice of topic, there is another that gives an account of earlier, relevant research. This second chapter is divided into two main sections that address: 1) the field of festival research; and 2) relevant research within music education, with specific reference to community music, music teaching and learning practice outside formal schooling, and music and identity. The aim has not been to present a complete overview of the two research fields, but rather to show how the present study has developed in dialogue with earlier research.

In chapter three, I give an account of the study's theoretical framework and main ontological and epistemological points of departure. First, the theories of modernity underlying the whole thesis are presented, with reference to the work of Beck (1994), Giddens (1990, 1991), Hall (1992) and Lyotard (1984). Three pertinent issues arise from this account: the close connections between music and identity (DeNora, 2000, 2003a); the music festival as a community of practice, which allows for the peripheral participation and situated learning

of attendees (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998); and the music festival's potential to create diverse 'rooms' for learning and identity development (Fairclough, 1995), and the necessity and usefulness of looking into identity development at both individual and municipality levels.

Chapter four deals with the methodological aspects of the study. This includes: an account of the overarching design, which is that of a case study; the procedures and findings from the pilot study that was conducted during the summer of 2004; and a detailed explanation of the planning and execution of the fieldwork of the present study. In addition, the process of analysis is described, and reflections are made on the study's interpretative aspects, as well as on the validity and reliability of the findings.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters are dedicated to the study's findings. Each treats one research sub-question in the order that they are presented above. Chapter five concerns how the festival affects the audience's construction of musical self-narratives. Three sources of information are investigated in order to determine this: the survey, with emphasis on the quantitative information; statements of strong emotional experiences given as part of the survey (qualitative information); and the interviewees' musical self-narratives during the interviews. In the sixth chapter I investigate how the festival contributes to maintaining and developing audience's parallel musical identities. This is done by looking into the field notes taken from observation, investigating the preconditions for such maintenance and development, finding out how the survey respondents understand and make use of the festival as a device for maintaining and developing parallel musical identities, and going through the interviews, looking for factors that seem to affect the interviewees' actions in this regard. The seventh chapter deals with the festival and its contribution to the development of local identity in the host communities. On the basis of the interviews, four stories are given to throw light on the relation between the different communities and the festival, and the factors that impact on such relations are then derived from these. These are further explored through the observation field notes, and finally the topic is elucidated with findings from the survey.

In the eighth and final chapter, the study's findings are discussed in relation to earlier research, as well as to the study's ontological and epistemological points of departure. The identity dimensions found within the study's data are drawn to the fore, and the festival audience's learning outcomes are discussed both in relation to theories of situated learning and to theories of musical knowledge. Finally, some reflections are made regarding the way ahead for music education research.

CHAPTER 2: THE PROJECT IN RELATION TO EARLIER RESEARCH

This chapter is an attempt to place the present research project in relation to earlier relevant research. Since this research is a case study of the festival, *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*, and since the thesis is written within the field of music education, two research fields come through as especially important: that of festival research and that of research in music education.

The theoretical framework and main ontological and epistemological basis of this study will be explicated in the next chapter. What will be described here can be considered the project's research-related framework, which is empirically and to a certain degree theoretically based. It has not been my intention to present a complete overview of research concerning either festivals or music education, but rather to give an overview of writings within the two fields that have connections with the present study, either by choice of research object or theoretical focus, or on that of more practical, methodical approaches. Hopefully, this will give the reader insight into how this project has been developed in relation to earlier research.

The two strands of festival research and research in music education, have been decisive for the organisation of this chapter. I start by investigating the literature on the festival phenomenon, looking at theoretical writings and also research and evaluations, which cover studies of different kinds of festivals and various forms of festival impact. Then I move on to research in music education, concentrating particularly on studies made within the areas of community music, music teaching and learning in informal contexts, and research regarding music and identity. Each of the two strands is completed with a section in which I sum up and clarify how and why this research is relevant to the present study. In addition, there is a summary at the end of the chapter.

The festival phenomenon – theory, research and evaluations

Festival research must be considered a “young and developing academic field” (Formica, 1998), a field in which the few empirical investigations there are concern primarily economic matters. This research has crossed a large variety of disciplines, such as sociology, economics, marketing, hospitality management, tourism, recreation management and geography. Treating the festival phenomenon from angles other than the economic has been done within, for instance, anthropology, comparative religion, folklore, ethnology and music education. The disciplinary diversity of festival research makes it wide and interesting, but also difficult to grasp, and to a certain degree impenetrable.

Almost ten years ago, Formica (*ibid.*) published a meta-analysis of the festival and special event research field. However, he based his investigations only on festival- and special event-related articles found in four leading tourism journals in the period between 1970-1996, and these were rather limited in academic scope compared to the aforementioned studies. Still, some of the major tendencies found in his analysis are still relevant today. Among other things, he pointed to the overwhelming majority of quantitative studies. 63% of the studies reported were of this kind, whilst 7% were qualitative and 30% were what the author termed conceptual, meaning that the articles were not based on research as such, but were descriptions of, or reports from, special events or festivals. These investigations were mainly limited to economic/financial impact of festivals, marketing, profiles of festival/event, sponsorship, management, trends and forecasts. All the studies had in common a general lack of a “robust theoretical background” (*ibid.* p. 135). In addition, the large majority explored festivals held in North America, and were written by authors working for North American

institutions. This bias was so clear that the author feared it could lead to ethnocentrism within the research field.

Quantitative studies still constitute a large part of research into festivals, whilst conceptually oriented articles occur, surprisingly, in journals mainly dedicated to empirical research. In addition, there is a range of articles treating the festival phenomenon from a more theoretical or even philosophical angle. However, as mentioned before, economic and related matters dominate such investigations. The North American bias is not so overwhelming as it was ten years ago, at least not when looking at the field from a wider perspective, but it nonetheless still seems to suffer from a Western, white-world orientation dominated by North-American, European and Australian researchers. Also, there is a lack of theory in many of these studies. For instance, some authors write about festivals and their significance for the development of community identity without taking into consideration any aspects of identity theory, either at the level of the individual or that of the municipality.

An additional problem related to the field that is not mentioned by Formica (ibid.), is to decide which investigations can be classified as research, which studies are to be categorised as evaluations and reports, and which writings are part of the theoretical thinking about festivals as social phenomena. In this section I classify festival research as empirical research published in research journals, or in other refereed periodicals or books. Festival evaluations and reports are classified and referred to as such, and include non-refereed empirical investigations, most often commissioned. Theoretical festival writings may be published both in refereed research journals and in non-refereed sources, and hold in common a lack of extrapolation from empirical investigations.

Since many empirical festival studies seem to use theoretical writings on festivals as a point of departure, this is also where I choose to start. I then move on to research and evaluations of mega-events, large festival-like happenings, and from there, to reports made of festivals' economic impact on host societies. Since the focus of my own research goes beyond economic impact, there is also a section dealing with research on festivals' social and cultural effect on host societies; and finally, there is a short review of what has been achieved and suggested in the area of festivals and education.

Festivals – some theoretical aspects

Several authors complain about the lack of empirical research into festivals (see for instance Formica, 1998; Quinn, 2005; Waterman, 1998). However, festivals and connected popular large events like carnivals have been treated theoretically from different angles and through diverse disciplines. Such writings, as mentioned above, constitute a basis for more empirically oriented festival studies, such as this, and must hence be considered to be part of the festival research field. It is my intention here to draw on a selection of theoretical texts on festivals in order to create a basis for an understanding of the festival as a social phenomenon, to establish a definition, display characteristics and to say something about festivals' assumed role and function in past and contemporary societies.

The word *festival* is defined in the Swedish national encyclopaedia (Nationalencyklopedin, 2007a) as a large and often regularly recurring event with a specific theme. Another definition found in the same source (Nationalencyklopedin, 2007b) specifies further that a festival is a periodically recurring *cultural* manifestation, such as for instance a film festival, music festival or a theatre festival. Etymologically speaking, the word is of Latin origin, *festivus* or *festivalis*, meaning respectively festive or belonging to a feast. According to Falassi (1987), Latin had two terms for festive events, *festum*, to describe public joy and merriment, and *feria*, meaning “abstinence from work in honour of the Gods” (ibid. p. 2). Since the two kinds of events tended to merge, the terms became synonyms. Also, both terms

were used in plural, *fasta* and *feriae*, implying that even very early forms of festivals lasted for many days and included several events. *Festa* developed into *festival*, a word commonly used in both Germanic and Romance languages, and *feriae* became *fair*, which in English is a synonym of 'market', but the word can also be recognised in for instance the Norwegian word for holiday, *ferie*.

A problem with dealing with the term 'festival' in connection with research is that the word is commonly used to cover a diversity of events. In our contemporary society, a festival may both be a sacred or profane celebration, an annual celebration of a person or a special event, a cultural event with a series of performances, often of works in the fine arts or connected to a specific style or genre, a fair, or simply "generic gaiety, conviviality" (ibid.). In trying to derive a more precise definition of 'festival', Falassi (ibid.) draws on observations made by scholars studying social and ritual events from the perspective of various disciplines. On the basis of these studies, he finds that 'festival' commonly means "a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community¹¹, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview" (ibid. p. 2). The festival has both a social function and a symbolic meaning, which is closely connected to a community's ideology and worldview, "to its social identity, its historical continuity and to its physical survival" (ibid.). The latter is what festivals are ultimately about and celebrate.

In Falassi's (ibid.) understanding, a festival presents a complete range of behavioural modalities, designed to allow festival attendees to do something that they do not normally do. In accordance with this, he proposes the concepts of 'reversal', 'intensification', 'trespassing' and 'abstinence' as the four cardinal points of festive behaviour (ibid. p. 3). Likewise, Gadamer (1986) emphasises the festival occasion as something that raises the participants out of their everyday existence, "a transformed state of being"¹² (ibid. p. 59). Bjälesjö (1999) expresses similar thoughts, although more empirically based, using the Swedish event *Hultsfred* as an example.

The component parts of festival frames, can, according to Falassi (1987), be recognised as rites. He identifies nine rites, of which not all will be present at every festival. The *rite of valorisation* is that which opens the festival and modifies the daily function of time and space. This rite is a way of reclaiming an area and excluding it from normal activities. This type of rite will normally be the opening concert of music festivals. *Rites of purification* are often part of the opening ceremony. During these the festival area is cleansed by either fire, water or air, evil is expelled, and the magical defences of the community against natural and supernatural enemies are renewed. *Rites of passage* are those that signal the transition from one life stage to the next. Such rites may be part of a festival, and include for instance transition from youth to adulthood, or initiation into other groups such as religious or occupational ones. Indeed, the festival may also be thought of as a rite of passage in itself. For young people attending large rock or pop festivals for the first time, their participation may mark the beginning of adulthood, and will almost inevitably involve a process of initiation, or a confirmation of their

¹¹ It is worth mentioning that the word community, when used in relation to festivals, has at least two different connotations, both of which will be explained in this chapter. Firstly, there is an understanding of the festival *as* a community that coheres or is created by the totality of all the festival participants. Secondly, several authors write about the relations between the festival and the local community hosting it.

¹² Writing from within the communist Soviet Union during the 1930s, Bachtin (1986) expressed similar thoughts about festivals being liminal, producing exceptional frames of time and space, 'time out of time'. He also saw festivals, in the form of carnivals, renewing the life stream of a community by introducing chaos and disorder, symbolically represented by inversion and disguise, and then reintroducing culture and society at the end of the festival period.

belonging to a musical community (see for instance Bjälesjö, 1999 or Eriksson, 2004). *Rites of reversal* are represented by symbolic inversions of, for instance, sex roles, in which men dress like women and vice versa, or a change of social roles, the ruling class serving the working class. Sacred and profane spaces can also be used in reverse. *Rites of conspicuous display* are executed through making visible symbolic elements of the community, such as sacred shrines and magic objects. Flower arrangements, lights and flags may also serve as such objects, and are common props at music festivals, at least classical ones. *Rites of conspicuous consumption* will usually involve food and drink in excess at feasts or a festival banquet. *Ritual dramas* are rites with a strong connection to myths, and are staged to display important events from the mythical or historical memory of the community. *Rites of exchange* express the abstract equality of the community members by letting money and goods be exchanged, for instance at a fair. Ritual gifts, information and visits are also exchanged on a more symbolic level. For instance it is quite common to give the performers flowers at the end of a concert. *Rites of competition* exist in the form of games, and show how equality may be turned into hierarchy. “By singling out its outstanding members and giving them prizes, the group implicitly reaffirms some of its most important values” (Falassi, 1987, p. 5). Such competitions are quite usual in connection with music festivals, and can involve choosing a festival artist, composer or musician. *Rites of devalorisation* mark the end of festivals, and are symmetrical to the opening rite. By taking part in this rite, it is possible for the attendees to return to the normal dimensions of daily life. At music festivals, this rite will commonly be represented by a closing concert.

Waterman (1998) touches upon the function of arts festivals, which he calls ‘high brow’ events, or in other words, elite festivals “given by the establishment for itself” (Falassi, 1987, p. 3). Like Bourdieu (1984), Waterman (1998) recognises that supporting the arts has traditionally been a part of the process whereby the social elite has distinguished itself from the lower social classes, and he finds that one of the important roles of arts festivals is “the legitimation of an elite by shaping norms of public discourse” (ibid. p. 57). However, the fringes of high brow festivals, often characterised by less conventional artists and programmes and a more innovative attitude, are seen as important discursive arenas in which “social identities are constantly constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed” (ibid. p. 63). Waterman (ibid.) recognises arts festivals’ role in promoting a place, and his opinion is that, even though modern arts festivals might not intend to reflect local tradition, most do. In addition, audiences for most festivals are predominantly local. He also points to the phenomenon of festivals linking the local and the global, and his opinion is that exhibiting both local and global facets is more common than not doing so.

Writing on arts festivals’ role in urban contexts, and focusing especially on non-economic outcomes, Quinn (2005) develops further the idea of how festivals might be seen as occasions for expressing collective belonging to a place. Using public feasts for such a purpose is not a new approach. For instance Muir (1997) has shown this to be the case in Western Europe between the 12th and 18th centuries, particularly in city-states like Venice. According to Ekman (1999), festivals also create opportunities for drawing on shared stories, cultural practices and ideals, and can as such provide local continuity in an arena where local knowledge is produced and reproduced. However, Quinn (2005) is critical about what she calls ‘hype’ about the theoretically catalytic effect that festivals may have in urban contexts. By this she infers a lack of “hard evidence” (ibid. p. 928) and a profound lack of empirical research on arts festivals’ roles in and contributions to urban life. Although sceptical, and wanting more comprehensive studies of festivals’ impact, she has analysed what researchers have written about experiences of city festivals such as those in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Galway, Barcelona and Sydney, and found four themes that seem to contribute to an understanding of

the relationship between festivals and cities: 1) the festival as image-maker; 2) the festival as tourist attraction; 3) the festival as community; and 4) globalisation and local diversity.

Related to the festival as image-maker, Quinn's (ibid.) opinion is that festivals can certainly be used for marketing a town, but that too many cities have seen festivals as "a sort of 'quick fix' solution to their image problems" (ibid. p. 932). Such solutions may not only be choices or strategies stemming from the cities themselves. In two magazines published by the Norwegian department of urban development, *Statsbygg* (Statsbygg, 2005a, 2005b), culture and creative business is emphasised as extremely important for development, creating new life and new workplaces. The large festivals of Moss and Kristiansand are given as examples of 'best practice'. This shows that the 'quick fix' solutions connected to culture may even be imposed on cities from above, so to speak.

The potential of festivals to be tourist attractions has mainly been investigated from the perspective of festivals' economic benefit. Quinn's (2005) objection is that this is a far too narrow approach; and that the function of festivals, as can be seen from ideas of festivity displayed in the literature, should go far beyond mere economy. With respect to the festival as a community, she emphasises that festivals need to be rooted in society, and that it is the responsibility of artistic leaders to put together a programme that meets the diverse needs of different visitor community groups within a place.

Quinn (ibid.) sees, as does also Waterman (1998), festivals as events that mix the local and the global; they are "vehicles through which cultural meanings are expressed for interpretation both by the place-based communities themselves and by the outside world" (ibid. p. 938). She also underlines that festivals need to add something that the local community does not offer to function effectively. That the festival continually reflects on its own role is a precondition for such contributions to endure. Among her conclusions are that arts festivals' impact has been thought of in a far too narrow way, focusing mainly on economics, and that researchers have a role to play in investigating other impacts of festivals, such as improving the quality of life for the attendees and other cultural and social outcomes.

In a Scandinavian context, Bjørkås (2001) has been engaged with the idea of festivals as symbols of what he calls the pluralisation of arts and cultural life. He sees the prosperity of festivals as contributing to the dissolution of the symbolic power ascribed to dominant cultural institutions. In addition, he discusses festivals' crossover tendencies, both regarding the high brow/low brow dimension, and in connection with the mixing of different artistic genres. The flexible organisation of most festivals, together with the multifaceted competence that is necessary for making such events economically viable, is seen in relation to general tendencies in the economy regarding knowledge-based and experience-oriented business, or what Lash and Urry (1994) call the 'economy of signs and space'. Bjørkås (2001) is also concerned with festivals making evident a dislocation of traditional centre-periphery-relations. Such ideas are also touched upon by Walderhaug (2000), who sees festivals as part of a distributed network that can mediate culture on a larger, national or international basis. Whereas centralised and decentralised networks have contributed to the maintenance of powerful arts centres, institutions or organisations wherein art productions and decisions concerning art have been made, and from which 'good art' has been spread to 'the people', one of the characteristics of distributed networks is that all the junctions are just as important and powerful. Since there is no centre in such a network, the most interesting and exciting art productions may take place in the edge zone. With respect to festivals, this means that festival audiences participate in an international arena wherever they are located. "Whether or not the audience live in a metropolis or the so-called periphery, the festival defines itself by the power of a time-limited centre, an eventful meeting between artists and productions from the world out there and our domestic arena" (ibid. p. 65).

Mega-events – research and evaluations

‘Mega-events’ can be described as large, festival-like events. In many ways they fall under the festival definition made by Falassi (1987) in that they are periodically recurrent, social occasions. However, most mega-events (with the exception of carnivals) do not occur more than once at the same place. Some research has been conducted into mega-events like the Olympic Games (Faulkner, Chalip, Brown, Jago, March and Woodside, 2001; Hörte and Persson, 2000; Mihalik and Simonetta, 1998; Persson, 2000; Ritchie, 2000; Spilling, 1998), World Championships (Hultkrantz, 1998), carnivals (Nurse, 1999, 2004) and book fairs (Onsér-Franzén, 1996). In addition, there has been a large-scale evaluation in 2004 (Palmer, 2004a, 2004b) of all the cities that until then had been either a European city or capital of culture¹³ in the European Capital of Culture programme (ECOC), financed by the EU.

Benefits from the Olympic Games have been investigated, either as expected, potential ones for the host population, such as impact on tourism, or long-term effects on host municipalities. For instance, Mihalik and Simonetta (1998) were concerned with the perceptions of the host population for the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta regarding their support for the Olympics, willingness to attend the Games and expectations of potential benefits. Faulkner et al. (2001) emphasised that research aimed to evaluate the effect of such events on tourism in the host city and country were sparse. Such research was seen as important for being able to derive benefits from future events. Spilling (1998) discussed the long-term industrial impacts of the Winter Olympic Games in Lillehammer, Norway, in 1994. He concluded that the long-term impacts were very marginal and completely out of proportion compared to the huge costs of hosting the Olympic Games. Also touching upon long-term effects and the problem of achieving sustainable impact, Ritchie (2000) attempted to demonstrate how legacy planning could help to ensure that hosting mega-events could contribute to the development and consolidation of facilities and programmes that would benefit residents for many years.

The World Athletics Championship in Gothenburg, 1995 was studied by Hultkrantz (1998), who found that, although the event attracted a large number of visitors, the economic effect on tourism was not as large as expected, since the domestic and foreign event attendants ‘crowded out’ regular foreign tourists to the region. He therefore questioned the often-used approach of assessing the benefits of mega-events’ impact on tourism from just attendance numbers.

Nurse (1999) discussed the Trinidad carnival in terms of globalisation, with diaspora, hybridity and identity in global culture as important themes. He saw the carnival, the ‘original’ one in Trinidad, but also the many offsprings in the North Atlantic region, as an example of a cultural counter-flow, which is to say not the usual flow from centre to periphery, but a “periphery-to-centre cultural flow” (ibid. p. 663). In addition, the carnival was seen as a “popular globalized celebration of hybridity and cultural identity” (ibid. p. 685). In a later article, Nurse (2004) also analysed the economic impact of the Trinidad carnival on the tourism and cultural industries, as well as on the wider economy.

The evaluation of the ECOC programme (Palmer, 2004a, 2004b) came to some interesting conclusions. The impact of the ECOC on the host destination and sustainability seemed to be greater when the cultural initiatives were part of a sustained vision for the city, “an integral part of a city’s longer-term cultural development strategy” (Palmer, 2004a p. 171). Context, defined as a city’s history, traditions, values, demography, politics, cultural life, architecture, infrastructure, people and resources, were seen to be important for shaping

¹³ The European City of Culture was launched in 1985, and renamed the European Capital of Culture in 1999.

the character of each ECOC, and positive results came from combining both a local and an international focus and communicating effectively with different publics.

Festivals' economic impact on host societies

Several reports and evaluations suggest that festivals' economic impact on host societies may be large (Aronsen, 2006; Maughan and Biancini, 2004; SQW Limited and TNS Travel and Tourism, 2005; Sussex Arts Marketing, 2004), however evidence of the opposite also exists (Ericsson and Vaagland, 2002; Mehmetoglu, 2002; Spilling and Andersen, 1990). Economic impact seems to vary in accordance with the kind and size of the event, and the number of festival attendees attracted from outside the host society. There are several methodological problems connected to making exact estimations of such impact (Crompton and McKay, 1994; Ericsson, 2003).

In the UK, reports have been written relatively recently that show festivals contribute considerably to the local or regional economy. For instance the Brighton Festival and Fringe, (Sussex Arts Marketing, 2004) was estimated to have an overall economic impact on the local economy of £20.36 million. For every £1 spent on tickets by festivalgoers "the Brighton Festival created an additional spend of £ 22.26 on the city's economy" (ibid. p. 5). Regarding cultural festivals in the East Midlands of England (Maughan and Bianchini, 2004), the 11 festivals investigated were said to have contributed £570,000 to the East Midlands' economy. In addition, £7 million was gained by local shops and businesses in the festivals' host areas. Profits from the Edinburgh Festivals in 2004/2005 (SQW Limited and TNS Travel and Tourism, 2005) were estimated at £170 million in Edinburgh and a slightly higher amount (£184 million) for the whole of Scotland. Recently, an investigation was also made into the economic impact of Quartfestivalen, a huge pop and rock festival based in Kristiansand in the south of Norway (Aronsen, 2006). The total impact of this festival was calculated at NOK 100,300,000.

There are some serious problems with estimating festivals' economic impact in the way shown above. First of all, since the investigators tend to use different models for their estimation, the findings are impossible to compare with each other. Secondly, the festivals themselves often commission the reports, which are designed to produce the positive findings that are needed to legitimate the further existence of the festivals and further public funding. Thirdly, the investigations are mostly carried out by regional research institutes, which may have their own economic and political interests in presenting 'good results' from the region in which they operate. Such issues are also touched upon by Crompton and McKay (1994), who consider that festival economic impact studies are often "not conducted impartially or objectively" (ibid. p. 33). The reports tend to become advocacy documents, and are used to "legitimize the event's public support by endowing it with an aura of substantial economic benefits" (ibid.). The authors even go so far as to say that the external consultants making the investigations are not neutral but hired to tell their clients what they want to hear. In order to show the most typical mistakes made when estimating economic impact, Crompton and McKay (ibid.) made a fictive best- and worst-case analysis of one particular festival. The analysis showed that economic impact can range from \$322 million to \$16 million, depending on which calculation tools one chooses to use. Getz (2005), in discussing the different methods and concepts of economic impact measurement and evaluation of events, lists what he calls a number of misleading presumptions about event impacts. These are that: "all festivals and special events create economic benefits" (ibid. p. 385); "events create lots of employment" (ibid. p. 386) and "all the expenditure of all event-goers can be counted as economic benefits" (ibid. 387). He suggests that the reasons why such presumptions are so widespread are related to what he calls the relative immaturity of event- and festival-related

research. Ericsson (2003) also comments on the methodological challenges connected to calculating festivals' economic impact. She touches upon the 'crowding out' effect mentioned by Hultkrantz (1998) above, and the problem of having to count festival attendances rather than attendees.

Still, not all the festivals that have been studied have been shown to contribute to the local economy. Mehmetoglu (2002) reported a case study of a community-run festival in Norway that had little direct impact on the host community, mainly because it catered mostly for residents. Likewise, Spilling and Andersen (1990) found that the festival *Per Gynt stemnet* had "relatively limited economic impact" (ibid. p. 42). However, it was seen as having a large *cultural* significance, both for the audience and for the local environment, and as having contributed much to the development and mobilisation of local cultural life. Ericsson and Vaagland (2002) also came to similar conclusions in their report of three festivals in the southeast of Norway. The festivals were not found to contribute much to the local economy but were nonetheless a resource for local cultural life, and provided important arenas for cohering parts of the local population.

Festivals' social and cultural impact on host societies

Nine years ago, Formica (1998) complained that investigations into socio-psychological issues related to festivals had been left almost unexplored. Also, Quinn (2005) touched upon the fact that, although the literature is full of references to the social and cultural value of arts festivals "there is a real shortage of in-depth, empirically grounded analysis of the issues involved" (ibid. p. 939). According to Gursoy et al. (2004), researchers have been slow in directing research beyond economic impacts and motivations, despite the fact that the number of festivals and special events has grown considerably in recent years. This growth has opened up "a series of research questions regarding the social, environmental, and cultural impacts of festivals and special events on local communities" (ibid. p. 171).

Delamere, Wankel and Hunch (2001) described the process of developing a scale to measure residents' attitudes toward the social impacts of community festivals. In so doing, they recognised that such impacts were often external to most forms of economic valuation. "These impacts are less tangible than economic impacts, and are more difficult to understand and resolve" (p. 11). In a subsequent article, Delamere (2001) verified the scale by testing it on a community hosting a folk music festival. The final scale included the *social benefits* of community festivals, divided into community benefits and individual benefits, and also the *social costs* connected to hosting such festivals:

Table 1. Social costs and benefits of community festivals (Delamere 2001, pp. 28-29).

Social Benefits of Community Festivals	
<i>Community Benefits</i>	<i>Individual Benefits</i>
Enhanced image of the community	Meeting festival performers/workers
Community identity enhanced	Festival acts as a showcase for new ideas
Ongoing positive cultural impact for the community	Having the opportunity to learn new things
Community is unique and special	Opportunity to experience new activities
Sense of community well-being	Variety of cultural experiences
Community gains positive recognition	Personal sense of pride and recognition through participating in the festival
Celebration of community	Personal health and well-being
Improved quality of life in the community	Opportunity to develop new cultural skills and talents
Social Costs of Community Festivals	
Disruption of normal routines of community residents	
Intrusion into the lives of community residents	
Overuse of community recreation facilities	
Influx of visitors reduces privacy within the community	
Community overcrowded during the festival	
Car/bus/truck/RV traffic rising to unacceptable levels	
Noise levels increasing to unacceptable levels	
Festival overtakes available community human resources	
Litter increasing to unacceptable levels	

In investigating the perceived impact of festivals and special events by festival organisers, Gursoy et al. (2004) also found both benefits and costs. Their scale is divided into four parts; community cohesiveness, economic benefits, social incentives and social costs, and although not always using exactly the same expressions, there are substantial overlaps between this scale and the one developed by Delamere et al. (2001) and verified by Delamere (2001):

Table 2. Perceived impact of festivals and special events (Gursoy et al., 2004, p. 175).

Community cohesiveness	Economic benefits
Generate revenues for civic projects	Increase employment opportunities
Enhance community image	Increase standard of living
Build community pride	Encourage locals to develop new facilities
Help preserve local culture	
Help create cohesion in the community	
Social incentives	Social costs
Provide more recreational opportunities	Increase traffic congestion
Promote organizations and businesses	Put pressure on local services
Offer family based recreation activities	Increase crime rate
Enhance community image to outsiders	
Help foster relationship between residents and visitors	
Educational – make people aware	

In addition to presenting their scale, Gursoy et al. (ibid.) made some general observations regarding festivals. They noted, for instance, that festivals and special events reinforce social and cultural identity by building strong ties within a community, and that families, by participating in a festival or special event, demonstrate their commitment to the community, by being an active member, a good citizen, “a potential partner in mutually reciprocal relationships” (ibid. p. 173). Their findings also showed that festival organisers certainly saw their events as contributing to community cohesiveness and as creating social incentives for the local community, but they did not, interestingly enough when seen in relation to the section above, see them as “major contributors to the local economy” (ibid. p. 177).

The two studies reported above do not investigate the ‘real’ social and cultural impact of festivals, but look into what residents of festival-hosting municipalities and festival organisers *believe* are the impacts. As can be seen, a lot of the focus is on building group and place identity, which might include enhancing the image of the community and its self-identity, building community pride, creating cohesion, celebrating the community, preserving local culture, giving the inhabitants the feeling that their place of living is unique and special and creating a sense of community well-being. Among the very few empirical investigations made of such issues, there are those by De Bres and Davis (2001) and Derrett (2003).

Frisby and Getz (1989) claim that festivals are held in order to promote and preserve local history or culture. This was partly the case with the festival reported by De Bres and Davis (2001). They claimed that the Rollin’ Down the River Festival in Kansas was mainly put on to “promote a sense of community, kinship, and place” (ibid. p. 327) in what the authors refer to as a state with a particularly poor self-image. During five weeks of, amongst other things, staging historical events, focusing on the rural heritage and giving different communities positive recognition, the inhabitants of Kansas attending the festival were able to “identify easily and in a positive way both with the local community and with the local river towns themselves” (ibid. p. 334). Although the authors claim to have based the article on questionnaires sent to the committee chairs of the festival (only 20 completed questionnaires were returned), the text is close to what Formica (1998) describes as a conceptual one, mainly describing or reporting the festival rather than researching it. However, De Bres and Davis (2001) made some interesting observations. The festival seemed to promote cohesiveness through involving the families of the community, young and old. Hence, the event “brought families together to share their heritage” (ibid. p. 332). Likewise, they pointed out that events held in small communities were likely to attract more people than events held in larger communities. “Success was, therefore, inversely related to population size” (ibid.).

In reporting from four different community festivals in regional Australia, Derrett (2003) showed how these events demonstrated their respective host community’s sense of place. By means of case studies, she investigated four community cultural festivals, “their character, what influenced it, and the relationships between festivals and stakeholders” (ibid. p. 50). Among her conclusions, was that the festivals celebrated “a sense of place through organising inclusive activities in specific, safe environments” (ibid. p. 57). In addition, they were seen as an “outward manifestation of the identity of the community and provided a distinctive identifier of place and people” (ibid.).

That festivals may function as a manifestation of a community to the outside world, was also visible through the scales of Delamere (2001) and Gursoy et al. (2004). Among other things, they pointed out that festivals were assumed to enhance community image. Reporting respectively from Hultsfred and Arvikafestivalen, Bjälesjö (1999) and Eriksson (2004) showed how two small, Swedish towns had become visible to a whole country through hosting large rock and pop festivals. In Eriksson’s (ibid.) report, interviewees stated: “most importantly, the festival has put Arvika on the map” (ibid. p. 4). This particular festival was seen as important for the image of its host municipality. Similar effects were reported in

connection with the Norwegian Quart festival (Aronsen, 2006). Here, the emphasis lay on how this particular festival had contributed to changing a town's image, from rather closed, heavily connected to religion to become "modern, vital and open" (ibid. p. 63). The festival was seen to signal diversity and tolerance, and was perceived as marketing its host region. Some of the English reports mentioned earlier also touched upon social and cultural impacts, with conclusions that were comparable to the ones in the Scandinavian reports (see for instance Maughan and Bianchini, 2004).

There are reasons to warn against research and evaluation results being too optimistic also regarding festivals' social and cultural impact. As with economic impact (Crompton and McKay, 1994), festival administrators and consultants alike have their own interests in producing good results, and so have many of the people interviewed, such as community and regional managers of culture and representatives of local business.

Among other ongoing research into festivals' social and cultural impact, is the large interdisciplinary project supported by the European Festival Association, the European Festival Research Project (EFRP), which brings together researchers from across Europe, and from a wide range of academic fields. Among their objectives, is "to analyze the combined investment in various festival formulae and their artistic, economic and social impact" (EFRP research team, 2004, pp. 1-2). In 2006, the group also arranged a workshop on the subject of the "local impact of international festivals" (EFRP research team, 2006). In Norway, the regional research centre, Agder Research (Hjemdahl, 2006), studies to what degree and how festivals in their region (the southern part of Norway) take part in regional and local identity and innovation processes.

Festivals and matters of learning and education

That festivals may have an educational function is touched upon by several of the authors referred to above. For instance the EFRP research group (2004) mentions that the "educational role of the festivals is revealed in their impact on the audience, participants, staff and volunteers, advancing their appreciation of arts but also their intercultural competence" (ibid. p. 3). De Bres and Davis (2001) speak of the Kansas festival as having various benefits including that of educating local inhabitants about their own heritage. Among the social incentives mentioned by the participants in the study of Gursoy et al. (2004) festivals have an education role in making people aware. Also Delamere (2001) mentions that, included in the category of individual benefits, festivals bring opportunities for attendants to learn new things, and develop new cultural skills and talents. The only article I found that is entirely dedicated to looking at festivals from an educational perspective, is that by Snell (2005), in which the author investigates how the "transmission of music teaching and learning" (ibid. p. 2) takes place in an informal, musical environment, namely the Canadian OM festival. For reasons that have to do with the disposition of this chapter, the content of this article will be discussed more thoroughly in a later section.

Relevance to this study

All the writings referred to above, empirically based or not, are part of the broad, interdisciplinary festival research base on which this study rests. However, certain aspects of these studies have more relevance than others to providing ideas and suggesting possibilities for the festival study reported in this thesis. Therefore, an attempt to accentuate some especially important issues will be made here.

Within the more theoretical writings as well as the empirically based research, the theme of festivals' connection to the development of local identity comes through as a leitmotif. Falassi (1987) speaks of festivals' connections with a community's social identity and

historical continuity; and Quinn (2005) mentions how they can be occasions for the expression of the local collective, and even as image-makers. Both Delamere's (2001) and Gursory et al.'s (2004) conclusions point out that festivals are events that enhance the image and identity of a community, whilst creating cohesion and building community pride. These authors also hold that the reinforcement of the community's social and cultural identity happens because festivals are able to build strong ties within a community. Ekman (1999) shows how this is done by emphasising how festivals create opportunities for attendants to draw on shared stories, cultural practices and ideals, being arenas wherein local knowledge is produced and reproduced. De Bres and Davis (2001) points out that involvement of families, young and old, promotes cohesion. From these writings it would seem that festivals' development of local identity takes two forms. Firstly, they can be seen and used as *outward manifestations* of community identity, as image-maintainers or image-makers, putting places 'on the map'. Secondly, festivals can contribute to reinforcing cohesiveness *within* a community, strengthening the bonds between its members in the ways mentioned above. It is with both these aspects in mind that this study's third research sub-question is formulated in terms of how a particular festival contributes to development of local identity in its host municipalities.

Through looking at previous festival research it becomes clear that there has been a great emphasis on investigations into economic matters. This sort of quantitative research has not only been done to a large extent, also, its assumed 'safe measurements' are not as exact as could be wished for. Researchers within the festival field express a need and a wish for investigations that are concerned with festivals' social and cultural impact, for instance as impact upon identity development. Such approaches are also mentioned as desirable, due to the increasing number of festivals in recent years.

The idea that festivals are discursive arenas in which social identities are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed (Waterman, 1998) constitutes one of the basic conditions for believing that a music festival may have impact upon the construction of musical identity, as formulated in this study's first research sub-question. It may also contribute to the development and maintenance of parallel musical identities, as articulated in the second research sub-question. Falassi (1987) defines 'festival' as a social occasion in which members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious or historical bonds, participate and share a worldview. This understanding also points to the concept of festivals being discursive constructions. Music festivals might be seen to attract certain affinity groups, or musical communities, united by their love for music in general, or for particular genres or styles.

That festivals are seen as having educational functions by several authors, supports the idea of looking at a music festival as a source of informal learning, as in the present study. As the EFRP research group (2004) also emphasises, the educational role of festivals is revealed in its impact on the audience and this is also where it is appropriate to investigate it. However, the research referred to above only gives a superficial hint of what the educational content and learning outcomes may be, using such overarching and intangible concepts as 'increased appreciation of art', 'intercultural competence', 'knowledge of heritage', and 'opportunities to learn new things and develop new cultural skills and talents'. However, the assumption that festival attendance results in learning is not grounded in any form of educational, or more specifically, learning theory.

Overall, when it comes to festivals' social and cultural impact, or more particularly their impact on identity development and their educational role, there is a lack of theoretically grounded empirical research. This study aims to contribute to the development of this field.

Research within music education and related fields

The music education research field is wide and related to a number of adjoining fields, and constantly expanding, as accounted for in the previous chapter. To give a full overview in this text is neither possible, nor desirable. Therefore, a decision was made to present only those areas which were considered to be most relevant, which is to say, community music, music teaching and learning practices outside formal schooling, and research regarding music and identity. As those areas are not purely music education, this section will also draw on studies made within amongst others ethnomusicology, music sociology and music psychology.

Community music

In an attempt to define the concept of ‘community music’, Veblen and Olsson (2002) conclude that it concerns people making music, participating and being educated through a “wide range of mediums, music, and musical experiences” (ibid. p. 730). They give a long list of possible scenarios for community music activities, including “church choirs; brass bands; local orchestras; music programs for the young; Elderhostel; singalongs at the seniors’ centre; ethnic celebrations; parades; fêtes; festivals; internet users; fan clubs; chat rooms; youth bands (rock, garage, punk, and the latest thing); adult barbershop quartets; doo-whop singing; non-profit coffeehouses with local performers; barn dances, contra dances and square dances with live musicians; the local jazz ‘scene’; recorder ensembles; bell ringers; local music schools; private piano studios; and voices lessons in the home” (ibid). Although long, the authors emphasise that this list is only partial, and that other community music activities certainly exist. In welcoming authors to *The International Journal of Community Music*, Elliott and Veblen (2004) suggest that community music may be thought of as “music teaching-learning interactions and transactions that occur ‘outside’ traditional music institutions” (ibid.) or similar interactions and transactions that operate in relation to traditional institutions. While Veblen and Olsson (2002) explicitly connect community music with making and creating music, Elliott and Veblen (2004) leave this matter untouched. Drawing on Small (1998), I claim that community music also involves listening, including that of the practical musician and the audience. In developing his concept of ‘musicking’, Small (ibid.) is very clear that “musicking is, first and foremost, performing and listening” (ibid. p. 214). If we transfer this definition onto community music activities, the listener’s perspective becomes important for at least two reasons: 1) listening is inevitably an important part of music learning processes, wherever they occur, and different kinds of listening skills are, according to Swanwick (1994), part of what may be counted as musical knowledge; and 2) listeners are important participants in community music activities, and also when communities make music together. Many of the scenarios for community music activities mentioned above demand audiences to be ‘complete’, and a festival is certainly such a scenario. Previously, I quoted Falassi (1987) who touched upon the ritual traits of festivals. Likewise, Small (1998) holds that concerts, regardless of genre, also bear such traits, and that performers and audience participate in these shared, ritual musical performances on equal terms whilst making different contributions.

I am well aware that the concept of community music is an overarching one, incorporating music teaching and learning practices outside formal schooling. With this in mind, I have chosen to elucidate three studies, two which use different ways to take a ‘grand perspective’ on musical activity and development within a larger community (Finnegan, 1989; Heiling, 2000), and one which discusses the impact upon self-understanding and development of aesthetic knowledge which comes from what can be seen as life-long participation in community music activities (Rusten, 2006).

Finnegan (1989) surveyed the entire range of local music in one particular English town, Milton Keynes, in the early 1980s. Observing everything from classical orchestras to pop and rock groups, and interviewing hundreds of amateur and semi-professional performers, she gave an account of the town's various, parallel local 'musical worlds' and how they were interconnected. Finnegan's work shows well how widespread community music activities are, how many people give over so much of their lives to them and the significance that they can have for the general life of a community.

Heiling (2000) investigated how community and group-coherence interacted with the goal to improve the musical standard in an amateur brass band. His unit of analysis was the social practice, the band, focusing on what happened in the band's daily work, during rehearsals and concerts. Among the analytical perspectives he used to describe and understand the learning processes going on within the brass band, was that of Lave and Wenger (1991).

In response to concerns with how life-long participation in community music activities impact upon self-understanding and development of aesthetic knowledge, Rusten (2006) devised a research question that touched upon how the musical experiences of an adult amateur musician could be understood in the light of *Bildung*-theory¹⁴. The author chose to draw on the long *Bildung*-philosophical tradition from antiquity to today, with an emphasis on the theory of categorial *Bildung* developed by Klafki (1964). His empirical material was data from extensive interviews with one single person, a man in his 30s whose life had been filled with amateur music making of different kinds and on many levels. Characteristic of this person's musical *Bildung*-process was that, in addition to seeking out 'regular' educational situations, taking classes, singing and piano lessons, he had access to teachers and other significant people, who had opened musical worlds to him through conversation and extensive music listening. Rusten (ibid.) concluded that music education is neither a professionally oriented education, directed towards perfection, or a 'hobby activity', free from difficulties, and in which pupils are never challenged by artistic and personal growth. In his opinion every kind of music education has the potential of being a *Bildung* activity of optimal level.

Music teaching and learning practices outside formal schooling

As said above, Elliott and Veblen (2004) defined community music as music teaching-learning interactions and transactions that occur outside traditional music institutions. Folkestad (2006), however, when discussing formal and informal learning situations versus formal and informal ways of learning, claims that, when moving to the informal field, it makes no sense to talk about teaching. Rather, informal musical learning practices lead to a shift in focus, "*from teaching to learning*" (ibid. p. 136), and when moving further towards the learner, attention will be, not on what to learn, but *how* to learn. As a consequence, he sees the music education field as dealing with all kinds of formal teaching of music, while the field of *research* in music education should "deal with all kinds of musical learning, irrespective of where it takes place (or is situated), and how and by whom it is organised and initiated" (ibid.)¹⁵. Thinking about and researching music learning in such a broad way is a rather new

¹⁴ For a discussion of the German *Bildung*-tradition in relation to the American curriculum-tradition, and a definition of its concepts, see Westbury, Hopmann and Riquarts (2000).

¹⁵ In the forthcoming chapter, I will discuss more thoroughly whether attending a music festival as an audience member can be seen as participating in either a formal or informal learning situation. This discussion also draws on authors other than Folkestad (2006).

approach, at least in a Scandinavian, and perhaps also in a European context.¹⁶ Still, some studies have been conducted, above all in Sweden, but also in Norway, England and Canada, that shed new light on the kind of music learning that takes place outside the context of formal schooling. Most of those are concerned with the learning processes experienced by rock, pop and hip-hop musicians (Berkaak and Ruud, 1994; Fornäs, Lindberg and Sernhede, 1995; Green, 2002; Gullberg, 2002; Johansson, 2002; Lilliestam, 1995; Söderman and Folkestad, 2004), some deal with learning among youngsters working with different kinds of multimedia (Folkestad, 1996; Wingstedt, 2005), while others are concerned with music and informal learning as part of everyday life (Batt-Rawden and DeNora, 2005) or, as earlier mentioned, through participating in music festivals (Snell, 2005).

In the early, longitudinal study by Berkaak and Ruud (1994), the researchers followed a rock band for ten years, through the development from a local band in a Norwegian suburb to meeting the music industry in Los Angeles. Summing up the style of learning within the band, the authors emphasise that it is the totality of practising, performing and social function that makes “the learning processes of a rock band so efficient” (ibid. p. 45). Fornäs et al. (1998) also pointed to similar aspects in their study of rock bands. They found that the learning process within the informal practice of a rock band included much more than just learning to play music. For instance, the band members learned practical skills, they were trained linguistically, and just joining the band was also a part of the formation of the band members’ personal identity. According to Folkestad (2006), these two studies exemplify in a good way how informal learning “features an integrated learning on a more holistic level” (ibid. p. 137).

An early study of playing by ear was conducted by Lilliestam (1995, 1996), who described this process as consisting of three major steps, namely listening, practicing and performing, the latter being understood to be an equally important part of the learning process as the other two steps. According to the author this is an aspect often forgotten in formal tuition. Also, he pointed to the fact that orality and literacy should not be seen as opposite conditions, but rather as a continuum in which different cultures may have different degrees of literacy. His solution was to talk about oral or literate *strategies*, “which we use for different aims and which work more or less well for different purposes” (Lilliestam, 1996, p. 197).

Further investigations by Johansson (2002) into ear-playing and learning practices among musicians within popular music styles, looked into ear players’ strategies when confronted with having to play along with a recording at first listening. Three rock songs were written and recorded especially for the study, increasing in difficulty with respect to chord progressions; and the participants’ playing was recorded on tape and video. The participants were interviewed after having played the songs. The author found two main types of learning strategies: listening strategies and playing strategies, each with individual variations. For instance, strategies might involve listening for well-known harmonic formulas *or* the bass part and deducing the chord from this, or playing chords or melodic figures *or* playing intuitively, by means of what Johansson (ibid.) called ‘instant learning’. The author’s conclusions were that ‘ear-playing’ first and foremost is learnt by playing by ear, and that this also happens style by style, by becoming familiar with specific clichés, harmonic formulas and other style traits.

Gullberg (2002; Gullberg and Brändström, 2004) studied music learning and socialisation and musical preferences and ideals in relation to non-institutional and institutional learning environments. Among her methodological approaches was letting two groups of musicians, one with a scholarly music background and one from the non-university music scene, arrange

¹⁶ Wider definitions of music education and music learning have of course existed. See for instance Rauhe (1978) and Sidnell (1987) in the previous chapter.

and record a rock song composed especially for the project. The results showed that the way music was performed and what styles were preferred to a large degree depended on how one had played and learned music. On the basis of three studies, the author offered a model of musical socialisation, emphasising that early musical influences and training are decisive for how we perceive and approach both institutional and non-institutional learning environments.

Published the same year as Gullberg's (ibid.), Green's (2002) study of how popular musicians learn focussed on the skills, knowledge and self-conceptions of popular musicians, how such musicians acquired their skills and knowledge, and their attitudes and values in learning to play popular music. The study was based on interviews with 14 pop musicians. Green (ibid.) discussed her project in relation to Lave and Wenger's (1991) theories of situated learning, but concluded that they were not applicable for the learning situations she was looking into. This was partly because she considered that young pop musicians were not surrounded by an adult community of practicing 'master' musicians, but rather a community of peers, but also because a great deal of their learning was solitary, rather than community-based. The results from the study showed that the overriding learning practice of the beginner popular musician was that of listening to recordings and copying what was heard. However, peer-directed learning and group learning were also seen as significant practices.

In looking into how hip-hop musicians learn, Söderman and Folkestad (2004) found that the lyrics were foregrounded in the collective, creative process. The study followed two groups of hip-hop artists in Sweden in a recording studio. The groups were asked to create and record a hip-hop tune against a ready-made beat. The creative process was videotaped, and interviews were conducted with the group members about their working processes after the recording session, using the video as a point of departure for the interview ('stimulated recall'). The authors found the separation between music and lyrics to be an important part of hip-hop, but also discussed the musical elements of the text. They saw the changeable element of hip-hop as fitting "well with the educational discourse of *life-long learning*" (ibid. p. 324) because working processes always lead to unfinished, non-manufactured products. Also, hip-hop was seen to have what they called a 'mousiké' aspect because of the style's integration of dance, visual arts, music and words.

Having investigated the situated practice of young people creating music using computers and synthesisers, Folkestad (1996) concluded that music-making in the constantly changing world of media technology altered the ways in which people learn music. Taking this approach a step further, Wingstedt (2005) looked into musical narrative functions in multimedia. He invented a tool (REMUPP) to allow the user/study participant to create his or her own soundscape to videogame-like films by manipulating the musical parameters of some basic pre-composed musical examples. Twenty-three participants were "given the task of adapting musical expression to make it fit three visual scenes shown on a computer screen" (ibid. p. 28). The results indicated that the participants had "awareness and knowledge about conventions and codes of musical narrative functions" (ibid.) and that this seemed to be affected by gender, musical backgrounds and habits of music listening and media use. An interesting topic for further research mentioned by the author is whether or not it is possible to investigate the playing of videogames and such as informal learning practices with the terms discussed above.

In focusing on music and informal learning in everyday life, Batt-Rawden and DeNora (2005) dealt with two interrelated themes: 1) musicking (Small, 1998) as a medium of world making, through which social worlds, identities, bodies and situations are constructed; and 2) learning and being taught how to musick, including "how to *use* music – what music does, what it can do and how it can be tapped for social purposes" (ibid. p. 289). The study, which was built partly on the theories of Lave and Wenger (1991), focused on informal learning as situated in and derived from everyday life experiences, and partly on DeNora's (2000) study

of music in daily life (for further information about this particular study, see below). 22 participants, all of whom suffered from chronic illness, were engaged in a “procedure of musical exchange” (ibid. p. 293), and were given CDs at bi-monthly intervals as a means to make them aware of how to use music for self-care. The participants were also encouraged to tell their life stories, and stories of being well and being ill through musical narratives and metaphors. The aim of the study was to explore the links between musicking, well-being and health. The participants considered themselves to have gained autonomy, and that empowerment was created in and through musicking, “musical listening, musical reflection, musical narrative” (ibid. p. 299).

In an earlier section, I referred to a study by Snell (2005) of the Canadian OM festival from the perspective of music education. This study combined participant observation with interviews with four festival attendees. The analysis was presented as an attempt to “help demonstrate the potential of all kinds of festivals as music education tools” (ibid. p. 2). The author saw music festivals as valuable sources for music educators and sociologists considering music education in community contexts. According to Snell (ibid.), music festivals are in a particularly unique position to provide exceptional musical experiences and lasting memories. This is due to the outdoor settings often used at such events, the community contexts created, the possibility for the participants to immerse in a musical context for several nights and days, close performer-audience relationships, including exchanges of information between performers and attendees, and the large variety of music often offered at such occasions. With particular reference to the OM festival, she writes: “With such a wide variety of rich musical, artistic and cultural experiences to explore, it seems clear that the OM festival is a perfect location for community music learning to take place” (ibid. p. 6). Snell (ibid.) was also concerned with learning experiences more directly, and writes about the more formal settings provided by the festival in the form of workshops, and also “the vast array of less formal training that takes place while people are immersed in a musical context for several days and nights” (ibid. p. 27). As examples of the learning outcomes of such more informal settings she mentions being exposed to new genres and musical styles, learning about new instruments, and learning by observing the performance techniques of participating musicians. She was also concerned with the learning that took place after the festival, as a consequence of the event, such as audience members taking singing or drumming lessons. The interviewees also mentioned deep, world-transforming experiences as part of their learning: “It definitely had a life-changing impact on my life (...) there was definitely something spiritual in the experience” (ibid. p. 15). Snell also touched upon the educational role of the festival administrators, saying that although the organisers were not trained as music educators, “it is clear that, through their work with the OM festival, they show a desire to provide a variety of music-education oriented experiences for the community” (ibid. p. 26).

Snell’s (ibid.) study is certainly interesting, although her methodological and theoretical approaches could be discussed further. For instance her sample of interviewees is very small, and the interviewees are not just anybody among the festival attendees, they were all involved in the festival as organisers, performers or volunteers. This is laid open to the reader, but is not discussed, for instance in terms of how the interviewees’ position towards the festival influenced their positive attitudes towards it. The study also seems to lack a theoretical perspective with respect to how learning may occur in a festival context. Furthermore, learning experiences are not discussed in relation to theories of musical learning or knowledge. Hence, the article has more the traits of a conceptual study of a festival, rather than a research article.

Research regarding music and identity

Research concerning identity has been conducted within the music education field first and foremost with respect to the identity formation of music teachers (see for example Bernard, 2004; Bouij, 1998a, 1998b; Dolloff, 1999a, 1999b and Roberts, 1993). However, connections between music and identity have also been explored in many of the fields surrounding or overlapping that of music education, such as musicology, music therapy, music sociology and music psychology. It is my intention here to draw mainly on the studies conducted by DeNora (2000), Ruud (1997) and some of the works mentioned in the anthology of MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell (2002), in order to shed light on some of the recent research on music and identity that connects to the present study.

The overall aim of Ruud's (1997) study was to explore connections between music and identity. His empirical material consisted of musical self-narratives reconstructed and mediated by a large number of music therapy students through interviews, writings and tapes. The participants were first asked to put together a tape with music that had left some kind of traces from their adolescence, then "some of the people were interviewed to further deepen the experiences, but most of them only delivered a [written] 'musical' autobiography" (ibid. p. 60). Ruud asked his participants to write down memories of central experiences with music through performing, listening, and music education, or as peak experiences that were somehow connected to music. The aim was to map situations wherein the music had made "a lasting impact on the person's biography" (ibid. p. 59). Even if most of the situations were connected to music listening, active music making was often a part of the stories. Ruud's reason for using such a methodological approach was the belief that identity is created through the stories we tell about ourselves, and that such stories have their origin in memories about experiences that have moved us in some way. "By choosing from those memories, and by combining them in new ways, we create a picture of ourselves wherein we feel coherence, continuity and meaning in the course of life" (ibid. p. 10). According to Ruud (ibid.), it is our experiences with music, rather than the music itself, that constitute the point of departure for our identity work.

During the study, the author found that the participants had certain ways of constructing themselves when remembering their life through music. In an attempt to capture this construction in all its dimensions, he developed four themes, or 'modes' of construction, and used the metaphor of a room to name them: 'the personal room', 'the social room', 'the room of time and space' and 'the transpersonal room'. The stories related to the personal room were characterised by early experiences with music, often together with close relations such as parents or grandparents. These were tales of developing consciousness and emotions through music, and also ability of expression, fantasy, musical and other kinds of competence, and experience of self. Within the social room, the music became a marker of the subjects' own identity, and a means for communicating that identity to others. Issues of idols, authenticity, credibility, conformity and independence were important. Furthermore, the music was used in relation to gender, to create cohesiveness, and as a mediator of values. The room of time and space included stories of how music may give people their sense of time, through being connected to everyday rituals, seasons and holidays, but also of how music can be used as a marker of life cycles, how it can give people a feeling of belonging historically to a specific place, a nation or an ethnic minority, or how music can be used to make contact with people's traditions and roots. Within the transpersonal room examples were given of how listening to or performing music can lead to changed states of consciousness, peak experiences or experiences of the religious dimensions of life. Music was also used as a rite of passage and in addition the author discussed the relationship between emotions and identity.

Many of the topics mentioned by Ruud (ibid.) were also explored in the anthology of MacDonald et al. (2002). For instance, Trevarthen (2002) wrote about the origins of musical identity, and how even infants seem to have a well-developed musical social awareness. Dibben (2002) was concerned with gender identity and music, Tarrant, North and Hargreaves (2002) with aspects of youth and identity, and Folkestad (2002) with how music and national identity is connected. Juslin and Sloboda's (2001) anthology of music and emotions gives an in-depth overview of the field of music and transpersonal experiences, treating the topic from different angles, and letting authors from various disciplines present their research.

Veblen and Olsson (2002) surveyed research on how affinity groups seem to be centred around different musical styles, and how individuals express their identities through being members of such groups, or musical communities. Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald (2002), writing within their own anthology, very strongly emphasised that it is possible to possess several, parallel and even contradictory identities. This view implies that being a member of an affinity group centred around jazz, does not prevent an individual from expressing affinity towards classical music, hard rock, folk music or any other style. Musical identity in Hargreaves et al.'s (ibid.) understanding is mainly taken to mean an individual's taste for music, expressed as style or genre preferences, in other words, a person's self-narrative about a high level of engagement with a certain kind of music. This is what forms musical identities of "most people" (ibid. p. 12). Parallel musical identities are, in such an understanding, side-by-side self-narratives about high-level engagements with more than one kind of music. For instance one person may possess a classical music identity *and* a jazz identity, or multiple identities covering rock, hip-hop and folk music. Musical tastes and preferences do not have to be either/or, but can be inclusive, versatile and multilayered.

DeNora's (2000) research into music's role in everyday life includes a series of ethnographic studies, observations (and participation) in aerobic classes, karaoke evenings and music therapy sessions. The author also studied the effect of background music in shops, and interviewed several women about the "music in their lives" (ibid. p. ix). The aim was to show how music is a constitutive feature of human agency. In many ways, DeNora's (ibid.) research may be said to be a further development of Ruud's (1997), but there is no evidence of this. Where the latter author intended to explore the connections between music and identity, DeNora (2000) showed *how* music becomes such a powerful tool for the construction of self-identity. There is a further discussion of DeNora's (ibid.) theories in the next chapter.

Relevance to this study

The research referred to above, is the context in which this study was undertaken, and constitutes the music educational research base on which it stands. In this section, I attempt to clarify further why this research gives an appropriate base for investigating a music festival as a source of informal learning through its impact upon identity development, at both community and individual levels.

The three studies mentioned under the heading of community music show that it is possible to look into music education matters and investigate community music activities using a 'grand scale', and from a municipality or community perspective. In Heiling's (2000) study, theories of situated learning are suggested as being able to give a possible, epistemological basis for looking into how learning goes about in such community music contexts. All three studies give insight into the dimensions of amateur music making in Western societies, how many people are involved in community music activities, how some spend a large part of their life taking part in them and how deep their commitment tends to be. In particular, Rusten (2006) illustrates in a convincing way that participation in community music activities may be thought of as an educational (*Bildung*-) activity with lasting impact

upon the participants' self-understanding and aesthetic knowledge. Through his investigations he gives empirical evidence to support the idea of the traditional 'material' *Bildung* thought that *listening* to music is also of educational value, whether in the form of solitary listening, or as a concertgoer together with others, as a participant in community music activities.

The research referred to in the section dealing with music teaching and learning practices outside formal schooling is an eye-opener to the possibility of broadening the way we look at musical learning, how such learning, at least potentially, takes place and what it implies. Folkestad's (2006) article is an important reminder that, when it comes to research within music education, looking outside formal contexts for music learning is not only legitimate, but also necessary for researchers. The findings of Berkaak and Ruud (1994) and Fornäs et al. (1998) show that learning within musical communities happens in integrated ways at a holistic level, and these studies also enlighten the close connections between learning processes and identity work.

Altogether, the studies dealing with popular musicians, hip-hop musicians and youngsters learning with the help of new media, remind that, not only should learning be looked for in unexpected places, but also that, as society changes, the means, contexts and possibilities we have available for learning music changes too, leaving the music education researcher with an ever expanding field to investigate. Also, as Batt-Rawden and DeNora (2005) show, learning music is something that happens at the level of everyday life. Snell's (2005) study holds a unique position in relation to this thesis, and is an inspiration regarding the whole idea of looking at a music festival through music education research lenses. She strongly believes that learning music through participating in a festival is possible; and she presents festivals as music education tools, and calls attention to the educational role of festival administrators. Snell (*ibid.*) by citing specific examples of attendees' learning and its content, also understands festivals as contexts that are especially well suited for giving audience exceptional musical experiences and lasting memories.

The studies of Ruud (1997) and DeNora (2000) have relevance for two specific areas. Firstly, they open up the theoretical world of identity development and the connections between music and identity that are discussed in the next chapter. Secondly, they suggest methodological solutions that are applicable to this particular identity paradigm, and solutions that have greatly inspired this study. This is particularly true for the idea that an individual's musical identity or identities is constructed through stories, which have their origin in that person's experiences with music, as thought of in the widest sense, and that it makes sense to investigate musical identity by trying to capture musical self-narratives or autobiographies. The two studies also give directions for what to ask about when making musical life-story interviews, such as for instance early childhood experiences with music, ways of using music in daily life, special memories connected to music, and transcendent peak experiences (and also other kinds of emotional experiences) related to contexts wherein music plays an important part. Hargreaves et al.'s (2002) most significant contribution to the present study is their idea that possession of parallel musical identities is possible.

Summing up on the project's relation to earlier research

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to show how my research project is situated within two different research fields, that of festival research and that of music education, how it relates to earlier research within these two fields, and how contributions from both have led to development of the research questions, guided methodological approaches and influenced my choice of theoretical framework.

The festival research field is, as mentioned earlier, young, developing and exceptionally interdisciplinary. The field of research in music education is wide, constantly expanding, and

related to many adjoining fields, most of which are concerned with music and humanity, in one way or the other. Within the latter, this study claims to be part of a ‘new tradition’, in which researchers think about music education in an open way, and concentrate more on investigating where and how people *learn* music than on the nature of music *teaching*. De Nora (2003a) even goes so far as to talk about a new paradigm, which I relate to this research in the next chapter. There are a few studies within this field that use interconnected theoretical frameworks from which I have taken inspiration and ideas. The situation is quite different within the festival research field. Although there are many assumptions regarding how festivals have social and cultural impact on their audiences and host societies, the field itself as represented by its researchers, calls attention to the lack of empirical research supported by a theoretical framework. It is therefore my humble wish that this festival study, in this respect, could help to break new ground.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As reported in the opening chapter, the theoretical framework of the present study builds heavily upon theories of modernity (Beck, 1994; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Hall, 1992; Lyotard, 1984). This framework makes it possible to put into perspective identity development in contemporary societies, whilst also throwing light on other aspects of late modernity that are recognisable in a music festival, such as the dialectic between the local and the global and the disembedding of social institutions. On the basis of this theoretical foundation, three subordinate theoretical strands are built up, which derive from the ideas of DeNora (2000, 2003a), Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), and Fairclough (1995). The common denominator of these three strands is a concern with identity and identity development in late modern society.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In section one I discuss, mainly by means of the authors mentioned above: the development of modernity into post- or late modernity; aspects of identity in the late modern era; consumption, shopping and identity; and how a music festival may come to be an arena for lifestyle choices in contemporary society. In addition, the close connections between music and identity are explored through theory derived from recent research in music sociology (DeNora, 2000, 2003a).

Section two discusses the music festival's potential as a source of informal learning and also looks into its educational potential, discussing the concepts of formal/informal and intentional/functional education. By means of a theory of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) I explore how a music festival might be understood as a community of practice, how a peripheral participation such as festival attendance might lead to learning, and how learning and identity work are integrated, mutually dependent processes.

In the third section I combine concepts from the first two, adding ideas from critical discourse theory (Fairclough, 1995). I discuss the music festivals' possibilities of creating a variety of settings, different 'rooms' for learning and identity development, the relationship between a structuralist and an agency-focused understanding of the intrinsic possibilities of these rooms, and the reasons why this particular research project is concerned with identity development at both individual and municipality levels. At the end of this last section, the research project is tied to a new, interdisciplinary paradigm, which is designed to study the Musical Event (DeNora, 2003a).

Identity

Modernity and late modernity – an introduction

For a long time our society has found itself in what can be characterised as the era of modernity. The concept of modernity first of all refers to the institutions and modes of behaviour established in post-feudal Europe and which, in the twentieth century, have had worldwide impact (Giddens, 1991, p. 15). Modernity can be understood as more or less equivalent to the industrialised world, as long as industrialism is seen in a broad sense, and includes the social relations implied in "the widespread use of material power and machinery in production processes" (ibid.). Another dimension is capitalism, which refers to a system of commodity production involving open competition on a free market and the commodification of labour power.

The nation state, which is one of modernity's central social forms, has now become global and globalisation has arisen as a result of the cooperation between nation states. This concept refers to the many bonds and connections that transcend the nation states, and which together constitute what we understand as the modern world system (McGrew, 1991, p. 65).

According to Giddens (1991), globalisation must be understood as a dialectical phenomenon in which events in one area of the world often “produce divergent or even contrary occurrences at another” (ibid. p. 22). This dialectic between the local and the global is referred to as *glocalisation* (Robertson, 1995), which implies that “the tendencies towards globalisation and localisation walk hand in hand” (Ericsson and Vaagland, 2002, p. 18).

One of the most distinct characteristics of the modern era is its extreme dynamism. The pace of social change is much faster than in earlier societies, and “so also is its *scope*, and the *profoundness* with which it affects pre-existing social practices and modes of behaviour” (Giddens, 1991, p. 16). In the international music world these phenomena are to be found in the fast development of new styles and the extensive worldwide marketing that constantly presents new music to a global audience. This results in an increasing consciousness of niche products, or the possibility of absorbing oneself in so-called ‘narrow’ styles, understood as local traits or dimensions.

The explanation of the dynamism of modernity is, according to Giddens (ibid.), to be found in three main elements, the first being the *separation of time and space*¹⁷. When time is pulled away from space and marked as a separate entity by the help of the mechanical clock, and the world is given a universal dating system based on standardised time zones, social and experiential differences from all other pre-modern eras are created. Modern systems and organisations try to ‘master time’ by demanding efficiency and planning. This abstracted sense of time also opens for an abstracted understanding of space. Actions that might be disconnected from specific contexts of time and space can be recombined in ways that make it possible to coordinate social activities beyond a particular place (ibid. p. 17). For instance, it is possible for individuals who find themselves thousands of miles apart in different time zones, to make an agreement to meet each other at a specific time in a chat room on the internet. Another possibility is to perform a piece of music simultaneously in five different towns and connect the performance by ether media, as was done by the Norwegian composer Arne Nordheim already in 1975.

The delocalisation that follows the separation of time and space permits the *disembedding* of social institutions. This is the second cause of modernity’s dynamism (ibid.). Relations, activities and ways of thinking are lifted out of traditional connections and placed in new, shifting frames of time and space. This happens by means of governments and trade organisations, the global music industry for instance. What was before founded in and limited to local societies is now disconnected from them. An example within the music world is folk music, which in pre-modern times¹⁸ was only heard in its original context. Through the efficient distribution of recordings, it is nowadays possible for Scandinavians to listen to Mongolian overtone song, and for Australians to have the pleasure of listening to Norwegians playing the Harding fiddle¹⁹. This disembedding also allows different kinds of folk music to meet and combine into a higher unity as ‘world music’. Hence, a large variety of contexts and new possibilities are offered, creating freedom of choice but also insecurity and alienation.

Two kinds of disembedding mechanisms are to be found in modern society: *symbolic tokens* and *expert systems*, which are both characterised as *abstract systems* (ibid. p. 18). Money is an example of a symbolic token, being a means of communication that can circulate without considering the characteristics of groups or individuals. The complexity of modern society makes it necessary to refer to a wide range of experts that infiltrate all aspects of life in the form of doctors, scientists, insurance agents and music educators. ‘Trust’ is a keyword

¹⁷ This change in our experience of time and space is also referred to as *time-space-compression* (Harvey, 1989).

¹⁸ Before modernity, i.e. in feudal society.

¹⁹ A Norwegian folk instrument (violin), generally having four melody strings above the fingerboard, four or five wire sympathetic strings below (Sadie, 2001).

in our association with abstract systems. A specialised society makes it impossible for the individual to consider all circumstances when decisions are to be made. It is necessary to have faith in the functioning of abstract systems in order to be able to act in society, but this includes a risk of being tricked or of exposing oneself to danger.

The third and last element affecting the dynamism of modernity is its *institutional reflexivity*. Modern institutions undergo continuous revision in the light of new information and knowledge. The background of this phenomenon is to be found in the Enlightenment search for a truth built on reason, a “securely founded knowledge of the social and natural worlds” (ibid. p. 21). As an unexpected by-product, science has instead undermined the certainty of knowledge. Everything can be doubted and all theories can be revised.

As a result of its built-in dynamism, modern societies go through constant transformation. This evolution is so profound that our own era is characterised as ‘post-modern’ – after modernity. Somewhat simplified, post-modern theory states that traditional modernity is characterised by the belief that it is possible to uncover fundamental, rational truths, while post-modernity stands for relativism and the dissolving of norms and standards. Lyotard (1984) describes how modernity rests on what he calls ‘grand narratives’: the dialectic of the Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth. For instance, Lyotard’s opinion is that the belief that a true statement will be immediately understood in the same way by both the statement’s sender and receiver, is one of the most basic grand narratives of Enlightenment. The post-modern is characterised by doubts about the validity of these grand narratives (ibid. p. xxiii-xxiv). This doubt is related to what Giddens (1990, 1991) refers to as the continuous revision of modern institutions, but in opposition to Lyotard he is of the opinion that we not yet are able to talk about a post-modern society, rather we live in a high modern or late modern²⁰ era in which we experience a kind of modernity *in extremis*. The concept of ‘reflexive modernity’ is also used by Giddens (ibid.) and Beck (1994) to describe our present. It refers to the built-in dynamism of modernity, which transforms social institutions like class, occupation, gender roles, school and cultural institutions: “This new stage, in which progress can turn into self-destruction, in which one kind of modernization undercuts and changes another, is what I call the stage of reflexive modernization” (ibid. p. 2). According to Beck, we are on our way towards what he calls risk society, in which reflexivity does not necessarily refer to reflection, but rather to confrontation with the unexpected side effects of modernity. Individuals are expected to live with a large variety of different, mutually contradictory global and personal risks (ibid. p. 7). On the global level, there are unwanted effects of industrialism and capitalism, pollution and environmental catastrophes, the dissolution of national and political bonds and the threat of a world-encompassing nuclear war. On the personal level, Beck discusses increasing individualisation, the many possibilities of choice that our kind of society offers or forces upon us, and the existential anxiety that follows from creating your own life story, a do-it-yourself-biography (ibid. p. 15). In a late modern world, which seems both inconstant and unstable, individuals search for safety and a sense of belonging, but are to a great degree left alone when considering the framing of daily life, and how to find a basis for their own identity and self-understanding.

Aspects of identity in the late modern era

Hall (1992) recognised three concepts of identity: the Enlightenment subject, the sociological subject and the post-modern²¹ subject. In the Enlightenment’s understanding, the individual is

²⁰ I will henceforth mainly use this designation.

²¹ This is the designation used by Hall (1992).

seen as unified, “endowed with the capacities of reason” (ibid. p. 275), conscious and capable of action and with an inner core that lasts throughout life.

The sociological subject reflects the complexity of the modern world, but the individual is still seen to possess an inner core, a ‘real self’. This core is shaped in relation to ‘significant others’ (ibid.), who mediate the values, symbols and meanings valid in the cultural context of the particular subject. Identity is formed in the interaction between self and society, and builds a bridge between the inside and the outside, the personal and the public worlds.

In a post-modern or late modern context, the subject becomes fragmented. It is put together by, not only one, but several and sometimes mutually contradictory identities. The process of identification has become “more open-ended, variable and problematic” (ibid. p. 277). Where both the Enlightenment and the sociological subject had an inner core, there no longer exists a fixed identity. In Hall’s post-modern understanding, our identity (or identities) is going through a continuous change in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems that surround us. There is no coherent ‘self’, and if we as individuals still feel we have a unified identity, it is because we tell ourselves and each other stories, “narratives of the self” (ibid. p. 277) to construct meaningful connections. A floating, non-lasting self exists only as a social construction. Such a social constructionist understanding which, according to Burr (1995) has post-modernism as its cultural background, considers language as a kind of social action. Words are used, besides for expressing ourselves, to produce knowledge and meaning. When people talk to each other, they construct the world (ibid. p. 7). Language has a creative and performing role for the post-modern subject. Telling about ourselves, we come into being.

As mentioned before, reflexivity is one of the most important characteristics of modernity. This is not only valid for processes in society at large, but also for the inner self: “Put it in another way, in the context of a post-traditional order, the self becomes a *reflexive project*” (Giddens, 1991, p. 32).

In a pre-modern society, psychic reorganisation, for instance the movement from one phase of life to another, was marked by transitional rites, “rites de passage” (ibid. p. 33). Societies would remain more or less the same throughout several generations, and when changed, the new identity was clearly staked out, as in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. In the context of modernity, the changed self must be explored and constructed by the individual as part of the “reflexive process of connecting personal and social change” (ibid.). The many choices offered by late modern society give possibilities of life, until now unknown; and transitions between different identities happen without reassuring rituals. However, Giddens’ opinion is that different kinds of therapy may play an important role in the recreation of the changed self, not necessarily as a means of coping with a severe life crisis dominated by an overwhelming existential anxiety, but as a natural expression of the self-reflexivity of our time (ibid. p. 34).

Where Hall (1992) discusses the identity of the subject, Giddens (1991) uses the concept of self-identity. Self-identity is to be understood, not as one or several distinctive traits (or a core) possessed by the individual, but as the self understood reflexively by the person “*in terms of her or his biography*” (ibid. p. 53).

To be able to develop and maintain a stable self-identity, a certain ontological security is demanded, to which experiences in early childhood are integral. Predictability and stable, caring persons make it possible for the vulnerable infant to develop a basic sense of trust towards its surroundings, the world. Absence of the same creates anxiety and a disconnected feeling of self. Through daily routines and habits a protective cocoon is established which makes it possible for us to function in daily life. Everyday modernity is so complex, contradictory and full of possible choices that the protective cocoon becomes the individual’s shield against the chaos waiting on the other side, against the overwhelming and paralysing

existential anxiety described by Kierkegaard (ibid. p. 37). A well functioning human being will have a feeling of possessing a stable self-identity, but this continuity is maintained by the individual by means of the narratives of the self (Hall, 1992). Hence, a person's identity is to be found, not in his or her behaviour or in the reactions of others, but in the capacity "to keep a particular narrative going" (Giddens, 1991, p. 54) and to make continuous revisions of it. According to Giddens (ibid.), culture and art may play an important role in the creation of individual self-narratives because of their potential to open for strong emotional experiences. These experiences define, develop and change the self.

Consumption, shopping and identity

Bocock (1992) shows how consumption and lifestyle are mutually interdependent, how the phenomenon of lifestyle comes into existence in modern society, and how it developed as a scientific concept. He refers to how Simmel (ibid. p. 126-127), who lived in Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century, realised that the growing complexity of society made it necessary for people in the metropolis to maintain a blasé attitude to one another. To maintain their autonomy and individuality in a large city, it became necessary to consume within a certain code, which referred to a specific social group and expressed personal preferences. An individual will in this way consume goods, experiences and services in order to clarify her identity to others, and might be able to regulate how and as who she wants to appear. This ordering of consumption into a recognisable *lifestyle* was first conceptualised by Weber (ibid. p. 130) through a discussion of the different social classes' 'stylization of life'.

Bourdieu's (1984) extensive studies during the 1960s mapped the different patterns of consumption, lifestyle and power in French society. He found distinct differences in consumption, attitudes and taste between what he called the dominating class (the bourgeois), the middle class (petit bourgeois) and the working class. Depending on the amount of economic and cultural capital, there could also be significant variations within these three main groups. Bourdieu's inquiries were described in his book *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (ibid.). The word 'distinction' in the main title refers to the fact that the bourgeoisie first of all assert themselves, and keep their superior position with the help of mechanisms attached to taste and the sense of distinction. Taste is first and foremost distaste, and is mainly expressed by negation and by dissociating from other peoples' taste (ibid. p. 56). Human beings classify themselves by their taste, and by their distinctions between the beautiful and the ugly, the elevated and the vulgar, and by doing so clarify their own position in society.

In Bourdieu's understanding, the single individual's choices of lifestyle are limited, not only by economic or social background, but also by their *habitus*, which is developed in early life as a "unifying and generating principal which allows inner and relational characteristics of a position to be expressed through a uniformed style of life, i.e. a uniformed choice of persons, goods and activities" (Bourdieu, 1995, p. 36). Hence, various 'rooms' of lifestyle (ibid. p. 35) appear that people from different social classes move within, but rarely between. Whilst Simmel thought it possible to consume oneself into a lifestyle (Bocock, 1992), Bourdieu (1984) showed that this could be a complicated task. Even if an individual has the possibility to buy the right clothes, listen to the right music and read the leading newspapers, she will, if she is not born into the social class she pretends to belong to, show her true belongings by her body language, speech and ways of thinking, and by not being able to show the necessary aversion towards the lifestyle expressions of other social classes.

The concept of *habitus* described by Bourdieu (ibid.) may be somewhat similar to the cocoon discussed by Giddens (1991), but where the cocoon in Giddens' (ibid.) understanding is described in positive terms as protecting the single human being in a complex and chaotic

world, habitus is described in negative terms as limiting people's possibilities of choice. Where Bourdieu (1984) views lifestyle as something mainly defined and fixed by social background and education, Giddens (1991) said that individuals in late modern society are relatively free to choose their own lifestyle. He underlined that people in traditional cultures did not have this possibility, and claimed that lifestyle today is something, which is 'adopted', not 'handed over' or delivered.

Like Bourdieu (1984), Giddens (1991) defined the concept of lifestyle as a set of routines concerning how to dress, what to eat, how to associate with other people and different ways of behaving, but these routines are reflexively open to change in the light of the shifting nature of self-identity (ibid. p. 81). All of our lifestyle choices, the small everyday and the large with extensive consequences, are "decisions not only about how to act but who to be. The more post-traditional the settings in which an individual moves, the more lifestyle concerns the very core of self-identity, it's making and remaking" (ibid.).

In a post-traditional society we have freedom, understood as nearly endless possibilities for making individual choices, however we are also driven by compulsion in the sense that *we have to choose*. Lifestyle from a late modern perspective is not only about satisfying our daily needs, but also decisive for who we are, our self-identity.

The music festival as an arena for lifestyle choices

It is possible to trace festivals several thousands of years back in time. Still, I will argue that music festivals of the present might be understood as late- or post-modern cultural expressions, and that they carry the signs of our era. The following six points illustrate this:

- As in the area of science, where everything can be doubted and all theories revised, festivals contribute to the dissolution of musical standards and norms. Specific styles no longer have natural dominance, and mixing of styles is both allowed and encouraged. Modernity's grand narrative concerning the undisputable quality of classical music and the canonisation of composers and works is very much in doubt. Festivals present a wide variety of styles²², new, possible and impossible combinations.
- Continuous revision in the light of new knowledge comes through in the festival world as a constant reprogramming from one year to another on the basis of what is experienced as news on the music market. This phenomenon is valid for the total range of festivals, pop and rock festivals to classical ones.
- The organisation of contemporary festivals would have been impossible without the variety of new contexts and the reembedding of time and space caused and allowed by the mechanisms of disembedding (Giddens, 1991).
- There is also an ongoing disembedding from government dominance and the power of definition. Festival entrepreneurs no longer ask the Ministry of Culture for financial support before they start. Money is money, whether it comes from mobile phone companies or philanthropists.
- Festival producers actively participate in global networks and processes, thereby contributing to the connection of the local and the global. This is easily illustrated by

²² Also, of course, including the classical music.

the festival slogans “The world in the North” and “North Bothnia – in the middle of the world”²³.

- By appearing as alternatives to dominant cultural institutions, the festivals challenge the cultural centres of power in capitals and other large cities.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, festivals have ritual traits (Falassi, 1987), and these and similar events may also undertake some of the unifying function of religion in a secular society (Thompson, 1992). Participation in such events can mark the transition from adolescence to adult. However, what is to be discussed here is the importance that music festivals can have as arenas for the lifestyle choices of individuals.

Both Bourdieu (1984) and Giddens (1990, 1991) stress the importance of artistic and cultural expressions’ signalling of identity and lifestyle. Whereas art in Bourdieu’s understanding is one of the most significant means for the distinction and confirmation of identity, Giddens lay stress on the role of art as deliverer of strong, self-defining and self-developmental experiences, which are included within the biographical narratives that ‘compose’ individuals. Bocock (1992) discusses the importance of consumption in relation to the construction of identity, and sees shopping, the buying of goods, experiences and services, as necessary for the clarification of our own identity (ibid. p. 127).

Seen against this background, music festivals function as arenas for staging the late modern subject. The complexity of our time is mirrored through the selection of festivals, and often within one festival, making it possible for the audience to deal with lifestyle compulsions and render them visible to oneself and to others. Festivals also offer a social room, a possibility to be seen while shopping for lifestyle experiences, and thereby the possibility of confirmation. The music combined with the atmosphere and many non-musical experiences offers material for individuals’ unifying narratives. At the same time, by offering their specialities, festivals give the possibility of becoming absorbed in the different aspects of the self, and developing parallel and mutually contradictory identities.

From Bourdieu’s (1984) perspective, it seems that festival audiences use their presence to signify their own taste and disassociate themselves from others people’s taste. There is a large chance that people who attend a chamber music festival have a high level of education and a social origin in the dominant class, whereas accordion and dance music festivals will have an audience with a different socio-cultural background. At the same time, some festivals will contain both chamber music and dance music, and thus attract a broad audience of people who might, when already there, attend concerts that they would not normally have chosen. Some festivals through marketing strategies and through selling festival season tickets, can encourage such behaviour. Hence, music festivals may offer a relatively safe and guided tour out of the cocoon built by habits, habitus-transgressive and non-everyday experiences in a reflexive arena, always open to change, both because of constant reprogramming and because festivals, by their nature, are non-committal. When audience members buy a festival season ticket for all the festival events one particular year, buying subscription or ‘fixed seats’ is out of the question. The audience relates reflexively towards all the programmes of music festivals. If something exciting and innovative emerges, they are ready to abandon last year’s favourite festival, and spend their summer holiday in a new, undiscovered, small and sleepy town.

²³ These slogans are borrowed from the festivals Oslo World Music Festival and Festspelet i Pite Älvdal respectively. The original Norwegian and Swedish quotations are: ”Verden i Norden” and ”Norrbottnen – mitt i världen”.

Music festivals, as arenas for lifestyle choices, might be seen as separate and time-limited discourses, or ways of constructing meaning that impact on our actions and our understanding of ourselves (Hall, 1992, p. 292-293). Within the single festival discourse or social practice, people's ability to relate to its construction of meaning and codes will count for more than status and identity in civilian life. Hence, providing a variety of settings which impact on the audience's actions and understanding of themselves, festivals can have significance for the development of parallel and contradictory identities, thereby allowing the individual to choose and change who to be, and thereby cultivate many expressions of self-identity (ibid.).

Giddens (1991) and Hall (1992) show how individuals can make use of the multiplicity of society to create a self-identity that gathers elements from different contexts into one unifying biographical narrative. A person who is able to do this will draw strength from the ability to feel at home in a wide variety of social settings (Giddens, 1991, p. 190). To be able to make use of one's many identities, to master different contexts and still be able to understand oneself through a unifying biographical narrative, are characteristics of 'the cosmopolitan', the citizen of the world, the healthy, well functioning late modern human being.

This ability to navigate between different identities and lifestyle expressions may not be equally distributed. Mastering of several and parallel identities demands basic trust (ibid. p. 202), understood as ontological security or a certain distance from emotional and material elementary necessities. In Bourdieu's (1984) understanding, this freedom is reserved the bourgeoisie and is characterised by the ease and effortlessness in their relation to the world:

To be able to play the games of culture with the playful seriousness (...) one has to belong to the ranks of those who have been able, not necessarily to make their whole existence a sort of children's game, as artists do, but at least to maintain for a long time, sometimes a whole lifetime, a child's relation to the world (ibid. s. 54).

In the late modern era, identity construction is a necessity of life. If we are not able to unite our biographical narratives, our self-identity will be shattered, and we will dissolve as human beings. This is maybe why Bourdieu (ibid.) refers to games of identity as serious play or playful seriousness and connects them to the dominant class. From this emerges a new distinctive trait, namely the ability to possess, exhibit and master different identities and shift between them according to taste.

Music festivals function as arenas for lifestyle choices and thereby also as arenas for staging the late modern self. To what extent the audience members use the opportunities implicit in the festival, both as happening and as a form, may depend on the person concerned, and on her or his level of mastering identities, which in turn reproduces their social background, economy and education. However, music festivals and their music are not only means used for the outward staging of identity. As Frith (1996) reminds us, music constructs our identity "through the direct experiences it offers the body" (ibid. p. 124). It is functionally integral to the everyday work of identity in a deeper, more inward way, regardless of social class, financial ability or years spent at school.

Music and identity

Music festivals provide above all music, which is in itself a source of material for building identity. It can be used for presenting the self to the outside world as shown above, but also for the everyday construction and reconstruction of the self. To explain how and why music comes to have this kind of function, and how music and identity are connected on a personal level, this section deals with the nature of musical identity, where it is to be found and its content.

Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald (2002) recognise the many modes through which music come to be an important part of our lives. On the one hand it functions as, sometimes unnoticed, background music, but still having a powerful influence on our behaviour, whilst on the other it can be a source of strong emotional and physical reactions, or more specifically what Gabrielsson (2001) calls 'strong experiences of music'. Writing from a social psychological perspective, Hargreaves et al. (2002) build on social constructionist theory, viewing the concept of self and identity in a very similar way as Giddens (1991) and Hall (1992). As mentioned earlier, the ideas of parallel and contradictory identities are central, as is also the idea that the making and remaking of ourselves happens through autobiographical²⁴ narratives.

Hargreaves et al. (2002) discuss two different concepts of musical identity, which they call 'identities in music' (IIM) and 'music in identities' (MII). Identities in music are defined as "aspects of musical identities that are socially defined within given cultural roles and musical categories" (ibid. p. 2), for instance the role of composer, performer, improviser or teacher. On the other hand, music in identities constitutes "how we use music as a means of, or as a resource for, developing other aspects of our personal identities" (ibid. p. 13). These other aspects include, among other things, gender identity, youth identity and national identity. The collection of articles in the edited anthology (MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell, 2002) shows how musical identity is not separate from other aspects of the self, but interconnected and interplaying with a person's total identity base.

As with other kinds of identity, musical identity is "constructed and reconstructed by making comparisons with other people" (Hargreaves et al., 2002, p. 15), and autobiographical narratives, "the stories about ourselves that we tell others and indeed ourselves" (ibid. p. 10), play an important part in this process. Middle childhood and adolescence are recognised as the periods of life when the development of the self-concept becomes increasingly attached to making comparisons with others. However, the development of identity, including musical identity, is considered to be a life-long process. As such, individuals' musical identity is found in and expressed through the continuously revised, musical autobiographies or self-narratives. According to Ruud (1997), these narratives include the music and "important musical experiences, but also the stories we tell about music and narratives about people and situations we experience the music in" (ibid. p. 13).

As mentioned above, using the music festival as arena for lifestyle choices might be a very visible and staged kind of identity work. So also are the efforts of adolescents who identify themselves with a particular pop group, thereby signifying their standpoint towards other adolescents and towards members of their parents' generation. Seen from Bourdieu's (1984) perspective, this is also the case when members of one social class distinguish themselves from other classes by displaying preferences towards some kinds of music and disgust towards others. However, there are more dimensions to the connection between music and identity than just this exhibitionist one. According to Frith (1996), music is a key to identity because it offers "a sense of both self and others, of the subjective and the collective" (p. 110). In addition, there is the inner and more silent everyday work connected to music and the sense of self that will be discussed in the sections below. Displaying a person's total potential for experiences of music and identity would mean to capture the different positions on the continuum between inward construction and outward exhibition, between experiences of the subjective and the collective, and in the interplay between musical identity and all the other aspects of the self that are available to the person in question.

DeNora (2000) explored the role of music in the structuring of everyday experience from a sociological perspective. She investigated how music comes to be "a technology of identity,

²⁴ This is similar to the 'narratives of the self' discussed by Hall (1992) or Giddens' (1991) 'self-narratives'.

emotion and memory” (ibid. p. xi). Her interest lies in the area of how music is active in social life, and how it comes to afford a “variety of resources for the constitution of human agency, the being, feeling, moving and doing of social life” (ibid. p. 45). With reference to Frith (1978), she showed how people construct themselves through music or are constructed by it: “the question we should be asking is not what does [popular] music reveal about ‘the people’ but how does it construct them” (DeNora, 2000, p. 137). Building largely upon Giddens (1990, 1991), she recognised that music is used to create and sustain ontological security, as part of the protective cocoon, and to modulate mood and levels of distress. This work, perhaps recognised in the music world as something performed mainly by a branch of music therapy, is part of what we all do in the course of everyday life: “many of us resort to music, often in highly reflexive ways. Building and deploying musical montages is part of a repertory of strategies for coping and for generating pleasure, creating occasion, and affirming self- and group identity” (ibid. p. 16).

DeNora also provided a theory of musical affect in practice, disregarding the intrinsic ‘meaning’ of music, but claiming that “music’s material provide *resources* that can be harnessed in and for imagination, awareness, consciousness, action, for all manners of social formation” (ibid. p. 24). Hence, since individuals listen to music on the basis of a prior understanding, the meeting between this understanding and the music will simultaneously determine and be determined by the way it is used or interpreted. Artefacts in themselves are not determining, but they may come to be so “via use and always in retrospect, to be associated with descriptive patterns of use” (ibid. p. 35).

So, how do human beings use music? According to his investigation of everyday music listening, Sloboda (1999) recognised six categories of use: memory, spiritual matters, sensorial matters (for pleasure, for example), mood change, mood enhancement and activities. The activity category would include, for instance, using music whilst bathing, working, eating, engaging in intimate activity and sleeping (ibid.). In her research, DeNora (2000) recognised how her interviewees had a highly reflexive relation to their own use of music, with “elaborate repertoires of musical programming practice” as well as sharp awareness of “how to mobilize music to arrive at, enhance and alter aspects of themselves and their self-concepts” (ibid. p. 49), which together she refers to as ‘self-regulatory strategies’.

DeNora (ibid.) points out four main functions that music fulfils, namely the regulation of feeling, mood, concentration and energy level (ibid. p. 53). Music is used both for expressing an internal emotional state and for “the reflexive constitution of that state” (ibid. p. 57), and thereby as a resource for the identification work of ‘knowing how one feels’, and for understanding and processing feelings. It is also used both for stimulating a mood, when for instance going to a party, or for letting go of an unwanted state of mind. For some, music provides an environment that is conducive to concentration, whilst for others it provides a way to shift energy levels.

However, by being used for so many purposes and in so many situations, whilst regulating feelings and mood, music contributes to the constitution and regulation of subjectivity. In fact, music can be looked upon as a resource “to which actors can be seen to turn for the project of constituting the self, and for the emotional, memory and biographical work that such a project entails” (ibid. p. 45). As with Giddens’ (1991) idea of continuous revisions to self-narratives, music “can be used as a device for the reflexive process of remembering/constructing who one is, a technology for spinning the apparently continuous tale of who one is” (DeNora, 2000, p. 63). The fragile, unifying narrative, the thread of self-identity is constructed, reinforced and repaired through music. Hence music, by providing a means for the regulation of feeling, mood, concentration and energy level, becomes part of a tacit, daily, “routine identity work” (ibid. p. 111).

Instead of, or in addition to using the music festival as an arena for lifestyle choices or exhibiting the self, different concerts could be used as basis for self-regulatory strategies or ‘self-programming’: the conscious work of choosing the music and concert settings one knows in advance that one will enjoy as an expression of “knowing what you need” (ibid. p. 48) and where to find it. Music and musical settings can be chosen, not only on the basis of who-to-be, but also in accordance with feeling, remembering and knowing who-I-am and how-I-came-to-be-this-way. Hence, besides being an arena for lifestyle choices, the music festival, through its music, covers and enables the past, present and future aspects of identity work, and may be able to affect identity and self-understanding.

Learning

Aspects of musical learning and music education in late modernity

The variety of contexts offered in a late modern society manifests itself in music education through the possibilities of learning music and learning *about* music from a wide multiplicity of sources. However, as I have pointed out before, research within this field has traditionally dealt with the teaching and learning of music going on in schools and other educational institutions, with a primary emphasis on formal music education. More recently, a broader view of musical learning and development that includes what happens in informal as well as in formal settings has been taken by some researchers. Paul and Ballantine (2002) said, “much of an individual’s music education is, in fact, informal in nature, learned from peers and the often-dominant media culture” (ibid. p. 566).

Musical learning cannot only be said to occur in settings where people come together to *do* music, to play, sing or rehearse music of any kind. As Small (1998) reminded us, the listener is also participating in ‘musicking’ activities, and is thereby also a potential learner of music, whether she is listening in an audience, participating in an aerobics class (DeNora, 2000) or carrying an Apple iPod. This view of musical learning implies that it can occur at all times and in all places, in private and public, formal and informal settings.

In our advanced industrial society music is a natural part of everyday life (DeNora, 2000). It is “all around us, a major element in our culture” (Martin, 1995, p. 1). This is in sharp contrast to pre-electronic times when music played a much smaller part in most people’s lives. North, Hargreaves and Tarrant (2002) discuss how children in the twenty-first century learn “from a bewildering and ever-expanding variety of sources” (ibid. p. 604) including the media, the internet, MIDI equipment, personal hi-fi, recording equipment and the like. “Formal music education forms only one part of a much broader picture” (ibid.).

I would like to extend North, Hargreaves and Tarrant’s (ibid.) point to cover adults as well as children. In industrialised society we all learn music from a bewildering variety of sources, including non-electronically reproduced ones. One of these sources is music festivals, which often stage a wide variety of music combined with other non-musical spectacles.

Because the possibilities of musical learning are so widespread, this raises an interesting discussion not only about formal and informal education, but also of whose intentions are behind this education. Formal education is enacted and intended by teachers, schools, the government and by society at large. Similarly, a lot of the informal education received through the media is also intended, planned and executed with clear purposes, and directed towards a certain target group, which learns both about and via music. As DeNora (2000) showed, a lot of informal music settings are designed with specific expectations for certain things to happen, whether it is in an aerobics class wherein music is consciously manipulated

by the instructor to challenge people's physical limits, or in shops which play recorded music to influence and increase consumption.

Benum (1978) and Ruud (1983) distinguish between intentional and functional music education. Intentional education is well planned, intended education, performed by individuals with educational authorisation. Such education will most often, but not always, take place in formal settings. Functional education, however, is unplanned, taking place either between peers, 'on the streets', or at a music festival. Comparing the intentional/functional dichotomy to the formal/informal one, it is possible to use intentional education almost synonymously with formal education. However, as shown above, intentional education can also take place in an informal arena. Likewise, functional education is comparable to informal education insofar as both take place in informal *and* formal arenas, though in the latter case only in other areas than those prescribed by educators.

Perhaps the dichotomy of *intentional* and *functional education* is the most useful to describe the kind of learning that goes on in everyday use of music. Unlike the formal/informal dichotomy, this takes in the intentions behind chosen teaching resources. Likewise, it makes sense to talk about *formal and informal arenas* for learning or educational activities.

Returning to the field of music education research, Nielsen (1997) said that the subject of such research are processes of "someone teaching someone something" and "someone learning something by the help of someone else", focusing on the teacher, student and the educational content (ibid. p. 159). This view supports the narrow definition of music education research proposed by Jørgensen (1995), as discussed in the opening chapter. However, seen from the perspective presented above, such research should also include intentional education given through informal educational settings. To quote and paraphrase DeNora (2003a) "what is required is a focus on actual musical *practice [and learning]*, on how specific agents use [learn] and interact with music" (ibid. p. 41).

Nielsen's (1997) perspective makes it possible to understand music festivals as large-scale music education projects. Such a view is also supported by the research conducted by Snell (2005) that was discussed previously. Festivals are planned and executed by a festival board and director (teachers), experienced by the audience (students) and with the festival programme as the educational content. The festival director and board could also be seen as holding educational authority, both by virtue of their role, and by receiving money from appropriate official authorities to promote a particular kind of music. Understood in this way, it is possible to claim that a festival offers opportunities for intentional education in an informal arena. However, during the festival, functional education, the more unpredictable form of educational influence, will inevitably take place. In other words, 'learning' and the 'development of knowledge' inside the time-limited discourse or social practice that the festival constitutes, might be far from "official or idealized versions of what is meant to be learned or should be learnable" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 123).

The music festival understood as a community of practice

To understand the development of knowledge among the attendants of a music festival, a sociocultural theory of learning is needed, an "analytical viewpoint on learning, a way to understand learning" (ibid. p. 40) that considers learning as a "part of generative social practice in the lived-in world" (ibid. p. 35). Whilst still seeing music festivals as time-limited discourses or social practices, Lave and Wenger's (ibid.) theory of situated learning presents a way of understanding how learning processes are integral to such social practices, and how learning happens, not as the acquisition of knowledge but as 'legitimate peripheral participation'.

In the previous chapter, festivals were discussed as communities by drawing on such authors as Falassi (1987) and Quinn (2005). This definition is easily extendable to give the idea of festivals as ‘communities of practice’. Lave and Wenger (1991) describe the concept of ‘communities of practice’ as “a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice” (ibid. p. 98; see also Wenger, 1998). These practices are said to carry a kind of knowledge that provides “the interpretive support necessary for making sense of its [the practice’s] heritage” (ibid.), which in turn provides generative process for producing the practice’s own future. The historical trace of “artefacts – physical, linguistic, and symbolic – and of social structures” (ibid. p. 58) is what constitutes and reconstitutes the practice over time.

The music festival implies relations among persons, activities, and the world as well as to tangential communities such as other festivals, music organisations, the music industry and the local community in which the festival in question is being arranged. By telling its own story to the attendees, the festival also produces its own future, thereby continuously making and remaking itself. This story-telling might be understood as a kind of reflexivity, keeping the community’s knowledge about itself alive, and transferring it to the next generation of participants.

The next sections explore what happens if a music festival is defined as a community of practice. That particular community would include not only the festival organisation, with the festival staff²⁵ and board, but also the larger ‘festival body’, consisting of the staff, the board, the artists, the teachers and the students at the master classes, the sponsors and the audience, without which there would be no festival.

Wenger (1998) said that when the concept of a community of practice is used as an analytical tool to capture processes of learning, one should not investigate specific interactions limited to single events. Neither should too much emphasis be placed on the learning going on inside overarching communities, such as nations, cultures or cities. Rather, one should use this tool to capture the learning happening within communities of the “midlevel category” (p. 124), in which music festivals can be seen to fit.

So in Wenger’s opinion, what characterises the community of practice? He presented a list of 14 indicators to assess whether such a community exists (ibid. p. 125). I present these below, whilst reflecting on their relevance to a festival context. These reflections will partly be based upon my own experience as a festival administrator and partly upon some of the findings from the pilot study²⁶ of this research project:

- *Sustained mutual relationships – harmonious or conflictual* are provided by the festival board and staff working together for a long period of time, most often for several years. This is also valid for those staff who are employed on temporary basis just for the festival period. Most of these individuals return year after year and make contact with permanent staff members on several occasions between the festivals. Artists/teachers and sponsors could have an occasional relationship with a particular festival, however most often there would be long-term relationships lasting for several years. The findings from the pilot project show that 12 of 39 respondents had visited the festival every year since the beginning. This is of course not true for all the members of the audience, but for several people one can say that they have a sustained relationship with the festival.

²⁵ ‘Festival staff’ is here understood as including both persons working full time with the festival and the temporary labour force needed through the festival period.

²⁶ Some of these findings became important when further developing the main study’s theoretical framework.

- *Shared ways of engaging in doing things together* is significant for the task of producing a music festival. This implies, among other things, sponsoring activities, playing concerts and attending them as part of the audience, all activities necessary.
- *Rapid flow of information and propagation of innovation* is perhaps most characteristic among the operative festival staff, especially during the festival period, when decisions must be made and solutions must be found, often under pressure and with short time limits. Essential information, for instance about a concert being moved or cancelled or an artist being replaced, will travel fast amongst both staff and audience.
- *Absence of introductory preambles, [behaving] as if conversations and interactions were merely the continuation of an ongoing process* is valid for everybody participating in the festival, especially for those who have attended or participated in the festival for more than a year. A sense of ‘here we are again – the usual crowd’ was perceptible during the observations of the pilot study, especially in connection with the kind of concerts that had happened year after year, such as the lunchtime ones.
- *Very quick setup of a problem to be discussed* applies only to the festival staff (and perhaps board), but then very much so during the festival period. As regards the rapid flow of information, solutions must be found within a short time. This requires a few closely connected, hard-working people.
- *Substantial overlap in participants’ descriptions of who belongs* would be found if regular festival attendees were asked who belongs to the community of practice of the festival. However, there would also be many participants ‘on the fringe’ that would not as easily be recognised as people who belong.
- *Knowing what others know, what they can do, and how they can contribute to an enterprise [or festival]* is an essential part of the networking entrusted to the festival staff and board. This work includes booking the right artists, finding attractive sponsors and voluntary staff, either on the festival board or as part of the unpaid festival staff.
- *Mutually defining identities* are performed by staff, board, artists, teachers, pupils, sponsors and audience, both among and within the different categories. These identities might be complex and parallel, even within the festival context: staff operate both as staff and audience; members of the audience sometimes appear as artists; and teachers might also be artists and audience.
- *The ability to assess the appropriateness of actions and products* is given to everyone who belongs to the festival community of practice. Opinions about the products and actions, elsewhere known as the festival programme or content, are expressed at the concerts. Even if the festival staff consider themselves as those who, above all possess the ability for such assessment, they cannot neglect the assessment of others, the sponsors’ and audiences’ for economic reasons and the artists’ for needing to invite them back, and for having a good reputation in the music world.

- *Specific tools, representations, and other artefacts* are produced by the festival community in the form of posters, banners, tickets, festival programmes, and T-shirts, caps and umbrellas with the festival logo imprinted.
- *Local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, knowing laughter* were witnessed during the pilot project. This kind of behaviour was first and foremost displayed by the concert presenters, but shared and encouraged by the audience and the artists.
- *Jargon and shortcuts to communication* are common among staff during the festival period. However, like the shared stories, these are mediated to the artists, the audience and the sponsors, and often by people presenting the concerts.
- *Certain styles recognised as displaying membership* would mean, for instance, carrying or wearing some of the festival artefacts mentioned above. In addition, showing up at the concert halls, talking about the festival concerts and carrying musical instruments signal membership of the festival community.
- *A shared discourse reflecting a certain perspective on the world* could be a consensual evaluation of music as an essential and necessary part of life and community. ‘Sharing a worldview’ is also central to Falassi’s (1987) definition of festivals in general. However, the music festival also includes several other time-limited discourses, which are connected to the various kinds of music and the settings and modes of behaviour that follow the different styles and genres presented by the festival.

To judge by Wenger’s (1998) indicators, the music festival, in this case the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, can certainly be seen as a community of practice. However, levels of participation vary, from the deeply involved festival staff, the board and some of the most loyal old-timers from the audience, through the more loosely connected artists, teachers, students, sponsors and visitors to those who attend one or two of the festival concerts or are visiting it for the first time. According to Lave and Wenger (1991; Wenger, 1998) such more or less peripheral participation leads to learning in the festival context.

How festival attendance might lead to learning

More or less engaged ways of participating in the festival community can be recognised as examples of Lave and Wenger’s (1991) ‘legitimate peripheral participation’. This kind of participation is about “being located in the social world” (ibid. p. 36) and is “proposed as a descriptor of engagement in social practice that entails learning as an integral constituent” (ibid. p. 35). Thus, the analytical tool that the theory of situated learning constitutes, provides a way of speaking about the learning processes going on within such communities of practice by considering the relations between the newcomers and old-timers, and activities, identities and artefacts of the community. In contrast to learning as internalisation or as “receiving’ a body of factual knowledge” (ibid. p. 33), learning as participation in communities of practice concerns the whole person acting in a world in which agent, activity and the world mutually constitute each other.

An important characteristic of this concept is that it denies any distinction between core and periphery in the community of practice. ‘Peripheral’ here refers to the mode of being in the social world, and this concerns every participant in the practice. Still, peripheral

participation can lead to a ‘mature stage’, which is described by Lave and Wenger as “*full participation*”²⁷ (ibid. p. 37).

The key to legitimate peripheral participation is for newcomers to gain access to the community of practice “and all that membership entails” (ibid. p. 100). This implies access to a wide range of ongoing activity. So, what does full participation in the community of practice constituted by the festival imply?

Access to the festival community of practice is granted everyone who attends one or more of the festival events, free or paid for. However, full membership might only be granted to the festival staff, artists who have cooperated with the festival for several years, and to those old-timers in the audience who have visited the festival every year since the beginning. All of these have access to a wide range of activities and extended knowledge about the festival and its past. Full membership of the festival’s community of practice might not be wanted by many participants who are satisfied with their more peripheral position. However, this does not exclude them from a learning experience when part of the community.

Those more peripheral participants might learn the behavioural manners appropriate to the various festival contexts from full members acting as role models. Lave and Wenger (ibid.) emphasised that “learning to become a legitimate participant in a community involves learning how to talk (and be silent) in the manner of full participants” (ibid. p. 105). At festivals this is valid not only for the manner of speaking, but also for how to behave within discourse, including much more than speech; or as Wenger (1998) put it: “practice entails the negotiation of ways of being a person in that context” (ibid. p. 149). Some examples follow:

- At classical concerts, one is not expected to applaud between the movements of a piece. A newcomer would think the piece was finished and start making unwanted noise, thereby disturbing the concentration of performers and other listeners.
- Bringing beer and sausages, wandering around and chatting is fine at an outdoor rock concert but would be banned from one in a church.
- Spontaneous dance is appreciated at an outdoor concert with a Macedonian gypsy orchestra but would probably scare the participants at the children’s concert.
- How to understand and speak appropriately about contemporary music is taught through small conversations during the break or after the concert.

The music is also learnt, its shapes, sounds, textures and the genres characteristic of different styles, as well as ‘facts’ about the musicians, how they look, dress, play and behave on stage. This knowledge is not mediated through the full members, but is individually learnt in the context of the social world of the festival. Thus, “participation in social practice [...] suggests a very explicit focus on the person, but as person-in-the-world, as a member of a sociocultural community” (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 52).

The construction of meaning mentioned earlier as being integral to discourse (Hall, 1992) is intelligible through Wenger’s (1998) use of the concept of ‘reification’. He explained this term as “the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into ‘thingness’” (ibid. p. 58). Hence, reification is a way of creating points of

²⁷ Lave and Wenger (1991) admit that the relation between the modes of peripheral and full participation is ambiguous. However, they claim that full participation stands in contrast to only one aspect of the concept of peripherality: it places emphasis on what “partial participation is not, or not yet” (ibid. p. 37).

focus around which the negotiation of meaning becomes organised. Participation and reification are closely connected. In fact, in Wenger's understanding, it is in the interplay between them, through the construction and negotiation of meaning that we discover what it means to be a person. The festival context implies peripheral participation, reification and negotiation of meaning, each of these processes leading to learning in different ways, thereby affecting individuals' self-understanding.

Learning and identity

The view of identity found in Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) harmonises well and connects with Giddens' view of late modern identity (1990, 1991; see also Hall, 1992). The ongoing work of constructing and reconstructing the self is emphasised: "we construct who we are. In the same way that meaning exists in its negotiation, identity exists – not as an object in and of itself – but in the constant work of negotiating the self" (Wenger, 1998, p. 151). The lack of inner core is also emphasised: "identity is not some primordial core of personality that already exists" (ibid. p. 154); and the possibility of having several, mutually contradictory identities, or "an experience of multimembership" (ibid. p. 158), which includes the reconciliation necessary for maintaining one's identity across boundaries. I understand the concept of 'reconciliation' as referring to the construction of meaningful connections between the different narratives of the self (Hall, 1992), or in Giddens' (1991) terms, the creation of a self-identity that gather elements from different context into one unifying biographical narrative. In Wenger's (1998) words, "They are, at the same time, one and multiple" (ibid. p. 159).

Identity is presented as not merely a personality trait, but as an experience that involves both participation and reification. Hence the subject's 'being-in-the world' incorporates the reflexivity necessary for creating a sense of inner self. The work of becoming is described as a learning process of incorporating "both past and future into the meaning of the present" (ibid. p. 163).

Learning in a situated context implies identity work just as identity work implies learning. Lave and Wenger (1991) see learning and identity as aspects of the same phenomenon, and as inseparable and fundamental to the concept of legitimate peripheral participation. However, this view goes beyond this concept, because it includes all kinds of learning processes, to the extent that the development of identity is true of all learning. The reason why these two processes are interconnected is to be found in the fact that learning "transforms who we are and what we can do" (Wenger, 1998, p. 215). Learning, understood as part of legitimate peripheral participation, leads to changes in participation and position. It implies "becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by [...] systems of relations" (ibid. p. 53). It is thereby an experience of identity, demanding continuous revision of the self-narratives mentioned by Giddens (1991), which is essential to identity development. Learning is thus not just an accumulation of skills and information but also a process of becoming.

Issues of identity are an integral aspect of the social theory of learning presented here, because they are inseparable from the central concepts of practice, community and meaning. "Focusing on identity within this context extends the framework in two directions:

- 1) It narrows the focus onto the person, but from a social perspective
- 2) It expands the focus beyond communities of practice, calling attention to broader processes of identification and social structures" (Wenger, 1998, p. 145).

According to Wenger (*ibid.*), identity must be seen as a relationship between the local and the global. This is because we “define who we are by negotiating local ways of belonging to broader constellations and of manifesting broader styles and discourses” (*ibid.* p. 149). Interplay between the local and global, which is known as ‘glocalisation processes’, is integral to processes of identity. Therefore, the unit of analysis regarding identity should be neither the person, nor the community, but rather the processes of how person and community are mutually constituted. This view does not imply denying individuality, but a conception of identity development as involving the development of practices and social configurations amidst the complex interactions between the local and the global. We understand who we are by understanding our position and “the position of our communities within broader social structures” (*ibid.* p. 148).

Participating in the community of practice constituted by a festival implies learning, which transforms how individuals see themselves at a personal level. It also provides perspectives through which individuals understand themselves and their community in a broad sense. Music festivals take part in and initiate ‘glocalisation’ processes. They bring the world into out-of-the-way-places and export their features to anywhere in the world. Hence, the experience of glocality that such festivals allows for, adds yet another dimension to the individual’s total potential for experiences of music and identity. By visiting that kind of community of practice individuals can experience ‘the world’ and connect to broader social structures and discourses. Regardless of the level of participation, this “may turn out to be central to identity because it leads to something significant” (*ibid.* p. 155). Even attending one concert may give an experience to be remembered all through life.

Music, identity and learning – between self and society

Cross-patterned rooms – the music festival as a source of multiple settings

The music festival creates, as mentioned before, and as Snell (2005) recognised, a variety of settings. In the pilot study, these settings were described as ‘different social rooms for musical activity’ (Karlsen, 2005a). These provided music, a space, and a set of informal rules and standards of behaviour integral to that particular music and room.

Drawing on Nerland’s (2004) concept of how discursive forces create different ‘rooms for learning’ in higher music education, I propose that the music festival creates various ‘rooms for learning and identity development’, cross-patterned rooms, which are both re-embedded and discursive, and where one aspect does not exclude the other.

The disembedding of social institutions mentioned by Giddens (1990, 1991) also allows re-embedding, which in connection with festivals, often results in glocalised rooms, in which the local and the global interact to create new, hitherto untried combinations of locations, people and music. It is also possible to view the rooms as discursive (Fairclough, 1995; Hall, 1992), each forming a temporary community (within an overarching community of practice) “with its own particular repertoire of (...) settings, participants (their identities and relationships), goals, topics and so forth” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 38). These re-embedded/discursive festival rooms offer the social interaction that is integral to both learning and identity development. Furthermore, these rooms can offer several, multifaceted musical and social settings for the audience to visit, settings where “meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt” (*ibid.* p. 219).

Fairclough (*ibid.*) regarded literary genres as a “socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity” (*ibid.* p. 14). I will claim that this is also valid for musical styles. Also, the causal connection could be turned the other way around insofar as if each style is viewed as an artefact, it is associated with conventional patterns of

use and behaviour, which enable “forms of activity” (DeNora, 2000, p. 35), “musical ‘pre-texts’ for action” (ibid. p. 110). Likewise, space plays an important part in, or provides the basis for furnishing festival rooms. Space, being integral to the production of identity and thereby to processes of learning, can be understood as “providing materials through which action – and agency, understood as capacities of action – is produced” (DeNora, 2003a, p. 120).

A music festival such as the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, offers a variety of spaces or locations, from a public car park to an intimate coffee shop. The sacred space can be found within the churches (but not only there), and the profane at the concerts arranged in backyards. In addition there are concerts given in the middle of a waterfall, with nature itself constituting a large part of the total, visible, tactile and aural stimuli.

People know, consciously or not, how to behave in particular spaces: “At an experiential level, actors are often aware of space and its implications – its presence in relation to action – even if only at an embodied level” (ibid. p. 128). There are two key senses in which space and action are linked. Through atmosphere, objects and scenic features “and through the ways that these materials may provide information that allows user-occupants to make ‘appropriate’ behavioural responses within those spaces” (ibid. p. 129), space may foster the use of particular cultural repertoires or signal to users how to behave within that space. In addition, it appeals to memory, body and senses.

Through the combination of the activities made possible by styles and actions enabled by space, another cross-pattern emerges within the discursive area of the festival patchwork quilt, namely that of the behavioural limits within which actors craft their agency in real-time social settings, such as a music festival.

How people navigate between structure and agency

Discourse structures and enables behaviour. However, when thinking about how a music festival affects identity development, it is also important to consider how people act upon discourse. Whilst some within discourse theory claim that the idea of the autonomous subject is an ideological effect, (Fairclough, 1995, p. 44), Giddens (1984) reminds us that human action is not only determined by social circumstances. It is also necessary to “regard social agents as ‘knowledgeable and capable’” (ibid. p. 230).

According to DeNora (2003a), music functions “discursively” (ibid. p. 44), and discourse analysis can help us to reveal how music becomes associated with particular activities or actions. However, when music *does* structure action, this happens only reflexively, “in so far as it [the music] is acted upon, i.e., recognised as a condition of action by participants” (ibid. p. 134). In other words, music structures action only when this is allowed by the individuals listening to it.

In Fairclough’s (1995) view, actions do not only derive from structure, but they also “reproduce structures” (ibid. p. 35). When individuals are contradictorily positioned between different discourses, and when contradictory positions overlap “they provide a basis for awareness and reflexivity, just as they lead to problematization and change” (ibid. p. 82). Because a music festival offers various discursive arenas, the audiences can move between them, which can increase reflexivity and the exploration of personal agency. As DeNora (2003a) put it: “To possess agency, to be an agent, is to possess a kind of grace; it is certainly not merely the exertion of free will or interest. It is, rather, the ability to possess some capacity for social action” (ibid. p. 153).

The present research project, which is concerned with how a festival has impact upon the development of identity, deals with a late modern view of identity, a view wherein identity is partly created in the interaction between self and society, but mainly by individuals

themselves, through the reflexive process of creating and maintaining their self-narratives. Such a view cannot be combined with an entirely structuralist position, but the tension *between* a structuralist and an individually focused understanding is interesting for exploring how agents navigate within the intrinsic possibilities of their surroundings. Hence, a focus on how agents feel, reflect and act is needed. However, this is not to exclude the fact that empirical material might be understood from a structuralist perspective.

Identity development on different levels – individual and society

The present study investigates a music festival's impact on identity development on two different levels: that of the individual members of the audience, and of the local societies in which the festival is being arranged. The development of individual identity in contemporary, late modern society has been approached elsewhere in this text, and the processes described there are assumed to be similar to those of local identity. Just as the identity or identities of human beings are to be found in individual self-narratives, the local identity of a community is found in the narrative that the particular community chooses to represent itself by towards its surroundings, the outside world. Hence, to have significance for the development of a community's local identity, a phenomenon has to have a place in the community's self-narrative. And since local communities are constituted by single individuals, each with their own personal identity or identities, the developmental processes of individual and community identity are inseparably intertwined.

As pointed out by Wenger (1998) above, the focus of analysis should not be on the person, neither the community, when identity is involved, but rather on “the process of their mutual constitution” (ibid. p. 146). Taking a sociological view of identity formation is not to exclude society. Rather, this research project is concerned with how a music festival affects the societies in which it is being arranged through the experiences of those societies' smallest units: individuals. Since we are dealing with a *music* festival here, support is also to be found for such an approach in the writings of Frith (1996), who claimed that music symbolises and offers the immediate experience of collective identity, and “articulates in itself an understanding of both group relations and individuality” (ibid. p. 111). Also, “social groups (...) get to know themselves *as groups* (...) *through* cultural activity” (ibid). Hence, taking part in a music festival is to experience both individual and collective identity, and to participate in both self-creation and the constitution of social groups. As researchers we should not separate these processes, but investigate them as intertwined and mutually dependent on each other.

Fairclough (1995) recommends that the analysis of specific discourse is performed in three dimensions and their interrelations: “(a) analysis of text, (b) analysis of processes of text production, consumption and distribution, and (c) sociocultural analysis of the discursive event” (ibid. p. 23). If music is seen as text, this analytical approach could be transferred to the current research project, the different levels being: (a) analysis of how various musical styles or genres might afford different kinds of activity; (b) analysis of how members of the festival community of practice produce, consume and distribute the music; and (c) analysis of how this event, the music festival, affects its host societies. However, discourse analysis is not the chosen approach for this research project. Still, what is worth bearing in mind is that this analytical concept provides three important perspectives “one can take upon, three complementary ways of reading a complex social event” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 133). As DeNora (2003a) also pointed out, to understand how a musical event as a festival might affect society, it is necessary to take “a holistic perspective” (ibid. p. 156). We need to “look at how, within particular environments and temporal frames, people and things are put together”

(ibid.), and not forget that, as Frith (1996) also pointed out, “music is (...) social life” (ibid. p. 157).

The Musical-Event paradigm

Drawing outlines for what she calls the Musical-Event paradigm, DeNora (2003a) built on Adorno’s ideas that music functions as a device for social ordering and social control. However, she criticised Adorno for starting at the wrong end. Instead of building his theories on empirical material, he created theoretical concepts ‘out of his own mind’ so to speak. Furthermore, he concentrated on society at large, and mainly ignored the individual.

Focusing on music as an ordering device is not wrong; rather “we need to examine music’s role as a medium of social organisation – and ‘control’ – far more generally” (ibid. p. 140). However, the right way of doing this is “to study actual Musical Events, occasions in which music comes to be linked to modes of embodied, emotional, and aesthetic agency” (ibid.). To know if and how musical events affect society, first of all empirical material is needed, second we must move to the right level of analysis, which is not society at large but the individual. If music has ordering and controlling powers in society, it is through its impact on the individual. What is required is “a focus on actual musical *practice*, on how specific agents use and interact with music” (ibid. p. 41). This does not imply that the interaction between individual and society is less relevant. Rather, by paraphrasing Latour (ibid. p. 39), DeNora points out that music and society reflect each other, or are co-produced, and that this happens at the level of situated activities. Thereby, doing music, which also implies consuming music, is simultaneously doing social life. To capture how this is happening “we need, in short, to follow actors in and across situations as they draw music into (and draw on music as) social practice” (ibid. p. 40). This approach calls for qualitative methodologies, particularly techniques “that focus on music production and consumption in specific spaces and over time” (ibid. p. 58). This, combined with a recommended focus on ‘how-questions’ regarding research interest, suggests case studies as the methodological solution. In addition, within the Musical-Event paradigm research should be interdisciplinary, drawing together subjects like musicology, music education, ethnomusicology, sociology and popular music studies (ibid. p. 149).

As a practical, paradigmatic tool, DeNora presented what she called an indicative scheme for how we “might begin to situate music as it is mobilised in action and as it is associated with social effects” (ibid. p. 49):

“**TIME 1 – Before the Event** (all prior history as meaningful to A. Actor(s))

1. Preconditions

Conventions, biographical associations, previous programming practices

TIME 2 – During the Event (the event may be of any duration, seconds to years)

2. Features of the Event

- A Actor(s)** Who is engaging with music? (e.g., analyst, audience, listener, performer, composer, programmer)
 - B Music** What music, and with what significance as imputed by Actor(s)?
 - C Act of Engagement with music** What is being done? (e.g., individual act of listening, responding to music, performing, composing)
 - D Local conditions of C.** (e.g., how came to engage with music in *this* way, at *this* time (i.e., at Time 2 – ‘During the Event’))
 - E Environment** In what settings does engagement with music take place? (material cultural features, interpretive frames provided on site (e.g., programme notes, comments of other listeners))
-

TIME 3 – After the Event

3. Outcome Has engagement with music afforded anything? What if anything was changed or achieved or made possible by this engagement? And has this process altered any aspect of item above?” (ibid.).

This scheme is clearly applicable as an analytical tool for research into how a musical event such as a music festival might have impact on identity development. The next chapter will discuss how this happens by dealing with the methodological aspects of the present study, and, in the final and eighth chapter, by discussing the findings.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

A chapter dealing with the methodological aspects of a research study can in many ways be described as a story; a story constructed by the researcher to give an account of what has been done, on the practical level, throughout the research project. The traditional way of telling stories or narrating, (see below) allows us to construct “meaningful totalities out of scattered events” (Ricoeur, 1981, p. 278) and to place in chronological order events that actually occurred side by side, overlapped each other or even intruded upon one other. In other words, the everyday work of research is not chronological, although it may seem so when reading a research report. Although following more or less standardised procedures, the researcher may find herself performing the first, and maybe most important steps of analysis when conducting the fieldwork. Analysing the empirical material may lead to extending the theoretical framework, and even the research questions may be altered along the way as a consequence of what is or is not found during the investigation. Hence, this chapter is an attempt to give the reader an understanding of the practical research work and the performance of the research handicraft that led to the development of the findings displayed in the further chapters of this thesis. For reasons that have to do with practicalities and conventions, it has been written in a way that is hopefully coherent, still, it has been composed with a deep understanding that reality, or what we may perceive as reality, is not.

The chapter is divided into five sections. Section one presents the overarching design of the project, which is that of a case study, and the implications and possibilities of choosing such an approach. In the second section, I give a brief account of the pilot study conducted during the festival in 2004, its methodological aspects, its findings and the changes made as a result of the experiences gained through conducting it. Section three is dedicated to describe the planning and execution of the main study’s fieldwork, carried out before, during and after the festival in 2005. Dealing with different kinds of empirical material, as in this study, needs different approaches during the process of preparation, and when in the research field actively gathering information. All the approaches I used are described here. In the fourth section, I explain the process of analysis. Because different analytical tools were used for answering the three research sub-questions, this section is divided according to the research questions themselves rather than the kinds of material, survey, interviews or observation field notes that were analysed. At the end of section four, there is an explanation of how this study relates to interpretation and hermeneutics. The final and fifth section contains reflections regarding validity and reliability on the practical, methodological level and also general methodological reflections connected to what could have been done differently and what seemed to function well.

Three issues have been important to making decisions about the methodological courses of action in this study. Firstly, the choices made and steps taken have of course been related to the study’s research questions. Secondly, the theoretical framework has been central, resulting in a focus on the narrative as gleaned from short statements about strong emotional music-related experiences, festival audience’s musical life stories and those about the relations between a festival and its host municipalities. Thirdly, the methodological principles used have been checked for their relevance to a case study such as this. Hence, it is within this triangle, that methodological decisions have been made.

Using case study as research approach

Using DeNora’s (2003a) thoughts about the ‘Musical-Event paradigm’ as lines of direction, the overall design of this research project has been that of a case study. Because DeNora

(*ibid.*) herself gave few methodological suggestions other than that the researcher should focus on musical practice, the advice of Yin (2003) on how to design and conduct a case study have been the main guidelines for this project.

In order for a case study to be considered to be a relevant research strategy some preconditions must exist. According to Yin (*ibid.*), the research must focus on contemporary events, it must not require control of behavioural events, and the research questions asked should start with the interrogatives ‘how’ or ‘why’. Researching an ongoing music festival certainly focuses on a contemporary event, and leaves few, if any possibilities for the researcher to control the behaviour going on there. On the contrary, my wish for the Festspele i Pite Älvdal 2005 was for it to go on as undisturbed by my presence as possible. The research questions were not all stated as ‘how-questions’ from the beginning, but during the process of shaping and improving them, I found it fruitful to adapt them, using the case study interrogative ‘how’ for all four, which is to set both the main research question and its sub-questions.

Focusing on an existing festival and on that particular festival’s impact upon the identity development of either individual attendees or the festival’s host municipalities certainly means investigating a “contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (*ibid.* p. 13). Insofar as the festival and its context are interacting, the “boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (*ibid.*).

There are several designs for case studies. Which one to use, depends on the number of cases involved and whether or not the case has more than one unit of analysis. In this study, the case is defined as just one case – the festival, Festspele i Pite Älvdal. However, there are two units of analysis that can be read from the research questions: how the festival affects the development of the audience’s musical identity; and how it contributes to the development of the local identity of its host municipalities. Hence, the implemented design, when comparing it to Yin’s (*ibid.*) basic types, is that of an embedded single-case one:

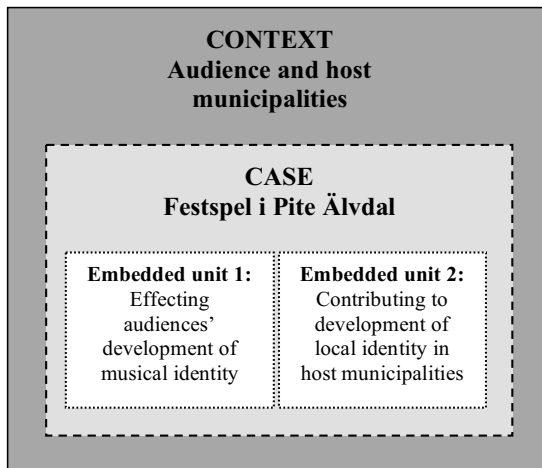


Figure 1. The research project displayed as an embedded single-case design.

Choosing the case study approach as the main design for a research project means working within some basic rules or overarching principles. The principles here are: 1) the study is to be built on theories that are known to have led to development of theoretical propositions by

which to guide data collection and analysis; 2) several sources of information are to be used, following Yin's (ibid.) demand to attend to more than one kind of empirical data; 3) the thesis is to be presented in such a way as to allow the reader to follow the investigation from the development of the research questions to the statement of the conclusions; 4) observing a music festival means receiving information through "multiple modalities" (ibid. p. 60), which necessitates a need to make changes along the road, both of which require listening, adaptiveness and flexibility; and 5) a pilot study was to be used in order to make preparations for the main one.

The theoretical points of departure of this study have been accounted for in the preceding chapter. The primary theoretical basis comprises sociological theories of how identity development proceeds in late modern societies. However, earlier research has also been used during the process of creating and shaping the research questions. Indeed, those questions might be thought of as the theoretical propositions that have guided data collection and analysis. Building theoretical propositions on earlier developed theory means taking a stand regarding questions concerning ontology and epistemology, so it is decisive for how and where we look for the required information. How the theoretical basis of this study is directly manifested during the collection of data and the process of analysis will be accounted for further on in this chapter.

For the researcher to be able to investigate complex social phenomena, Yin (ibid.) recommends collecting and attending to more than one kind of empirical datum, and mixing quantitative and qualitative data in order to come to a richer and deeper understanding of the phenomenon in question. This principle also allows for triangulation, collecting information from multiple sources and "corroborating the same fact or phenomenon" (ibid. p. 99). The different data used in this particular study are, in Yin's (ibid.) terminology: 1) observations, defined as participant-observation because I took the role of an active member researcher (for more details, see below); 2) semi-structured interviews and a survey, using questionnaire interviews; 3) documentation in the form of some of the festival's administrative documents, concert programmes and newspaper clippings; and 4) archival records in the form of information from the festival's budget and accounts. This rich and varied data calls for different analytical approaches. These were: categorisation; the creation of matrixes; finding and creating narratives to enable narrative analysis; creating data displays; and statistical processing of survey data.

An important principle for securing the quality of the written case study report is to provide transparency so that the reader can follow the development from the initial research questions to the "ultimate case study conclusions" (ibid. p. 105). Therefore, this thesis attempts to be written in as 'open' a way as possible, especially regarding the chapters concerning methodology and findings, so that the reader can follow the processes of data collection and the development of results as close as possible in order to evaluate independently the relevance of my final conclusions.

Making observations during a music festival means using several senses: eyesight of course, to see what is going on; hearing to pick up conversation, background sounds and the music itself; smell as an unavoidable part of being present in and determining space, especially outdoors; and taste, perhaps not the most important in this regard, but still a source of valuable information. Since most of my observations related to music in one way or another, bodily awareness was also important during observation, different kinds of music allowing for different kinaesthetic experiences. Multimodality is also a necessity when conducting interviews. In all, planning and executing the field work without disturbing the festival and what was going on during it demanded a great deal of adaptiveness and flexibility, as did collecting information after the festival.

According to Yin (*ibid.*), a pilot study should be conducted as a “final preparation for data collection” (*ibid.* p. 78). Since the Festspel i Pite Älvdal takes place only once a year, the pilot study was conducted in 2004, when it was limited to the part of the festival which was arranged in Piteå. The pilot study led to a better understanding of the logistics of the field enquiry, refinement of the tools used for data collection and some major changes to the study’s overarching design. In addition, it provided a first insight into the issues of the study as found in the empirical material for analysis. A pilot case report was written on the basis of these experiences (Karlsen, 2005a). Since the pilot study showed itself to be important for further development of several methodological aspects, a brief summary of the report will be given here.

The pilot study

The pilot study was conducted during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal in 2004, from June 27 to July 4, a whole year before the main study. The reason was of course that large parts of the information needed could only be collected once a year during the festival period. Therefore, the decision was made to conduct the pilot study in a way that would give as much information as possible. Originally, the plan was to only test the questionnaire used for the survey. However, to extend my knowledge about the festival and its possibilities for contributing to identity development, observation was added as a second methodological tool and source of information. Hence, the pilot project had more the character of an early, exploratory study, including a broad collection of data and its analysis, which together provided a lever with which to open up the field of research.

Methodological aspects

Observations were made at 33 of the festival events going on in Piteå in 2004. By being present to such a large degree, I had a first hand impression of the concerts, the different settings, the kinds of music played, performers visiting and the audience – a total experience of the festival atmosphere. The events observed were diverse, including the opening ceremony, concerts with music of various styles, master classes, workshops, ‘festival talks’ with performers at a local coffee-shop and one reception. In order to have as little effect as possible on the events I was about to observe, I participated as part of the regular festival audience. My presence was clarified beforehand with the festival administrators, and so I never needed to ask permission again to observe, except when attending the master classes, which were smaller, more private settings.

Before observation I had decided to keep an open log, allowing myself to write down anything that came to my mind, and only trying to keep separate what ‘actually’ took place and my interpretations of the events. The log material was handwritten, and in the days after the festival, I made a clean copy. After thorough reading, the material was categorised according to the study’s research questions.

The survey was conducted through a questionnaire²⁸ sent to voluntary members of the audience immediately after the festival. The aim of carrying out a survey as part of the pilot study design was to reach a fairly large number of people so as to have an overview, if possible, of patterns in the audience’s use of, relation to and opinions about the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. Participants were picked outside five of the festival concerts, where I performed a ‘real-time’ sampling in the entrance area by simply asking individuals if they wished to participate. I assumed that, in the search for maximum variation, different kinds of music would attract different kinds of people. Therefore, possible participants were approached at

²⁸ The development of the questionnaire will be treated in a forthcoming section.

venues featuring very different musical styles: an avant-garde/popular outdoor (free of charge) opening ceremony; a contemporary music concert; a ‘popular’ music concert; a traditional ‘classical’ concert; and a family concert. In addition, while approaching possible participants, an attempt was made to vary age and gender as much as possible. 39 people out of an original sample of 45 chose to participate in the survey. After receiving the questionnaires from the respondents, the data was subjected to descriptive statistical analysis in order to search for and identify general patterns among the participants.

The total number of paying visitors attending the Festspel i Pite Älvdal was 5,405, so 39 survey participants represented only a small sample, and allowed for only very limited conclusions to be made. Still, some survey patterns were very pronounced, which will be mentioned in the next section. In addition, the observation material was rich, and gave information important for the further development of the study.

Pilot study findings

What was striking in the survey was the diversity of the participants regarding age, education, occupation, income and musical taste. There was wide diversity and large contrasts of numbers and kinds of people visiting, and the level of audience participation and the audience’s general behaviour varied greatly. As such, the festival was seen to create “different social rooms for musical activity” (ibid. p. 26), each with its own set of informal rules and standards of behaviour.

Of 39 participants, 12 had visited the festival each year from the beginning in the early 1980s. This signalled a tight connection to the festival, strengthened by the fact that of those 12, eight had never visited other festivals. This suggested that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal could be an important deliverer of the “music festival experience” (ibid. p. 28). This experience was seen to include not only the music, but also stories, myths, beliefs and values connected to music and musicians. Survey participants who reported strong emotional experiences in connection with the music presented at the festival were important sources of information. Short statements describing these experiences revealed how the festival ‘rooms’ could be used for pleasure, emotional work, memory work (see DeNora, 2000), and for development within the music profession.

Observation showed that the administrators designed the festival so as to both develop and maintain parallel musical identities, by presenting a variety of styles, often in unexpected and unorthodox ways and arenas. However, the survey findings made clear that almost all participants preferred to maintain their extant musical identities: they never or very rarely attended concerts of music that they would not usually listen to. On background of the survey findings, and to make visible the movements of the festival audience, a ‘concert map’ was drawn to show how attendees moved between the different venues. This map confirmed two main impressions that I had from the observations, namely that the respondents who were collected at the most ‘popular’ concerts rarely went to any others, and that those who were collected at the classically oriented concerts went to a large number of events, but mainly in similar genres, thus forming some kind of ‘inner circle’.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal was seen to take place within the terms of the self-narrative of the municipality of Piteå because it cooperated with other local organisations. Some of this cooperation was also recognised by the outside world, giving a hint of how a festival can contribute to making a municipality visible to the surrounding world. The impression was also that the festival took very active part in glocalisation processes, by bringing acknowledged performers into contexts where they interacted with the local population.

These pilot study findings gave slightly different directions as to how and what to look for in the main study. This will be described further on in this chapter.

Changes made to the background of the pilot study

As described above, the pilot study led to a better understanding of the logistics of the field enquiry, especially regarding how to make satisfactory observations during concerts and similar events, and how to collect survey participants outside them. In addition it led to some major changes in the study's original design, the two most important being: 1) that observation became a methodological tool of the main study, due to its proved usefulness in the pilot; and 2) that the study would include the whole festival. Instead of limiting the research to the part of the festival taking place in Piteå, audience and events in Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn would also be objects of investigation. The reason for this decision was, above all else, that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal divided itself between four municipalities, which was its most unique distinctive feature compared to other festivals. By leaving out three of the host municipalities, I feared that I would miss an important part of the festival's 'soul'. In addition, some of the styles were distributed between the municipalities, and in order not to miss the festival's total diversity of events and audiences, it seemed necessary to be present 'everywhere'.

Originally, a fourth research sub-question dealt with how the introduction of globally acknowledged artists to a local festival affected relations between central and peripheral cultural institutions. Because this question could not be answered on the basis of the empirical data of the pilot study, it was left out of the main study. Writing the pilot study report made me also realise the possibility and necessity of adjusting the research questions to the case study 'how-formula', which made them more uniform and linguistically simpler.

Experiences from the relatively free pilot study observations and its findings made it necessary to create directions for further observations. Likewise, using the questionnaire in 'real life' made me aware of the needs for adjustments and refinement. These changes will be further explained in the sections below.

Planning and execution of field work

Gathering different kinds of empirical material demands diverse forms of planning and preparation. The fieldwork procedures also vary, depending on whether the researcher is observing, selecting respondents for a survey, or interviewing. All the preparations and procedures for gathering the empirical material are accounted for in the following sections.

Observations

Before focusing this section on the observations made during the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal in 2005, I want to reflect on what might be called this study's ethnomethodological aspects (Adler and Adler, 1994).

When I first became a PhD student and started this research project, my family and I had to move 1,200 kilometres from our home in the Norwegian capital to a small, peripheral Swedish town. This transfer involved learning to know a new community from the inside, its ways of living, its spoken and unspoken rules and regulations, and its specific mechanisms of power. It took me only a little time to understand that, coming from the outside, speaking an understandable, but still different language, I would never become a native in this community, but only a more or less accepted guest-inhabitant. On the other hand, this outsider position allowed me to watch phenomena from a different angle than of those born and raised in the municipality. However, this position could also put me in danger of committing some kind of northbound 'orientalism' (Hastrup, 1999). Although, through my earlier work, I was familiar with festivals, I was not familiar with the ways of living in Northern Sweden. In fact, after several years, some ways still strike me as strange and exotic. Being aware of this, I have tried to avoid the 'orientalism effect' as far as possible by listening to and learning from friends,

supervisors and teachers who were either born and raised here or had lived here for a long period of time, letting them read my texts and correct those of my misconceptions and understandings that might originate in personal prejudice and bias. As Adler and Adler (1994) point out, as a member of a society “we also make observations of the everyday world” (ibid. p. 377). Taking this into consideration, this section is written to remind the reader and myself that the festival observation process was coloured by several years of daily-life observations made during the process of trying to understand and adapt to a new municipality.

Planning of observations

From the pilot study, I knew that observation was a powerful tool for gathering information, a tool that made it possible for me to grasp, in another way than through the survey and the interviews, what the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal was all about. Still, deciding to include Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn in addition to Piteå put specific demands on the planning of the observations. To observe the total of the festival events was impossible; somehow I had to choose which events to observe and which to leave out. Because of the large distances between the municipalities, I also had to estimate the time needed for driving, eating and sleeping. Two main aims had to be fulfilled: 1) I wanted to observe as many and as varied events as possible; and 2) I wished to cover all the host municipalities and visit at least one concert in each. After receiving the final festival programme in late spring 2005, it took me quite some time to work out how to cover four municipalities in six days. Finally, I made a plan that could fulfil both aims, though it necessitated making most of the observations in Piteå, where most of the festival events were located.

As will be seen from the list below, Tuesday 5 July was dedicated to a visit to Arjeplog. I stayed overnight and took a good look round the municipality to gather impressions of the place. On Wednesday and Thursday, I observed events in Piteå, and Friday was chosen as the Arvidsjaur day. This choice was made because two concerts had been arranged there on the same day. Combining this with visiting the folk music master class, I was able to cover many Arvidsjaur events in a short time. Saturday morning, I drove to Älvsbyn for the Trolltagen performance, and back to Piteå in the evening to visit two more concerts there. Sunday was spent entirely in Piteå.

At one point I thought of involving more people in the process of observation and log writing so to be able to cover more events, whilst also benefiting from a valuable triangulation of investigators (Yin, 2003, p. 98). However, this would have involved a long period of staff training, prior test-observations and analysis to ensure that the observations were consistent and as close to the instructions as possible.

During the pilot study fieldwork, the observation log was written in a very open way. However, while making plans for the main study, I decided to direct my observation towards certain issues so as to better capture the richness of the different social ‘rooms’ for musical activity, as described in the pilot study report (Karlsen, 2005a). The musical event scheme proposed by DeNora (2003a) was thought suitable for this purpose, especially the TIME 2-part, concentrating on what happens “during the event” (ibid. p. 49). To help me focus, I glued to the first page of the logbook the following points plus the seven phenomena, mentioned by Denzin (1989), which all “observation notational records should contain explicit reference to” (Adler and Adler, 1994, p. 380):

- 1) Features of the event
 - A Actors
 - B Music
 - C Act of engagement with music

D Local conditions of C
E Environment

- 2) Significance for local identity
- 3) Global/local – glocalisation
- 4) Miscellaneous (including self reference, the myths about the musicians and the music)

Participants
Interactions
Routines
Rituals
Temporal elements
Interpretations
Social organisation

As in the pilot study, the left-hand pages of the logbook were used to write down what ‘actually happened’, this time with a clear focus on the above mentioned points, whilst my interpretations and reflections of the events were written on the right-hand pages.

Observation procedures

During the festival week, I observed 21 events, presented as listed in the festival programme:

Tuesday 5 July

Sami ballad and jojk evening, Arjeplog

Wednesday 6 July

Lunchtime concert, Piteå

Opening concert, Piteå

Tonträff – Åsa Persson with guests, Piteå

Night concert – folk music ensemble Båsk and Gunnel Mauritzon, Piteå

Thursday 7 July

Morning concert for the family – John Bauer Brass, Piteå

Lunchtime concert, Piteå

Singing master class, Piteå

Evening concert – St. George Strings and Maria Fontosh, Piteå

Night concert – Jönköpings sinfonietta

Friday 8 July

Lunchtime concert, Arvidsjaur

Folk music master class, Arvidsjaur

Lunch talk, Arvidsjaur

World music concert – Costo Rico, Arvidsjaur

Saturday 9 July

Trolltagen – Roger Pontare – Sofia Jannok, Älvsbyn

Courtyard concert – Euskefeurat – Costo Rico, Piteå

Night concert – Liisa Pohjola – Zakhar Bron, Piteå

Sunday 10 July

Piano master class, Piteå

Family concert, Piteå

Courtyard concert – Sissel Kyrkjebø with orchestra, Piteå

Closing concert – Johann Sebastian Bach

As in the pilot project, my presence at festival events in 2005 was clarified beforehand with the festival administration. I was granted a festival administrator's card, which functioned as a ticket, and gave me free entry to all events. Therefore, I never asked performers' or audiences' permission to observe, except when I chose to visit smaller, more intimate and private settings like the master classes. Since most of the events were quite large, some involving several hundred people, there was little risk of my influencing them.

As Adler and Adler (1994) stated, observation is probably the least "intrusive of all research techniques" (ibid. p. 382). I would typically choose a seat in the back of the venue, where I would sit, silently taking field notes during the event, and blending in with the audience during breaks.

Watching the festival events from outside, choosing a complete observer role (ibid. p. 379), and making use of for instance videotaping was never considered an option for this study since so much of what it meant to be situated in the middle of a festival would have been missed. Instead, I took an active membership role (ibid. p. 380), where I was involved as an observer in the setting's central activities, listening to music, or, in Small's (1998) terms, I was part of a group of people 'musicking'. Similarly, I also took on my group's responsibilities, such as keeping quiet during the concert sessions and showing appreciation by applause. By acting mostly as a member, and not so much as a researcher, I tried not to "alter the flow of the interaction unnaturally" (Adler and Adler, 1994, p. 380).

As can be seen from the list above, my observation schedule was rather tight and the circumstances did not always leave me with optimal conditions for making concentrated, focused observations. In addition to covering up to five events a day, I drove approximately 1,000 kilometres by car during the festival week. Due to concerts lasting long into the night and lack of time between them, I survived on minimal sleep and food. In addition, I think I reached my personal limit of how much music I could take in during one day. Still, compared to other membership researcher settings, the festival gave me an opportunity to compose myself while participating in the events. Since the observation settings for me mainly meant sitting listening to music, I had time to direct my attention towards the phenomena I had decided to observe, to reflect and to raise questions about the events from different perspectives. After six days of observation, I had a large collection of handwritten field-notes, which I transferred to computer in order to prepare them for analysis.

Survey

The survey was conducted through a questionnaire sent to selected members of the festival audience immediately after the festival week. In this section, I will concentrate on describing the prior planning of the survey, including the development of the questionnaire, choosing where and how to select respondents and planning the selection procedure. In addition, I describe the execution, the actual work of gathering possible survey participants and the procedures used for sending out the questionnaire and later reminders. Finally, a general view will be given of the frequency of response, and how questionnaires were distributed on the festival events.

Development of the questionnaire

The main part of the questionnaire was developed in 2004, prior to the pilot project. Just as the research questions originated in the study's theoretical framework and earlier research, the questionnaire questions originated in the research questions, which functioned as a kind of hypothesis.

The questionnaire (see appendix) was divided into three sections concerning: A. yourself and your relation to music; B. your relation to and your experiences of the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal; and C. the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's significance for the local community. Section A contained questions concerning background, such as year of birth, level of education and income, musical tastes and whether or not the respondent performed music him or herself. In section B, I tried to map the respondent's relation to and use of the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal by asking about earlier festival participation/attendance, reasons for attending the festival, and what events the respondent had chosen to attend in 2005. This was mainly to build a picture of the festival's potential for affecting the respondents' construction of musical self-narratives, and was seen as an operationalisation of the first research sub-question. Especially important in this regard, and very useful during the pilot project, was the question concerning strong emotional experiences to the music presented at the festival. The festival's contribution to the development and maintenance of parallel musical identities was approached by asking whether or not the respondent had consciously or more accidentally attended concerts of music that they did not know or had seldom listened to. Follow up questions were also added concerning whether such visits had led to increased interest in the music that had been heard. Since the festival administrators planned for the audience to have unexpected experiences with 'new' music in two concerts, a question was added concerning those concerts in particular. Section C was dedicated to the respondents' view of the festival's contribution to the development of local identity, by asking them about the festival's significance for the river valley's cultural life and local industry, and its function as the public face of the host municipalities.

Different kinds of questions demanding different kinds of answers were used in the questionnaire. Simple questions like "Have you ever participated in a concert as a performer during the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal?" would typically call for yes/no/do not remember answers. When looking into reasons for attending the festival, the respondents were allowed to tick more than one reason, and suggest others if they were not presented. When measuring respondents' festival attendance in 2005, they were asked to tick the events they had visited. Attitudes towards the festival were measured using mostly matrix questions (Ejlertsson, 2005), thereby forcing the respondents to take a stand on statements. Open questions were used for matters such as musical taste that seemed impossible to fix into pre-decided categories. This option was also chosen for collecting information about strong, festival-related, musical experiences. At the end of the questionnaire, the respondent was allowed to express opinions not asked for elsewhere. This was also where the respondent could express interest in participating in the forthcoming interview study.

General advice on how to construct good questionnaire questions was followed as far as possible, such as using simple language, precision regarding time and space, avoiding leading questions and negations and so on (ibid.). To achieve symmetry in the answering alternatives for the matrix questions (ibid. p. 79), the 'Do not know'-squares were coloured grey, causing the options to seem like four, two 'positive' and two 'negative'.

The questionnaire's blank letter took the form of a short introduction. Information was given about the research project, further procedure and who to contact. Following the Swedish Research Council's ethical advice regarding research conducted within the area of human and social studies (Vetenskapsrådet, 1990), the respondents were also informed of

their rights to confidentiality; that the return of the questionnaire would be interpreted as their consent; and that the gathered data would be used exclusively for this particular research project.

The initial sketches for the questionnaire were written in Norwegian, my mother tongue. However, long before the form was ready to be used in the pilot project it was translated into Swedish with the help of a colleague. Following the advice of Ejlertsson (2005), the questionnaire was tested twice and revised three times to ensure the study's validity and reliability. The first test took place prior to the pilot study. Seven colleagues were asked to fill out the form, comment on its design and content and estimate the time needed for the task. Their evaluations helped me to clear out some indistinct questions, and also to realise that the form was too extensive. After revisions were made, the second test was the pilot study itself, in which 39 respondents filled out the form 'for real'. As during the first test, some indistinct formulations had clearly led to misunderstandings. Gathering and analysing for the pilot study report was also very useful for controlling validity, or in other words checking that the information gathered was relevant to my research questions. As said above, such considerations led me to decide to leave out one of the research sub-questions that seemed impossible to answer. In addition, smaller revisions were made. The third questionnaire revision was made shortly before the festival period in 2005. This time, the changes made were mostly to the layout, such as ensuring that the last question, which concerned whether the respondents were prepared to sign up for further interviews, would not end up by itself on the back page.²⁹

Practical planning of survey fieldwork

During the pilot project, I gathered all the survey participants myself. This was possible because of the few events chosen and the short distances between the different concert halls. When I included all the river valley municipalities, with the aim of gathering survey participants at all the events in the festival, the task became much more complicated. Therefore, I decided to involve others in this work. In contrast to my unwillingness to involve more people in the fieldwork observation, I decided that validity and reliability were not in so much danger when I included other people for gathering survey participants. On the contrary, to have as large a sample of the festival population as possible, this strategy was seen as crucial. Therefore, some time was used to build relations with and train staff (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 46).

During the Festspele i Pite Älvdal 2005 survey participants were gathered at 29 out of 31 events. One lunchtime concert in Piteå on Friday 8 July was ignored because of lack of staff. I decided to prioritise the family concert going on at the same time. Also, no respondents were gathered at the Trolltagen performance on Saturday evening, at 19.00. This was due to '*force majeure*' – thunder and lightning causing a major breakdown of the electronic equipment necessary for the performance to take place. In the chaotic situation following the breakdown it was impossible for my staff to perform their gathering-duties.

The extra staff included one paid assistant and several volunteers. A senior music student functioned as my paid assistant for three weeks, before, during and after the festival. He did a lot of practical work (copying questionnaires etc.) but most importantly, he gathered survey respondents at the events in Piteå when I was unable to be present. Sometimes, before such large events as the courtyard concerts, we also worked together. In Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn, the people responsible for the local festival arrangements functioned as volunteers, gathering survey respondents at the events that I did not attend. I met them prior to the festival

²⁹ This had unfortunately happened during the pilot project, and was assumed to be the reason why the number of interested respondents was rather small.

week, and gave them in addition to a verbal introduction to the research project, pens, paper and a copy of the questionnaire. They were also given a badge to wear, showing that they were representatives from Luleå University of Technology working for a research project. In addition, they were handed some instructions for the field work, directing them to: 1) avoid asking children; 2) varying as much as possible the respondents' age, gender and type; and 3) concentrating mainly on members of the municipality and avoiding 'loads of tourists', if they should appear. Similar material and instructions were also given to the paid assistant. In accordance with the advice of Miles and Huberman (ibid.) a time schedule was made, showing which persons would cover which events and where.

Survey procedures

Ericsson and Vaagland (2002) describe very well the problems connected to conducting a survey amongst a festival audience. First of all, the total population is not known until after the event, due to the possibility of buying tickets immediately before events, and the fact that some might be free of charge. Secondly, there is only a short time available for approaching possible participants, namely that between the audience's arrival and the start of the event. This period was seen as the only possible time that approaches could take place without disturbing or destroying the audience's concert experiences.

To pick participants for the survey, either I or another staff member placed themselves in the entrance area of the venue in question approximately one hour before the event was about to start. As the audience arrived, we performed real-time sampling, simply by asking passing individuals if they wished to join the survey. The personal contact made at this point was expected to increase the individual's willingness to participate in the study (Kruuse, 1996). Efforts to vary the selected participants' age, gender and type (see the previous section), meant that the procedure lay somewhere between a random and a maximum variation sampling strategy (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 28). The people who agreed to participate in the study were asked to give their names and addresses, and were informed that they would receive the questionnaire by mail in the week following the festival. This strategy was chosen so that the participants would be spared from completing the questionnaires during valuable concert-time. Instead they could sit quietly in their homes, having time to think things over while answering the questions.

The day after the closing of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal 2005, the lists containing all the names and addresses were gathered, and the process of sending out the questionnaires begun. In all 441 people agreed to participate in the study. Names and addresses were transferred to a computer-based list, and each person was given a separate number. This number was also written on the questionnaire. Following such a procedure made it possible to separate people's identities from the information given, in order to follow the Swedish law's stipulations for protecting individual integrity (Ejlertsson, 2005, p. 28). The participants were given approximately 14 days to fill in and return the questionnaire. After one reminder by letter and one round of telephone calls to encourage remaining participants to return their form, the total number of received questionnaires was 350. This answering frequency rate of 79.3% is quite acceptable and desirable according to Ejlertsson (ibid.).

The table below shows at which festival events the survey participants were gathered, how many questionnaires were sent and how they were distributed on events, and how many were received. As can be seen, the number of questionnaires sent out (and thereby of course the number of people agreeing to participate) varies from 2³⁰ to 36, which was roughly in proportion to the audience size for the particular event. Typically, an external kind of missing

³⁰ This small number was due to bad weather causing the Trolltügen performance to be cancelled on Friday 8 July.

data resulted mainly from men refusing to take part in the study. This was my personal experience, and also that of my staff. Also, as is obvious from the table above, the number of people who received the questionnaire but chose not to answer was highest at the Thursday and Saturday Trolltügen performances. Trying to indicate why would be mere speculation. After I had received all questionnaires, the data was prepared for analysis and transferred to the statistical software system SPSS³¹.

³¹ Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

Table 3. Overview of questionnaires sent and received.

DATE AND EVENT	Questionnaires sent	Questionnaires received
Tuesday July 5		
Sami ballad and jojk evening, Arjeplog	12	8
Wednesday July 6		
Lunchtime concert, Piteå	15	13
Opening concert, Piteå	36	28
Tonträff, Piteå	10	10
Night concert – folk music group Båsk, Piteå	13	11
Thursday July 7		
Morning concert – John Bauer Brass, Piteå	10	10
Lunchtime concert, Piteå	14	12
Evening concert – St. George Strings, Piteå	18	17
Folk music evening, Arvidsjaur	7	5
Trolltagen, Älvsbyn	29	17
Ballad evening – ballads in dialect, Arjeplog	15	10
Tonträff, Piteå	18	15
Night concert – Jönköpings sinfonietta, Piteå	21	15
Friday July 8		
Lunchtime concert, Arvidsjaur	9	7
Family concert – Instrumix, Piteå	13	11
Evening concert – Rilton, Piteå	20	16
World music concert – Costo Rico, Arvidsjaur	10	9
Trolltagen, Älvsbyn	2	2
Tonträff, Piteå	20	18
Night concert – Svendén and Hirvonen, Piteå	18	10
Saturday July 9		
Lunchtime concert, Piteå	13	11
Trolltagen, Älvsbyn	16	10
Courtyard concert – Euskefeurat/Costo Rico, Piteå	25	22
Music in the summer evening, Arvidsjaur	12	10
Night concert – Pohjola and Bron, Piteå	7	6
Sunday July 10		
Lunchtime concert, Piteå	9	8
Family concert, Piteå	15	11
Courtyard concert – Sissel Kyrkjebø, Piteå	23	17
Closing concert – Johann Sebastian Bach, Piteå	11	11
TOTAL NUMBER	441	350

General features of survey participants

As in the pilot study, the diversity of the survey participants was striking. However, some pronounced patterns were visible as shown below:

- Among the respondents, 60.3% were women and 39.7% were men.
- Age ranged from 17 to 88 years, with an emphasis on people between 51 and 70 years old (55.4%).
- Years of education differed from 7 to 19 or more years, and in all 64.3% had 13 or more years of education.
- Occupation ranged from steam shovel driver to university professor. The largest single group (13.9%) worked within the education system. Only 3.4% of the respondents were musicians. 21.1% were retired people.
- Household incomes ranged from SEK 15,000 to SEK 1,200,000 per year. 44% of the respondents had a yearly salary of between SEK 201,000 and SEK 500,000.

The respondents expressed a wide variety of musical tastes, 32.3% referring to themselves as musical omnivores. Of all the genres or styles mentioned by the respondents, classical music was the most frequent at 41.4%, but overall musical preferences were diverse, and included, among other things, country and light dance music, pop, rock and soul and different kinds of folk music, jazz, opera and Western contemporary music.

Interviews

As mentioned earlier, the survey respondents were encouraged to sign up for further interviews on the last page of the questionnaire. In all 76 people did so, which is to say 21.7% of the survey participants. In the following, I will describe how the interviews were prepared: the interview guide, test interviews and prior information sent to the interviewees; which procedures that led to the final sample of interviewees; how the interviews were carried out in terms of their time, place and atmosphere; and the routines used for interview transcription and interviewee validation.

Interview preparations

Preparations for the interviews were made during spring 2005. As with the survey questions, the interview questions originated in the research questions, and were in most respects aimed at deepening the information from the survey. An interview guide was made to make it possible for me to maintain an overview of the topics that needed to be covered during the interview. As is usual with semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1996), an outline of topics to be covered was made “with suggested questions” (ibid. p. 129). The first interview guide outlines, like the questionnaire, were written in Norwegian and thereafter translated into Swedish in cooperation with my tutors and a Swedish colleague.

Two different kinds of interview guide were made; one for the interviewees stemming from the survey participants, and one for people interviewed as official representatives of their municipality (see appendix). Regarding the festival audience interviewees, the guide had four sections labelled: 1) the festival’s function for individuals’ constructions of musical self-narratives; 2) the festival’s significance for the development of parallel musical identities; 3) the festival’s contribution to the development of local identity; and 4) international artists’

impact upon the same. In addition, there was a short introduction, reminding me to give a short résumé of the research project, and to point out the interviewees' rights to them before the interview started; and a conclusion, reminding me to ask the interviewees for any other opinions that they had not expressed during the interview, and to ask if I could contact them afterwards if additional information was needed. The interview guide intended for the official municipality representatives contained only section 3 and 4 (see above) and had a similar introduction and conclusion. The guide was shortened because these local officials were only to be interviewed about matters concerning the festival's contributions to the development of local identity.

The questions in section 1 were intended to give an overview of the interviewee's use of music in general, musical preferences and musical life, their concert attendance habits, and whether or not they actively performed music. In addition, there were questions regarding festival participation and reasons for attending the festival. Interviewees were also encouraged to tell me about festival-related experiences they remembered well, strong emotional experiences related to music presented at the festival (if such had occurred), and whether or not they had learned anything from visiting it. I also asked a question, which directly pointed to the concept of musical self-narrative: what place the Festspelel would have in the interviewee's musical life story, if such a story should be seen to contain all musical experiences of their life. Hence, by combining in different ways the section 1 questions, I hoped to be able to understand how and in what ways individual interviewees constructed their musical self-narratives, and how the festival seemed to affect those constructions.

Section 2 contained questions, which investigated further than had been possible in the survey, how the festival, through being a large happening, and through its content and form, had contributed to the development and maintenance of parallel musical identities. Such questions concerned, for instance, if the festival's form affected the interviewee's use of it; how the interviewee evaluated the festival content; what he or she would change if possible; and what impact, if any, the annual nature of the festival had upon festival attendance. In order to look directly into identity development and maintenance, questions were added concerning whether the interviewee visited concerts of already known or unknown music; and if the festival had offered new music, how this would possibly have affected their musical tastes in terms of listening to, buying, playing or singing such music. In addition, one question was concerned directly with the festival's possible contribution to widening musical tastes.

In order to understand the festival's contribution to the development of local identity, sections 3 and 4 asked various questions about its significance for the municipality. For instance, questions were asked about the festival's function as a 'public face', about its significance for local industry, about local musicians' role in the festival, and about what would be missed if the festival disappeared. Interviewees were asked who, in their opinion, attended the festival, and equally important, who did not attend it. Also, questions about the festival's contribution to river valley identity and its potentiality were asked. Through a series of questions, I tried to come closer to what it meant to the municipalities that international artists were included among the festival performers. As in section 1, I used a narrative metaphor, asking the interviewees to imagine that a collective story of their municipality was being made, and to say whether or not the Festspelel i Pite Älvdal would be included in it.

Turning to Kvale (*ibid.*), what was attempted in the interview guide, was to achieve a fruitful balance between questions that had thematic relevance, and those that would function well when taking into consideration the dynamic aspects of the interview situation. As such, the questions were meant to "stimulate a positive interplay, making the conversation fluent and the interviewee feel motivated to talk about her experiences and feelings" (*ibid.* p. 122). Therefore, they were kept short and in a straightforward language free from jargon. However, as can be seen from, for instance, the questions tied to musical self-narratives and collective

municipality stories, some of my inquiries originated directly from “the theoretical conceptions used as a basis for the study” (ibid. p. 121) and could therefore be related relatively easily to the following analysis.

As part of the preparation for the final interviews, a test interview was conducted in April 2005. The interviewee chosen for this task was an acquaintance of one of my colleagues, who had a long-term relationship with the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. This test interview was seen as a validation of the interview guide, for here I could to some degree determine if the answers given seemed meaningful in relation to my research questions. Following the interview itself, the test interviewee was encouraged to evaluate and comment upon both questions asked during the interview, and on my skills as an interviewer. Since this was a test interview, it was not recorded. This was in order to prevent me from being tempted to use the information later on.

At the same time as I developed the interview guide, I made an outline for a blank letter containing information about the research project in general and how it would proceed (see appendix). Some information about me, the researcher, was also added, and as in the questionnaire, it was specifically pointed out that participation was voluntary and that the interviewees were guaranteed confidentiality, which is standard ethical practice for qualitative interview studies (ibid. p. 106-113). To formalise the interviewee’s participation in the study, the last part of the letter was designed as a contract, which the interviewee could sign in order to confirm that she had read the foregoing and accepted that the information would be used as described.

Sampling of interviewees

Roughly speaking, two kinds of interviewees participated in this study: 1) members of the audience of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal; and 2) official representatives from the host municipalities of the festival. Hence, the sampling procedures used for the two categories differed to a large degree.

The sampling strategy that was used with respect to official representatives from the host municipalities can be described as reputational case selection (Goetz and Lecompte, 1984), and the representatives were chosen because they were considered “experts or key informants” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 28) concerning the festival’s contribution to the development of local identity. These interviewees were public servants working within the administration of culture and the arts at the highest level within their respective municipalities. Thereby they were also responsible for festival-municipality cooperation, and had worked with matters concerning the Festspel i Pite Älvdal for years. At an early stage, I thought of interviewing local cultural politicians instead of public servants, however, the latter were seen to be more trustworthy sources of information than politicians, who might feel compelled by virtue of their position to engage in political rethorics. Also, I learnt during practical planning of the survey fieldwork that the public servants who worked on an everyday basis with the festival were familiar with the practicalities, and were knowledgeable about areas that were important for my research.

The sampling strategy used for choosing which members of the festival audience should be interviewed was quite different. As mentioned above, the survey participants were encouraged to sign up for further interviews, for which 76 of 350 volunteered. My primary interest was in people who lived within the four host municipalities of the festival.³² That interest excluded 24, leaving 52 possible interviewees. For reasons that had to do with the research question’s focus on how the festival affected ‘the audience’ in different ways, I

³² Later on I had to abstain from totally following this interest to arrive at a good, final sample: see below.

needed a strategy for making a varied sample from amongst these 52 people, which would ensure that the sampling was “theoretically driven” (ibid. p. 29) as well as practically accomplishable. For this reason I applied a maximum variation sampling strategy (ibid. p. 128), which could enable me to document “diverse variations” (ibid.), and identify “important common patterns” (ibid.). A set of six variables was established, half of which were to be applied systematically, whilst the others were thought to be ‘unsystematic’ variables. All were related to information from the questionnaires. At the point of the interviewee sampling this information was transferred into the statistical data programme SPSS. The number of interviews found necessary to glean sufficient information within the frames of the study, was twelve.

Systematic variables

In relation to the maximum variation strategy chosen, the study’s research sub-questions one and two³³ were considered especially important. The assumptions made were that the respective interviewee’s attachment over time to the festival would lead to significant variation in relation to research sub-question number 1. Likewise, whether the interviewee had an explicit experimental use of the festival or not would affect variation in relation to research sub-question number 2. These assumptions led to development of the two first systematic variables, namely *Degree of attachment over time* and *Degree of reported exploratory behaviour*. The criteria used to determine the degrees dependent on the interviewees’ answers to survey questions number 10³⁴ and 17 a),³⁵ which categorised as follows:

Degree of attachment over time

Long-term attachment (LA):	Answer to question 10: I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal every year since the beginning <i>or</i> I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal almost every year since the beginning
Short-term attachment (SA):	Answer to question 10: I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal occasionally <i>or</i> This is the first year I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal

Degree of reported exploratory behaviour

Exploratory (E):	Answer to question 17 a): Yes, often
Somewhat exploratory (SE):	Answer to question 17 a): Yes, but on rare occasions
Not exploratory (NE):	Answer to question 17 a): No, never

³³ To recapitulate: How does the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affect the audience’s construction of their musical self-narratives? How does the Festspel i Pite Älvdal contribute, both as a happening and in terms of its content and form, to the audience’s development and maintenance of parallel musical identities?

³⁴ How many years have you attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal?

³⁵ Have you ever *consciously* attended Festspel concerts out of curiosity about another genre/style than that which you would usually listen to?

In order to have a better spread of interviewees regarding attachment over time and reported exploratory behaviour, I wanted to introduce a third systematic variable. Gender was tried out, but seemed not to yield much variation, in the sense that the difference was not large between men and women when considering the topics above. Therefore, I turned to my experiences from the pilot study, during which I found out that the festival audience was roughly divided into an ‘inner circle’ and an ‘outer layer’, now respectively labelled Group I and Group II. In accordance with the pilot study findings, Group I contained respondents gathered at the classical or traditional concerts, such as the lunch, evening and night time classical concerts and the folk music concerts. Group II consisted of respondents gathered at the more ‘popular’ concerts, such as the opening concert, the ballad, courtyard and Tonträff concerts and the family events and the Trolltagen performances.

Attachment to audience group

- Group I: Lunchtime concert Wednesday, Piteå
 Night concert – folk music group Båsk, Piteå
 Lunchtime concert Thursday, Piteå
 Evening concert – St. George Strings, Piteå
 Night concert – Jönköpings sinfonietta, Piteå
 Lunchtime concert, Arvidsjaur
 Night concert – Svendén and Hirvonen, Piteå
 Lunchtime concert Saturday, Piteå
 Night concert – Pohjola and Bron, Piteå
 Lunchtime concert Sunday, Piteå
 Closing concert – Johann Sebastian Bach, Piteå
 Folk music evening, Arvidsjaur
 Music in a summer evening, Arvidsjaur
- Group II: Sami ballad and jojk evening, Arjeplog
 Opening concert, Piteå
 Tonträff Wednesday, Piteå
 Morning concert – John Bauer Brass, Piteå
 Tonträff Thursday, Piteå
 World music concert – Costo Rico, Arvidsjaur
 Family concert – Instrumix, Piteå
 Evening concert – Rilton, Piteå
 Tonträff Friday, Piteå
 Trolltagen Thursday, Älvsbyn
 Trolltagen Friday, Älvsbyn
 Trolltagen Saturday, Älvsbyn
 Courtyard concert – Euskefeurat/Costo Rico, Piteå
 Family concert, Piteå
 Courtyard concert – Sissel Kyrkjebø, Piteå
 Ballad evening – ballads in dialect, Arjeplog

When run against the other two systematic variables, this third variable yielded considerable variation. Hence, against the background of the three systematic variables, the original sampling scheme appeared as follows:

Long-term attachment (LA)	Short-term attachment (SA)	
Interviewee 1 (E)	Interviewee 7 (E)	} GROUP I
Interviewee 2 (SE)	Interviewee 8 (SE)	
Interviewee 3 (NE)	Interviewee 9 (NE)	
Interviewee 4 (E)	Interviewee 10 (E)	} GROUP II
Interviewee 5 (SE)	Interviewee 11 (SE)	
Interviewee 6 (NE)	Interviewee 12 (NE)	

Figure 2. Original interviewee sampling scheme.

‘Unsystematic’ variables

As unsystematically applied variables age, gender and place of living were chosen. The latter was of course chosen because I wanted interviewees from all the festival’s host municipalities. A scheme for systematic application of all six variables would have made the total number of interviewees too large; and besides there would also have been other problems with systematically applying the unsystematic variables:

- Age: The spread was too large. The possible interviewees’ age varied between 19 and 88 years, and many were born between 1940 and 1950.
- Gender: As accounted for above, there seemed to be larger differences between Group I and Group II than between men and women. Still, variation in gender *was* considered important.
- Place of living: The number of respondents who had volunteered as interviewees was so small in Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn as to be insufficient for systematic variation.

Final interviewee sample

A final sample of interviewees was made by bringing together the original sampling scheme with the 52 available interviewees, with the intention of forming a pattern in which all systematic variables were taken care of, and any variation in unsystematic variables was attended to as far as possible. The result of this process can be seen in the final scheme below:

Long-term attachment (LA)	Short-term attachment (SA)	
E: Woman, Piteå, born 1925	E: Man, Norrbotten, born 1962	} GROUP I
SE: Woman, Älvsbyn, born 1938	SE: Man, Arvidsjaur, born 1948	
NE: Man, Arvidsjaur, born 1919	NE: Man, Älvsbyn, born 1948	
E: Woman, Piteå, born 1950	E: Woman, Arjeplog, born 1967	} GROUP II
SE: Man, Arjeplog, born 1960 Man, Piteå, born 1944	SE: Woman, Piteå, born 1983	
	NE: Woman, Piteå, born 1972	

Figure 3. Final interviewee sampling scheme.

An explanation might be needed to clarify why this final scheme deviates in certain parts from the original. Firstly, there were no possible interviewees with long-term attachment and non-exploratory attitudes in Group II. Therefore, a person reporting a somewhat exploratory attitude was chosen, after carefully examining his questionnaire to be sure that he had the least reported experimental attitude of the persons available for this particular position. Secondly, there were no interviewees with short-term attachments and exploratory attitudes in Group I, who lived within the festival's four host municipalities. However, outside of these frames, one person who lived in another part of North Bothnia was available and hence chosen.

Interview procedures

The interviews with the official representatives of the municipalities were undertaken during the first half of September 2005. Because the sampling of the audience interviewees was made on basis of information coming from the questionnaires, and that these questionnaires had to be transferred to computer, these interviews were made a little later, in the period from October 25 to November 20, 2005. However, the procedures followed were similar.

All interviewees were first contacted by telephone and asked if they were willing to participate in the study. All agreed to, and a time and place for the interview was arranged. In order for the interviewees to feel as comfortable as possible during the interview, they were encouraged to choose the place that would suit them best (Atkinson, 1998). This was considered especially important when regarding the audience interviewees, with whom I would be building a kind of musical life story, using the festival as a continual point of reference. Three of four official municipality representatives chose to be interviewed in their offices; a choice that strengthened the impression that these people were interviewed by virtue of their position or occupation. For the remaining interviewees, choices differed from being interviewed in their homes (4), at their workplaces (4), at the School of Music (3) and at a restaurant (1). For the interviews at the School of Music, I avoided using my own office in order to decrease as far as possible the asymmetric balance of power between the interviewee

and myself. Instead, I chose a rather small, neutral room normally used for informal meetings. As a general rule, I wanted the interviewees to have as little trouble as possible. Hence, I drove to Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn to interview participants who lived there. The interviews conducted at the School of Music were made with interviewees from Piteå.

Prior to the interviews, I sent out the combined blank letter and contract described above, with information about the study in general, details of how the project would proceed and some information about interviewees' rights and about myself. In addition, the interviewees received a copy of the interview guide, only altered so that the sections' original labels did not show. Instead these were named *Aspect 1*, *Aspect 2* etc. This was done in order not to steer the interviewees' prior understanding of the study's conceptual world too much (the original labels were deeply coloured by my theoretical understanding). However, the whole point of sending out the interview guide was to make the interviewees think about their own musical life story, to steer their thoughts towards their relation with the festival, and to make them consider before the interview its significance for their own municipality. Since most audience interviews took place approximately four months³⁶ after the festival in 2005, and because I assumed that people in their everyday lives would probably not think about their own musical life story and their relation to and use of the festival, I thought it best to refresh the interviewees' memories and opinions before the interview took place. Of course, I also knew it was a possibility that this prior process could endanger the spontaneity of the interview procedure, and decrease the chance of receiving "spontaneous, lively and unexpected answers from the interviewees" (Kvale, 1996, p. 129). Still, the advantages of sending out the interview guides beforehand were considered to outweigh the disadvantages.

Kvale (ibid.) emphasised the importance of framing an interview, by familiarising the interviewees with the background and purpose of the interview, "the use of the recorder and so on" (ibid. p. 120). This advice was followed, and a short introduction was held before any technical equipment was set up. The interviewees were also encouraged to ask questions before the interview started. I set up the mini-disc player that I used for recording, on the nearest table. As Kvale (ibid.) pointed out, the first minutes of an interview are of vital importance, so during this time I tried to create good contact with the interviewee by listening carefully, showing interest, understanding and respect. Sometimes this also included accepting the food, cookies and coffee that the interviewee had prepared for my visit. Typically, I would start by asking the interviewees about their musical taste and what kind of music they normally listened to. The municipality representatives were asked if they considered the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* to be important for their municipality, and, if yes, how. From this point on, the interview would more or less follow the course of a conversation; however, as Atkinson (1998) pointed out, an interview is "like a conversation, but is not a conversation" (ibid. p. 32). So whilst I sought for the informality and looseness of a regular conversation, I still kept in mind that the interviewee should do the most of the talking, and that I should remain in the background, mainly "providing support and encouragement" (ibid.).

As we know, people's approaches to conversation differ to a large degree, and we are unevenly talkative in different situations. This was mirrored in the way the interviews would precede. Sometimes it was enough just to ask a few, starting questions, and then the interviewee would start talking, whilst I used the interview guide more or less as a checklist, ticking off the topics dealt with, without asking particular questions along the way, but just steering the conversation carefully to keep it on track. On other occasions, the questions in the

³⁶ This was unfortunate, but unavoidable. The summer holiday lasted until the middle of August, and after that, because of the large number of questionnaires, I needed some time to prepare the material so that the sampling could be made in a sufficient way, procedures described above.

interview guide were stated more directly as written. In all cases, I tried to listen actively (Kvale, 1996, p. 132) to what the interviewee had to tell, I asked for clarification when I did not understand, and pursued some of the “dimensions introduced in the answers” (ibid. p. 132). How the interviewees made use of the interview guide before and during the interview also differed. Some used it as a support for their own memory, some had also notes on it, and some had even answered some of the questions in writing before the interview. However, the interviews mostly went on without the interviewees using the interview guide at all.

Not all information gleaned from the interviews was verbal. One interviewee played me a piece of music to give me an impression of one of her favourite classical singers, another had collected concert programmes from years back, which she showed me as examples of what her musical life story contained. Connected to life story interviews in general, Atkinson (1998) emphasised that “recalling different memories will arouse all kinds of feelings and emotions” (ibid. p. 35). Unexpectedly, one of my interviewees started to cry during the interview when I asked her about her musical life story and what place the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* had within it. This emotional reaction, although connected to some deeply personal circumstances, surprised the interviewee and was something, which she said she was totally unprepared for. Still, she chose to continue the interview after a small pause.

Before ending the interviews, I would ask if the interviewee had anything to add, questions or opinions of the festival that had not emerged during our talk. Some, but not all interviewees chose to use this occasion to add further information.

Interview transcription

According to Kvale (1996), there are “a series of methodical and theoretical problems” (ibid. p. 163) connected to the transcription of interviews, in the sense that there are such significant differences between spoken and written language, that transcription might be an early stage of analysis or interpretation. “Transcribing involves translating from an oral language, with its own set of rules, to a written language with another set of rules” (ibid. p. 165). In the following, I will define the self-imposed rules that I used in this particular process of translation.

The interviews’ length varied from 42 to 80 minutes, with an average of approximately one hour. As mentioned before, they were recorded on mini-discs, which meant that I had to transfer them to CDs before the process of transcription could start. The CDs were then put into my computer, on which I used the iTunes software to play, ‘wind and rewind’ the interview. Since I had never dealt with interview data before, I decided to do the transcriptions myself, so I could maintain control over the whole process and decide the level of accuracy and detail. Making the transcriptions was also seen as a good way of having a second³⁷ look at the interview material.

According to Kvale (ibid. p. 170) there are certain choices that every person transcribing research interviews is faced with, such as whether the interview statements should be written ‘as said’ or whether a more formal written form would be better, and whether pauses, accents and emotional expressions like laughter and sighs should be included. The transcripts were made as verbatim as possible for this particular study, so for instance the interviewees’ statements were written in Swedish, and mine in Norwegian³⁸, and all repetitions, false starts and tag questions were included. Although these interviews were not to be objects of direct sociolinguistic or psychological analysis (ibid.), the small ‘uhms’ so characteristic of daily conversation were also noted, because they were assumed to tell much about the interplay

³⁷ The first impression was of course achieved during the interviews.

³⁸ Except when I chose to use Swedish words during the interview. Those were transcribed using Swedish spelling.

between the interviewer and the interviewee. The whole interview, from when the mini-disc player was turned on until it was turned off, was transcribed. The statements were not divided into sentences by using a full stop, but were marked with commas, and question marks were added where appropriate according to intonation and the character of the statement. Larger pauses and emotional expressions were noted (laughter, crying) and also any kind of interruption, such as when someone came into the room, or when there were technical problems with the equipment. Although I made the transcriptions in two languages, I did not transcribe dialect (neither the interviewees nor my own), but used standard spelling of both Swedish and Norwegian. However, when faced with dialect expressions, I did not change “their word order, or their meaning” (Atkinson, 1998, p. 55).

The process of transcription proceeded without any larger problems, except from being extremely time-consuming. However, one particular interview was really a struggle and required some professional help. The recording was made in a workplace basement, a room with a lot of resonance, and the interviewee spoke in a dialect, which had been understandable during the interview, probably because of extra-verbal communication, but was hard for me to understand on tape. The interviewee also talked very rapidly, which made the task of transcription even harder. After struggling for some time with the transcription and not making any progress, I asked an audio engineer for help. With the recording slowed down, but with the pitch kept at normal level, the interview could be transcribed.

The interview transcriptions were made during November and December 2005. After finishing this work, the written versions were sent to the respective interviewees. Each one received two copies of the text, one to keep and another for making comments or revisions. A letter was attached, explaining the procedure, and giving some information about how the interviews would be used. According to Atkinson (1998), offering the transcript to the interviewee to look over him or herself is done “primarily as a courtesy” (ibid. p. 57), however it can also be seen as a form of validation, in that the interviewee, by returning the text, recognises and confirms her or his statements and opinions. Some of the interviewees chose to comment on their text. These comments were taken into consideration and the text revised accordingly. After receiving and reading his interview, one of the interviewees wanted to withdraw from the study for reasons that had to do with what he called ‘lack of linguistic correctness’. After a brief telephone call, during which I explained that the transcript would not be published in its original form, but further analysed and worked on, he changed his mind and chose to remain as a participant.

During the process of transcription, the interviewees were given fictive names to ensure their anonymity. As will be seen from the following chapters, they appear as Betty, Laura, Mark, Chris, Leo, Maureen, Sara, Maurice, Andy, Ellen, Iris and Larry.

Documentation and archival records

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, documentation and archival records have been used as empirical material in this study. However, this material has not been gathered in any systematic way, neither has it been thoroughly analysed. The concert programmes that I gathered through participating in the festival concerts as an observing researcher have been used as a support for my memory, when trying to recall the different festival settings and concerts, especially with regard to what kinds of musical pieces were played and by whom. Some of the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*’s administrative documents, such as budget and accounts for 2005 were used as basis for calculations connected to the festival’s total audience numbers, how audiences were distributed among the festival municipalities and so on. In addition, one newspaper clipping was used to illustrate how the festival, through featuring a particular band, contributed to the development of local identity.

Analytical approaches

The analysis has been theoretically driven and steered by the different analytical approaches that the various kinds of empirical material involved in this study have called for. By theoretically driven, I mean that an attempt has been made, as far as possible, to use analytical approaches that harmonise with this study's ontological and epistemological assumptions. This has meant asking questions like: where, according to the theories used as basis for this study, shall I look for the information needed; what, if the theories are to be trusted, will that information look like; how can this information be displayed in a good, meaningful way that corresponds with the theoretical framework; and, last but not least, how can I recognise, understand and treat information that deviates from the expected?

At the beginning of this chapter, triangulation was mentioned as a central principle of case study research (Yin, 2003). When applied to the process of analysis, this principle is the main reason why the sections below are not divided according to the kind of empirical material analysed, field notes, survey or interview, but rather according to the phenomenon analysed, understood as a single research sub-question. Through presenting the process this way, I have displayed how I have approached the same phenomenon through using and looking into different kinds of data. The chapters treating the results of this study are written in a way that does not merge data, but keeps them apart to provide transparency. Hence, the triangulation approach could be understood as what Yin (ibid. p. 99) names the 'lower portion', meaning using multiple sources that address different facts. However, I will argue that what has been used is an 'upper portion' approach, implying that a real triangulation of data has taken place, maybe not at a detailed level, or as single sub-phenomena, but at the broader level of the particular research sub-question dealt with.

Approach 1 – affecting audience's construction of musical self-narratives

The phenomenon of how the festival affected the audience's construction of musical self-narratives was approached from three different angles: through quantitative survey and archival records, investigating the more general preconditions of festival impact; through qualitative survey data, looking into what seemed to evoke strong emotional experiences with festival-presented music, and the emotional content of such experiences; and through interview data concerning participants' musical life stories or self-narratives, focusing on re-telling them in order to be as close as possible to the festival's impact upon *construction* of such narratives.

The quantitative survey material was subjected to descriptive statistical analysis using SPSS software. Frequency tables were drawn from those answers that were relevant to the festival's impact upon the audience's life, such as: the number of years they had attended the festival; festival participation in any other way than as an audience member; to what extent survey participants thought of the festival as significant to their own lives; and their attendance at music festivals other than the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*. Cross tables were also drawn to measure if age, place of living, level of education and income, gender or attachment to an audience group affected the survey participants' answers in a statistically significant way. Information from the festival's archival records was used to determine the total festival audience in 2005. When combined with the survey data showing how many festival attendances were made per person, these numbers were used to estimate the total number of persons attending the festival in 2005. To give an idea of the festival's impact per inhabitant of the host municipalities, a comparison was made with a Stockholm-based festival.

The analysis of the qualitative survey material in the form of statements concerning strong emotional experiences made in relation to music presented at the festival was begun when all 131 statements were transcribed into text, and sorted according to the number given

to the original questionnaire (1 to 441). The categorisation of the material was then made inductively, using principles of qualitative content analysis, which involve proceeding from a detailed coding of significant information in the text to reducing the codes into a smaller number of overall categories (see for example Kvale, 1996 or Miles and Huberman, 1994). Two kinds of information was searched for: factors that seemed in any way to have had impact upon the occurrence of strong emotional experiences with music; and the range of emotions described in connection with such experiences. The analysis was conducted using the following steps:

All text was read for an overview of the whole material. The statements were transferred into a two-columned table, with statements in the original form on the left, and the coding of factors having impact upon occurrence of strong emotional experiences plus the emotions described on the right. The total number of codes was then listed, and factors and emotions were thereafter treated separately.

A total of 34 factors that impacted upon the occurrence of strong emotional experiences were identified. They were initially grouped into three overall categories: 'external', which could be ascribed to external features of the festival events; 'internal' concerning the respondents' own preconditions; and 'relational', which could be understood as the interplay between external features of the event and respondents' own preconditions. However, this categorisation was unsatisfactory, and through a process involving other researchers, which may be referred to as 'researcher' or 'investigator triangulation' (Yin, 2003), a final, more refined categorisation was made in terms of two main categories ('contextual factors' and 'intrapersonal factors') along with two levels of subcategories (see the next chapter for a full presentation of categories, subcategories and factors/codes). Study participants mentioned 31 different shades of emotions. Apart from very general expressions of being touched or moved by the music, these could be divided into four categories, or 'main areas' of emotion: positive, sad, corporeal and transcendent experiences. According to Rosch (1978), one way to achieve separateness and clarity between actually continuous categories is to concentrate on each one's "clear cases rather than its boundaries" (ibid. p. 36). This was a guiding principle in the systematisation of sometimes 'overlapping' material.

One of the fundamental assumptions of this study is that the identity of an individual is created and maintained by self-narratives, implying that identity results from a person's capacity to keep a narrative going and in make continuous revisions to it. Sharing this view, Riessman (1993) wrote: "Individuals become the autobiographical narratives by which they tell about their lives" (ibid. p. 2). She also emphasises that human agency is what determines what will be included and what excluded in narrativisation, how events are plotted and what they are supposed to mean. Or, as Mishler (1991) put it: "a general assumption of narrative analysis is that telling stories is one of the significant ways individuals construct and express meaning". Looking into how a festival might have impact upon the construction of musical self-narratives, it seemed crucial to find the actual stories that were embedded in the interviews, or to be what Kvale (1996) termed a *narrative-finder* (ibid. p. 201). Goodson (1992) separated 'life story' from 'life history', in order to distinguish between the "story we tell about our life" (ibid. p. 6) and "a collaborative venture, reviewing a wider range of evidence (...) the life history is the life story located within its historical context" (ibid.). Viewed in this light, what is dealt with in this study, are indeed musical life stories, not histories.

Many of the traditional approaches to qualitative analysis often imply fracturing texts into bits and pieces in the service of interpretation and generalisation; here, such approaches were avoided. Instead, I turned to those that would allow me to preserve and refine the narratives, to grasp essential meaning-making structures in order to look into how the interviewees constructed meanings, and to analyse how it was accomplished. Closely connected with this

was a wish to give “prominence to human agency and imagination” (ibid. p. 5) and to give room for the interviewees’ subjectivity and genuine voices, out of deep respect for single individuals’ right to narrate their version of the world in their own words. In the actual act of analysis, the following procedure was used:

All audience interviews were read through in their complete version. Each interview was then divided into four parts, following the sections defined in the interview guide: the festival’s function for individual’s construction of musical self-narratives; the festival’s significance for the development of parallel musical identities; the festival’s contribution to the development of local identity; and international artists’ impact upon the same. The interview’s four parts were read through one more time, and information that was seen to belong to another section was copied and transferred. The text was also kept in its original place.³⁹ Part 1, which was concerned with the interviewees’ musical self-narratives or life stories was read through one additional time. Thereafter, to ease the overview of the material, the texts were treated as objects of meaning condensation⁴⁰ (Kvale, 1996), implying that the interview texts were transferred to a two-columned table – the original interview text to the left and the condensation to the right, and then the texts’ “meaning units” (ibid. p. 194) were determined and compressed into short sentences, stated as simply as possible in the column to the right. To verify my condensation of the interviews, a colleague read through one, and gave his comments and opinions concerning how the units were determined and how the compression into sentences was done.

After finishing condensation of all audience interviews (part 1), the information was transferred into a matrix (Miles and Huberman, 1994), so as to be able to read the information horizontally and vertically. At the same time it was possible to read a short version of each interviewee’s musical life story *and* compare all life stories, area by area. The interviewees’ musical life stories were compared in 18 areas, or categories:

- Age
- Position, occupation
- Musical taste, what kinds of music listened to
- Musical life, playing or singing habits
- Concert attendance habits, and motivation for doing so
- Use of music, what music ‘does’ for the individual interviewee
- Mode of attendance at the Festspel i Pite Älvdal (FiPÄ)
- FiPÄ; stories from the festival
- FiPÄ; strong experiences
- FiPÄ; defined place in musical life story
- FiPÄ; reasons for attendance (others)
- FiPÄ; reasons for attendance (myself)
- FiPÄ; what is learnt from attending it
- Participation at other festivals
- Definition of musical experience
- Persons that the interviewee attend FiPÄ together with
- Persons known to the interviewee, who attend FiPÄ

³⁹ These first three steps were used throughout the interview material. They will therefore not be repeated when describing how part 2, 3 and 4 of the interview transcriptions were analysed.

⁴⁰ As Kvale (1996) emphasised, the concept of ‘meaning condensation’ derives from an empirical phenomenological method developed by Giorgi (1975), and inspired by Merleau-Ponty (1962). However, “it is not limited to a phenomenological approach” (Kvale, 1996, p. 196), and is used here as one of several steps in a longer process of analysis.

- Music and/or experiences the interviewee would not have had access to without the FiPÄ

In parallel with the condensation and transference of information into a matrix, the interviews were read through for the purpose of finding narratives. The definition used for identifying a narrative was that of Labov (1972, 1982), which emphasises that a fully formed narrative should include six common elements: an abstract (summary of the substance of the narrative); orientation (time, place, situation, participants); complicating action (sequence of events); evaluation (significance and meaning of the action, attitude of the narrator); resolution (what finally happened); and coda (a return to the perspective of the present). After finishing the search for narratives in the interviews, six interviewees' musical life stories were chosen to be written out as part of the study's result. The following criteria were used for making the selection. Firstly, the stories chosen should as far as possible cover aspects of those not chosen. The matrix was used for comparing different attitudes, experiences and behaviour among the interviewees. Eventually the final sample was showed to a colleague. Using the matrix as a point of departure, he commented upon possible bias in my choice of life stories to be told. Secondly, narratives had to be identified in the interviews of the interviewees chosen. Thereafter, the narratives of the six chosen interviews were lifted out of the original text and re-transcribed. This procedure implied listening to the interview once (or twice) more and to identify shifts in intonation and mark them with a new, numbered line (001, 002 etc.). Hence, utterances were "parsed into clauses" (Riessman, 1993, p. 35) and the text was also completed (through listening to the text more times, I heard more details). The narratives were then analysed according to Labov's (1972, 1982) six elements, and their different parts identified by their function (to orient, carry the action, resolve etc.). Some narratives were fully formed, whilst others were incomplete. Finally, considerations were made regarding which narratives should be included. Having made this decision, they were translated into English, and adjusted in order to clarify the story by minimising little words and irrelevant passages. I also removed my own lines with the exception of those occasions where my questions or comments changed the direction of the conversation to a large degree. Thereafter, the 'three-page stories' about each interviewee's musical life story were written on the basis of the condensed interviews, the matrix and the narratives that had been selected and extracted. Eventually, the numbers indicating shifts in intonation were removed from the narratives to make the text more readable, and then they were transferred into their final written form, using a more common way of indicating pauses and stops, namely commas and full stops.

Approach 2 – contributing to audience's maintenance and development of parallel musical identities

The festival's contribution to the audience's maintenance and development of parallel musical identities was investigated using field notes from observation, information from the survey and in-depth interviews. Instead of departing from particular life stories and looking for narratives, I chose to dig into the material vertically in order to identify, not how the festival seemed to impact on the identity construction of individuals, but rather the more general rules that were specific to the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities. Both concerning the survey and the interview material, this led to a focus on audiences' attitudes and opinions, their actions and the factors affecting action, which were understood to be the reasons study participants would give for acting the way they did.

The field notes were used for writing out descriptions of festival events in order to investigate and display the diversity of real-time musical/social settings that the Festspelet i Pite Älvdal offered the audience, with other words the preconditions given for the maintenance

and the development of parallel musical identities. As indicated above, there were field notes from 21 events. Those events were considered in relation to a maximum variation sampling strategy (Miles and Huberman, 1994), stressing differences in musical style and genre presented, arena/location and size. In addition, it was considered important to include at least one event in each of the four host municipalities. With that as a point of departure, seven events were chosen, which were seen together to give the reader a good understanding of the diversity that had been arranged by the festival administrators:

- Sami ballad and jojk evening, Arjeplog
- Lunchtime concert, Piteå
- Opening concert, Piteå
- Lunchtime concert, Arvidsjaur
- Trolltügen, Älvsbyn
- Euskefeurat/Costo Rico, Piteå
- Closing concert, Piteå

Thereafter, the event descriptions were written, keeping DeNora's (2003a) musical event scheme in mind.

The survey material was analysed with a focus on how the respondents perceived opportunities for maintaining and developing parallel musical identities during the festival, how they stated to behave in this regard, and what could be seen when their behaviour was traced through information given in the questionnaire. Regarding the first, frequency tables were drawn up to measure answers given to questions relevant to the topic, among other things whether or not it was possible to find concerts suited to different tastes, or if the festival was mainly for classical music lovers. This strategy was also used when treating the second area, which concerned if the festival contributed to broadening tastes and if attendances were made to concerts featuring music that the respondents knew in advance that they would appreciate. As above, cross tables were also drawn up to measure if age, place of living, level of education and income, gender or attachment to a particular audience group effected the survey participants' answers in a statistically significant way. Related to this topic were questions to which the respondents gave information about conscious or accidental visits to concerts of music that was new or unfamiliar to them. Respondents' behaviour was also tracked by comparing information about musical taste with concert attendance, and this material was 'cross-read' in different ways in order to reveal patterns connected to the maintenance or development of musical preferences, and thereby identities. In addition, answers to the survey's open questions were read through, searching for significant patterns.

The interview material was subjected to meaning categorisation (Kvale, 1996, pp. 178-180). The 'part 2' of the interviews, which was concerned with the festival's significance to the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities, was read through separately. Thereafter the text was transferred into a table with five columns⁴¹ and condensed using the procedure described above. Once again, a colleague verified the condensation of one of the interviews. They were then coded into 39 different subcategories and six main categories. This process was mainly inductive, going from a detailed coding of significant information in the text (subcategories) to reducing the subcategories into a smaller number of overall categories. However, the research sub-question that should be answered through this analysis, together with the theoretical assumptions that brought it about, was always kept in mind and the process might be seen as a kind of abduction (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000), moving

⁴¹ The columns contained a) the original interview text, b) the condensation of the text, c) subcategories, d) categories and e) a column showing the name of the interviewee.

back and forth between a close focus on the content of the empirical material and theoretical considerations. The six main categories were as follows:

- Choice of concerts
- Reasons given for choosing concerts
- Impact of form and content on choice of concerts
- Impact on musical taste
- Why people in general/I attend the festival
- Unique experiences provided by the festival

The “choice of concerts” category mirrored the interviewees’ own choices: whether they would mainly visit concerts with well-known or unknown music, or both. “Reasons given for choosing concerts” was to give an overview of the total reasons given, whilst “impact of form and content on choice of concerts” contained statements about how attributes of the event would make it especially attractive or scare possible audience away. “Impact on musical taste” was related to how the interviewees perceived of how they had maintained or developed their musical identities through the festival, and “why people in general/I attend the festival” was a listing of the general reasons for attending the festival in the first place. The last category contained information about what the festival contributed that would not have been available without it, or “the unique experiences provided by the festival”. An example is shown below of how “reasons for choosing concerts” was divided into 13 subcategories:

Table 4. Example showing how main categories were divided into subcategories.

Main category	Subcategories
Reasons given for choosing concerts	Social support
	Knowledge of concert content
	Time
	Economy
	Availability
	Finding something new
	Enjoyable
	Accidental factors
	Own attitude
	Getting started during the festival week
	Festival passport
	Using the opportunity
	Free tickets

The categorisation structured the extensive and complex interviews, and in order to reach an even better overview, I transferred the information into an ordering matrix (Miles and Huberman, 1994), with the main categories set vertically and the interviewees’ names horizontally, so it should be possible to read both the content of all choices, reasons given and attitudes per category, and also to read each individual’s behavioural and attitudinal ‘pattern’. Following the advice of Miles and Huberman (ibid.), the matrix contained rather thick descriptions that rendered the context well and the “intensions and meanings” (ibid. p. 242). I even included some direct quotes.

Keeping the research question⁴² in mind, I sought to answer the following questions: what concerts do interviewees choose and on what grounds; how do they think that the festival's form and content affect their own and other people's choices; how do their choices affect their musical taste; what are their opinions of why people attend the festival and why do they attend it themselves; what do they enjoy at the Festspele i Pite Älvdal that is not available to them elsewhere?

Approach 3 – contributing to the development of local identity

To find an answer to how the Festspele i Pite Älvdal contributes to the development of local identity, investigations were made into the interview material, the field notes from the observation and the survey. Even some documentation, including a newspaper clipping, was used in order to illustrate a certain phenomenon. The interviews were used to construct stories about the host municipalities and their relations to the festival; the observation log gave information about phenomena that seemed to tie the municipalities and the festival together; whilst the survey material was used for a better view of more general patterns, 'the large picture'.

When describing how the interview material had been analysed with regard to the research question, I put an emphasis on the researcher's role as narrative-finder (Kvale, 1996) and explained how I had looked for defined narratives in the interviewees' musical life stories. In stretching the theoretical assumption of the connection between self-narratives and identity beyond the individual and towards the municipal, the story of the municipality as told by its inhabitants seemed a logical place to look for the festival's impact on the development of local identity. Hence, I took the role of a "narrative-creator" (ibid. p. 201) using the interview material for moulding different happenings into coherent stories about relations between the festival and its host municipalities. Prior to the writing of the stories, which was an act of analysis in itself, the texts were tentatively categorised for an overview and to ease the final writing. This was the procedure that I followed:

The interviews were grouped according to the interviewees' place of domicile. Since the research question focused on the municipality, both the audience interviews and those with the municipality representatives were taken into account. Parts 3 and 4 (see above) of the audience interviews were analysed, and since the municipality representatives had only been interviewed in relation to municipality issues, all their interviews were used. Grouping the interviews into four categories gave Piteå one municipality representative interview and five audience interviews as a basis for story making. For Älvsbyn, Arvidsjaur and Arjeplog, there was one municipality representative interview and two audience interviews per municipality. Because one of the audience interviewees lived outside the host municipalities in another part of the county, he was left out of this part of the study.

The four groups of interviews were read through as separate entities. This way, I gleaned a first impression of each festival-municipality story. To focus the readings, and as guidelines for the following analysis and writing of stories, I formulated three questions connected to the research sub-question at stake⁴³: 1) how does the story of the municipality come through in the available interviews; 2) what is the place of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal within that story; and 3) how does the festival contribute to development of that story? Then I dealt with the texts connected to Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn using the following steps:

⁴² To recapitulate: how does the Festspele i Pite Älvdal contribute, both as a happening and in terms of its content and form, to the audience's development and maintenance of parallel musical identities?

⁴³ How does the Festspele i Pite Älvdal contribute to the development of local identity in the communities in which it is arranged?

The total number of scripts from the interviews for that specific municipality was read through with these three questions in mind. They were then condensed, using the same approach as described before. The condensed text was transferred to A3-pages and tentatively grouped. These pages served as a cognitive map (Miles and Huberman, 1994); and, except for the condensed interview text, had links and arrows indicating how statements or phenomena were connected, related or how they otherwise impacted on one another.

Having reached this point with the groups of interviews coming from Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn, I chose to use the three different cognitive maps as a basis for categorisation. A tentative grouping of statements was prepared, and 16 different subcategories emerged:

- The general story told about the municipality
- Information about the Lapplands Festspel
- The significance of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal for the municipality +/-⁴⁴
- The festival's cooperation with the surrounding world +/-
- Who works to arrange the festival
- The Festspel i Pite Älvdal as the municipalities' public face +/-
- The festival's place in a common story of the municipality +/-
- Feeling of togetherness along the river valley
- Local artists +/-
- The festival's potential for development
- The significance of well-known artists
- The significance of cultural activities in general
- Who attends the festival +/-
- What does the municipality offer artists
- What do the artists offer the municipality
- Local conditions, local anchoring, local habits

Thereafter, this categorisation was used for the analysis of the Piteå interviews. The reason for choosing this approach was that the Piteå material was twice as large as that for Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn. While it was possible to handle three interviews at the same time, finding an overview just by dealing with the condensed interview texts, this was not possible with six interviews. Hence, the Piteå interviews were first categorised, and then a cognitive map, similar to the ones described before, was written/drawn on the basis of the information emerging from the different categories. After this, the four stories were written on the basis of the maps.

The field notes from the 21 different festival events were read through in order to find information concerning how the festival contributed to the development of local identity. Text containing such information was lifted out from the original log, and divided into nine categories:

- The use of places
- The stories told through the festival about who we are
- Togetherness
- Local lore
- Cooperation with local partners
- Local connection

⁴⁴ The +/- signs were used to indicate that the category contained positive and negative aspects of the same phenomenon.

- Local/global
- Local habits
- Togetherness among the municipalities

The last seven of these categories could be recognised in the interview material (see chapter seven), and were mainly used to support already existing argumentation. However, “the use of places” and “the stories told through the festival about who we are” contained completely new information, which is thoroughly described in the chapter dealing with the results.

The questionnaire’s last section, C. Questions concerning the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*’s significance for local community, concerned the festival’s contribution to the development of local identity. Hence, from question 26-30 I drew frequency tables and cross tables connected to the aforementioned variables of age, place of living, level of education and income, gender and attachment to audience group. In order to see possible patterns the results were transferred to a matrix. These patterns largely matched and confirmed those already found in the interview and observation log material, and were used for a further discussion of arguments that I had already developed. The qualitative survey material that was gathered from responses to question 31 was read through to find information connected to development of local identity as a result of the festival. Little information existed, however what was found was searched through for patterns. No pattern appeared, and the choice was made to display this material’s diversity.

Case study and the act of interpretation

I have explained in detail the processes of analysing the empirical material of this study. What has been described are the tangible procedures of analytical approaches, the ripping apart and re-construction of the empirical material, and the refining, extraction and construction of the narratives found within it. The matter of interpretation, in a broader sense, has until now been put aside.

The present study rests on a theoretical basis, which was accounted for in previous chapters, and which is not hermeneutic. Still, to explain and explore the interpretative aspects of its processes of analysis in more depth, some principles that might be recognised as hermeneutic have been found useful. In the following, I will look into these aspects, drawing on writers such as Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000), Ricoeur (1981) and Giddens (1984, 1993).

Case studies deal with different kinds of empirical material, and a central principle is that of triangulation. Hence, as we have seen, the analytical approaches might be more than one, the entries to possible answers of the research questions at stake several, and the process of corroborating phenomena diverse. In many ways, this is comparable to the main hermeneutic theme of the part and the whole, that “the meaning of a part can only be understood if it is related to the whole” (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000, p. 53), which is an assumption that is illustrated by the so-called hermeneutic circle. As always, ‘the whole’ is a human defined entity, and when taking this particular study into consideration, I would say that the whole is the totality of the collected empirical material. A “deepened understanding” (*ibid.*) is achieved by alternating between the different parts, defined as either the survey, observation or interview material, or even parts of those parts, for instance particular sections of the interviews (the musical life story narratives), or the survey material (the stories about strong emotional experiences). All these parts are viewed both in relation to each other and to the whole. ‘The whole’ might also be understood as the main research question, which the gathering of the empirical material is expected to answer. This view is meaningful in connection with the hermeneutic spiral (Radnitzky, 1970), by which researchers begin with one part, trying to tentatively relate it to the whole “upon which new light is shed” (Alvesson

and Sköldbberg, 2000, p. 53), and from there return to the part studied and so on. Going back and forth, keeping the research questions in mind when dealing with different kinds of empirical material and vice versa has certainly led to a deeper understanding of both.

Ricoeur (1981) points to a possible hermeneutic oscillation other than that between the part and the whole, namely that between scientific and humanist methods in the social sciences, between explanation and understanding, referred to by Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2000) as the “hermeneutic arc” (ibid. p. 53). This ‘arc’ is highly relevant to the process of case study interpretation because it can be referred to both quantitative and qualitative material, which are traditionally connected to scientific and humanist approaches respectively. In fact, the interrogative ‘how’, recommended for use in case study research questions, might point towards an answer that implies both “*verstehen*, the understanding of meaning” (Giddens, 1984, p. 219) and “*erklären*, the causal explanation of natural phenomena” (ibid.). Although the central concern in this study is with the understanding, there are also explanatory elements of, not natural, but social phenomena.

The investigation reported here does not set about to uncover something hidden, rather to display further what is already audible and visible, namely individuals’ and municipalities’ stories about themselves in relation to a particular music festival. Hence, what is listened to and looked at is surfaces, a person’s or a municipality’s chosen facade for presentation to the outside world. This approach could, quite mistakenly, be thought superficial, but on the contrary, the underlying theorists emphasise the process of surface-making, the creating of self through narratives, as being central to human existence. To repeat what has been written earlier: we come into being by telling about ourselves. The felt coherence of the ‘self’ does not exist beyond those narratives that are used to construct meaningful connections. Ricoeur (1981) also discusses narratives and their functions. In his view, narrating is not only a way to add “episodes to one another; it also constructs meaningful totalities out of scattered events” (ibid. p. 278).

The theories concerning modernity developed by Giddens (1990, 1991) are central to this study, as is his concept of ‘double hermeneutics’ (Giddens, 1984, 1993), which refers to the oscillation between practice and discourse (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000), or between the linguistic world of lay people and the metalanguage of the social sciences that the sociological researcher has to deal with. Firstly, the social scientist has to be able to grasp lay concepts in order to “penetrate hermeneutically the form of life whose features he or she wishes to analyse or explain” (Giddens, 1993, p. 167). Secondly, a logical tie has to be developed between those concepts and “the technical terminologies invented by social scientists” (Giddens, 1984, p. 227). What hampers this double and sometimes parallel process is that the concepts and theories of the social sciences are taken over by lay actors, and these actors “embody them as constitutive elements in the rationalization of their own conduct” (Giddens, 1993, p. 167). In other words, concepts are adopted and used by those whose conduct was expected to be analysed. This is problematic for the researcher, because when re-finding the concepts in the lay world, they will have an altered meaning to that of the original, sociological-discursive one. Furthermore, the slippage of concepts also alters how lay people see their world and behave in it. Hence, double hermeneutics and slippage between layers are in Giddens’ (1990) understanding, closely connected to the reflexivity of modernity, in that notions coined in the metalanguages of social science routinely re-enter the universe of actions they were initially formulated to describe. Hence, “sociological knowledge spirals in and out of the universe of social life, reconstructing both itself and that universe as an integral part of that process” (ibid. p. 15-16).

The reflexivity aspect of double hermeneutics is important and interesting. However, with regard to this particular study, the significance of double hermeneutics lies mostly in how the different parts of the thesis relate to the two layers of the lay world and

sociological/theoretical discourse. In writing up the study's result, I have concentrated on practice, or on lay agents' descriptions of "why things happen as they do" (Giddens, 1993, p. 14), using their concepts and understandings, life stories and experienced chains of causality. In so doing, I have also chosen to display diversity and contradiction. Concepts are not used in a uniform way, rather where the understandings and ideas, even usage of single words diverge, this is demonstrated through the text. This approach has been chosen in recognition of the survey participants and interviewees being "'knowledgeable' and 'capable'" (Giddens, 1984, p. 230) of naming their own world, and recognition of the validity of these names. The stories found and constructed, likewise the interpretation and description of the survey and observation results might hence be understood as an attempt to hermeneutically penetrate the study participants' world. The chapter discussing the results is, however, where I try to lift this lay linguistic world into the metalanguage of the study's theoretical framework, build a logical tie between lay concepts and technical terminologies, and hermeneutically penetrate the latter on the basis of their own premises.

I have been emphasising that this study is not hermeneutical. In fact, its assumptions regarding the late or post-modern relativism, fragmentation and dissolution, the doubts about the validity of grand narratives (Lyotard, 1984) and the belief in the existence of many local truths, may in many ways be seen to be opposite to the traditional hermeneutic understanding of the harmonious whole, the belief that it is possible to achieve an understanding of the meaning of the whole, and also that "there *is* such a whole" (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000, p. 100). As Alvesson and Sköldbberg (*ibid.*) emphasise, instead of falling into totalising, from either this or that perspective, it is preferable to "examine the situation at hand – harmonious or fragmented – and then choose the methodology suited to the conditions" (*ibid.* p. 104). Hence, hermeneutics has been brought in to discuss the more general principles that underlie the interpretation of the study's empirical material. It has also been used to describe how study participants' statements are treated in relation to a theoretical metalanguage. Thirdly, hermeneutic approaches have been used to interpret and recreate the ostensible harmony that comes from individuals narrating their fragmented lives.

Methodological reflections

The matter of trustworthiness

As comes across in the opening of this chapter, the present study is designed using the principles for case study design suggested by Yin (2003). However, applying his criteria for discussing the quality of the study is not entirely unproblematic. In an attempt to raise the quality and reputation of case studies as a whole, to increase the 'scientific value', Yin (*ibid.*) approaches quality criteria in ways that may seem to be developed on the premises of quantitative research, and that might even be thought to approach positivism. His view of reliability includes, for instance, to be able to repeat a study, with "the same results" (*ibid.* p. 34), the researcher should construct validity through "establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" (*ibid.*) whilst internal validity is achieved by "establishing causal relationships" (*ibid.*). Such understandings seem to be incompatible with the theories of modernity on which this study rests, and with its mainly qualitative grounds.

The present study is a case study in which several kinds of empirical material have been addressed, among which there is also quantitative material. Still, I will claim that this is mainly a qualitative study with strong, narrative features, and that the quantitative material has been used in order to have an overview and thereby come to an understanding of larger patterns. Hence, when discussing the study in terms of validity or trustworthiness, I attend to understandings that are more based in qualitative research than that of Yin (*ibid.*); namely

those of Kvale (1996), Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) and Lincoln and Guba (2002) who, each in their own terms, are concerned with matters of trustworthiness. Turning partly away from Yin (*ibid.*) on this point, whilst retaining his theories as part of this discussion, may be understood as providing transparency, and reflects the process of maturation on the part of the researcher during the four-year period that has passed from when the study was first designed until it was completed.

Kvale (1996) discusses the validity of interview studies in seven stages: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, validating and reporting (*ibid.* p. 237). He also emphasises that in modern and post-modern contexts the quality of the researcher's craft becomes pivotal, because post-modernity dismisses "an objective reality against which knowledge is to be measured" (*ibid.* p. 241). By describing the process of planning, gathering and analysing my material as thoroughly as possible, I have tried to invite the reader to judge my craft with regard to all the above-mentioned seven stages. In addition, by participating in research conferences, and sending in manuscripts for review that present parts of the findings from this study (see for instance Karlsen 2005b, 2007a, 2007b and Karlsen, *in press*), I have tried to heighten the study's credibility by letting fellow researchers ascribe validity to the findings reported.

The notion of reliability is problematic when it comes to interviews, since the information and knowledge gained through them is a record of a real time event involving both interviewer and interviewed, and which cannot be repeated or replicated in detail. Still, Kvale (1996) stresses the importance of the researcher not asking leading questions during the interview in order to ensure reliability, and also that higher reliability might be gained through letting co-researchers or colleagues participate in acts of analysis, for instance through checking the correctness of the condensation procedure, or by participating in the process of categorisation both of which have been done in this study.

This study has its theoretical point of departure in modernity theory, and operates as such within a rather constructionist paradigm. In such a paradigm, as also pointed out by Kvale (*ibid.*) above, the concepts of objectivity and reliability are considered less relevant as means of establishing what is or is not 'scientific research'. This is because 'the truth' is no longer considered universal because there are in fact multiple and many-sided truths existing side by side. Taking this view into account, Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) discuss validity when connected to narrative inquiry in terms of authenticity, trustworthiness and resonance. The researcher's way of establishing her findings as valid hence goes through authentic findings, presented in a way that seems trustworthy to the reader, by, amongst other things, allowing "wondering, tentativeness, and alternative views to exist as part of the research account" (*ibid.* p. 25). Trustworthiness is also a matter of resonance, to which degree the research report, in this case the doctoral thesis is written in accord with the basic belief system undergirding that paradigm "which the inquirer has chosen to follow" (Lincoln and Guba, 2002, p. 207). For the reader to be able to evaluate a study's resonance it is hence necessary for the author to state her theoretical points of departure and to account for the research process and the questions asked the empirical material, so that the reader may follow the line of logic.⁴⁵

Regarding the present study, I have invited the reader to judge its resonance by displaying aim and research questions, as well as the research, theoretical and methodological base on which it rests. I have also made visible my own prior understanding by telling my own musical life-story as part of chapter one, and have made no secret of this being a kind of 'insider research'. As like so many others, I have chosen to explore my own practice, with the advantages and disadvantages that this carries. Quotes from survey respondents and

⁴⁵ This point is also emphasised by Yin (2003), although he refers to it in terms of the reader being able to follow "the derivation of any evidence" (*ibid.* p. 105)

interviewees and descriptions of festival events have been richly displayed to provide transparency. Nonetheless, all the material has been edited and transcribed by me, and is thereby of course coloured by my understandings. This is unavoidable and can only be taken into consideration. A more serious problem in this regard has been that of language. The questionnaires and interview guides were originally written in Norwegian and then translated to Swedish. During the interviews I spoke Norwegian to my Swedish interviewees⁴⁶, and finally the material used in the thesis was translated into English. However, these various translations have been executed very watchfully, and the documents have passed several critical readers before their final form. It is my sincere hope that the joint competence and effort of my tutors, colleagues, proof readers and myself has guaranteed the preservation and clarification of the study participants' original statements, and does not distort them or result in severe misinterpretations. Finally, to capture "multiple ways of knowing" (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, p. 25) and to display diversity, maximum variation sampling strategies have been used. Also, the thesis has been written in a way that allows for multivoicedness and alternative views to exist.

In this section, I have tried to reflect on the trustworthiness of this study. A discussion of how or if the study's findings might be generalised to a broader context will be undertaken in the final chapter.

Some methodological afterthoughts

If I was to repeat the present study, I would probably put more emphasis on opening up the interview situations. I would leave out some of the questions in the interview guide, and trust people's ability to tell their own musical life stories without me interrupting or asking questions. Still, some of the interviews happened in that spirit, interviewees going on and on with their stories, and it struck me both during the time of interviewing and when analysing the material, that how the interviews proceeded, whether stories would be told and how, seemed to be connected to the interviewees' age and general habits of telling stories about their own life. Indeed, story-telling is an important part of identity work, but maybe older people have more material and are generally more skilled at it, because of their greater experience and lived life. Then again, some people are simply more inclined to tell stories than others. What is sure though is that I could have offered better conditions through loosening my control over the situation. However, this was a difficult decision to make, in that only a part of the interview was to be a life story interview in its original meaning (Atkinson, 1998), whilst the other parts had to do with attitudes and behaviour regarding the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* and its significance for the interviewee's municipality.

The one procedure that I think functioned very well was that of letting survey participants write short statements about their strong emotional experiences with the music presented at the festival. In this regard, the responses to the interviews did not at all come close to the richness and expressiveness of the written answers from the survey. I can elucidate two possible explanations for this. Quite simply, my physical presence in the interview might have prevented the interviewees from revealing what for them were private, significant and deeply personal stories. Conversely, my absence from the situation in which the respondents filled out the questionnaire might have allowed such stories to be put into words. Also, as noted above, there are significant differences between spoken and written language. Furthermore, the interview situation is a real-time interaction in which meanings are constructed whilst the questionnaire allows for a more introverted reflexive process in free time. If the assumption is that identity is a reflexive process, and that these short narratives are a small but potentially

⁴⁶ Norwegian is a language most Swedes understand very well, and I was careful to listen for misunderstandings during the interviews. Also, I sometimes turned to Swedish to clear things up.

important part of a larger narrative that constitutes each person's musical identity, then maybe writing might be more suited than the interview to give an understanding of the creation of these narratives. My assumption is that, having time and opportunity to reflect, combined with the rhetorical forms of the written language, allow the person in question to construct a more consistent and culturally acceptable story of their experience, in order, in a controlled manner, to reveal him or herself through it.

FESTSPEL I PITE ÄLVDAL AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

Before entering the ‘findings section’ of this thesis, here are some facts and information that will hopefully be useful for the reader:

- The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal was first arranged in 1982 (Lidström, Gårsjö, Nilsson, Marklund, Sandström, Johansson and Johansson, 2007). The festival’s headquarter is in Piteå, but as mentioned in the introduction the festival is also arranged in the municipalities of Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn. The distances between the municipalities are large. Measured from Piteå, there are 210 kilometres to Arjeplog, 120 kilometres to Arvidsjaur and 50 kilometres to Älvsbyn.
- The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal has always presented various musical styles and genres, although this has perhaps been more and more evident through the years. In addition to concerts of different kinds, the festival also arranges master classes for young, aspiring musicians.
- Surrounding the festival’s administrative headquarter in Piteå are two large institutions of higher music education, the School of Music in Piteå and Framnäs people’s college (sometimes only called ‘Framnäs’ in the following text).
- The festival is sometimes called ‘Festspelen’ for short. Survey respondents as well as interviewees use this expression.
- In addition to the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal, Piteå hosts another large festival, the street festival Piteå Dansar och Ler (Piteå dances and smiles). This festival is most often referred to by its acronym, PDOL.
- Until 2000 the municipality of Arjeplog had hosted a chamber music festival called the Lapplands Festsspel. Several of the study participants refer to this festival when talking about the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal.

CHAPTER 5: AFFECTING CONSTRUCTION OF MUSICAL SELF-NARRATIVES

This chapter is an attempt to explore and display to what degree and in what ways the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* affects festival audience's construction of their musical self-narratives. This is approached from different angles, and through various parts of all the empirical material.

Exploration of a phenomenon's impact on individuals' construction of self-narratives demands access to statements given by the people in question. So the ground material for this chapter takes the form of information gathered from among the festival audience, in the form of both statistical information and responses to the open questions in the questionnaire. The statistical information concerns the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*'s impact on audience life from an overall point of view and the responses to the open questions are short very personal statements. In addition, information from 11⁴⁷ of the audience interviews, which was specific to the interviewees' descriptions of their life with music and the festival's place within it, has been used.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section one concerns overall patterns in the statistical material gathered from the survey: how many were affected by the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* and, broadly speaking, how? The second section focuses in, still using the survey material, but concentrating on statements given by respondents describing their strong emotional experiences related to music presented at the festival. Assuming that such experiences have the power to affect the construction of musical self-narratives, what are their content, and what factors seem to influence them that the festival can provide? In section three, I adopt an even tighter focus on how, in different concrete ways, the festival affected members of the audience's musical lives. Six real life stories about modes of festival attachment are told, based on the interview material referred to above. The fourth and last section is dedicated to a summing up of common themes in the preceding three parts, and in addition to a broadening of those themes, including experiences and viewpoints from the interviewees who were not included in the stories in section three.

The overall picture – how many people does the festival affect and how?

Some overall aspects of the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*'s impact were explored through the survey material. The questions asked here were, for instance: how many individuals did the festival affect in all, and what was the range of the festival's impact compared to the total population of the municipality; did the audience participate in the festival only as an audience, or were they also active as festival performers; how often had respondents attended the festival, and who were the most eager attendees; what did respondents say about the importance of the festival; how much of the audience's total festival consumption did it constitute; and last but not least, how many audience members were emotionally touched by the festival? Some answers to these questions are to be found in the text below.

The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* touches many people's lives. During the festival in 2005, the total number of attendances made was 15,919⁴⁸. However, since several attendees visited the festival more than once, these figures do not represent the number of individuals visiting

⁴⁷ The interview with Larry yielded very little information, which was of use to this chapter. His text was therefore not included as part of the empirical material.

⁴⁸ All audience numbers for 2005 are taken from *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*'s archival records.

altogether. Dividing the total number of audience members by the average number of visits⁴⁹ paid shows that approximately 6,275 persons attended the festival. Of these 1,506 (24%) were living elsewhere, either abroad or in other parts of Sweden. This is to say that about 4,769 of the river valley's inhabitants, living in Piteå, Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur or Älvsbyn, attended in 2005. This is about 8% of the total population⁵⁰ of this rather sparsely inhabited area.

As with cultural events in general, and perhaps festivals in particular, the total audience varies to a large degree from year to year⁵¹. In 2005 audience numbers also differed a lot between the four municipalities involved in the festival, probably because of the number and type of events that were staged in each municipality, and the large differences in populations thereof:

Table 5. Number of festival events and audience.

	Number of events	Total audience numbers	Average audience numbers per event
Piteå	25	9,326	373
Arjeplog	2	399	200
Arvidsjaur	4	194	49
Älvsbyn	4	6,000	1,500

For instance, the impressive number of people who attended events in Älvsbyn is related to the four Trolltagen events given there. These are large outdoor performances, which in 2005 were blessed with hot sunny weather, and at a popular place for the inhabitants of North Bothnia. As can be seen from table 5, Arvidsjaur had quite clearly the smallest number of visitors per event.

To grasp to what degree the Festspele i Pite Älvdal had an impact on the total population of the municipalities in which it was arranged, it is revealing to compare it with the Stockholm based festival, Musik på Slottet (Music at the Palace). This festival also offers a wider range of styles, classical and chamber music, and in addition some jazz and rock:

⁴⁹ Information from the survey shows that respondents paid 888 visits in all to the festival. Across 350 respondents the average number was 2.537 visits per capita.

⁵⁰ Based on information about the population on 31.12.2004: Piteå: 40,830 (Piteå municipality internet resource, n.d.), Arjeplog: 3,224 (Arjeplog municipality internet resource, n.d.), Arvidsjaur: 6,948 (Arvidsjaur municipality internet resource, n.d.), Älvsbyn: 8,775 (Älvsbyn municipality internet resource, n.d.), giving a total of 59,777 people.

⁵¹ For instance, in 2004 the total number of audience members at the Festspele i Pite Älvdal was 5,405 (Karlsen, 2005a).

Table 6. Total number of audience in relation to population.

	Number of events	Total number of audience (TNA)	TNA in % relation to municipality population ⁵²
Festspel i Pite Älvdal	31	15,919	26.6
Musik på Slottet⁵³	20	4,000	0.5

Of course, one should be careful to jump to conclusions on the basis of such a small sample. However, what seems clear is that the inhabitants of the Pite river valley really know how to use their festival when they have the opportunity.

Only 4.6% of the respondents, in all 16 individuals, participated in the festival as performers. It is interesting to see that of these 16, 8 persons lived in Piteå, 7 in other parts of Sweden and 1 abroad⁵⁴. Based on this information it could seem that active festival performance participation among the river valley inhabitants is reserved for people living in Piteå. It is notable that most of the performances that these individuals participated in were given by local ensembles. Among those who lived elsewhere, six had performed at the lunchtime concerts and were participants in the master classes given at Framnäs.

One of the questions stated in the questionnaire was: "How many years have you attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal?" The answers show that as many as 28% of the respondents had attended the festival every year, or almost every year since the beginning, 43.4% had done so occasionally and for 27.4%, 2005 was the first year of attendance. The tendency to be associated with the festival ever since the beginning varies significantly with place of domicile, group attachment⁵⁵ and age. Of the respondents living in Piteå, 35.3% had visited the festival every year, or almost every year since the beginning. For the three other municipalities involved, the average number was 24.2% and there was only a minimal number for respondents from elsewhere in Sweden. Patterns of group attachment and age are given in the table below, with the amount of respondents in percentages:

⁵² The total population of Stockholm is approximately 760,000. (Stockholm municipality internet resource, n.d.).

⁵³ The numbers are taken from an annual report on cultural life in Stockholm (Schöld, 2005)

⁵⁴ If nothing else is stated, all findings reported are statistically significant with a chi² value of 0.05 or less.

⁵⁵ By 'group attachment' I mean whether the respondent in question belongs to Group I (who were gathered at a mainly 'classical' festival event), or Group II (who were gathered at a mainly 'popular' festival event).

Table 7. Festival attendance related to group attachment and age. Percent. N=346.

	GROUP ATTACHMENT		AGE		
	Group I	Group II	17 – 30 years	31 – 40 years	41 years and older
Attended festival every or almost every year	43	19	0	9.4	34.3
Attended festival occasionally over the years	43	44.5	40.9	34	46.1
First year of attending festival	14	36.5	59.1	56.6	19.6
n=	135	211	22	53	271

As can be easily seen, most respondents who had a long history with the festival attended classical concerts, and/or were 41 years or older. Almost 60% of the festival attendees who were between 17 and 40 years, were attending for the first time in 2005.

Besides the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, the river valley and its surroundings offer several festivals of different size and focus. For instance, there are rather large street/youth festivals (pop, rock etc.) in Piteå, Luleå and Skellefteå⁵⁶, acclaimed jazz and folk music festivals in Umeå,⁵⁷ and for several years until 2000, there was a famous chamber music festival in Arjeplog. However, when asked if they attended music festivals other than the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, only 20% of the respondents said they did either often or sometimes:

Table 8. Audience attending other music festivals. Percent. N=350.

	Yes, pretty often (more than 3 times per year)	Yes, sometimes (1 – 3 times per year)	Yes, but rarely (less than 1 time per year)	No, never	Missing
Do you attend other music festivals?	3.1	16.9	37.7	38.3	4.0

Among the respondents below 30 years old, half attended other festivals at least once a year. For those between 31 – 40 years, or 41 years or above, this number decreases to 20.7% and 18.3%. For as many as 38.2% (134 individuals) of all the respondents, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is the only one they ever attended. One statistically insignificant result that is nonetheless very interesting is the pattern that emerges from crossing the information about whether or not the respondents visited other festivals with that concerning how many years they had visited the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. Of those who said that they had attended the festival every year, or almost every year since the beginning, 40.8% (40 people or 11.4% of the total amount of respondents) said that they never visited other festivals. From these figures there is reason to believe that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal plays quite an important role in the musical life story of those 40 individuals, at least the music festival part of it.

In addition to the question concerning number of years of festival attendance, the audience's connection to the Festspel i Pite Älvdal was also measured by two other responses,

⁵⁶ Luleå and Skellefteå are towns 50 and 80 kilometres away from Piteå respectively.

⁵⁷ A town 200 kilometres away.

namely “the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is an important part of my life” and “I always try to stay in the river valley during the Festspelen so I can attend the festival events”. Since the answers given in relation to these two statements are almost identical, only the first is displayed in the table below, with the number of respondents given in percent:

Table 9. Stated festival importance in life. Percent. N=350.

	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know	Missing
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal is an important part of my life	7.7	10.0	30.3	40.6	4.6	6.8

As with years of festival attendance, the answers to these two statements also vary significantly with age and group attachment. The people who either belong to Group I or are 41 years or older agree completely or largely far more often than people belonging to other categories. In addition, respondents living in Piteå and Arjeplog are those most positive towards staying in the river valley during the festival.

Ruud (1997) mentions important musical experiences as being essential to the development of musical identity. Often, but not always, these kinds of experiences will be connected to strong emotional ones, which, as Giddens (1991) says, play an important role in the creation of self-narratives at large when accessed through culture and the arts. For this reason, the survey respondents were asked whether or not they had had strong emotional experiences related to music presented at the Festspel i Pite Älvdal:

Table 10. Occurrence of strong emotional experiences among festival audience. Percent. N=350.

	Yes	No	Do not know	Missing
Have you ever had strong emotional experiences during a concert at the Festspel i Pite Älvdal?	45.1	31.7	20	3.2

Interestingly enough, the appearance of music-related, strong emotional experiences seems to be tied to the strength of the audience members’ connection with the festival, understood as number of years they had attended it, the importance of the festival in their lives and their willingness to stay in the river valley during it (see previous sections). All these variables show considerably higher percentages among the respondents with the strongest connection to the festival (those who had attended the festival every year since the start, completely agreed that the festival was an important part of life and always tried to stay in the river valley whilst the festival was on) than among those with a weaker connection. The numbers are quite similar for the three variables. On average, the 82.4% of the respondents who gave the ‘strongest’ answer regarding festival connection have experienced strong emotions related to music presented during the festival. This went down to 30.7% for respondents giving the ‘weakest’ answer (those who had visited the festival for the first time, who did not at all agree that the festival was an important part of their lives or would not stay in the river valley to be able to attend the festival).

To determine whether strong emotional experiences are a cause or a result of strong festival connections is impossible, at least through such statistical material as presented above. There is probably a two-way relationship. However, what *is* possible to investigate through a survey, which also generated qualitative material, is what such experiences imply.

As this section has hopefully given some answers to how many people are effected by the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, and to a certain degree how, the next part of this chapter will be a deepening of the ‘how’, in terms of exploring the statements given to a follow-up question concerning strong festival-related emotional experiences.

Statements concerning strong emotional experiences with music

Because important musical experiences are an essential part of the construction of musical self-narratives, the survey respondents were encouraged to write about them in the questionnaire. The following question was asked: “Music may sometimes stimulate strong emotional experiences. Have you ever had such an experience during a concert at the Festspele i Pite Älvdal? If yes, can you please tell me about it.” Of the 158 survey respondents that stated to have had such experiences, 131 chose to express them through statements⁵⁸ of between 1 and approximately 50 words.

Whilst the statements were diverse, they all related to music in one way or another. Some were descriptions of the respondent’s state of mind during the experiences asked about, whilst others chose not to describe their emotions directly, but rather what caused them. Still, the fact that strong emotions had been experienced was a tacit understanding between the respondent and me.

From the analysis of the 131 statements, 34 factors were identified, which recorded strong emotional experiences with music. As accounted for in the previous chapter, they were sorted into two main categories: ‘contextual factors’ and ‘intrapersonal factors’. The contextual factors were further sub-categorised as ‘frame factors’, which related to external features of the events, the music, the audience and the musicians, and ‘mediative factors’ related to the characteristics and the results of the mediation of the music and social/musical interactions during the festival. The categories of intrapersonal factors expressed were: those that originated in an inner cognitive/emotional process; the results of these processes; or some factor based on the respondents’ personal preconditions, such as their musicianship or previous personal contact with performers. Put into a table, the main categories, two levels of sub-categories and factors/codes appear like this:

⁵⁸ The texts are not fully developed narratives (Labov, 1972, 1982), and I have therefore chosen to call them statements.

Table 11. Factors having impact on occurrence of strong emotional experiences with music.

MAIN CATEGORIES	SUB-CATEGORIES, LEVEL 1	SUB-CATEGORIES, LEVEL 2	FACTORS/CODES
CONTEXTUAL FACTORS	Frame factors	Event-related frame factors	Time of day (night concerts)
			Space (church, nature)
			Size of audience and event
			Target group adjusted events (children)
		Music-related frame factors	A cappella song
		Live music	
	Audience-related frame factors	Fellow audience members dancing and singing	
	Musician-related frame factors	Age of artists (youth)	
		Artistic innocence	
	Mediative factors	Mediation characteristics	The kind of artists performing
			Quality
			Humour
			The kind of instrument played
			Soloists
			Style played
			Particular piece of music
			Well-known music (in general)
			Atmosphere
Artists' contact with audience			
Musicians' enjoyment of playing together			
Results of mediation		Feeling of togetherness	
	To feel involved with the music		
INTRAPERSONAL FACTORS	Cognitive/emotional processes	Emotional work	
		Memory work	
		Associations	
		Cognitive understanding	
	Results of cognitive/emotional processes	Insight	
		Bereavement	
		Experienced contrast to own world of work	
		Synesthesia	
	Factors based on personal preconditions	Being acquainted with performer	
		Own musicianship	
		Being exposed to something different	
		A surprising experience	

Most of the 131 statements were rather fragmentary and some were grammatically incomplete in terms of how the sentences were constructed and how tenses were used, often shifting between past and present within the same sentence. However, some of the short descriptions were poetic, open, bold and immediately expressive.

To give a deeper understanding of what was written in the short stories/statements, I will give some examples from the empirical material itself. In the following text, the main categories and the sub-categories on the first level have their own headings. Level 2 sub-categories are marked with italics, and the factors/codes are treated under their respective sub-category in the order they are presented in the table.

Contextual factors

The contextual factors were, as accounted for earlier, those that could be traced back to features of the festival, either as external frame factors, or as a characteristic or result of the mediation of music, the social/musical interaction taking place at the festival. Here, these two sub-categories will be presented separately.

Frame factors

The frame factors were divided into four sub-categories as shown in the table above. In the sub-category of *event related frame factors*, they were: the time of day, the space chosen for the concert, the size of the audience/event, and the precision of the concert's focus on a particular target group. Night seemed for many of the participants to be an especially favourable time for strong emotional experiences with music, and spaces such as a church or a natural environment were often mentioned. Here is a description of the powerful time/space combination of night/church:

Especially night concerts in churches – have given an experience that makes lasting impressions. I've had different strong musical experiences there – the room of the church bestows some – the musicians become different, yes even the audience.

The size of the audience and the event also seemed to matter, and while some participants were excited by being part of a large audience, others' experiences were triggered by smaller, intimate settings. One participant was impressed by the proficiency with which a children's concert was focused on a particular target group:

I was there with some children and I thought the artists struck the target group like a bell.

Regarding *music related frame factors*, references were made to a *cappella* song and to live music in itself. With reference again to night and church, this participant told me about a strong experience with medieval music:

Some years ago at a concert late at night in the town church with music by Hildegard von Bingen sung without accompaniment by a woman, I don't remember her name. When she walked up the aisle singing there was an incredible 'magical moment'.

Reports of *audience related frame factors* indicated that seeing fellow members of the audience dancing and singing could provoke strong emotional experiences. External features of the artists, *musician related frame factors*, such as the age of the performers (preferably the young) and the assumption that the young have possibilities of stardom, along with 'artistic innocence' were important for some members of the audience. These are summarised in the following:

Lunch concerts at Framnäs, where I have got the opportunity to listen to young, unspoilt, up and coming stars.

Mediative factors

Mediative factors were divided into two sub-categories: the characteristics of mediation in terms of the social and musical interactions between performers and audience; and the perceived results of this mediation as the triggering elements for strong experiences with music. Regarding *mediation characteristics*, participants mentioned several ‘triggers’, such as the kind of artists performing, the perceived quality of the performance, and the performers’ ability to use humour:

Rilton was a combination of good theatre, professional song and lots of humour.

For some, the kind of instrument played was of importance, likewise whether or not there was a soloist. A style or a particular piece of music could evoke an emotional reaction. Several participants mentioned the general concept of a ‘well-known piece of music’:

During concerts with a large audience and well-known pieces of music, where musicians and audience together create an atmosphere so that one gets goose bumps and tears in the eyes.

Similarly to the quote above, others mentioned factors like the atmosphere, the artists’ contact with the audience, and the musicians’ enjoyment of playing together:

One year I went to the courtyard and listened to Ale Möller and his world music band. It was a different and incredibly joyful concert where Ale was able to mediate his and the band’s enjoyment of playing together to the audience. Unbelievably magnificent experience.

Related, but not entirely similar, are the perceived *results of mediation*, in the form of participants’ feeling of togetherness between artists and audience, and a feeling of involvement with the music:

If you [are] in a church (it does not work in an indoor stadium) [you can place yourself] as far ahead as possible, close your eyes and feel involved with the music. It is ‘input’, and after such a concert you really feel fulfilled.

Intrapersonal factors

Intrapersonal factors were divided into three sub-categories. Participants mentioned cognitive/emotional processes that provoked a strong emotional experience with the music presented, and sometimes the results of such processes were also mentioned as triggers. Also personal factors based entirely on the respondent’s own preconditions seemed to have caused emotional experiences. *Cognitive/emotional processes* could be, for instance, the emotional work involved in processing a deep, personal sorrow, or memories of childhood and parents:

The night concert with Birgitta Svendén presented pieces of music that were played by my parents during my childhood and that were therefore also present at my mother’s funeral.

To some, the associations that the music called forth were decisive. Also, one participant mentioned in particular taking deep pleasure in her understanding of the music:

Occasionally I am filled with happiness by *understanding* parts of, or whole musical sequences when I have forgotten everything around me.

Sometimes it seemed to be not the processes in themselves but the *results of cognitive/emotional processes* that triggered a strong experience. This could be recognised as insight, a feeling of bereavement, or a contrast to respondents' own world of work:

I visited Sissel Kyrkjebø's concert after a 'work weekend'. I work with people who are sick from cancer and dying. The concert was balm to my soul.

A multiplicity of cognitive/emotional processes resulted in synesthesia, a state of mind when listening to music triggers senses other than hearing, for the participant below:

During the evening concert with St. George Strings & Maria Fontosh I was completely into the music: I felt like I danced with orchestras and I watched the movie (with dramatic scenes) with Maria Fontosh's voice.

Participants also mentioned *factors based on personal preconditions* as having importance for their strong emotional experience, such as being acquainted with the performer, or being musicians themselves, either on a professional or amateur level:

At a lunch concert there was a violinist playing a concerto by Tchaikovsky. It's the best I have ever heard the violin and for me, who is a violinist myself, a very strong experience.

Also categorised here, bearing in mind that what is 'different' or 'surprising' depends on individuals' earlier experiences, was the belief that exposure to something different, or simply being surprised by a performance, had led to a strong emotional experience.

Range of emotions

The 131 statements cover a wide range of emotions and emotional experiences. In an attempt to display their diversity, I have put them into four different 'areas': positive, sad, corporeal and transcendent experiences. I have consciously avoided the concept of categories, because what is above all characteristic of the statements is that several and contradictory emotions often seem to appear at the same time. In other words, the areas are not mutually exclusive of each other or necessarily essentially distinct.

Except for the general expression of being touched or moved by the music, there is a wide range of expressions describing a positive state of mind, such as being thrilled, bewitched, happy, in high spirits, fulfilled, laughing and experiencing emotional freedom. Music is described as a positive force giving strength, power and courage. Also, the listener might feel the music's mightiness and the saturation and gratefulness that follow from a strong emotional, music-related experience. Somehow, this positive area seems to be summed up in the statement below:

I have been deeply touched and moved several times! The concert experiences have lived inside me for a long time afterwards and filled me with happiness, gratefulness, power and strength.

Complementing rather than opposing these, are descriptions of sad feelings like sorrow, loneliness, crying (often expressed as tears falling) and melancholia.

My interpretations of most of the stories related to crying, is that tears in themselves are not an expression of sadness, rather a product of an overwhelming feeling, too large to handle, as I think is the case with this particular respondent:

Classical music performed by a large orchestra makes me so overwhelmed that the tears fall. I am fulfilled by the music.

Statements about corporeal sensations related to both positive and sad emotions, other than general feelings of happiness or crying were for instance shivering and goose bumps. Others felt the music in the body, heart or stomach, as described below. This statement also exemplifies well how several and seemingly contradictory emotions may appear simultaneously:

I shiver, feel the music in the stomach and am struck by lots of different feelings, often loneliness and sorrow, but also strength and courage.

The fourth and last area contains descriptions of what I have chosen to call ‘transcendent’ experiences. It is important to keep in mind that the experiences stated under the other three areas might also be transcendent for those experiencing them, but what characterises the statements in the fourth area is that the respondents describe them in words that are usually connected to a transcendent state of mind. Expressions used were, for instance, entering into the spirit of the music, being spiritually uplifted or feeling that the music absorbs everything. A woman in her middle sixties, described such feelings as ‘getting high on music’:

Especially after concerts with classical music, it has had an impact, so I go out when the concerts are finished and feel ‘high’!! Happy, as if I have seen life more wonderful than usual.

Also, there is one statement about being transferred into another world:

One is transferred into another world, feels ‘saturated’, leaves the concert with a smile on the lips.

Privacy, difficulties and negative experiences

Among the 158 survey respondents that expressed having had strong emotional feelings related to music presented at the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, 27 chose not to say anything. The reasons might of course be diverse, but could have something to do with certain matters that were emphasised by some of those who *did* choose to respond. For instance, as we have seen, many of the statements were private, significant and deeply personal. To reveal oneself in this way takes courage, self-esteem and also trust of the researcher. Although I was physically absent from the situation in which the respondents filled out their questionnaires, at least one felt it necessary to indicate that I was trying to enter private property illicitly. She wrote:

These are *my* experiences.

Other respondents said that the kind of experiences I was asking for, were rather hard for them to describe:

Difficult to describe, but you feel happy.

As we have seen above, not all experiences or emotions are described as being happy or joyful, for sadness, loneliness and melancholia were also involved, but the overall impression was that of music providing good things and fulfilling emotional needs in a positive way. However, some respondents had strong relationships with some kinds of music, but equally negative experiences of others. The first story of this kind tells about the experience of coming unprepared to a concert of Western contemporary music:

It was many years ago at a Festspele with modern classical music and it was a strong, negative experience. Thought the musicians tuned their instruments but there was a concert in process.

The second was in reaction to an opening concert that mixed styles and genres on various levels:

The opening concert of the year was like a fair spectacle regarding presentation and talk in between. Such things have nothing to do with serious music. If this is repeated I ask to be spared from that concert.

Similar reactions and stories about this particular concert were also given at the end of the questionnaire, where there was an opening for the respondents to write comments about matters that had not been possible to express elsewhere. Here, one could also find descriptions of the unpleasant experience of attending a two-hour lunchtime concert (without a break):

The lunch concerts have been at most 1 hour and very varied and wide-ranging. This was not the case this year. Too long regarding both concerts and appearances. Virtuosos who play for almost 45 minutes might discourage further visits.

Summing up strong, emotional experiences with music

As mentioned in the second chapter, earlier research on listeners' strong emotional experiences with music has been conducted, and an in-depth overview of the field is given in the anthology edited by Juslin and Sloboda (2001). The reason why this research was not used as a starting point for a deductive categorisation of the present material was mainly that the categorisation needed to be meaningful in relation to a specific festival. Whilst this was better achieved using a more inductive approach, it does not prevent the comparison of the present material with earlier research that is presented below.

Gabrielsson (2001) made a categorisation of the range of emotions connected to strong emotional experiences with music that very much resembles the one presented above. Although not using the exact same words to denote the different areas (for instance he uses 'negative' instead of 'sad'), the emotional 'content' that he is referring to is very much the same. Furthermore, Scherer and Zentner's (2001) categories are also in many ways similar to those mentioned above. The authors all mention a variety of what are here named 'contextual' and 'intrapersonal' factors as triggers for strong emotional experiences. Still, there remains one clear, significant difference. Gabrielsson's (2001) material contains descriptions of how structural features of the music itself, *musical factors*, evoke strong emotional experiences. In suggesting a model for the 'production rules' of such experiences, Scherer and Zentner (2001) include *structural features* such as individual sounds or tones, duration, energy, pitch, timbre, melody, tempo, rhythm, harmony and aspects of musical form. However, in the data collected here there are almost no descriptions of such musical factors as triggers for emotional experiences. One exception may be the quote concerning *understanding* parts of, or whole musical sequences⁵⁹. This may be understood as pointing towards a deep understanding of musical form that is important for the person's experience. But why is this the only mention of musical substance? One reason why respondents did not mention music at all could be that its experience is so obvious or that structural features of music are what slips first from memory. Another could be that most of the respondents were amateur musicians or non-musicians, and therefore unable to describe such features in words (Karlsen, in press). However, it may also be that when it comes to attending a music festival, factors other than the musical are the most important triggers for emotional experiences. Of the respondents' statements, 92 described contextual factors as triggers whilst only 21 mentioned intrapersonal

⁵⁹ To recapitulate: "Occasionally I am filled with happiness by *understanding* parts of, or whole musical sequences when I have forgotten everything around me."

factors. Hence, it may be that within the festival situation, contextual factors are especially important for evoking strong emotional experiences with music, and that the structural features of music play a less significant role. That this may be the case in some situations is emphasised by Sloboda and O'Neill (2001), who pointed out that music is always heard in a social context and that emotional responses to music are coloured "and possibly sometimes completely determined, by these contextual features" (ibid. p. 415).

The audience's musical self-narratives and the festival's place within them

According to theories referred to earlier (for instance Giddens, 1990, 1991; Hall, 1992), an individual's identity is to be found in the person's self-narrative, the story with which that person chooses to represent him or herself by. Musical identity is hence to be found in an individual's musical life story, and a phenomenon's impact on identity development must be seen in relation to its position within the self-narrative in question.

In an attempt to determine the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's impact on the audience's construction of musical self-narratives, the interviewees amongst them were asked questions about their experiences of music: their musical tastes, concert attendance habits, whether or not they played an instrument, and for what purpose they used music, so as to have an overall impression of their musical identities. In addition, they were also asked to tell me about memories of the Festspele, special experiences related to the festival and how they, themselves would place it within their own musical life story.

To illustrate the diverse ways in which the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal affected members of the audience's construction of musical self-narratives, six stories were written on the basis of the information given in the interviews. These stories are not archetypical, but based on real lives. For deciding which six of the 12 possible life stories should be chosen, several factors were taken into consideration. Firstly, the stories chosen should altogether display a wide range of modes of connection to the festival. Secondly, as far as possible, the six chosen stories should cover in different ways aspects of those not chosen. Thirdly, for reasons mentioned below, it was important that narratives could be identified within the interview text of the respective interviewee.

Since self-narrative is at stake when talking about identity, much effort and space was given to let the chosen six interviewees present themselves through narratives, told either as answers to interview questions, or in other ways during the interview. Unavoidably, the quotes are chosen, edited and put into their new context by me. Still, the idea has been that the reader should have an impression of the person behind the quote by reading, as closely as possible, the person's story about him or herself, told in their own words.

Betty – the festival as a gas station

Betty is a woman of about 80 years old, who has had a long and eventful life with music. She is, despite her relatively old age, still an active attendee of concerts. In preparation for our interview, she wrote down every concert she had attended since the beginning of the year,⁶⁰ which was an impressive number. She also told me during the interview that she regularly reads the radio listings in the newspaper and underlines all the concerts and music programmes she wants to listen to during the day. In addition, she subscribes to an Internet service from the Swedish radio channel P2,⁶¹ from which she receives the general listings on a regular basis.

⁶⁰ The interview was made in late October 2005, so the period Betty referred to, was January – October 2005.

⁶¹ P2 is the Swedish state radio channel featuring classical, Western contemporary, jazz and folk music.

Betty declared that she would not be able to live without music. Although she described herself as a musical omnivore, I had the impression that her ‘musical meals’ mainly comprised classical and contemporary Western music. She described her interest in contemporary music as a natural expansion of her classical listening:

When you have heard the really beautiful several times, the need increases to let a cat in among the ermines, now I have to hear something different. So I have extended my interest in contemporary music instead.

What she prefers above all is to listen to live chamber music. She explained this in terms of its typically smaller setting, which allowed her to reach the human beings behind the performance, and to see the moments of condensed communication between the musicians, which are not possible with a large orchestra. Betty was especially engaged with the younger generation of musicians, as she also emphasised in her questionnaire⁶²:

I have searched for the young, who can give so much from unselfish music making.

When early in the interview I asked her directly about her musical taste and what kind of concerts she attended I was given a long and substantial story about her life with music ever since she was a little girl, in which she described her own attempts to sing and to play an instrument, her early habit of attending concerts as a young girl living in a large town, and how she has fulfilled her musical needs for the 50 years she has been living in North Bothnia. The story ended with her explanation of the significance of the Festsplén for her during these years:

Yes, I must say that I am a musical omnivore because I have lived with music ever since I was four, five years, when my mamma sat me in front of the piano at home and I got a piano teacher. So I have played a little myself when I was small and even until I was fourteen, fifteen years. Then the teens took over and the society, and then, there were the studies, and then I stopped playing anyhow. It was maybe a year before I graduated from the secondary school; I was involved in a lot of activities and associations, school associations and such. I lived at home when I studied; and I had a lot of company around me, so my own training I lay aside, but on the other hand I took in other things instead. I don't know if you want me to continue, or if you want to ask? Do you want my story?

(Interviewer): Yes, I would like to hear, how should I put it, about your musical life.

I compared myself to two very ambitious girls who lived downstairs. We lived in an apartment house. They were very clever and played the piano a lot, and they would go on maybe for two or three weeks with the same piece, maybe for months with the same piece. In the end they were able to play ‘Aufschwung’⁶³ (laughter) but I, when I heard that, I thought, there is no point that I should sit and play the piano when they play so well and so much and for so long. I will never play so much for my homework. But I sang, and my mamma put me in front of all the old ladies, and I had to stand there and sing children's songs for them with my fragile little voice. I actually took some singing lessons, and I enjoyed that very much, it was the teacher at the secondary school that suggested it to me. At all the end of term school celebrations I had been allowed to sing solo, we were two, three that apparently had the kind of sweet voices that old ladies fancied, so we were allowed to do that. And then I took a couple of lessons, but yes, it was the same as with everything else, either go for *that* or go for *the studies*, and then the studies won.

But I loved music, I always knew that, and when I was 10 years old, I got my first Founder's Card at the concert hall. The hall was recently built and very festive. I got that card for my birthday and it was valid for one year at all concerts, and I could attend the concert hall as much as I wanted to,

⁶² Written as an answer to question 22 (see appendix).

⁶³ Schumann, R.: *Fantasiestücke*, opus 12, no. 2.

and so I did. I sat there, I think it was on the seventh bench to the left, and I did through the years until, also as a married woman, until we moved up here in the beginning of the 1950s.

(Interviewer): Did you attend the concerts alone, also as a child?

Yes, always, always alone. I did, because there was no one in my class that had such interests, and besides it was expensive if you had to pay for each concert, and there were none that were such an idiot that they went to all of them. Neither did I, but I have seen all those great conductors for instance, Bruno Walter and Dean Dixon and our maestro Herbert Blomstedt and Sixten Ehrling and lots of those, and all the guest conductors. It has been fun later on, when I have collected CDs, that I have heard them, and I have seen soloists of different kinds. I am brought up with it.

Then I moved to North Bothnia and there was this man, who recruited people to [name of workplace]. So, we were there for a year, and then he came and took my husband and me here, and here they had a music department. There were small concerts all the time, and the students had these small duets and sung a little and such, and they had students' night every Wednesday. Some of the music students would always play.

It is quite funny; we have lived here for a little more than 50 years, moved up from [name of town in the south of Sweden]. During those years, I have satisfied my needs at Framnäs mainly, and through the Festspele, and the Festspele has been the gas station where you fill up the tank, even a real one, you know, such as a tank that they have on farms, that lasts for a whole year (laughter).

To strengthen the impression of the Festspele as an important happening in her life, later in the interview Betty emphasised that the festival is what she grants herself, and what no one else is allowed to disturb. At the end of the questionnaire, she calls the festival her 'life's elixir'.

When I asked Betty for what purposes she uses music, she told me that she is a very active woman, and that the activity brings a need for silence, a balance between all the things she is doing and herself. Listening to music, and especially attending concerts, means to her focusing, sitting still, being unreachable and pushing reality away:

I go there and sit down, and it becomes almost like a trance or something, I push away the reality outside, and go into the music and listen, and then I experience and learn a lot.

Sometimes, depending on whether or not she detects an extra dimension, a spark in the music making, the concerts can leave her 'shaken', not being able to speak during the break due to this overwhelming experience. However, when asked directly about her strong emotional experiences related to music, she admitted that these have been rare:

Most often it is enjoyable, always interesting and I can compare so I can see the quality of it (...) but it is not often that I feel deeply, because many times this is well known music to me, but it happens...

Times when such experiences *do* occur are at the night concerts of the festival, in the borderland between dream and reality, light and darkness, awake and asleep.

In her capacity as an experienced listener, I asked Betty of her definition of a musical experience – what such an experience implies to her. Her answer was twofold: on the one hand she emphasised that musical experience could involve someone who has listened to music a lot, and is an experienced listener; and on the other it could also imply that you know yourself what suits your personality best:

For instance, experience tells me that there is no use listening to certain performers because they give me nothing, they do not reach their audience, they play for themselves.

In other words, being an experienced listener means knowing where to find what you need.

Betty had visited the festival every year since the beginning. During the 2005 festival she attended 11 concerts, mainly featuring classical music. She has also used opportunities to visit festivals elsewhere, even abroad. When she travels, she prefers to go to a local concert than go to the pub, she said. From being such an active user of concerts, and from living in the same town for over 50 years, she has become personally acquainted with several of the festival administrators over the years. She has also taken the opportunity to actively influence the festival programme, due to discovering a young singer when watching TV:

Karl-Magnus Fredriksson was here. I was watching a TV-programme about HageGården⁶⁴, and you know, what that is?

(Interviewer): Yes

Barbara Bonney was planting flowers and Håkan [Hagegård] was showing his beautiful houses there, and there stood Karl-Magnus Fredriksson, who was there to charge the batteries I think, entirely in the beginning of his career, he stood in the garden outside. Later, you got to hear him sing. It was eleven o'clock in the evening and I went to the phone and rang [name of the head of the Festspele] and told him, now you have to get Karl-Magnus Fredriksson to Festspele, 'cause he is an amazing guy, a lovely baritone, a fantastic voice. "You don't say", he said (laughter). But he came, but then the programme was nearly completed, so they probably didn't know where to let him sing, so he had to sing at the church centre up here. And there we were, 24 of us, and we listened to him. Everyone was enthusiastic. There was lots of applause from 24, I tell you, actually multiplied with itself, because we were very enthusiastic. Yes, now he sings at the Metropolitan and everywhere.

Regardless of whether they sing at the Met or not, Betty said that she had a deep admiration for people who learn how to perform music, a humility that grows the more she listens. However, she admitted that big names attract attention and fascination. When visiting the smaller concert halls and places used by the festival, Betty has had the opportunity to 'bump into' acknowledged artists invited from abroad. She has even lent out her own bike, several years in a row, so that the artists could move around a little in the community. These experiences have made her discover another dimension of the performers' music:

It gives another dimension to their music, when you see them talk, laugh, socialise, and make a fool of themselves; it gets so human, even if it is so grand.

In addition to names of new composers and similar facts, her humility towards musicians, and seeing the human behind the music, was also what Betty said characterised her learning in live music settings, such as those of the festival. Her particular example of the latter is the life and music of the Swedish composer Allan Pettersson. Increased knowledge about his pain and difficulties in life made her discover his music in another way, and also enabled her to understand how people can manage their lives, even if they are hellish, with the help of music.

Laura – the festival as counterculture

As will be seen from the text below, Laura had two different points of connection with the Festspele i Pite Älvdal: one for herself only, and one in the capacity of being a mother. Her main connection with the festival in 2005 was predominantly through the mediation of her children.

Laura is a woman in her early thirties with wide listening habits. According to her, she listens to everything from disco to classical music, however the limit is drawn with 'super

⁶⁴ A conference centre for cultural development founded by the Swedish singer Håkan Hagegård.

modern' music like hip-hop and rap, and she does not listen to modern jazz. Whether she prefers to listen to the radio or to a CD is a matter of mood. Sometimes when emotions lead her she picks up a CD that is special to her. Laura uses music consciously to intensify emotions, especially when she feels melancholic or sad. As a consequence, she has built an 'emotional repertoire' of music:

Sometimes I feel the urge for something special, something I connect to a memory, or something that in a natural way follows my emotional atmosphere, and then I come back to the same stuff all the time.

In addition to her melancholic feelings, Laura used music in relation to one of her hobbies, which involved her being always up to date with film music.

Laura sings in a church-connected choir and attends a concert now and then when she has the opportunity. As a mother of relatively small children, there is insufficient time to attend concerts, read books or to see a film. Laura said she appreciated the importance of having access to cultural activities after a period of working in a smaller community away from where she now lives:

Even if I am not a cultural bigwig, I missed certain things, and felt like it's not possible to live here. I did not get my needs fulfilled.

As she said, it is not just about attending activities, but having the *opportunity* to do so, which is important.

Laura visits the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal on a yearly basis, and has done so since she was in her late teens. During the last years she has nearly always attended the festival together with her mother-in-law, who she describes as a very interested enthusiast. Apart from that, Laura said that most people she is closely associated with do not use the festival. She has not had the time or will to attend festivals elsewhere. She visits the street festival in Piteå, PDOL, if they put on something she really wants to see, but finds it in general rather noisy.

When asked if she has had any experiences she remembers well during the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal, Laura spoke about two particular concerts, and then continued into a story of how and why music, especially classical music with large orchestras, touches her emotionally:

(Interviewer): Have you had any experiences that you remember well during Fests spelen?

Yes, it was that one actually, this summer, the sinfonietta, the music mix⁶⁵, and then, some years ago I listened to, that was probably Norrköping symphony orchestra when they had a mixed repertoire with a lot of film music. It was from *Star Wars* among other things.

(Interviewer): Have any of those concerts left lasting impressions?

Yes, they have. I was very taken, especially with classical music played by large orchestras and lots of strings. When they play the overture the tears begin to fall.

(Interviewer): Mm, I saw you wrote that [in the questionnaire]. Why do you think you react to symphony orchestras like that?

I don't know, but it's so fantastic. It's so mighty and powerful, and then I often feel some kind of reverence towards those who could write that music, for instance Beethoven. That they could write that, that they got it down on paper. It feels like nobody will be able to write such music again, and the musicians, they see it on a piece of paper, and then they get it out in music. Because, I can't read

⁶⁵ Laura is referring to the children's concert *Instrumix*.

music like that, yes a little, I can see if it goes up and down, I can keep time, maybe, but nothing more.

(Interviewer): So it's the transformation from the composer and down on the paper and then?

And then out, and then to me, and there are those powerful, like, sounds and...

(Interviewer): Would you say that you have strong emotional experiences?

Yes, you'll have to say that, because if you start crying from the music just out of respect towards the fantastic. It's not like I feel sad or excited, happy, it's just so, it's almost impossible to explain, it's so large.

To a great extent, the experiences described in the long quote above, coalesce with Laura's definition of what a musical experience might be. The difference is that a musical experience for her is something recognised reflexively after the event has taken place when she can think back and recall that strong feeling:

When you feel it in the body when you later hear the music, this is something special, sometimes you get really happy and sometimes you feel some kind of strange sorrow.

The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is present at certain points in what Laura described as her long and substantial musical life story, mainly providing her with classical concert experiences. These are her priority, because as she said, everything else is available on other occasions. Laura said she would be very sad if the festival disappeared. The Fests spelen had always been there for as long as she could remember, and is something she looks forward to each year, the special atmosphere and the happy people. It is a tradition, an institution, and should stay that way.

What really struck me when I first read Laura's questionnaire was how she emphasised the importance of passing her joy of music on to her children. Attending only one concert during the festival of 2005, she chose the children's concert *Instrumix*, referred to earlier, much for the reasons mentioned above. It was a classical concert that was at a time suitable for her children. She described the concert, and what it stood for as a counterculture against the patterns of masculinity offered her sons by the local community, and the worldwide commercial music business. Attending the festival was a way for her children to widen their horizons and minds:

I had never been able to share that [the concert] with my children if it hadn't been here, and it was a suitable time for the children.

(Interviewer): Mm, no 'cause you wrote, as far as I could see, you wrote that it had become an important thing to you to pass on to your children?

Yes, it has, and they are interested. Our eight-year-old he is very interested and he seems to have a disposition towards being musical. He is very good at singing; he has always been. He actually sang before he could talk, took in music, and now he wants to start playing the piano. So, he will be allowed to do that.

(Interviewer): Did they enjoy the concert?

Yes, they thought it was great.

(Interviewer): What did they say afterwards?

They talked about it for a long time, and spoke about the instruments, like this double bass that was getting married. It was more playful and they got to see different instruments, and how they sound, that there exists something else than guitar and piano.

(Interviewer): So it was prepared as a story?

Yes, certain parts of the music were like a story, and then they had a presenter who told a little about the instruments. That made it very joyful and fun, and they got to laugh. I think getting such a positive feeling and listening to that music it, yes, I think it speaks to the intellect, it stimulates.

(Interviewer): Mm, that they discover other things?

Yes, exactly, other things, that they can get something else. Especially here where everything is supposed to circle around sports, and all boys are supposed to play ice hockey.

(Interviewer): So you mean it is good, it is good for them to extend...

Yes, I think it widens their horizons and minds; I want them to see other things. Because, especially the eight-year-old who has started school, and is in his second year, it's only Idol, and [several names of Swedish teenage pop stars] and those. They are really good musicians, but there exists so much more. And they are interested, and have started to search elsewhere, and our five-year-old, he is completely in love with Emma Nilsson. She has recorded something a little easier, if you are allowed to say that, a little easier jazz influenced CD.

(Interviewer): Yes, which is not mainstream pop, Idol?

Exactly, yes, and they listen to that too [Idol etc.] and think it is great, they have to be allowed to hang on, but that there exists something that makes up for it. They used to play, after we went looking to that sinfonietta this summer, they play the symphony orchestra, conduct with sticks and play the violin with those Couronne sticks and take turns to conduct each other.

As Laura apparently expected a certain experience and learning outcome for her children attending the festival, I asked her what she learns for herself through visiting it. She said with a laugh that in the summer of 2005 she learnt to distinguish between a xylophone and a marimba. In addition, she learnt some of the histories behind particular pieces of music that were presented. She could always have found out these things for herself, she said, but she still appreciated the talk between the pieces, which, even if it was directed to children, worked well also for adult members of the audience.

Mark – the festival as a continuation of musical experiences

Mark is a man in his mid-50s who some years ago moved up from a rather large town to one of the smaller communities which the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal encompasses. He described himself as a classical music listener, but admitted that he enjoys listening to folk music increasingly. When living in the larger town, he sometimes also went to the jazz club, especially if he could go with friends, or if there were some well-known musicians playing. Still, classical music had some sort of hegemony:

If there had been concerts with classical music, I have tried to attend them as much as possible.

A fondness for ballads has made Mark and his wife engage in singing together, not in public, he said, but at home. Mark also plays the trumpet, and has done so in different amateur bands since youth. He does not play much at the moment, but sings in a choir. Singing is a relatively new experience to him, but as he already knows how to read music, and is acquainted with the

concepts of diaphragm support and breathing from playing the trumpet, he finds that the particular choir's level suits him well.

Mark describes himself as a listener. This implies to him that, although he listens to music when driving the car, or occasionally puts it on the radio, he does not generally use music as a background. When he listens, that is what he does:

Often I can put on a CD and simply listen to it.

This kind of listening takes place on occasions when the house is empty, peaceful and quiet, when nobody else is at home. Even if the house normally *is* peaceful, the presence of another human being might be a disturbance to the listening activity:

The kids have moved out so it's peaceful and quiet even if my wife is at home, but then you are maybe supposed to do something else together, or...

Mark had visited the Festspel i Pite Älvdal since he moved to the community where he now lives. For a couple of years he was on vacation during the festival period, otherwise he has always attended the festival concerts, partly where he lives and partly in Piteå⁶⁶. In addition, he attends other festivals approximately once a year, folk music and jazz festivals, mainly. Talking about his experiences of the Festspelen, he remembered artists that he had seen on TV or elsewhere, and live at the festival. He also emphasised meetings between artists and audience during the concerts. To exemplify this he told me about an outdoor concert where he, together with four others, constituted the total audience, and felt they had to apologise for not being more of them. The artists' response showed that they were used to the situation, but that they still enjoyed playing for other people, however many. Another memory stemmed from the summer of 2004, from a concert with a folk music band. Mark described it like this:

Yes, if I think about Ale Möller, there was such a richness and variety in the concert given by that band, all the time there is something new, something exciting happening (...) and I like that (...) it is easy to listen to and there is good communication with the audience, too.

When I ask Mark if he had strong emotional experiences during this particular concert, his answer was:

Mm, yes, I do at such occasions, joy and some connection, I think it is difficult to describe it in words, but that it has strong emotional experiences within it, yes it has.

To Mark, such experiences are more meaningful if he can share them with friends. Being together makes the experience higher, better, and it creates an opportunity to talk about the concert later on.

From visiting the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, Mark said he had learnt to enjoy different musical styles, because it can offer such a wide range. As an example, he pointed to his increased listening to and enjoyment of folk music, which he thought had been strengthened because of the festival. He said that in general his cultural consumption had increased since he moved to the community where he now lives, curiously enough, since the town where he lived before could certainly have offered a richer cultural life.

⁶⁶ In 2005, Mark attended three concerts during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, the opening ceremony and two folk music concerts.

Mark emphasised the power of habit several times during the interview, here with respect to who attends concerts and who does not:

I think we are slaves of habit, and if you are in the habit of making use of culture, in this case music, then you search for it, and you have eyes open for what is happening in the field. It is not a strange environment; you can even go alone to such an event because you are going for a concert experience.

He can trace his own habit of attending concerts back to a long life of musical experiences, both from listening to others and performing music himself. So his attendance at the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is, when seen from this perspective, a natural continuation of his other musical experiences. Mark identified milestones in his musical life story, which have made him who he is, musically:

(Interviewer): I have a metaphor concerning musical life stories. If we assume that all musical experiences create a musical life story, what does your life story contain, and what kind of place does the Festsplen have within it?

Yes, that was a question that, I mean if I should tell my musical life story, then it should be a long story, *strictly speaking*, and then the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is a small part of it. But I am not supposed to tell the whole story, but I mentioned that thing with the recorder. You know I think I have never felt so happy about a Christmas present ever in my childhood as when I got that recorder. I remember, I jumped back and forth on the floor and held that thing, so it was a yearning somehow, I surely had wished, or I certainly had to sit and play. I was brought up in an environment, in a Low Church environment, so at home we had a reed organ. Then there was a notebook for that, songs you would sing, 'the tones of Zion', and then it was a neighbour who taught me how to make the fingerings on a Christmas song. It was around Christmas, and then I learnt how to play it just the way it was supposed to sound. He had written down the fingering for each note, and little by little I started to see how that note also appeared on a sheet of some other song, so I could transfer it. That is probably one of those great experiences I had as a child, when I sort of cracked the code. I thought, now I can actually play whatever song I like. Now there were some that had lots of sharps, and that would sound terrible, but...

(Interviewer): Yes (laughter), without sharps and flats.

Yes, without sharps and flats I could play any song, you know, and that was some kind of milestone, maybe the first milestone somehow, that I reach in my story.

And I mentioned that I was brought up in a Low Church environment. We were regularly at the meetinghouse as it is called, and then I remember a special incident. I was maybe only five years or something like that. It was a man who sat there and played some kind of instrument and I don't know exactly what that was, but it was something unusual, maybe a zither or something. It was so special so I sat and was like interested and my daddy saw that, he said: "You can go forward so you can see a little more". That was fantastic, to be allowed to go forward when you were supposed to sit silently on the church bench. I had like a permission to go forward to watch and enjoy.

But then, the really great thing was in the days of youth around the age of 14. A man started a wind band in my hometown and we were a gang of boys and girls, we were maybe around 15 youngsters, who played together, practiced and played and practiced. That way we had lots of fun together and developed and went for a few travels and even festivals in this connection, on national level here in Sweden.

(Interviewer): Yes, what kind of, was it a brass ensemble?

It was a wind band, military band, both woodwind and brass.

(Interviewer): What we in Norway would call a 'korps'?

Korps, yes, that's right

(Interviewer): Yes, but if you see the Festspele in relation to the whole of your long and substantial [musical life story]...

Yes, yes, then I see, it's not unfamiliar to me. It's fantastic that you somehow get to consume music here too, as a listener and participant in concerts. If I hadn't had this background and then, had come here and didn't have any experience of playing and attending concerts... Because I joined that wind band, so our leader also interested us in attending concerts. I remember that also, the first time I attended a concert, you know, how fantastic that was. And if I hadn't had that experience, then I would have been another person. Then I would maybe have been a person who did not care to attend any concerts at the Festspele either.

(Interviewer): ...and who did not possess that habit you talked about earlier?

Yes, exactly, I think it is definitely so.

(Interviewer): Mm, so the totality of your musical life makes it also include the festival?

Yes, this simple musical performance that I have participated in, it has caused that I have learned to love music, and, yes, attend a few concerts.

Just as Mark experienced a connection between his own musicianship and his love for music, a connection to his own music making was also apparent when he described what a musical experience meant to him. To him, such an experience involved an interplay between being a performer and being a listener, a consumer of music. He related it to his own participation in the choir, which was to him a fantastic experience – singing together with others:

You don't sing that way at home, but together, it's such a sound. It can be a euphoric experience.

The experience, in his opinion, is a combination of an atmosphere and a sound that somehow 'lifts' him.

Chris – the festival as periphery

Chris is a man in his mid-50s, who described himself as a musical omnivore with only one exception: he does not listen to opera. Apart from that, he listens to everything from Bach to the Rolling Stones, especially classical music. Bach is his ultimate favourite, which he places as numbers one, two and three on his personal list of favourite composers. Fourth comes Bartok, but 'modern stuff' such as hip-hop does not reach into his list at all:

I don't get much out of it (...) it is another kind of musical language, which I can't interpret.

Chris sings in a choir and plays the piano at home. When he was younger he sometimes played in public as an accompanist, but nonetheless will still not call himself a musician. He attends concerts whenever possible, and said that his only limitation was the lack of opportunities. He was willing to travel a long way to attend a concert, often as much as 60 to 70 kilometres. Last summer, he even took his son 1,400 kilometres to a pop concert in the south of Sweden. If he only attended the concerts that were available at the place where he lives, Chris said it would not amount to much:

No, it's really nothing else than, this summer there have been three musical evenings in church, they called them concerts, but that's maybe an exaggeration...

He is of the opinion that people in his municipality visit concerts more often than those in Stockholm, even though the opportunities are considerably less.

Except for single concert experiences, what has really made a profound impression on Chris' musical life is the former Lapplands Festspel festival in Arjeplog:

It has made an indelible impression on me, musically speaking. It was so unbelievably good.

During the interview, he repeatedly told stories from the Lapplands Festspel, and also compared it to the Festspel i Pite Älvdal in a way that was not flattering to the latter. The following story starts with such a comparison, and continues by explaining how he came to be a faithful attendee of the Lapplands Festspel:

At the time, I was a regular customer in Arjeplog (laughter). Yes, now we are talking about two different levels when we shall talk about the festival in Piteå as it is now. You can't compare it at all, from my perspective, if you say so. I couldn't think that, as a presenter, to have a stand-up comedian and then you play a little mixed compote, so... But on the contrary, I thought, from a musical point of view it is probably the best I have ever been to, the festival in Arjeplog, during the 13 years it went on.

(Interviewer): Mm, 'cause it's not many years since it ended? Five, six years or so?

Yes, something like that, he died, Sigvard Hammar [the head of the festival], and it was he who *was* the festival. It was possible thanks to him.

(Interviewer): Mm, but then you travelled? It is almost; I don't know how far it is from here?

It is 183 kilometres. I have biked that distance twice in connection with the festival. My wife and I bike a lot and then I thought I could hang the bike on the car and then drive up and my wife could drive the car home and I could ride the bike.

(Interviewer): OK, but were you there each year?

No, I was not there the first two years. I missed the information about it. I remember – am I talking too much now?

(Interviewer): No, go on.

(Laughter) I remember very well how it was the first time. We had morning coffee my wife and I on the porch, and I sat and paged through the newspaper. Then I saw the ad, and I said to my wife, should we go there? "Yeah, why not, call the hotel and check if there are any rooms". It took about half an hour, and then we sat in the car and drove up. Yes, it was just like I felt that it was right going there, this is where we're supposed to go. Then it continued. Sometimes we also brought the camping wagon. We used to be there, yes not all the time, it went on for about 10 days or so, but a few days we went there each summer, since then.

Compared with the Lapplands Festspel, the festival in Piteå was not an attractive event for Chris, despite his great interest in music. During the interview, I had the impression that he deliberately placed the Festspel i Pite Älvdal in the periphery of his musical life. In the questionnaire, he stated that 2005 was the first year he had ever visited the festival. Later, it became apparent that this was not the case, because he had visited Trolltügen several times without recognising that the event was part of the Festspelen. When he discovered this, he said that Trolltügen is a typical example of the festival's large span, a span that is one of the reasons he has avoided the festival:

The span is too large, you lose the concentration: Now the whole symphony orchestra is supposed to play and then some troubadour singing and playing the guitar falls in, and then there is this pop guy,

and then a stand-up comedian, and then there is this brass ensemble playing something really nice (...) and then I somehow lose concentration.

Chris was careful to point out that he does not claim that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal *is* too mixed, but that this is his impression. He said that having a wide range of styles is good, but then said that if you have just a little piece of butter and spread it on a large slice of bread you have a very thin layer.

Chris' main impressions of the festival's opening concert in 2005 were described above. He also visited the closing concert, which was a performance of Bach's (his favourite composer) *Musical Offering*. He described this latter event as fantastic, and the music as a piece that he could 'suck on like a caramel', unlike the opening concert. Still, he said that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal had no place whatsoever in his musical life story. It could have had, he admitted, through the Bach concert, but that was a concert he would have attended anyway regardless of whether it belonged to the festival or not.

Chris' strong connection with Bach influenced how he defined a musical experience. With regard to this, he distinguished Bach and classical music from all other music:

A Bach concert is for me a spiritual experience. I am a Christian and live that kind of life, and above all with Bach, there is a connection there somehow, the fifth evangelist.

Regarding experiences with music in general, Chris said that the strength of the experience is just as profound, but that it lacks the spiritual dimension, the connection.

When I asked Chris for what purpose he used music, he said that he has never thought it possible to *use* music. Contrary to his wife, he cannot put on music as background and then do something else. If there is music worth listening to, then he has to listen actively. To be a passive listener was not an option, he would rather turn the music off. The activity of listening varies, he said, with different kinds of music. Returning to Bach, though also including Bartok, he said that listening to their music is active in the sense that he wants to understand how things are put together. Even if he has never read a hint of music theory, he searches for the structure of the piece. Offering another story from the Lapplands Festspel, Chris embellished on this theme, emphasising that coldly analysing music is not sufficient:

I remember, it was one of the first times we went to Arjeplog, they played, maybe it was even the first year, I can't remember, the Bartok quartet. Four wrinkled grey suits, smoothly ironed, yes not the suits, but... fascinating people, you know, with their external appearance as humans and musicians, and then when they sit down and start playing... I get teary just by thinking about it, it was so good, so *unbelievably* good. And then there was this guy from somewhere in Stockholm; they come from there everyone, who had some sort of lecture, some sort of introduction to that concert. They played all the six string quartets, although he didn't talk about the string quartets. I can't remember what he was talking about, but he described the piece of music as a building, with a central body of the house, and then a wing on each side. The other wing was mirrored in relation to the first, so it was like a total symmetry then, inwards like that and inwards [Chris shows with his hands]. I have to say that I still haven't been able to hear that in full, but on the other side, why should I ever be finished? Because each time you listen maybe you come a little closer.

(Interviewer): So you listen very actively?

Yes, especially to that kind of music.

(Interviewer): Yes, to understand or to grasp structure?

Yes at least that is a fairly important part of it. It's not that I sit like that and analyse coldly, this is it, this is what he has done, to solve some mathematical problem, and then that's it. It's rather; it's

mainly an emotional experience, listening to music. It's beautiful, it's dramatic, it's all those adjectives you can think of, actually. Primarily it's not to sit and analyse and break it into pieces to understand how it is built. It's this experience, that's what it is, of course.

As I understood him, Chris thought that listening to a certain style of music, and enjoying it, is something that it is possible to learn. He believes in respecting people who are more knowledgeable than oneself, because of their experiences of, perspectives on and knowledge of good music. Chris tried to hold himself and his children to this principle:

If they say it's good, so decide, Chris, that this is good. That you initially not might think so, that's something else, but it *is* good.

On this basis Chris thought that, little by little, one starts to realise the quality of the music. What he has learnt from attending a festival setting is another step forward: to recognise music and to collect live music experiences in order to compare them with other live performances of the same piece.

Leo – the festival as part of attending the cultural activities available

Leo is a man in his middle 40s. After periods of working abroad, he now lives in one of the smaller communities encompassed by the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. When at the beginning of the interview, I asked Leo about his musical taste, what kind of music he listens to, he responded with a long and winding story, characterised by experimenting, searching for the odd and reaching out for the edges, but also by identifying his own limitations.

Going from soul, as heard on Radio Luxembourg, through disco and Deep Purple, Leo finally found Pink Floyd, all of whose albums he owns on principle. He explained his fondness for Pink Floyd like this:

They experiment a lot; they work a lot with emphasising emotions. I think they strike my emotions in a good way.

Pink Floyd made Leo want to stretch out towards pure electronic music, but there he somehow 'hit the wall':

It became too complicated or I was too uneducated, because I could not take it in. I had no one in my surroundings that could help me, because it was too difficult, it was simply too abstract for me.

He told a similar story about jazz, which Leo also loves. A preference for blues-inspired jazz and big band jazz, which he described as positive and fun music, has led him to try to learn and understand free, more abstract jazz, but:

It gets a little too difficult; I don't know how to approach it in a proper way.

Still, Leo described himself as a musical searcher, who has tried the extremes, in order to encircle his own taste:

As a person I have always been searching and searched for that outside of what everybody else listened to, the odd.

During the period of the Lapplands Festspel Leo said he had a golden opportunity to search for classical music experiences, especially the great, well-known pieces, which he enjoys. To emphasise his preference for what he calls 'rather easy classical music', and also, in order to

give an example of what for him is a cultural (or musical) experience, he told a story about a boat, some huge loudspeakers and Wagner:

I can tell you a funny anecdote: I had a pretty large boat, a nine-metre Biscay. Then I went working in [name of country], and there, there were lots of minarets with minaret loudspeakers, large loudspeakers where they cry out their prayers. So, I went into a place where they sold these, it cost nothing, so I bought one with me and installed it on the boat. It was really large, a real funnel loudspeaker, you know. And then, in that scene, I don't know if you have seen the movie *Apocalypse now*? It's so abstract; it's so sick that scene. They fly in with helicopters and bomb cities, the Americans, and then they play the *Ride of the Valkyrie*, Richard Wagner, played pompously. And then there was an acquaintance that lives in [name of town], he is from here, and he brought some of his friends, and I was supposed to pick them up. It was cloudy, foggy weather, bad weather, and they should follow out on the boat. I was three, four kilometres out on the lake, so they didn't see the boat, but they heard the music, and later he said, when we came back; it was the most abstract thing they had ever experienced. Standing there, in the middle of the Arjeplog Mountains, listening to that *Valkyrie* across the lake. Well, that is some kind of a cultural experience, too.

Leo said that the chamber music presented at the Lapplands Festspel was too complex for him. Again, he had encountered music he could not immediately embrace. However, he has a clear conception of why and also of what could have helped him appreciate the music in another way:

You're not prepared for it the first day. Then I switch off somewhere, when I'm not prepared at all or open to accept it. So, maybe if you had come to listen to the same concert or had the CD, like, to listen through a few times before attending the concert. Maybe you would have appreciated it in another way.

In addition, Leo said, it is more complex than just being used to the particular music played. One also has to consider the mood of the day:

That thing about music, it's so, you have to consider the mood, it's not just one thing.

Despite his great love of music, and his wide listening habits, Leo does not play an instrument himself, which he related to there being no tradition whatsoever of playing music in his family. Once he tried to teach himself how to play the keyboard, but, as he put it, 'it was nothing', so he is content with listening to others, and singing in the shower.

Leo is an irregular attendee of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, and is unable to tell even approximately for how many years he has been a visitor. This is due to several matters, both that he kept mixing up the festival with the Lapplands Festspel, and also because he worked outside his municipality for several years. However, he said that after the Lapplands Festspel disappeared, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal was the only institution through which his community was offered 'that kind of music', and a wider range thereof. So, since opportunities were few, he attended what cultural events were available, regardless of what they were. It is in relation to this statement that I interpret the Festspel i Pite Älvdal's place within Leo's musical life story. Answering my question about whether he attended a lot of concerts, Leo explained his attitude further by means of another story from his past, in which he explained his search for live music, even in concerts where the music presented is not immediately to his likings:

Do you attend a lot of concerts?

When I have the opportunity, I do because when I'm here, at home, then I do because I think it's amazing that we have the possibility to do so. Even if it isn't exactly what I am interested in I still go to listen only because it's fun that there is something going on here. So, the Lapplands Festspel, I used

to go there, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal I try to attend if I have time and possibility even if it isn't something that is just, like – aha...

(Interviewer): So you more, like, attend when something's going on?

Yes.

(Interviewer): No matter what it is?

Yes, and then, music is, you experience music in... I went listening to, there was a group, I think it was in the 70s, yes, it was in the 70s, which was called Kebnekaise. They played in Arvidsjaur, and I went there and listened to them, and it was such a strong experience. It was so good, it was so damned good. Then I went home and ordered all their recordings, they had made one or two recordings. I ordered those, got one and put it on and listened to hear some more. That was nothing. You can have a damned good musical experience, an emotional experience, even if it's not the music that is directly your style. It's nothing you would take home and listen to at home, but it can still be a fantastic experience, you know.

(Interviewer): So you feel that a concert experience is something quite different from sitting at home, listening to a CD?

Yes, it is, well it is, I definitely think it is.

Leo had only one concert experience related to the 2005 Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. He visited Trolltügen and remembered it mostly because of the fantastic weather and the warmth, which was a nuisance. What impressed him most during the event was the dance. However, the dance is also what he described as difficult to take in, due to the fact that he had never been dancing, or had any kind of education to learn how to appreciate dance as an art form. So, he concentrated on understanding what the dance was about. In addition he enjoyed the artists singing prior to the dance performance, especially the female Sami singer. Still, the music that he found most pleasurable during the concert lasted for only a few minutes:

She was damned good at singing (...) that girl, actually, but it was, what I thought was really good lasted only for about five minutes, so a lot of the time I sat [whistles] and watched the kids having a bath and...

After visiting Trolltügen, Leo said he had learnt that ballet is not something he wants to prioritise in the future, and that he would rather visit the theatre or something else. In answer to the direct question of what he learns by visiting the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal, he said that one will inevitably learn from every experience one exposes oneself to, because all experiences involve learning, including being present at such events. However, by attending the festival he did not learn things that were useful for his work, but rather things that were useful for him as a human being:

It increases the general education and the base of experience, and that is the base you stand on every day. It influences the decisions you make and the things you do as a human being. Then some of this is included, too, it is what makes you who you are, so these are important things, somehow, they are.

As described above, Leo appreciated that he had the opportunity to enjoy cultural experiences in his own municipality. He was also concerned that culture should be accessible in sparsely populated areas, as in his own community, because if certain kinds of culture are physically available only to the elite, it will increase their significance as elite culture, and thereby decrease their accessibility to 'other people'.

Maureen – the festival as a complement

Maureen is a young woman in her early 20s. She is a student, and does not live in her hometown at the moment. However, because her parents live there she comes home to North Bothnia to stay with them each summer.

Maureen's listening habits are wide, and when asked about her musical taste, she said it was a difficult question to answer, because she listens to everything and finds herself to be a musical omnivore. At home, she prefers pop or rock, her favourite style being country pop, but she also listens to classical music, which she prefers live:

Certain things are to be experienced live, I think (...) it is more of an experience to attend classical music concerts and see it for real.

Using the verb 'see' instead of 'listen' was Maureen's intention because she said that she has a different experience when watching good musicians playing. The music gives a new dimension that way. She said that if she was to listen to classical music, or folk music, which she also enjoys, at home, the music would normally be too obtrusive. This is not the case with the country pop that she uses as background music, when studying for instance. I had the overall impression that Maureen could differentiate between the various purposes she uses music for, and she described that different styles had various patterns of use. If, on rare occasions she puts on classical music at home it is to use it as a means for relaxing. Vocal music with good texts has another function:

If it's a singer or a musician with a good text, then you listen to the text. It's poetic, and...

Folk music is happy music, not to put on to become happy, but to strengthen a feeling that already exists:

I am happy before I put it on, and then I get even happier (laughs).

When the folk music is on, Maureen said she wants to dance. What is difficult to answer is for what purpose she uses pop music, other than as background:

That's hard to say, the things you listen to every day, what it is for. It's because I think it is good...

Maureen does not play music when she is angry. On these occasions she is silent. To her, music is a 'happy thing', as she put it.

From the age of nine and until she quit secondary school, Maureen had played the violin. She had also sung in a choir occasionally, but felt that choral music was not quite her genre; the violin being more fun she said. When she had participated in a local youth orchestra, the repertoire was mainly classical, but when she plays for herself, Swedish and Irish folk music is her choice. This preference stems from experiences of more informal outdoor playing with peers.

Maureen attends concerts approximately twice a month, but said she would like to attend more often if possible. In the relatively large town where she now lives, the opportunities are many:

There is a lot going on there and there is pretty much alternative music, too.

The last concert she attended was one featuring Iranian folk music. Balkan folk music is also one of her favourites, on the whole, music that is not usually heard:

I like new music experiences. Other kinds of music I can listen to on the radio, but something like that you won't listen to usually, so then I take the opportunity.

Maureen had attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal for four or five years since she was 18 years old. She usually visited the festival together with her mother. It has sort of become their 'thing', a joint activity for sharing musical experiences. In addition, Maureen visits the street festival in Piteå, PDOL, which according to her was essential if one wanted to be recognised as a Pitebo⁶⁷, as well as some other local⁶⁸ festivals. She has never taken the opportunity to travel really far to a festival, but said she attends those where she happens to be at the moment.

In the summer of 2005, Maureen visited two events during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. She attended the opening concert and that by the local band Euskefeurat. However, she did not mention these when encouraged to tell about the Festspel experiences she remembered. Instead, she responded by telling me about two particular concerts from earlier years, both of them folk music related:

(Interviewer): Have you had any experiences that you remember well during the Festspelen?

Yes, I think I have, I have a couple, we went to Helen Sjöholm, she was at the Festspelen, in Storforsen. We had picnic, and it was such a lovely evening, really, so we sat on the rocks there and, like really great. And there was this folk music, it was really beautiful, it was such a nice atmosphere, that music and the surroundings, it was lovely.

(Interviewer): So that is one of those things that remain?

Yes, actually. I had my cousins with me, it was maybe the social, too, you had people you liked there and so on, it was something of the social, the music, the surroundings. And then, some other [experience], it was the one with Anne-Sofie von Otter, two years ago, I think. That was also really, really great, when she played with the Kalle Moreaus' band, that was really, really great, too.

(Interviewer): Mm, what was good?

I suppose it was the folk music that I like, plus she had such a beautiful voice, but it was like a good combination between her and the band, they had like, yes, it was very neatly tuned I thought. They had such good ensemble playing, and then I thought, those are maybe not, they don't work together, normally, so I was kind of impressed that they could be so good together.

Maureen was not sure if these experiences had made lasting impressions on her other than to increase her general motivation for attending concerts, and whet her appetite for more of the same. However, when telling about a third festival experience, she admitted that that particular concert inspired her own playing:

We went to, it was a really clever guy who played on a Stradivarius last year, and then you kind of want to play the violin and such (...) you think, oh, I will never be that good, but you can always, you still get inspired to play more yourself.

According to Maureen, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is a good alternative to the street festivals, because it presents good musicians and artists who she otherwise would not have the opportunity to see. Since she lives in her hometown during the summer, the festival is easily accessible, and she thought that one should use all available opportunities to go to concerts.

⁶⁷ The slang name for people living in Piteå, preferably those who were born and raised there.

⁶⁸ Maureen's definition of 'local' includes a festival 200 kilometres away.

Maureen said that the Festspelen has had the function of complementing her other musical activities and experiences. She looks forward to it each year, and enjoys the possibility of listening to music that is not so customary ‘up here’, as she said.

Maureen found it hard to tell whether she has had strong emotional experiences during concerts given at the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. However, when such experiences do occur in relation to music, she feels fulfilled by the music, happy and well. She also recalls such experiences later on. However, her definition of a *musical* experience differs quite a lot from this:

[A musical experience is] to listen to something you don’t normally listen to, to widen your musical, not your taste, maybe, but simply what you listen to, if you maybe give music you don’t usually listen to a chance (...) you can get insight into another musical taste.

This definition coalesces largely with what she said it is possible to learn from attending such an event as a music festival: an appreciation of music that you do not normally listen to or think you could not enjoy. In her opinion such an occasion can open one’s ears a little, but the difficulty lies in the fact that one often attends concerts that we think beforehand we are sure to enjoy. Maureen had learnt to enjoy classical brass music through the Festspelen, which was a genre she did not care for before. Here, she once again connected to the possibility of *looking at* the musicians, which was for her a precondition for discriminating listening:

When you attend a concert, you can hear separate sounds, too, in another way than when you listen to a CD, because you can see, who plays the solo, and then you can, like, look at them, and better discriminate, and then you can appreciate it more, I think.

When aural experience was strengthened by visual, Maureen said that it was easier for her to identify a good musician.

Affecting construction of musical self-narratives – summing up

Through the survey, we can see that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affects many people in the Pite river valley, especially when measured as a percentage of the total number of inhabitants. For quite a lot of people the festival was their only source of a “music festival experience” (Karlsen, 2005a, p. 28). I interpret this as the Festspelen having the potential to affect the construction of those people’s musical self-narratives to a great extent. Also, strong emotional experiences with music seemed to be linked somehow to strength in allegiance to the festival.

One answer to the first research sub-question – *how does the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affect the audience’s construction of their musical self-narratives* – is that it delivers contextual frames in which experiences, emotional and other kinds, understood as material for the construction of self-narratives, are made. From the combination of these festival-related experiences and a person’s earlier background, each attendant’s individual connection to the Festspel i Pite Älvdal appears, as shown in the six life-stories displayed above. In the first two sections below I further explore festival’s impact from two different angles: by looking into how attending the festival generates stories that can be used for self-construction, and what some of those stories might contain, and by investigating what the learning experiences or outcome of festival attendance might be as expressed by respondents and interviewees. The third section is dedicated to providing deeper insights into how the interviewees, especially those not discussed above, positioned the festival in relation to their musical life-stories.

Stories of important and strong, emotional musical experiences

According to Ruud (1997), an individual's musical self-narrative includes stories about music, musicians and situations in which we experience music. In addition, important musical experiences, among which are strong, music-related emotional ones, are important. The reason for this is that stories about what we see, hear and otherwise experience are among the means by which we construct our self-narratives. To carry out the necessary identity work of inventing and continuing stories of ourselves, we need impressions from the outer world. With the help of stories of what and how we perceive, we create the stories of who we are. Hence, to construct a musical self-narrative, we need stories of music-related impressions, the sounds and other sensations of the music itself, the sight of musicians making music and the multifaceted sense impressions from the situations in which we experience music. The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* provides rich material for the creation and construction of such stories and thereby of musical self-narratives, by offering the audience a wide range of musical genres and styles, opportunities to observe, meet and be close to musicians both on and off stage, and a variety of arenas for music.

Among the survey statements, I could trace embryos to stories about music, musicians and surroundings, in the texts belonging respectively to the 'frame factor' and the 'mediative factor' category. Similar, fully developed stories are to be found in the six musical life story texts. Here, they are included to illustrate how individuals use festival-related stories to signify their point of connection with the particular festival in question. The variation of the stories' content, their comprehensiveness and profoundness, has been interpreted as signalling different modes of festival impact upon the construction of the total musical self-narrative of each person interviewed.

Some of the most powerful of the festival-stories gathered are those concerning important and strong emotional experiences. Despite the sometimes difficult task of verbalising such experiences, they are well documented in relation to concerts given at the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*, both through the survey and the interviews. In the six musical life-stories that I have recounted the interviewees told me about their strong emotional experiences during the festival. To sum up the area of stories, and to show the richness in how the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* 'marks' the festival audience emotionally, I present below the experiences of those interviewees who did not make themselves heard in the previous sections:

Sara is one of several who used the expression 'touched', implying a strong feeling for which she was lost for words. To explain her experience during the festival in 2005, she compared it to a fictive concert by her favourite artist:

Yes, it is as if I should attend a Bruce Springsteen concert and pay seven-eight thousand. I think I would never have the same experience-feeling,⁶⁹ I don't think so.

Maurice was concerned about associations. At the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* he visited the ballad concerts, and enjoyed listening to the histories around the creation of songs, how the artists produced the music. This was also part of his somewhat low-key expression of his emotional experience:

You listen to something that you like and that mediates a lot, both the music and the text, and you get a little excited, I think. Somehow you feel better, you get to think a little about the texts and associate for yourself...

⁶⁹ This is Sara's own expression.

Andy focused on the surprising experience and told about a concert combining folk music and jojk:

I had no expectations, but I thought the combination of the two different styles was tasty.

He also described an occasion when seeing fellow audience members dancing and letting themselves go gave him what he called a 'cool' experience. Ellen said that what touched her emotionally was grandness in a little town:

Yes, but it is this, oh, I'm being moved just by talking about it [sniffs a little], but this pride and, I think about this summer when I went with my son to Borggården, yes it was something like that (...) fun to see that this exists in our little town, and look at all those people...

As one of the respondents, Ellen said she thought it was her work situation that influenced her reaction. She works in social security with heavy and difficult cases, which contrasted greatly with this 'other world' as she put it. Finally, Iris expressed throughout the interview a strong, transcendent connection to music. This is how she feels after visiting a good concert:

On occasion I have left concerts and simply felt high (...) I have told my friend, I feel drunk, as if I can embrace the whole world. I can feel like that when leaving a concert, that I have enjoyed so much, and when I drive home, to my cottage, I am like this [sings], yes, it feels so wonderful.

Again, we are reminded that, when it comes to music festivals, contextual factors, and also to a certain degree intrapersonal factors, seem to be a more powerful determinant on strong emotional experiences than the musical factors pointed to by Gabrielsson (2001) and Scherer and Zentner (2001).

Learning experiences

That being in a music festival event or similar situation leads to some kind of learning, and also that learning and identity work is closely connected (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1991) is an epistemological assumption underlying the whole of this study. Hence, this section explores what the interviewees described as their learning outcomes.

The interviewees were asked whether or not they learned anything from visiting the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* and if yes, to describe their learning outcome. However, learning experiences can also be detected in section two, which looked at the factors influencing strong emotional experiences. All cognitive/emotional processes that I have described can be perceived as leading to some kind of learning, whether cognitive understanding, emotional work, memory work or associations. With respect to the musical life stories, they also add dimensions:

Betty briefly mentioned facts as festival learning outcomes, such as names of new composers, but seemed to be more concerned with insight into the human behind the music, due to the proximity of the artists. She said that she acquires humility in the presence of those who have learnt to master an instrument or sing. Laura pointed to learning the difference between a xylophone and a marimba, an outcome that could be though to be both fact-oriented, and as learning how to discriminate between musical sounds. She added that she has learnt the histories behind the music presented. When describing the festival in relation to her children, it is obvious that she also wants them to have a general learning outcome, a widening of horizons through the festival, an experience of 'other things', as she put it. Mark was concerned with learning to enjoy different styles, which he expected the festival to offer insofar as it presents a wide range of music. What Chris described as his learning outcome is an extension of his 'music experience library', or his ability to recognise pieces and compare

performances. Leo pointed most distinctly to a general education outcome for a festival attendance, saying that such experiences on a ground level influence who you are. Like Mark, Maureen also emphasised learning to appreciate new kinds of music, even music that she did not think she would enjoy beforehand.

The interview transcriptions of the rest of the interviewees reveal additional aspects that enrich the picture of the festival related learning experience. Among the five, Ellen is the one who stands out by saying that she has reached a point in life where she is not concerned about learning. When she attends a concert, it is in order to relax and enjoy it. For Sara, visiting the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* meant learning how to master a new social arena:

You learn how to socialise with other people, I mean, if I attend the *Festspelen*, I never meet people with whom I am acquainted; I start to talk to other people about how they have experienced it.

Maurice had learnt to reach the concert hall in time in order to clinch good seats. Also, his text-related brooding seemed to provide some kind of learning outcome, although he said it was difficult to explain what. Andy was similar to Mark and Maureen, in that he learnt to enjoy new musical styles, in his case classical music.

Of all interviewees, Iris was the one who described the widest range of learning outcomes through attending the festival. Firstly, she pointed to rules of behaviour belonging to the concert situation, such as not to applaud between the movements of a piece of music. Secondly, as several have mentioned before, she said she had learned to appreciate new kinds of music:

Music that I maybe did not listen to before, but that I have learnt to enjoy.

Thirdly, Iris told a festival-related story of how she came to learn to trust her own judgement, musically speaking. During a concert by a famous singer, she was seated close to an acknowledged musician. The performance did not go very well and Iris was disappointed:

She was not dedicated, and that was a disappointment to my friend and me. I usually applaud out of courtesy, even if I don't think it sounds well. But this time, I was so disappointed after a particular song that I did not applaud. I turned around and saw that [name of musician] did not applaud either. Since then, I have learned to trust my own senses and my own judgement.

Iris said that even if she had no formal music education, this indirect support from a man 'who knows music' had increased her musical self-esteem.

In chapter eight, the study participants' total festival learning outcomes, derived from chapters five, six and seven, will be discussed in full. This includes relating the above-mentioned learning experiences to the main epistemological basis of the study in the theories of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991), and relating them to theories of musical knowledge (Mark, 2002; Small, 1998; Swanwick, 1999).

The festival's position in relation to the musical life stories

As we have seen through the six stories in section three, there are a variety of points of connection with the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*. When the other interviewees' statements on how the *Festspelen* is positioned in relation to their musical life stories are included, it makes the picture of the pattern of possible festival connections even richer and more alive. Hopefully, it also helps the reader to know a little more about each interviewee when meeting them again in the next chapter.

Iris, who had many similar characteristics to Betty, had been a Festsspel i Pite Älvdal attendee ever since its inception, and for many years she had made an intensive use of it. Buying a ticket for the whole festival made it possible for her to visit as many concerts as she liked, even if sometimes that was to overdo it a little:

I happened to attend five concerts a day. Morning concert (...) and then I went to a lunch concert, and then they had [a concert] in the church around three and then at eight o'clock and then Tonträffen, and that was five (...) but I can tell you that five concerts a day is actually too many to digest.

When encouraged to clarify the festival's place within her musical life story, Iris referred to a statement she made in the survey, saying that she always plans her summer holidays in accordance with the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. She would miss the festival terribly if it should disappear, and usually experiences emptiness when it is over.

Ellen became tearful when I asked her about the festival's place in her life because it made her think of her old habit of visiting the Festspelen together with her now deceased husband:

I start crying, I didn't expect that (...) grief and happiness, and I think that has something to do with me thinking about losing my husband some years ago, we used to go together before.

Ellen positions herself towards the festival through a dichotomy between grief and happiness, both because that is her emotional connection to the festival, but also, as she said, because that is much of what music is about.

The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal effected Sara and Andy's musical life story through one particular concert. Sara admitted that she had not been an active concert attendee before, but had only gone to concerts in general and the Festspelen in particular, for the last five years. She said that the occasion mentioned above as her most important musical experience, was her point of connection to the festival. Firstly, she said, that she had never been to the place where the concert was held, and would probably never have gone there if it were not for the festival. Secondly, she had seen the artists several times before, but had never had such a chance to be so close to them in a small concert arena, outside of which individual artists socialised with the audience after the concert:

I think it will remain for a long time, and I will be able to compare it with many things.

Andy, interestingly enough, also mentioned the same incident that he described in connection with one of his important musical experiences, in order to clarify his connection to the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. Like Sara, he emphasised the small intimate settings that the festival offers as an important part of his attachment to it.

Maurice did not visit as many concerts as for instance Iris, but concentrated on what he prefers, namely the ballad concerts. Nonetheless, when I asked him to place the Festspelen in relation to his musical life, he said that it was 'booked', meaning that he is always there every year. Even if he does not attend a lot of events, he visits 'something', and he looks forward to receiving the festival programme to see what is on for that particular year.

As indicated by the survey respondents, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's importance for its attendees' lives differs to a large degree. This is also illuminated by information given by the interviewees. The survey and the interview findings also show that there seems to be a two-way relationship between strong emotional experiences and strong connection to the festival. These experiences, or reminiscences of them, appear throughout the empirical material used for this chapter, whether in the histories of music, musicians and the surroundings,

descriptions of festival related learning experiences, or through clarifications of individual festival connections. It might even be that those experiences are powerful enough to be characterised as core points at which the festival impacts on its audience's construction of musical self-narratives.

CHAPTER 6: CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS AUDIENCE'S MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF PARALLEL MUSICAL IDENTITIES

In this chapter, I will investigate how the Festspel i Pite Älvdal contributes, as a happening and in terms of its content and form, to audience's development and maintenance of parallel musical identities. In accordance with the methodical triangulation applied to the study, this will be done through various sources of information: a log written during observation of festival events; and survey and interviews with the festival audience.

To investigate the festival's contribution to identity maintenance and development, it has been necessary to know what kind of conditions audiences are offered in this regard. Direct observation was used to collect pertinent information. In addition, as pointed out in the introduction to the preceding chapter, when looking at identity issues, access to given statements is integral, so survey and interview information concerning informant's view on the same festival-created conditions have also been used. Similarly, there has been a survey-based analysis of audience's use of the festival and their behaviour. Factors affecting this behaviour have been identified on the basis of information from the interviews.

The four sections of this chapter treat different aspects of the research sub-question at stake: *How does the Festspel i Pite Älvdal contribute, both as a happening and in terms of its content and form, to the audience's development and maintenance of parallel musical identities?* In section one, in order to analyse the preconditions that were created by the festival, as mentioned above, I describe seven of the musical/social settings offered the audience by the Festspel i Pite Älvdal in 2005. Here, I depart from my experiences during observation. The second section examines the same preconditions from the respondents' point of view, and is also an attempt to track down audience's use of the festival and their behaviour to see if or how it is used as a device for the maintenance and development of musical identities. Thirdly, in order to reach a more profound understanding of the patterns found in section two, all interviewees' utterances are examined, in the search for factors that seem to have impact upon their use of the festival and their behaviour. Also, connections to the musical life stories told in the preceding chapter are drawn in order to elucidate those factors. In the fourth section, with the help of information gained from the preceding three, I isolate the festival's contribution to the development and maintenance of audience's parallel musical identities. Finally there is a summary, in which efforts are made to further develop and understand the findings.

Possibilities offered by the festival as seen through observation

This section describes how the festival offers possibilities, or creates preconditions, for the development and maintenance of the audience's musical identities. As noted before in the chapter dealing with this study's theoretical foundation, a music festival may create various rooms for learning and identity work. By varying musical styles and genres associated with conventional patterns of use and behaviour (Fairclough, 1995), and performance arenas, the festival can offer a rich variation of real-time musical/social settings, or in other words, different social rooms for musical activity that frame identity development and maintenance. What rooms are offered depends of course upon the particular year's festival programme. Below, I describe seven different events selected from the Festspel i Pite Älvdal in 2005. The aim of this selection has been, in accordance with the maximum variation sampling procedure used elsewhere in this study, to display as much variation as possible regarding musical styles, locations and size of event.

For the writing of the log, the ‘TIME 2 – During the Event’ part of DeNora’s (2003a) musical event scheme (for a display of the full scheme, see chapter three) was used as a starting point. This involved studying: a) actors – who is engaging with music; b) music – what kind of music was played; c) acts of engagement with music; d) local conditions of c); and e) environment – in what kind of context does the engagement with music take place. The information gathered in this way forms the basis for the description of the selected events, though with some adjustments: Regarding a) all the actors involved are described and c) especially the audience’s engagement with music was noted. The information asked for under d) was unavailable to me on an individual level, so this point has been left out. To make the text more readable and to provide the reader with a broader understanding of the different settings, the information concerning e) has been written giving additional details and a wider ‘situational report’.

In this text, ‘event’ means a particular festival concert, and sometimes how to travel to it. Preconditions, which DeNora’s (ibid.) scheme deals with under ‘TIME 1 – Before the Event’, are described on a collective level as local preconditions (LPC), meaning what kind of dispositions exist in this municipality related to this kind of concert or event. Outcomes, which are dealt with by DeNora (ibid.) under ‘Time 3 – After the Event’, are of course unknown to me on the level of the personal outcomes of each of the individual members of the audience. However, all the events described are mentioned by one or more of the interviewees, that is to say traces of individuals’ outcomes are to be found through all the chapters concerning the results of this study. This is also true for the information lacking under c), the audience’s *internal* engagement with music during the concerts (available for instance through the strong-emotional-experiences-related statements in the preceding chapter); and d), local conditions for individuals’ engagement with music.

The reason for choosing DeNora’s scheme as a structuring device for both the log and the final description of a selection of the festival events is that it allows for the systematic noting, recalling, recording and describing of the features of particular events that are assumed to be integral to the maintenance and development of musical identity. The seven events described here are: Sami ballad and jojk evening (Arjeplog); lunchtime concert (Piteå); opening concert (Piteå); Tonträff (Piteå); lunchtime concert (Arvidsjaur); Trolltagen (Älvsbyn); courtyard concert (Piteå) and closing concert (Piteå).

Sami ballad and jojk evening, Arjeplog

The chapel of Norra Bergnäs is situated on a small island in the watercourse of what is to become the Pite River. I had to drive 50 kilometres from Arjeplog on a bumpy gravel road before I arrived at the place by the river where a small boat came to pick me up and take me the short distance across the water. The island was green, filled with blueberry twigs, pines and a million mosquitoes. As I walked the narrow path from the boat I caught a glimpse of the chapel through the trees, a small, brown log building in what seemed to be a kind of ‘dragon style’⁷⁰. The chapel was bare inside, with hard, narrow, greenish benches and a simple pulpit decorated with summer flowers. There was no light except for what was coming in through the small windows high up in the wall. As the time of the concert approached, the chapel was crowded with around 100 people. The atmosphere was informal, but solemn. The artists of the evening appeared, two young Sami singers – a man representing the tradition of the Sami people living in the forest, and a woman representing those living in the mountains, both in their traditional costume.

⁷⁰ Dragon style refers to a certain way of decorating houses with dragon ornaments. The style is of ancient Nordic origin, and was popular in Sweden and Norway from 1870 to 1930.

A: Two young, Sami singers
Audience (mainly middle aged, some younger couples with small children)
Official number of audience: 107

The woman opened the concert and greeted the audience in both the Sami and the Swedish language. She sang mainly newly composed Sami music, and used both the voice modality and kind of intonation that belongs to the Western ballad tradition. During the concert, she alternated with the man, who sang in a more traditional jojk style, with a rather guttural vocal sound and just intonation. As is common in this style, the songs were not *about* things or people; the singer *sang* the person in question, or for instance, the reindeer calf. Each song and jojk was performed *a cappella*.

B: Traditional Sami jojk and newer Sami ballads

C: As a 'traditional' concert audience. We sit silently during the performance (with the exception of some smaller, noisy children) and applaud politely after each song

Both singers offered anecdotes between the songs. The man told us that the Sami people are no longer able to sing their traditional songs. For so many years this form of music was connected to shame and abandoned from the church. For insight into the tradition, he had to search in archives instead of learning from the old.

LPC: This music belongs to the area, as we are in the middle of Sápmi. My guess is, without knowing, that a part of the audience has Sami background. Anyhow, the music has a natural belonging to this local community

After the concert, the audience and the performers gathered in the 'churtyard', a small open place in front of the chapel. We drank coffee, ate cookies, chatted, socialised and were eaten by mosquitoes. Driving some of my fellow audience back to Arjeplog, I was given good advice on how to treat reindeer and moose meat, and information about how to brand the reindeer, a rather large part of the daily life of some of the people living in the area.

Lunchtime concert, Piteå

The concert was held in the auditorium of Framnäs people's college, a light, rather large room with windows placed high on the wall. We the audience were placed in the auditorium benches. On the stage there was an organ and two grand pianos. The programme for the concert was not written in the general festival programme, but decided and released immediately before the concert.

A: Students from the master classes given at Framnäs during the Festspelen (during the year, they are students of music academies throughout Europe)
A couple of internationally acknowledged pianists/accompanists
Audience (mainly consisting of middle aged or senior citizens, mainly women)
Official number of audience: 89

The concert was opened by one of the Framnäs teachers who welcomed us, advertised other festival concerts, and acted as a presenter between the pieces played. There were nine performers this morning, four pianists, three singers and two violinists, all playing pieces from the classical literature.

B: Classical, Western music, this particular morning spanning from Purcell to Bartok

The musicians were awarded with applause after each performance. After a particularly well-known or brilliantly performed piece, for instance when a mezzo-soprano sang an aria from *Carmen*, there was whistling, shouting and great acclaim from the audience.

C: A 'traditional' concert audience, listening devoutly, showing polite enthusiasm through applause, sometimes even whistling and shouting

The weather outside was hot, the air indoors lacking of oxygen, and the concert was rather long, due to several of the performers playing more than one piece. Still, the last violinist playing Brahms, was able to catch my attention.

LPC: Many of the people attending this concert have visited the lunchtime concerts for years. Up to and including the festival of 2004, these concerts had no entrance fee and that, combined with the time of day, made them popular among the senior citizens

Opening concert, Piteå

The festival's opening concert was held in Norrmalmia, a large, local indoor stadium. About 1,100 of the 1,300 tickets were sold beforehand, and, according to the artistic leader of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal who opened the event, this was a traditional opening concert. Gathering respondents for the survey beforehand, I had a good look at the audience as they queued up outside. Most of them were dressed in nice, rather informal summer clothes, some women in flowery dresses and even some men in shorts and T-shirts. Waiting to be let in, most people chatted with friends and acquaintances among the concertgoers. Taking my seat in the hall, I discovered that the festival brochure printed by (and earlier in the week provided as an attachment to) the local newspaper was laid out for everyone. At the official opening of the concert, people were still arriving looking for a seat, and there was a buzz of voices through the hall. Suddenly the lights were put out.

The concert started with a humorous conversation between the presenters, two local comedians, well known to the Piteå audience. The presenters made jokes about seeing their friends among the audience: "I did not think my acquaintances were *that* cultural", and started a mimicking game with them based on the local dialect, Pitmål. Thereafter, the game expanded into a clapping and vocal drum-sound game, which was led by one of the musicians in the orchestra who was to play later in the evening. Then a representative of the sponsor of the evening gave a short speech, in which he emphasised Piteå as an international music town. He also stated that music was for everyone to use, regardless of age, gender and skin colour and promised the festival arrangers economic support for the years to come if they continued the 'popular' course they had now started.

The musical part of the concert began with an orchestra standing clustered on the stage, playing a 'circus piece', and continued with an aria from the French baroque repertoire performed by a soprano and an accordionist. Thereafter, a violinist played Paganini with an oompa-style accompaniment from the orchestra, and the brass section performed an arrangement of 'Oh, when the saints' and Handel's 'Hallelujah chorus' from *The Messiah* simultaneously. In between there was a movement from a Haydn symphony, an aria from a Kraus-opera⁷¹ and an advertisement for the orchestra's further concerts during the week. The orchestra had also brought their own presenter, who made humorous comments about the music and the musicians and sometimes even put on a stand-up-comedian show of his own. The orchestral music, large parts which were performed by heart, ended with one of Brahms' *Hungarian rhapsodies*, the musicians both playing and dancing on stage. During the break,

⁷¹ Opera by Joseph Martin Kraus (1756-1792), a German-Swedish composer.

there were coffee and cookies for sale, general socialising and a lottery based on the entrance ticket.

The second part of the concert was given over to other artists performing during the festival week. A local singer, known through his high ranking on the Swedish national TV programme *Fame Factory*, performed some pop songs and others from musicals. Following him was a folk music ensemble playing ‘modernised’ Swedish (and also international) folk music. Between these, one of the two presenters/local comedians came in as her ‘alter ego’, advertising an event later that evening in which she was to perform. Finally, an internationally acknowledged mezzo-soprano, born and raised in North Bothnia, sang ‘Summertime’ from *Porgy and Bess* and an aria from *Carmen*. Even her appearance was surrounded by advertisements for forthcoming concerts. In the end, all the artists entered the stage and were applauded vigorously and given flowers.

- A: A Swedish regional orchestra (in various groupings)
Two classical singers
An accompanist
A classical violinist
A folk music ensemble
A pop singer
Two local comedians/presenters
A presenter brought by the orchestra
Festival staff and sponsors
A large audience consisting of people of all ages (even some children), probably aged mainly between 40 and 70
Official number of audience: 1,366
- B: A mixture of well known pieces (or parts of pieces) from the classical repertoire (often especially arranged for the orchestra/performers), musicals, folk music and pop. In addition there were some non-musical, comic acts
- C: Mostly as a ‘traditional’ concert audience, but sometimes rather active, participating in mimicking games, musical clapping games etc.
- LPC: According to the artistic leader of the festival who opened the concert, this was the traditional way of organising the festival’s opening concert, i.e. a form the local audience was used to and appreciated

Lunchtime concert, Arvidsjaur

The lunchtime concert in Arvidsjaur church was arranged in cooperation with the master class in folk music, held at the same place. As I arrived at the church, a group of students practiced for the concert outside in the shadows. Inside, there was tuning going on and musicians and students wandered around to fix things before the concert. The church itself was open and wide, and was a wooden church both inside and outside.

The concert was opened by the local organist who presented the performers as “tomorrow’s masters who have today’s masters as their teachers”.

- A: Students (music students, professional musicians and music teachers) participating in the folk music master class
A folk music ensemble (the same ensemble that played in the festival’s opening concert, this time in the role as master class teachers and fellow musicians)
The organist of Arvidsjaur church
Audience (mostly middle aged or older)
Official number of audience: 37

B: Instrumental and vocal folk music from Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Haiti performed by different groupings of students/teachers, who had arranged the ensemble pieces themselves

The music was often presented in relation to the history of its origin. The musicians presented the music themselves, and were careful to mention from whom they had learned a particular piece. Everything was played and sung by ear, and the students seemed to participate in the music on an equal footing with their teachers. However, sometimes the teachers would take the opportunity to move around the group of musicians, giving instructions, leading and demonstrating with their bodies and voices during the performance. The musicians expressed happiness and joy, and the folk music custom of beating time with the feet sometimes made the wooden church floor vibrate, which spread to the feet of the audience. The encore, which was a Haitian piece with lots of drumming, encouraged the audience to join in by clapping along with the rhythm.

C: Mainly a 'traditional' concert audience, sometimes beating the rhythm with the feet or clapping hands

LPC: The master class in folk music and this lunchtime concert with which it was connected, were held in Arvidsjaur for the third year in a row

When arriving in Arvidsjaur and also on my way home, I noticed that the centre of town was crowded with people. The main street had been closed and made into a market place, and there were people everywhere. Apparently this local market was far more attractive to the inhabitants than the folk music concert at the church.

Trolltagen, Älvsbyn

As I arrived at Storforsen⁷² Nature Reserve, where the Trolltagen was to be performed out of doors, I was steered into an enormous parking place filled with gravel and pine trees. A narrow path led down to the concert area, on which I met a 'troll' offering candy. The outdoor scene was built in one of the waterfall's now dead ends, which constituted a natural amphitheatre, with the scene itself at the bottom and the audience sitting on the slope where the water used to rush down. The ground was made out of water-polished, black rocks and bedrock. Despite this being the dead end of the waterfall there were still small brooks running, which at some places gathered into deep pools. Pines surrounded the whole area, and above all there was the never-ending sound of rushing water from the large waterfall nearby. The weather was extremely hot and sunny.

The performance was opened by the presenter reading a poem in honour of the waterfall. Then the first artist arrived, the young female Sami singer who also performed at Norra Bergnäs. She entered the stage in her traditional costume and with a 'runebomme', a traditional Sami drum, in her hand. Singing a few songs from the repertoire performed in Arjeplog, she accompanied herself on the drum and was also accompanied by a keyboard-player. The artist following her was a pop/rock singer who originated from the area, and was well known to a larger Swedish audience through TV and recordings. He performed some of his most popular songs against a pre-recorded accompaniment. After this, 'Trolltagen', the dance performance from which the whole event had derived its name, was presented. The ballet, based on a fairytale, describes (in short) the battle between good and evil. The adult dancers involved were from all over Sweden, but the children participating came from Luleå. That the composer and set designer originally came from North Bothnia was especially emphasised by the presenter.

⁷² 'Storforsen' means 'huge waterfall'. It is the largest free-flowing rapids in the Northern countries.

- A: Young, female Sami singer
 Keyboard player
 Male pop/rock singer
 Playback accompaniment
 Trolltügen music (on tape)
 Dancers (adults and children)
 Audience, spread out over a large area (people of all ages, many families with small children, dogs)
 Official number of audience: 1,500
- B: Sami jojk and ballads
 Pop music
 Trolltügen music, especially composed to build a sound landscape together with the rushing of the waterfall

Then the ballet started. The surroundings were used as a natural extension of the scene, and the music was simple, somehow ‘open’ and blended in a natural way with the sound from the rapids. I was fascinated, and registered that the crowd was more concentrated than during the singers’ performance. Somehow we found silence in the middle of the sound of rushing water.

- C: As outdoor audience. We had all brought our own chairs or pads on which we sat either on the bedrock or under the pines for shade. There were many families with children of all ages; some with their dogs. The dress code seemed to be bikini or shorts. Most people had combined the ballet with a family picnic. They ate, played with the children and chatted during the performance. Some of the older children bathed in the pools
- LPC: The Trolltügen ballet has been performed in Storforsen since 1987, and with only a few exceptions there have been performances each summer. The artists change from year to year

Euskefeurat/Costo Rico, Piteå

The courtyard of Furunäset is the atrium of an earlier mental hospital, roomy and green like a park with small, asphalt paths and lots of trees. When I arrived, there was a large outdoor scene in the short end of the courtyard close to the entrance. There were about 15 rows of chairs, and otherwise people were sitting on the grass. They had brought plaids, picnic baskets, food and drink. There was a smell of fried food in the air, and wine and beer to be bought from an outdoor bar. People chatted, socialised and laughed.

The concert was opened by one of the Euskefeurat members bidding us welcome and asking us to switch off our mobile phones. He advertised tomorrow’s courtyard concert, and reminded us to hand in the back of the festival programme for a lottery. Then he introduced the first band, Costo Rico and encouraged us to “shake it”. The audience responded with polite applause. The band, which comprised eleven people, came on stage and started playing various Latin-based music: rumba, samba and even some reggae. The music was clearly meant as an invitation to dance, and the female singer of the band encouraged us repeatedly to do so. Nobody moved, except for one girl who danced alone throughout the concert. The band carried on and the vocalist worked really hard to involve the audience: “You can dance, up, up!” After an hour, during the band’s last song, she finally persuaded everyone to stand and clap to the music.

After Costo Rico there was a break. The stage was rebuilt and there was general socialising going on. When the festival director presented Euskefeurat, a local band that had come together for the first time in 10 years, there was a large roar from the audience. The band came on stage and immediately started commenting on current Swedish social issues. Already during the first song, people sang along and clapped their hands. This continued all through the performance. Euskefeurat played some kind of folk rock, and took the little man’s

perspective on the world. Their songs were, for instance, about the battle of North Bothnia against the rest of Sweden, informal economy as a proper way of surviving in smaller communities, scepticism of unnecessary technical equipment and how “when they want us to do as they want, you so damned well want to do the opposite”, ‘they’ meaning the Swedish government. The band offered histories between the songs, not about the music or the musicians, but anecdotes about places and people in North Bothnia. The audience were completely captured, and this Euskefeurat part of the concert carried on for about three hours.

- A: 1) Costo Rico, a Spanish band with percussion, saxophones and a singer
2) Euskefeurat, a local band with mixed instrumentation (bass, guitar, banjo, violin etc. depending on who is playing what at the moment. The role of lead singer alternated between the band members)
A large audience spread out in the courtyard (a mix of young and old but not many children)
Official number of audience: 2,572
- B: 1) Latino inspired music, rumba, samba and reggae
2) Folk rock
- C: An outdoor audience, leisurely sitting around on plaids, eating and drinking, regarding 1) behaving as polite, but slightly uninterested audience, 2) behaving like real fans, shouting, singing along, dancing, laughing, wildly applauding etc.
- LPC: 1) The band had never visited the town before, but similar music is available through different kinds of media
2) The band was popular in North Bothnia for several years, but was dissolved 10 years ago. This concert was meant to be a band reunion

Closing concert, Piteå

The closing concert of the festival was held in the town church of Piteå, a white baroque wooden church with a Russian-inspired onion-shaped cupola, and an interior dominated by a richly decorated altarpiece and pulpit. When I arrived the musicians were tuning their instruments. Then the church bells rang. We were welcomed by one of the musicians, the organist, who informed us about the background of the music we were about to hear: a trio sonata and the *Musical Offering* by Johann Sebastian Bach. Taking us through a part of Western music history, the presenter also gave his opinion about the famous *Musical Offering* theme; which he said had “a striking depth” due to Bach writing this piece not only for the king, but for his “real employer” – God himself.

The music started, and as Bach is one of my favourite composers, I recognised how my stomach ‘fell into place’ and how my breathing got deeper. I also noted in the log that I experienced Bach as ‘non-invasive music’, a kind of music that lets my thoughts wander freely. As there was a lot of information about the pieces played in the programme, at one point I caught myself reading it instead of listening to the music. We applauded politely after the trio sonata and likewise after the *Musical Offering*. 30 seconds before the music finished terrible thunder and lightning shook the church, and after the concert was finished we ran, soaking wet, to our cars.

- A: Ensemble consisting of flautist (playing traverso), violinist, organist (also cembalist) and one viola da gamba player
Audience (middle aged and older)
Official number of audience: 108
- B: J. S. Bach: Trio sonata no. 3 in d minor (BWV 527) and *Musikalisches Opfer* (BWV 1079)

C: As ‘traditional’ concert audience when listening to church music in a church, silent during the performance, applauding politely after each piece

LPC: Classical church music performed in a church is something that is often available to the people living in Piteå

Festival conditions as perceived by the observer

As can be seen from the descriptions above, the Festspele i Pite Älvdal seems to offer good conditions for the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities. The musical styles were of numerous kinds (classical, various kinds of folk music, pop, musical, Latin-based music, folk rock⁷³) as were the locations (island, stadium, churches, dead end of waterfall, courtyard and school auditorium⁷⁴), which together created a diversity of real-time musical/social settings, in which behaviour and actions changed depending on which room one chose to enter, from bathing/eating/partly listening (Trolltügen) to behaving as a ‘traditional’, silent concert audience (closing concert). It was also striking how some of the settings seemed to speak to the audience’s other identities, such as their ethnic (Sami ballad and jojk evening), religious (closing concert) and political, social class and municipality related (Euskefeurat/Costo Rico) identity. The local preconditions (LPC) show that most of the events described are well-known concepts, some of which have been running for years in an almost identical form, and are probably recognised by audiences.

The festival as a device for maintenance and development – respondents’ understanding

The preceding section, through discussing some of the log material, described how the Festspele i Pite Älvdal offered conditions for the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities in 2005. Similarly, this section’s focus is on how the survey respondents perceived these conditions, and how they made use of them in order to either maintain or develop their own musical identities.

With regard to respondents’ perceptions of the festival created conditions, the questions asked were for instance: to what degree does the Festspele i Pite Älvdal cover the audience’s musical areas of interest; and what kind of concerts would the audience wish for? Is the festival perceived as an event mainly for those who enjoy classical music, or is the general opinion that it is possible to find concerts suiting various musical tastes? Does access to a festival ‘season ticket’ in any way affect the attendance of those who buy one?

To investigate how the audience seemed to *use* the festival with regards to maintaining or developing their parallel musical identities, these questions were asked: who attends the festival for what purpose; who visits which concerts; does the audience consider that the festival broadens their musical taste? Then again, what do audiences think about their own experimental attitudes towards the festival, which is to say, do they visit the concerts they know in advance they will prefer, or do they consciously attend events out of curiosity towards an unknown musical genre or style? Is it possible that the audience tends to accidentally experience ‘new’ music during the festival concerts, and is this something that the festival can arrange for? What happens when new styles are discovered – does this lead to further experiences with similar music? If so, which factors seem to affect such behaviour?

Hopefully the text below will clarify this rather complex and interwoven area of questions concerning the festival audience and its attitudes and behaviour.

⁷³ And in addition, in unattributed events, of jazz and ballads.

⁷⁴ Additional arenas: a local tannery and conference halls.

The conditions created by the festival

Perhaps not unexpectedly, the Festspele i Pite Älvdal seems to cover the areas of musical interest of a large proportion of the concertgoers attending it. When asked directly “do you consider that the Festspele i Pite Älvdal covers your areas of interest when it comes to music?” 48.3% of the respondents declared that it does so to a large degree, and 38.9% agreed, but thought that the festival’s coverage of interests was slightly less significant. The answers given vary significantly in relation to place of domicile, group attachment and age. Among the four communities involved in arranging the festival, the respondents from Piteå were the most positive towards the way in which the festival covered their musical interest (in all 94.6% when combining the two positive answering alternatives), whilst the least positive were the respondents from Arvidsjaur (in all 71.4%). This might possibly be explained by Piteå offering a wider range of concerts to the festival audience than any of the other communities involved. Satisfaction with the festival’s coverage of musical interests was also higher among the Group I respondents than among those belonging to Group II. However, this difference is not so great when the two positive answers are combined (93.0% and 90.7% respectively), and it increases with age. This tallies well with the findings in the preceding chapter, where we saw that group attachment and age were important factors regarding audience’s connection to the festival, in other words the importance of the festival in their lives and keenness to stay in the river valley during the festival.

Through one of the open survey questions, respondents were encouraged to say what kind of concerts they would like the festival to arrange in the future. As many as 200 (57.1%) commented on the question, sometimes only to say that the festival seemed to be good as it was, and that it seemed to offer concerts that suited everyone: “hard to get it even better than it is”. Others expressed wishes in accordance with their musical preferences, as stated elsewhere in the survey:

Tango orchestra, flamenco, fado, Latin American (Indian) folk music.

More jazz.

Their wishes were diverse, and there seemed to be no consensus amongst the majority of the respondents about what was missing from the festival. However, these statements and wishes can, for others than the completely satisfied, be interpreted as expressions of the strong musical identities of the respondents being unsupported by the festival programme. On the other hand, this might not always be experienced as a problem for the individual concertgoer, who can have his or her needs fulfilled somewhere else:

There is no pop music and neither modernised folk music – but I do not miss it, it exists elsewhere.

The respondents were asked to take a stand on two different statements designed to measure to what degree the festival’s image was clearly directed towards one specific target group, namely those who enjoy classical music; or whether or not it was possible to find concerts during the festival that suited diverse musical tastes. The results showed that the number of people who agreed to some degree to these two statements was almost equal, further that the festival was not exclusively perceived as directed towards classical music listeners. Slightly over half of the respondents agreed completely or largely, saying that the festival offered a variety of concerts to suit different musical tastes:

Table 12. Target group direction and degree of suiting various musical tastes. Percent. N=350.

	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know	Missing
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal is mainly for people who enjoy classical music	3.7	21.4	30.9	36.0	4.3	3.7
During the Festspel i Pite Älvdal it is possible to find concerts suiting every musical taste	18.0	34.6	29.7	8.6	6.9	2.3

Opinions concerning whether the festival was mainly for people who enjoy classical music do not vary between Group I, who were the respondents gathered at classical music concerts, and Group II, who were gathered at more ‘popular’ events. However, the respondents between 31 and 40 years of age seemed to be most positive towards this statement. The respondents belonging to Group I seemed slightly more positive towards the possibilities of finding concerts suiting different musical tastes during the festival. Again, the 31- 40 year olds were most negative and the respondents above 41 had the largest amount of positive answers.

Only eight respondents had bought a season ticket,⁷⁵ amongst whom seven lived in Piteå and one in Västerbotten⁷⁶. It is interesting that the buyers seemed to be ‘group-crossers’ insofar as two Group II respondents bought the ‘classical card’ whilst one ‘courtyard-card’ was bought by a Group I respondent⁷⁷. Answers to the follow-up question about what kind of consequences buying the card had for their festival visits, four stated that it had led to more frequent concert attendances, and a fifth person declared that it had given “freedom to choose what I wanted, when I had the possibility”. However, these answers could also be interpreted as the initial reason to obtain this overall ticket, not the cause or consequence.

To summarise, of all the municipalities involved in arranging the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, Piteå seems to offer the best conditions for the maintenance of musical identities, at least this is how the Piteå respondents’ satisfaction with the festival’s covering of their musical interests could be interpreted. This is not surprising, knowing that Piteå offers the widest range of events. Respondents’ wishes for further concerts indicate that certain parallel musical identities were not maintained by the festival, but as we saw, the individual might not necessarily consider this problematic. The Festspelen is apparently thought of as a festival to a certain degree, but not entirely directed towards lovers of classical music, and is also considered to be an arena where it is fairly possible to maintain parallel musical identities, which is to say to find concerts suiting different tastes, especially by those strongly connected to the festival beforehand. Offering overall festival season cards seems to be a good way to increase people’s activity during the festival, but as most were bought by ‘group crossers’, there is reason to believe that they were bought by people who had an active attitude in the first place

Festival use and behaviour

The respondents were asked to state their reasons for attending festival concerts by responding to pre-given categories, but also by being allowed to indicate other, not suggested

⁷⁵ These were of two kinds: Festspelsklassikern (the Festspel classic) covering all the classical concerts, and Borggårdskortet (the courtyard card) covering all the concerts arranged in the courtyard of Furunäset.

⁷⁶ Västerbotten is the neighbour county of North Bothnia.

⁷⁷ None of these results are statistically significant.

reasons for festival attendance. As can be seen from the table below, the main reason given for attending a concert during the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is to listen to music, second comes the opportunity to combine music with social companionship and thirdly, respondents attend to experience the festival atmosphere (the questionnaire text made specifically clear that multiple choices could be made):

Table 13. Reasons for attending festival concerts. Percent. N=350.

	Listen to music	Music + social companionship	Experience festival atmosphere	Free tickets	See friends	Support the Festspele	My family wants me to come
Reasons for attending festival concerts	84.6	51.1	22.6	14.3	13.7	12.6	4.0
n=	296	179	79	50	48	44	14

Other reasons for attending festival concerts were given by 5.1% of the respondents. These included statements like: to charge myself ‘culturally’ before the coming darkness⁷⁸; to discover what is to me new music and new music groups; and to enjoy live music. The tendency to choose a specific festival-attendance-reason varied significantly with different variables, the pattern of which is described here: More Group I respondents than Group II respondents stated that their reason to attend a festival concert was to listen to music. On the contrary, more respondents from Group II visited concerts to see friends, and they were also slightly more inclined to attend festival concerts to combine music with companionship. The group who did so comprised to a large degree those respondents who were over 41 years of age. More Group I than Group II respondents visited festival concerts to support the Festspele, and those who attended because they had been given free tickets were largely among Group II respondents and among the youngest (17-30 years). Among the concertgoers who joined in because their family wanted them to, men above 31 were totally over-represented (13 men against 1 woman), however more women than men visited the festival to experience the atmosphere.

In order to trace festival audience’s concert-attendance-behaviour, which is to say, who visited which concerts, several readings and cross-readings of the material were taken. These showed that:

- Group I respondents visited almost twice as many concerts per capita (3.4) than Group II respondents (1.9). In all, the 136 individuals from Group I made 467 concert visits distributed across 337 visits to concerts classified as Group I (classical) and 130 to concerts classified as Group II (popular). The numbers for the 214 Group II respondents were: 421 visits distributed across 363 visits to Group II concerts (popular) and 58 visits to Group I concerts (classical). So in addition to making more visits within their own group of concerts, Group I members attended far more Group II concerts than Group II members attended Group I concerts.

⁷⁸ North Bothnia is located far north, and the inhabitants experience midnight sun in the summer, but also long periods of darkness during the wintertime.

- Style preferences were tested in relation to group attachment. This showed that some styles seemed to be more group-related than others. Classical music and jazz were clearly preferred by Group I respondents (with 43.8% and 22.1% more positive answers within the group than Group II respondents). Likewise rock and country music were preferred by more Group II respondents. In addition, more people describing themselves as omnivores belonged to this latter category⁷⁹.
- As an extension of these results, an attempt was made to find out which concerts were dominated by those who preferred classical music. The criteria set for determining this were that the classical music lovers should constitute more than 70% of the audience of a particular concert, and that the result should be statistically significant. In all ten concerts were considered to be dominated by those who preferred classical music, mainly in the form of lunchtime concerts and night concerts in Piteå, but also the evening folk music concert in Arvidsjaur. On the contrary, the concerts dominated by those who did not prefer classical music (using the same criteria, only in reverse) were two of the Tonträff events and one of the Trolltagen performances. The opening concert⁸⁰ seemed to be a ‘mixed arena’, and attracted equally both classical music lovers and those who preferred other kinds of music.
- A similar pattern to the one above (also considering the opening concert) occurred when performing the same calculation in relation to Group I and Group II. However, this also showed that despite events being dominated by one of the two categories of respondents, there would always be Group I respondents present at Group II concerts and vice versa, which is to say that there was always a smaller or larger number of ‘group-crossers’. To investigate the phenomenon a step further, and to try to eliminate the source of error that counting the respondents also gathered at the event constituted (and thereby enlarging the presence of this group ‘artificially’), the ‘additional visits’ to each event – those made by other people than the respondents gathered at the particular concert – were counted. The results from this calculation showed that Group I respondents were over-represented (in percent but sometimes also in numbers) regarding ‘additional visits’ at all the Group I – classical concerts, and also at nine of the Group II – popular concerts. Group II respondents were over-represented at only seven of the popular concerts. It also revealed that the opening concert, once the Group II respondents gathered there had been taken out of the equation, was perhaps not quite the kind of ‘mixed arena’ it seemed to be.

In the light of the cross-readings presented above, what conclusions are to be made? It seems that respondents to a large degree followed their own preferences. In other words, in relation to the behaviour that was possible to trace here, they seemed to maintain their musical identities rather than develop them. The festival obviously has a rather small, but active ‘inner core’ constituted by people who attend a lot of, mainly classical concerts, but who also are relatively active ‘group crossers’, thereby possibly maintaining more than one musical identity through the festival. In addition, there was a large, less active ‘peripheral’ audience, who went mainly to the popular concerts⁸¹. Even if particular festival events were heavily

⁷⁹ All other musical styles listed as preferences must be considered ‘neutral’ in relation to group attachment.

⁸⁰ Also the Euskefeurat/Costo Rico concert and the Sissel Kyrkjebø concert (another of the courtyard concerts) seemed to attract a mixed audience, however those results are not statistically significant.

⁸¹ According to the festival’s ticket sales numbers for 2005, 1,304 tickets were sold to Group I-events and 14,615 to Group II-events.

dominated by a certain kind of audience, there seemed to be no completely watertight seals around the concerts. However, the classical music concerts were definitely dominated by those who enjoy that kind of music. Arenas where various kinds of audience mix to quite a large degree were found at the 2005 opening concert and probably some of the courtyard concerts as well.

Respondents' behaviour regarding the maintenance and development of their parallel musical identities was not only traced but asked for directly. For instance, the survey participants had to take a stand on to what degree the Festspele i Pite Älvdal contributed to broadening their musical taste:

Table 14. Festival concerts contributing to musical taste. Percent. N=350.

	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know	Missing
The festival concerts contribute to broadening my musical taste	10.9	18.9	41.7	15.4	6.3	6.8

In all 29.8% agreed with this statement completely or largely. Group I respondents were most positive (43.6% agreed completely or largely). When confronted with the statement "I mainly visit concerts during the Festspele i Pite Älvdal that I know in advance I will enjoy", the respondents answered as follows:

Table 15. Attending concerts known in advance to be enjoyable. Percent. N=350.

	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know	Missing
I mainly visit concerts during the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, which I know in advance that I will enjoy	20.9	43.1	20.3	8.0	3.1	4.6

The tendency to agree with this statement was equally strong among Group I and Group II respondents. However, there is a striking difference between the four host municipalities. Of respondents living in Piteå, 70% agree completely or largely. The same numbers for Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn are respectively 37.5%, 45.4% and 50%. Furthermore, these positive attitudes decrease with increasing education and income.

In order to further investigate whether or not respondents' had an experimental attitude towards the festival, they were asked if they had visited a festival concert out of curiosity towards another genre or style than that to which they would usually listen. Relatively few of the respondents (8.6%) reported having done so often, and 48.3% said they had on rare occasions. Slightly higher numbers were found when the survey participants were asked if they had heard a 'new' style or genre accidentally:

Table 16. Audience consciously attending concerts/accidentally hearing a new genre or style. Percent. N=350.

	Yes, often	Yes, but on rare occasions	No, never	Do not remember	Missing
Have you <i>consciously</i> attended concerts out of curiosity about another genre or style?	8.6	48.3	32.9	6.0	4.2
Have you <i>accidentally</i> heard another genre or style?	14.6	50.9	20.0	9.1	5.4

Conscious ‘experimental visits’ seemed to increase with being a member of Group I and increasing education. It was not possible to trace a significant pattern with ‘accidental experimental visits’.

To see if discovering new musical genres or styles through festival concerts had led to further involvement with similar music, the survey participants who answered positively to having experienced new genres or styles, whether intentionally or accidentally, were asked to indicate if this had led to attending similar concerts or buying CDs:

Table 17. Intentional discovery of new genres and styles leading to visiting similar concerts or buying CDs. Percent. N=199

	Yes	No	Do not remember	Missing
I have visited similar concerts/bought CD	38.6	44.7	15.0	1.7

Table 18. Accidentally discovering new genres and styles leading to visiting similar concerts or buying CDs. Percent. N=229

	Yes	No	Do not remember	Missing
I have visited similar concerts/bought CD	24.0	63.7	11.3	1.0

The respondents, who performed music themselves were also asked if their experiences of new genres or styles had led to playing or singing such music. The percentage was rather low here as well:

Table 19. Intentional discovery of new genres and styles leading to playing or singing such music. Percent. N=65

	Yes	No	Do not remember	Missing
I have played/sung this ‘new’ music	18.4	72.3	9.3	0.0

Table 20. Accidentally discovering new genres and styles leading to playing or singing such music. Percent. N=69

	Yes	No	Do not remember	Missing
I have played/sung this 'new' music	7.2	88.4	4.3	0.0

These findings are not statistically significant, but still interesting. As can be read from the table above, it seems that visiting a concert with an experimental attitude leads to more involvement with similar music later on, either as a listener or as a performer, even more than being introduced accidentally to a new musical style when not searching for it. However, the latter variant also seems to give some people a taste for more.

During the festival of 2005, the festival board made a decision to 'force' new styles upon their audience by including several contradictory ones at the opening concert and at the Euskefeurat/Costo Rico concert. The respondents visiting those concerts were asked whether they had experienced a new genre or style. The positive answers exceeded those given above concerning conscious or accidental new musical experiences: 116 people visited these two concerts, among them 23.3% were entirely sure that they had experienced a new genre or style, and 61.2% said to have done so to a certain degree. However, when investigating whether these people chose to hear more of this music after the festival, the scores were lower than those showed in the table, in the case of both those who intentionally heard music that was new to them and that of those who did so accidentally. This might indicate that whilst it is certainly possible to arrange for people to experience new styles at a festival concert, this does not necessarily lead to further involvement with such music.

To sum up the findings of the sections above, quite a lot of people seemed to agree that the Festspele i Pite Älvdal broadens their musical taste, however, with regards to those who stated that they visit concerts which they know in advance they will enjoy, this broadening mainly seems to happen within genres and musical styles that the respondents are already familiar with. That the respondents living in Piteå are more inclined to choose known concerts might mirror the fact that this municipality has the widest range of concerts, and that people living in the three other communities do not have so much to choose from. Not many among the audience seem to use the festival very actively as an arena for developing entirely new musical identities, though around half of the respondents did make 'experimental visits' on rare occasions. Making such visits increases to some degree the possibility of further involvement with the music discovered. One factor that seems to have impact on whether or not a person will attend a festival event with an exploratory purpose is the level of education. The fact that being a Group I member increases the possibility of having an experimental attitude strengthens the impression that active 'group crossers' mainly belong to this category.

Looking elsewhere in the material for factors that seemed to lead to further involvement with music discovered at the festival, I found traces in the answers given to the second follow-up question about strong, music-related emotional experiences during the festival. 70 of the 131 who chose to tell me about such experiences stated that it had inspired further listening and music making, led to more visits to similar concerts and buying of CDs, in addition to broadening their musical taste and widening their perspective, thereby opening up the possibility of developing a new, parallel musical identity:

I increasingly want to develop my own musical performance and song and become curious regarding listening to other musical styles and artists I have not listened to before.

The maintenance of musical identity is of course also involved in the foregoing, and was expressed in terms of strengthening or deepening an already existing appreciation:

Yes, possibly strengthened and deepened my interest in classical music.

The festival as a device for maintenance and development – interviewees' understanding

From the survey findings presented above, it seems to be the complex interaction between the organisation of the festival and the predispositions of the audience which determines whether and to what degree the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal contributes to the maintenance and/or development of parallel musical identities. This section is concerned with the interviewees' points of view on this question.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the six interviewees revealed at least one, or often more musical identities during their musical self-narratives. These identities were of unequal strength and were unequally maintained or satisfied during the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. This was also the case for the rest of the interviewees, although not displayed so clearly.

To understand how the interviewees developed and/or maintained their musical identities through the festival, it is helpful to return to their festival-related self-narratives, which I will occasionally do throughout this text. However, to deepen insight into the topic, the interviewees were asked specific questions about how the festival as a happening, and through its content and form had impact upon their attendance. They were also asked directly whether or not the Festspelelen had offered new genres or styles for them to experience and if so how, and whether this had any impact upon their musical taste.

Since the festival's contribution to the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities seems to be determined by the conjunction of the festival events and audience predispositions, it is necessary to investigate, locate and hopefully describe the festival's part in allowing for or preventing such maintenance or development. Hence, tracking down the festival's contribution must be done somehow through the back door, by asking empirical questions to see what governs it. The questions asked in this particular case form the ordering principle of this section, namely: what kind of concerts do the interviewees choose and on what grounds; how do they think the festival's content and form affects their and other people's choice; how do their choices impact upon their musical taste; what are their beliefs regarding why people attend the festival, and why do they attend it themselves; what do the interviewees gain through the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal that they do not gain elsewhere?

Choices of concerts and grounds for choosing

As we already know, the interviewees had, through the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's position in relation to their musical life story, different modes of festival attachment and individual conjunctions with the Festspelelen. This diversity is also highly visible when investigating closer the festival's impact upon the maintenance and development of the different and often parallel musical identities revealed through the musical life stories. However, instead of taking off from particular life stories as in the preceding chapter, which gave a horizontal view of the phenomenon, I depart here from the totality of choices made and grounds given by digging into the material vertically in order to identify, not individually experienced impacts upon identity construction, but what it takes for such impact to take place generally, and with specific reference to the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities. This procedure leads to a focus on actions and factors that seem to have impact on actions, instead of particular people. However, as said above, connections to real lives will be made in due course.

When asked what kind of concerts they attended, interviewees split into two sections. Chris, Sara, Laura and Maurice mainly visited concerts with familiar music while the rest⁸² attended concerts that, to various degrees, also featured what was for them unknown music; however, none sought only the unfamiliar. Looking back on the preceding chapter to see how this is in agreement with how the festival had impact upon the construction of interviewees' musical life stories, we can see that Laura and Maurice, for instance, seem to maintain one particular musical identity through the Festspelen, namely a classical music identity (Laura) and an identity related to ballads (Maurice). Chris, although not wanting to be associated with the festival at all, maintained the strong Bach element in his classical music identity, while Mark seemed to maintain a classical music identity and to develop an almost entirely new folk music identity. Also Betty, with a life-long commitment to classical music, seemed to further develop this identity and broaden it by way of Western contemporary music.

The reasons the interviewees gave for their choice of festival event, which I interpreted as factors that have impact upon whether they will attend a concert or not, were various but possible to divide into three categories: 1) those related to the festival and/or its attributes; 2) those related to the predispositions of the particular interviewee or his or her surroundings; and 3) those that relate to both the festival and the interviewee.

Regarding the first category, a few interviewees point to *availability* as an important reason for choosing a concert. As we saw from the preceding chapter, this was perhaps Leo's main reason to attend the festival, because it was one of the few arrangements of this kind offered him by his local community. Here, he comments further on this, but from a more general point of view:

One has to broaden the cultural supply by doing it like that [making it physically available], then you can just drop by, you can go there and see what is happening, and then you get caught.

Andy also suggested that availability played a large role in his choice of festival events. When I asked him about whether he preferred concerts with familiar or unknown music, he very quickly said that he attends everything that is available to him, regardless of style. Similarly, Maureen mentioned *using the opportunity* as an important reason for her concert visits. The festival week is the time of year one has to attend "such concerts" according to her, and:

One might attend more concerts just to use the opportunity, so to speak.

Also, the festival, perhaps because it is a once-a-year happening makes some people *getting started* during the festival week. Sara mentioned this reason for attending, as did Ellen who elaborated further:

Yes, and especially if you get started (...) if you don't attend anything, then it does not happen, but if you go there, then the wish to do something more grows (...) during that week, and then (...) it might become more [concert attendances].

Sara, in her turn, described this behaviour as a kind of inspiration. This also seems to be the state of mind that Iris was talking about in the preceding chapter, when she told me about what activities obtaining a *festival passport* led to for her and her friend. Ellen mentioned obtaining *free tickets* from a friend among her many reasons for attending concerts, and Maureen, who is perhaps representative of the young free-ticket-festival-concertgoers in the survey, had for several years in a row received hers through her father's workplace.

⁸² With the exception of Larry, who did not answer this part.

As mentioned above, some of the reasons given for visiting a festival concert are related to predispositions of the particular interviewee and his or her surroundings. One such is *time*, or rather the time each individual has available during the festival week. The pattern here, for the three interviewees mentioning time as a reason for their choice of particular concerts – Maureen, Maurice and Laura – is that if the time available is limited, they choose concerts with familiar music. Maureen says:

It's a pity (...) I'm often working, so I have to choose what I *really* want to go to, and then I maybe choose what I recognise, so to speak.

For Laura, it was also a matter of having someone to look after the kids if the concert is not suitable or at a suitable time so that she can bring them with her:

I have to prioritise my time too, if I shall have a babysitter that night.

One reason given by Laura to explain why her mother-in-law (mentioned earlier in Laura's musical life story) was such an active and experimental concertgoer during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is what I have chosen to call *own attitude*. According to Laura, her family member "swallows everything" and has no barriers towards music that is unknown to her. When I asked Laura if she had any clue why, she said that her mother-in-law "is that way", and that she generally has a lot of self-confidence and throws herself into new experiences. This is directly comparable with Ellen's self-conception of her unusually diverse choice of festival concerts during the summer of 2005:

I am the kind of person that usually says yes, I am open, I think that I am open-minded.

However, Ellen also emphasised the significance of *social support* an especially important reason for her exploration of new music:

If there is something I do not recognise, I think it is easier to go there if someone says: Shouldn't we go and listen to that, eh?

It is easier to have an own 'drive' towards "things that you know are good", but to visit something new, Ellen is dependent upon recommendations from friends and acquaintances. The same phenomenon was touched upon by Mark when trying to figure out why people in his municipality attended the Festspelen to such a small degree:

I think you have to help people to make it a habit (...) and then I think it is important with the social companionship, that you do it together and encourage and support each other.

Some interviewees also said that there were *accidental* factors in their lives that influenced what concert choices they made. However when reflecting further, it seemed that most choices were still related to some of the other factors mentioned in this section.

Among the reasons for attending concerts that are related to attributes of both the individual concertgoer and the festival, is *knowledge of concert content*. As Maureen put it:

Most often you attend concerts that you [know in advance that you will] enjoy.

Sara agreed by saying that if you don't know anything about the content, you have no basis for making your choice. According to Chris, there is also an aspect of pleasure involved: it adds zest to the experience of listening to music if it is familiar to the listener. On the

contrary, he also emphasised his curiosity in *finding something new*. This was supported by Leo, who in general preferred to use concerts for that purpose (though not during the 2005 Festsipel i Pite Älvdal), and also by Andy:

It can be exciting to listen to new stuff.

The last factor mentioned, which is dependant upon both the audience and the festival, is *economy*. In Laura's case, whether or not she paid for a concert ticket was connected to knowledge of the concert's content and the possibility of being able to predict her personal outcome:

I don't attend things I don't recognise when I feel doubtful about the content. Still, it costs a little.

Maurice said that his selection of festival events would certainly have been more varied if he had more time and money; and Iris praised the festival season tickets because they allowed her to visit many concerts without raising the costs. Now that the season tickets available in 2005 did not suit her needs, she attended fewer concerts⁸³.

Content and form and how it affects choices of concerts

Generally, the opinions about the Festsipel i Pite Älvdal's form and content were positive. The interviewees especially emphasised its plurality and broad variety of concerts, which offered "something for everyone". Even the festival administrator's choice of arenas was commented upon positively; the smaller arenas being mentioned in particular because they enabled close contact between audience and performer. Analysing further the answers given regarding the festival's form and content, it was possible to identify features that seemed to be significant, either positively or negatively, and which determined who would attend what kind of concert. Three categories were found also here: the features that would attract people, those that would scare people away, and those that would make them miss out on something.

According to several of the interviewees, one of the festival related features that would attract a wide audience was *local artists*. According to Larry, as soon as local artists are playing, there is quite another kind of interest in the municipality for attending that particular concert. However, engaging these artists in a music festival is not entirely unproblematic. As Leo pointed out, combining and balancing locality with quality can be hard:

To create a scene for local talents could be an aim [for the festival], but on the other hand it might hamper the quality (...) that is a difficult question of balance.

Also, the indefinable and rather individually related concept of *quality* is among what the interviewees said attracts audience. So is *the recognisable*, in terms of both local artists and knowledge of concert content. Both Laura and Leo emphasise the importance of attracting people by what they recognise, especially those among the audience who are not familiar with the style presented. Laura:

I think you have to tempt people with what they recognise, for instance put on a concert with classical music (...) and play music from *Star Wars* or *Indiana Jones*.

⁸³ Similar reactions are found in the survey as a response to the last question, in which respondents were asked to express their opinions about topics not asked for elsewhere in the questionnaire: "Sad, but has to be mentioned. Reasonable prices are important to be able to attend numerous concerts."

Leo is aware that not everybody shares his interest in new experiences, and even though he himself has a preference towards the ‘extreme’, becoming familiar with a style is a process of maturation for most people. If you should present classical music to people who normally do not listen to it, you should use the kind that is easy to take in, something “melodious and beautiful” according to him. In addition to local artists, *international artists* attract audience. As Larry said:

If there is someone famous, a well-known name, then it is obvious that the name attracts [people].

Betty explained that people might have heard or seen the artist somewhere else (for instance on TV), been fascinated and then want to see the person in question performing live. As Sara also pointed out, when you choose a famous artist, you know “what it is worth”. Fame guarantees quality in her opinion. Maureen said that the festival administrator’s choice of *arena* can attract an audience. She mentioned two arenas especially, Storforsen and the courtyard of Furunäset. The latter was seen to have a special identity:

It simply possesses a value of its own.

The main feature of the festival that seems to scare people away is the fact that it presents *classical music*. Andy touched upon this in terms of a metaphor that he drew on several times during the interview involving a fictive person, namely “Karl-Oskar, the moose hunter”:

It’s easy that especially this kind of concert music get an elitist stamp, and that again means the hunter (...) Karl-Oskar doesn’t come, you know, he thinks this is upper-class culture.

Betty also mentioned this phenomenon, saying that the word ‘concert’ sounds dangerous to certain people, it is “high above their heads”, and that there were people in her municipality who would never set foot in a concert featuring “that kind of music”. The interviewee that dug deepest into such matters and who were able to describe them most in detail, was Laura. As we already know from her musical life story, her friends and acquaintances (except for her mother-in-law) do not attend the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. According to Laura, this is because they have a feeling that it is more suited for “better people”, and that the music is too complicated; they do not recognise the pieces, they do not know anything about it, “classical music, what is that?” She described two distinctive mechanisms in particular. One is connected to not knowing the codes related to what kind of music is played:

They don’t recognise the names and the different pieces of music, it doesn’t say anything that it is opus so and so, piano concerto number this and that, it gets too complicated.

The second mechanism is the uncomfortable feeling of not recognising what is marketed by the festival as a world famous artist:

It’s no good writing: This is the world famous... and then there is a name nobody has ever heard of (...) they are not known to me, or those who work at Kappa⁸⁴ (...) then you get a little scared: If this is a world famous artist and I don’t have a clue, perhaps this is not for me, and then you don’t attend.

Conversely, there are also people who are scared away by what they consider to be *popular features* of the festival. Here, the opening ceremony seemed to form a barrier to the Festsspel i

⁸⁴ Laura is referring to one of the largest industrial workplaces in Piteå.

Pite Älvdal in 2005. We have read what Chris thought of it in his musical life story – “the span is too large” – and here are some of Betty’s reactions:

We have 40,000 inhabitants in Piteå, and maybe a thousand visit the opening concert, because the little boy that won⁸⁵ Idol is going to sing (...) it was the wrong kind of people too, because they were the kind that knew him [the Idol singer] and should see him.

Similar and even more strong reactions, carrying an explicit threat of not coming back if the festival “continues this way”, are to be found in the survey material, as is exemplified by the quote cited in the preceding chapter, comparing the opening concert to a fair spectacle. Perhaps related to style mix and ‘vague borders’, is the opinion that an *unclear profile* might explain some of the audience’s visiting patterns. Laura touched upon this when she said that people might hold back because of what she experienced as “a bad profile, somehow unclear”. Chris said, in his turn:

It is hard to find out what the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is about, really.

In relation to concert choices, interviewees said that there were certain things about the festival and about themselves that made them miss out on something. A major factor here is the *physical distance*, insofar as the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is held in four different municipalities, and that the festival administrators had chosen to roughly distribute musical styles among the communities: ballads in Arjeplog, folk music in Arvidsjaur, the Trolltagen concept in Älvsbyn and the classical music (and also the large popular concerts) in Piteå. It is interesting that this was experienced as a problem by interviewees living in each municipality. For instance, Ellen and Maurice would have liked to have easier access to the ballad concerts in Arjeplog, Larry wanted to be able to attend the classical concerts in Piteå, and Andy felt that he was missing out on the large concerts, which were also held there. This seems to be a matter of not being able to maintain one or more musical identities that are already held. Mark described it like this:

I feel that because my musical taste is rather broad, I sometimes want to be somewhere else, too.

Laura brought up the subject of *little information* when she said that the festival was not good at marketing concerts in the right way, but she also brings in her own *insecurity* as an explanation of why she sometimes misses events:

I might have avoided things that would have suited me perfectly because I did not feel confident about what it was.

Chris, however, was aware that his *prejudices* against the festival had prevented him from reading the festival programme, and that he thereby probably missed out on musical experiences he would have wanted:

My relationship with the Festsplen (...) is of the kind that I haven’t really read the programme thoroughly and thereby I might have missed things that I really should have attended.

Concert choices’ impact on musical taste

As we saw from the survey, several respondents among the audience chose to maintain their musical identities during the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal: they did not seek out new musical

⁸⁵ Actually, the person in question did not win Idol, but this is how Betty recalls it during the interview.

experiences through the festival; and neither did they run into them accidentally when attending concerts. This was also the case for seven of the interviewees: Laura, Leo, Larry, Maurice, Sara, Chris and Andy. Of these, Laura, Maurice and Chris generally maintained one particular musical identity, while the others seemed to maintain two or more. Andy said, that even though the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal had not directly contributed to broadening his musical taste, it stimulated a certain musical curiosity.

From her musical life story, we know that Maureen had learned to enjoy classical brass music through the Festsplen, and even though this had not lead her to buy CDs of that kind of music (she revealed that she belonged to the ‘download generation’ and that she obtained most of her music from the Internet), she thought that the experience had made her more open towards other concerts. Betty also said that her musical taste had developed with the help of the Festsplen, however looking at what kind of concerts she attended, this development seems to have been within the limits of two of her strong musical identities, namely those related to classical and contemporary music. For Mark, the festival had, as we can see from *his* musical life story, contributed to the development of a new musical identity, the one connected to folk music:

I have bought some CDs (...) and I have learned to enjoy folk music even more.

However, Mark was careful to point out that it was only his listening habits that had been affected, when it came to his own music-making, nothing had changed. For Mark then, it was the “power of habit” that ruled.

Two of the interviewees, whose life stories were not recorded, showed the most exploratory behaviour and attitudes. Ellen, who earlier described herself as open-minded about what kind of concerts she chose, said that the Festsplen probably played a part in feeling new musical impulses, but she was unable to say how. When I asked her directly if festival experiences had impacted upon her musical taste, she said she could not answer that question. A woman who could, and who definitely thought the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal had contributed to broadening her musical taste, was Iris:

I have learned to enjoy different kinds of music, music that I didn’t listen to before.

When I asked her what she did with her newfound experiences, she said that she wanted to repeat them by either visiting similar concerts or even buying CDs.

Reasons to attend the festival and the unique kinds of experiences it provides

The answers to why interviewees attended the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal are largely mirrored by the survey results. Interesting however, is that the respondents, when asked why people in general attend the festival, usually gave their own grounds as a common reason. Leo, Sara, Andy, Laura and Larry held that it was the music that was their main reason to visit concerts, and they also believed that this was the motive for most of the festival audience. However, as both Sara and Andy pointed out, it is those who are interested in advance that become concertgoers:

Those who attend a concert are interested people.

Mark and Ellen developed this observation of Andy’s further. As was emphasised in his musical life story, Mark once again called attention to the power of habit. Ellen agreed, saying that she thought most people came out of a genuine interest in music, as did she, but having a general habit of “walking out the door” might be an important factor for attending a concert.

As one of the ‘cultural aunts’⁸⁶ and a member of a Low Church congregation, she felt that she had two motives for participating actively in society, both in general and more particularly in the town’s concert life. Talking about her fellow congregation members, she said:

If you see how many they constitute out of the total population, I think they are overrepresented (...) it’s not that they only visit certain [concerts], they attend everything, are interested, curious, I think it is the habit of going out.

In addition, Ellen’s impression was that the Festspelen is a meeting place for people who are originally from Piteå, those who have moved out and are returning during summer time. She also believed that some come for the “summer experience”, so as to be a part of the dressed up, happy crowd participating in a common celebration of the summer.

Maurice, Maureen and Iris were of the opinion that the combination of music and social companionship is an important reason for attending the Festspelen. Iris said that she had made new friends there over the years, and Maurice appreciated the opportunity to socialise, especially when he visited concerts in Arjeplog, where both the size of the event and the fact that he had many acquaintances enabled chatting during the break and afterwards. As we saw from Maureen’s musical life story, one of her strong festival-related memories was connected to socialising with her cousins. She thought that having free tickets, as did she, was also a common reason to attend the festival.

Quite distinct from the rest, but no less important, was the reason to attend the Festspel i Pite Älvdal given by Betty. She thought that several people used the festival to be seen partaking of culture:

Several people attend [the festival] to be visible, somehow. You have to show that you are a little cultured, too, it is not enough to drive the new Mercedes or something like that.

The two reasons given above for attending the Festspel i Pite Älvdal of ‘wanting to be seen’ and ‘habit’ were not identifiable in the survey.

In the course of investigating how the Festspel i Pite Älvdal contributes to the development and maintenance of musical identities, interviewees were asked to define what kind of experiences they had access to through the festival that were otherwise unavailable to them. Only five interviewees commented on this, and their answers mainly confirmed their ‘festival-goer profile’. Laura, who we know maintained her classical music identity throughout the Festspelen, said that without the festival, she would not have had the chance to listen to a large symphony orchestra playing live, especially since she does not take the opportunity to travel elsewhere for such experiences. Iris and Ellen, who were identified as being rather exploratory in their attitude, pointed to broadened musical taste and “unusual stuff”:

I think I have been to things that I wouldn’t have attended (...) unusual stuff.

Despite this, Ellen also mentioned how the festival made great artists available to her. Leo, who was, as we saw in his musical life story, concerned about the cultural life of his municipality, said that without this festival, the little community in which he lived would not be able to offer him this width, “that kind of music”:

⁸⁶ Ellen is referring in a humorous way to the large group of women above 40 that are usually present at cultural arrangements.

Now that the Lapplands Festsspel has closed down, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is the only one [music festival] with that kind of music, a little broader (...) if it disappears, there will be nothing left, no larger music festival.

Contributions to the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities – summing up

Drawing on, among others, Bocock (1992) and Hall (1992), I argued earlier that a music festival could be seen as an arena for lifestyle choices, and also as creating separate and time-limited discourses that impact upon audiences' understanding and construction of themselves, hence allowing the individual to choose and change between who to be, and thereby cultivate diverse expressions of self-identity (ibid.). This was the point of departure for investigating one particular festival's contribution to the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities. By using DeNora's (2003a) scheme as a basis for writing the log notes, and also for recalling and writing some of my observations, I have presented seven of those discourses or, as I also have chosen to call them, real-time musical/social settings. In the beginning of this chapter the (musical) style/space combinations available through a music festival were discussed in relation to the creation of a variety of opportunities for behaviour/action (DeNora 2000; Fairclough, 1995). This variation is highly visible in the descriptions of the different festival events. Looking back on the summing up section of the preceding chapter, it is possible to say that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal not only provides material for one kind of 'musical self', but that it also provides rather diverse musical story-making materials which permit the audience to construct several kinds of musical identities. The festival settings described above not only touch upon the audience's musical identities, but also speak to and allow for their ethnic, religious, political, social class and municipal identities to be maintained or developed. These are examples of how music comes to be a resource for maintaining and developing other aspects of our personal identities, what Hargreaves et al. (2002) name 'music in identities'.

In this chapter, we have seen that whether or not the audience maintains or develops parallel musical identities by visiting the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal depends upon a complex, interwoven texture of festival conditions and audience members' individual predispositions. However, before digging deeper into this highly interesting area, I will concentrate on isolating the festival's part in this complex, by answering as far as possible the research question of *how the festival contributes, both as a happening and in terms of its content and form, to the audience's development and maintenance of parallel musical identities.*

As mentioned above, by creating a variety of settings, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal in itself offers good conditions for parallelism, and this seems to be in accordance with how the majority of the survey respondents and interviewees perceive it. Being a once-a-year happening, it gives a certain group from the local communities involved an opportunity that must not be missed (since similar opportunities in their surroundings are few); and there seems to be some kind of 'rolling' phenomenon connected to this kind of arrangement: once you have started attending concerts in the festival week you might well continue. By offering free concert tickets and season tickets, the festival eases access to the concerts. The conditions for the maintenance and development of identity are also taken care of, respondents indicating that they certainly had the possibility of seeking out concert content that was well known to them, whilst also having opportunities to find something new if they looked for it. Going back to the preceding chapter, it seems that for some people the contextual factors of live music settings are integral to strong, music-related experiences. From this chapter we have seen that such experiences are again integral to maintenance and, not least, development of new musical identities. Ergo, by offering various kinds of live music settings the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal makes it fairly possible to both maintain and develop them. The most important factor

against this is the choice made by the festival arrangers to 'isolate' certain musical styles in some of the municipalities. Returning to the issue of availability, the responses make it clear that even if a ballad concert 200 kilometres away was theoretically accessible, in practice the physical distance decreases access to a great degree. However, from the results in this chapter, this issue does not seem to be such the largest obstacle. Despite the festival offering good conditions for both the maintenance and development of parallel musical identities, the majority of the audience chose maintenance. In general, we can say that the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* works as a device for broadening musical taste only for the few who prefer to use it that way. Why? Maybe it is because what regulates the maintenance and development of musical identities is not primarily connected to the festival in the first place, or at least not directly.

One answer might be that to a large degree identity maintenance in the festival audience depends on agency (DeNora, 2000), and can be seen as a strong expression of knowing what you need and where to find it, or what DeNora (ibid.) calls 'self-programming'. However, when taking a closer look at the factors made visible in this chapter, and recalling the behaviour and attitudes involved in audience's maintenance and development of their tastes, another pattern emerges. Features that 'stick' to developmental behaviour are for instance:

- More money available
- High(er) general education
- Time to spend
- Self-confidence, open-mindedness and curiosity
- Social support from friends and acquaintances, knowing someone who knows
- Possessing a habit connected to the use of cultural arrangements, whilst also actively participating in society in general
- Being a member of Group I, possibly signalling an already quite high cultural capital
- Former or current access to music education, formal or informal⁸⁷

Likewise, what seems to be connected to a maintaining behaviour is:

- Less money available
- Low(er) general education
- Less time to spend
- Wants a sure outcome and does not spend money 'unnecessarily'
- A need for safety, understood as seeking out well-known music, local artists, popular arenas, letting fame assure quality and not appreciating an unclear festival profile
- Feeling insecure and being bothered by mechanisms tied to social distinction
- Lack of music education, formal or informal⁸⁸

It is possible to relate the pattern revealing itself here in terms of concepts of 'basic trust' (Giddens, 1991) and 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984), and also to economic and cultural capital (ibid.) and thereby social class. However, looking closer into the maintenance behaviour pattern, we see that even some of those who have what Bourdieu (ibid.) would define as 'high cultural capital' among the interviewees, for instance Betty and Chris, are mostly maintainers, who felt a strong need to disassociate themselves from the late modern style and genre mixing

⁸⁷ For instance Mark, in his musical life story, relates his ability to switch between musical identities to having had access to such education.

⁸⁸ Laura is an example of a 'maintainer' with relative lack of (at least) formal music education. Despite his experimental attitude towards music, Leo has a similar 'lack' insofar as he is not able to pursue his interests.

and plurality presented at the Festspel i Pite Älvdal's opening concert in 2005. Maybe what we are looking at here is the late modern condition described by Giddens (1991), in which basic trust and ontological security are important preconditions for having an exploratory identity attitude, and where there has been a turn or twist in what are considered distinctive traits. Instead of the 'identity stiffness' of the bourgeois, which leans on negation and distaste as distinguishing mechanisms, the ideal is a flexible exhibition and mastering of different identities, and an ability to embrace plurality.

The highly reflexive, powerful and capable musical agents discovered through the musical life stories in the preceding chapter are in this chapter seen steering through discursive structures, trying to navigate within the intrinsic possibilities of their surroundings. What kind of understanding will emerge if we add a dimension to this picture, and investigate how the Festspel i Pite Älvdal contributes on a municipality level to the development of local identity?

CHAPTER 7: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL IDENTITY

This chapter investigates how the Festsipel i Pite Älvdal contributes to the development of local identity in the communities in which it is arranged. The main sources of information have been interviews with the festival audience and the official representatives of the four host municipalities. This information has been augmented and deepened by recourse to log material, documentation, and survey findings.

A municipality cannot speak for itself; this must be done by the people living in it. Hence, how a festival contributes to the development of local identity in a particular municipality can only be determined through asking its inhabitants. The first chapter investigated identity construction and development through *finding* narratives or stories. In this chapter, an investigation into the same things is undertaken through actually *creating* these stories, in the spirit of Kvale's (1996) conception of the researcher as both a finder and a creator of narratives, either seeking out genuine stories in the interviews or combining many different events into one coherent account (ibid. p. 201). Through connecting information from several interviews, I have written stories about the relations between the Festsipel i Pite Älvdal and its host municipalities that are as consistent as possible. These stories will provide a basis for the assessment of the festival's contribution to local identity development.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Section one is dedicated to the festival/municipality stories, whilst section two draws on those stories to investigate further what connects festival and municipality. In the third section, the latter investigation is deepened by taking the log material into account. In addition, some phenomena that are only apparent through observation are discussed. The fourth section is a brief summary of the survey findings, and the fifth is where findings from the preceding sections are gathered together to make some conclusions about how the 2005 Festsipel i Pite Älvdal contributed to the development of local identity.

Stories about the festival and its host municipalities

The stories below are constructed on the basis of information given in interviews by members of the festival audience and official municipality representatives. The texts are an attempt to put into narrative form, the relation between each municipality and the festival. However, this is not to imply a 'real' narrative (see Labov, 1972, 1982); rather, the stories are horizontal representations of four different festival/municipality connections. Each is based solely on information from interviewees living within the particular municipality: three each from Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn, and six from Piteå because more interviewees lived there. One interviewee, Andy, is left out of this chapter, because he lives in another part of the county.

As will be seen, individual voices are allowed to speak through quotations from them, and sometimes 'multivoicedness' has also been pursued, especially when opinions differ to a large degree within a particular group of interviewees. Individual voices represent or exemplify an argument found within one of the inhabitant groups, and multivoicedness is used to illustrate a manifold. Therefore, no interviewees are named, and no information is given concerning how any individual interviewee is positioned within the municipality.

The process of analysis has been accounted for in an earlier chapter. Still, to have a better understanding of the texts below, it would be helpful to keep in mind the questions used as the groundwork for the construction of the four stories, namely: how does the story of the municipality come through in the interviews? What is the place of the Festsipel i Pite Älvdal

within that story? How does the festival contribute to the development of that story? These questions will not be answered directly, but some tentative answers will be found.

Arjeplog

Arjeplog is a municipality large in area, but with a population of only around 3,200 people. The population is decreasing, and has done so for several years, due to people moving out and a low birth rate. As one of the informants put it, a little humorously:

We really are few people, we are only 3,200, that is probably less than the number of people living in a suburb in Luleå, we are a few poor ones living here.

Despite the decrease in population, Arjeplog is quite dynamic when it comes to business. This little, northern community has specialised in providing excellent conditions for testing cars. Car companies come from all over Europe, Japan and Korea to test their new creations during the winter, which generates a lot of money and work. According to one of the informants, an unbelievably large sum of money is invested, and it is “one hell of a swing”. However, when the car testers leave “the shops die”. Another important source of income for the municipality is reindeer farming. Arjeplog has a large Sami population that herds reindeers with helicopters, snow scooters and motorcycles. The Sami strain is considered to be an important part of the cultural heritage.

The municipality is in the middle of a process of economic change from lumbering and mining to service industries. Speaking of culture, there are very few possibilities to enjoy live music. Larger public concerts, apart from those during the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*, are given three or four times a year. However, the municipality takes pride in providing a good concert hall, namely the local church.

The natural environment is magnificent, with large, untouched forest and mountain areas, several lakes and beautiful views. Due to formations in the landscape, Arjeplog is located in two river valleys – those of the Pite and Skellefte river. The sense of common interests and loyalty goes in many directions, to Luleå, to Skellefteå, to the rest of the inland communities and, perhaps above all, to Piteå. This latter relation is described as mutual:

Arjeplog has such a neighbour municipality, Arjeplog has Piteå (...) if you come from Arjeplog to Piteå and they hear that you come from Arjeplog, then you are bloody well taken care of, you are genuinely liked as a human being.

Being a small, sparsely populated inland community, 200 kilometres away from the coast and over 900 kilometres from the capital, Arjeplog is considered a municipality easy to make sweeping statements about. Still, its residents take lightly views of their town by people who have never visited it:

You cannot lay too much stress on their opinions, but listen more to what they think, those who have been here, what kind of impressions they bring back home (...) and generally speaking they are predominantly positive, above all they see the nature.

It is impossible to write about Arjeplog without mentioning the Lapplands *Festspel*. This festival attracted musicians from all over the world and a large, visiting audience. Until 2000, the festival presented international standard, classical chamber music, which used to set the municipality on fire for a short period each summer. The local church and the schools' gymnasiums were used as concert halls, and the performing artists moved around in the municipality on old green military bikes. Many of the audience who came from afar gave the local hotels good business. The interviewees had different feelings about the importance of

the Lapplands Festspel to the community of Arjeplog, and some dissatisfaction can be detected. Still, all seem convinced that the festival would be a natural part of the story of Arjeplog if told by all its inhabitants together. What some perceived to be a festival that brought life and festivity into the municipality, others thought was only fit for the elite, its concerts being too complicated and abstract to be able to make any local connections. Although the festival certainly drew people from “all over the world” and contributed to creating a positive image of Arjeplog, lasting ‘tourist value’ was seen to be questionable:

The people who decided to go to Arjeplog to see a certain artist – when the artists are not here anymore, they go on to another place, they have no interest in landscape and nature (...) it is nothing you can make money on.

There were even more negative opinions, for instance that the Lapplands Festspel was all about “pomp and circumstances”, that all normal activities came to a standstill, and that the festival took over the whole place and intruded upon the inhabitants:

It was like ‘move over!’ (...) like nothing else existed (...) those who were interested, went there, I just totally couldn’t give a damn about it, they could bomb the place or do whatever they liked.

However, among those of the Arjeplog inhabitants who did visit the Lapplands Festspel, some gradually learned to like and enjoy the chamber music that was played:

Some inhabitants of Arjeplog learned to enjoy this, many were like, “we don’t want to listen to that kind of music”, but as time went by, they learned, not everybody of course, but still...

The Lapplands Festspel was seen by all interviewees to be very different from the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, especially regarding how it interacted with the local population. The music played during the latter appeals to more inhabitants and the marketing is quieter, and not at all intrusive. People know about the festival and can visit if they like.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal is considered important to Arjeplog because it is the only time during the year that this small community can offer its inhabitants more than one concert at a time. It is a large event that brings festivity. There is a feeling that “something happens here” and that the community would have nothing similar if the festival disappeared. One interviewee worried that if the festival were to disappear, there would be a broken tradition in the municipality, and the habits and knowledge of how to arrange and make use of a festival would not be passed on to forthcoming generations:

If it does not exist, we will never be able to pass it on to the next generation (...) you come to different stages in life where you are receptive to certain things, so I mean, when the day comes that my age group is interested in the Festspelen (...) I mean, if the Festspelen does not exist at the time, then (...) [the children] have to have a chance, too.

Another said that the Festspelen will be even more important for Arjeplog in the future, because of the economic shifts there from lumbering and mining to more service oriented occupations, as was mentioned above:

We have people with another level of education now, a lot of people coming from outside, and those people know what to ask for (...) they have gone to schools in southern Sweden, university cities, and have exposed themselves to quite another kind of cultural life (...) they appreciate it in another way.

As it is now, the festival is one of two sources⁸⁹ that provide larger concerts and well-known artists to Arjeplog.

A local group works on voluntary basis to arrange the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal concerts in Arjeplog. Within that group there is a core of three or four people who have done this for several years, since before the Lapplands Festsspel started, and when the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal was in its youth. These volunteers really long for the festival and the joint activities it brings, and they wait eagerly for the call to prepare for the next. In 2005, the local festival working-group travelled to Piteå to see the opening concert, together with local politicians and municipality managers. The trip gave a feeling of togetherness among the group, according to one of the interviewees who participated. The cooperation with the festival administration is thought to be close and well functioning, and would be missed if the festival should disappear. One of the interviewees is a newcomer to the local festival-arranging group, which she found to be a very welcoming social network:

They get so happy when they see you coming, you are really taken good care of.

The cooperation with the central festival administration has already been mentioned and likewise the local network of arrangers. In addition, the Arjeplog part of the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal cooperates with the local tourist information service, the hotel industry and the church. The general impression among the interviewees, is that people in Arjeplog talk about the Festsspelen, even months later:

Even today⁹⁰ people talk about that concert, and that is fun.

Festival stories from several years back seem to exist in the collective memory of the municipality, among others that of a famous gospel singer giving a performance in a local mine. Two of three interviewees agreed without reservations that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal would be a part of a common story of the municipality, if told by all the inhabitants. The third seemed to think that this would not apply to the great mass, but certainly to those who used it.

In 2005, both of the festival concerts that were arranged in Arjeplog were initiated by a local politician and a minister. Both concerts featured local artists, one with Sami singers (thoroughly described in the preceding chapter), whilst the other combined local talents with a well-known Swedish ballad singer. The choice of repertoire took local circumstances into account:

We have one [concert] season when the Arjeplogare⁹¹ go out in winter, and then we have the summer season, when many emigrated Arjeplogare come back and join this [the festival].

The inhabitants who learned to enjoy chamber music through the Lapplands Festsspel are mostly on vacation at the time when the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is arranged. Therefore, the repertoire is a little lighter, adjusted towards the “summer people”:

Ballads are easier than chamber music (...) it is easier to receive, to recognise and so on.

In general, the inclusion of local artists is perceived positively, but it is also seen as a possible contrast to quality, versatility and a widening of the audiences’ musical preferences and

⁸⁹ The other one is ‘Norbottensmusiken’, a regional concert distribution centre.

⁹⁰ This interview was carried out in early September, approximately two months after the festival.

⁹¹ People living in Arjeplog.

perspectives. National and international artists are seen as offering festivity and bringing news to the municipality; and they bring a local togetherness in the form of giving something to talk about. In addition, they are considered to draw in an audience. Some think that such artists make the municipality visible to the outside world. This function is also provided through the marketing of the Festspelen, which makes Arjeplog visible to the media by connecting the municipality to the total of the festival.

As mentioned above, emigrants coming back during summer are among the festival users in Arjeplog. They do not come for the festival, but visit because it is available. Other, especially eager attendees are middle-aged women with their “dragged along men”, and members of the older generation who see attendance at the Festspelen as necessary:

My experience is that there exists an older generation who is inspired (...) this is something of a necessity [to them].

There are even some visitors from the nearby villages and from Arvidsjaur, and in 2005 there were also ‘newcomers’ who the interviewees “never would have thought visited the Festspelen”.⁹²

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal was seen by the respondents to contribute to a feeling of togetherness in the river valley, maybe mainly because it verified a solidarity that is already there, especially with reference to Piteå, as shown above. The opinion about cultural arrangements in general is that they contribute to the inhabitants’ feeling of well-being, and are among the factors that make people stay in the community. The importance of large, common experiences was also emphasised:

It is a happening, something happens, something large, so many go out and see each other and have a common experience, that means a lot, otherwise when you go to see a play or to hear music it is 30 – 40 people, but if 200 experience something in common, that gives a tremendous feeling of togetherness.

Arvidsjaur

Arvidsjaur is another, small northern community, neighbouring Arjeplog, but with about twice the number of inhabitants. For a long time this has been the residence of a military regiment, which has recently been dissolved. Instead of a crisis, this has led to initiatives to build new workplaces and new houses for workers coming from outside.

Culture is emphasised in Arvidsjaur, especially in winter, and the municipality has passed a special resolution guaranteeing a cultural curriculum for children and youngsters. There is also a cultural fellowship, which can only be applied for by Nordic artists coming from outside Arvidsjaur. The chosen fellow agrees to work and stay in Arvidsjaur for a limited amount of time, and cooperates with local cultural life during the stay. According to both the visiting artists and the local participants, this works very well.

The official Arvidsjaur position on culture is that a municipality, which does not invest in it, is a municipality where no one wants to live. Another opinion is that an out-of-the-way place needs culture to attract industry. However, despite these investments, Arvidsjaur is still a place with a decreasing number of inhabitants.

The overall impression is that art music does not have a large audience among the inhabitants of Arvidsjaur. Still, there exists a great interest in music generally, and local folk music especially. This music has a long local tradition: it is “what people play”, mostly on

⁹² In a small municipality with few inhabitants such social surveillance can be quite simple.

accordion. Another style played by local musicians, and which also attracts a good audience, is swing, not in the jazz sense, but lighter dance music:

I have been to the community house once or twice when a swing evening has been arranged. Local musicians, old, grey-haired men mostly, who play, and even who listen, and women too. It is crowded!

One interviewee emphasised that the power of habit was large in Arvidsjaur in general, but especially in the field of music.

As a municipality, Arvidsjaur is seen by the interviewees to offer beautiful nature, light summer nights, good, 'natural' food, quietness, splendid views and friendly reception. In northern Sweden it is known as a well-organised municipality with a rich cultural life that takes good care of its inhabitants. However, from the outside, it is also seen as exotic and somewhat out of the way. This comes through in the story below:

I went to [name of larger town] last week and visited a hairdresser who cut my hair, and then I told her: "I do not live in [this town] anymore, I live in Arvidsjaur". The woman who cut my hair said spontaneously: "But can you live there?"

Despite being a municipality with much cultural activity, Arvidsjaur does not have either the personal nor the economic resources to arrange a festival like the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, not even its own part of it, without practical and financial support from the festival administration in Piteå. When the festival first started to use Arvidsjaur as a concert location, the hope was that it would become far more important for the local community than it is now:

The preconditions have changed so much (...) it feels like one cannot live up to what is necessary for making this a thing of importance in Arvidsjaur (...) the standard is lowered to such a degree that it does not really become the festivity I thought the festival *should* become (...) I am having doubts.

A similar disillusion was expressed by the other interviewees, none of whom expected the Festspele i Pite Älvdal to become a natural part of the story of Arvidsjaur if told by all its inhabitants. "Not at all" one of them said, and another added that the festival was almost unknown to most people in Arvidsjaur. The interviewees came up with several possible explanations for this, such as that the festival period comes too late in summer. In the beginning of July the people of Arvidsjaur are already on summer vacation, which means that the local 'cultural core' who attend concerts habitually, are normally elsewhere. Another possible explanation is that the festival has only been in Arvidsjaur for a few years:

It has not existed for very long, it might get better.

Marketing is difficult because the potential audience is so small. Consequently, it is hard to advertise an evening concert at the same day's lunch concert and so on. There is also a lack of an audience magnet such as a well-known artist. For some years, a folk music group has played at least one concert a year in Arvidsjaur. But, despite folk music being a popular local style, those concerts did not have many visitors. One of the interviewees said that perhaps this was because it had not been the 'right' kind of folk music for local enthusiasts. Certainly no cooperation was encouraged between the local accordion club and this particular visiting group.

Conditions for the Arvidsjaur part of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal have not always been difficult. When the festival first arrived in the community there was money for engaging well known musicians who attracted audience to their concerts, but also others that these musicians

were not participating in. Somehow they guaranteed the quality of the whole festival. The audience increased during those first years, and it was fun to work there:

If it had continued as it did from those first years (...) we increased our audience a lot, and we really felt that, oh, this is good! We worked as hard as animals to make it good, and the next year we did not have, well, we had the same 'go', we had the same feeling that this was going to be good, but we did not have that one, attractive concert.

In the last, well-functioning year of the festival, there was a peak concert with a famous accordion player and the local accordion club playing together:

It was terrific! It was crowded with people (...) probably Bengan Jansson attracted most of the audience, but it meant so much that cooperation with the accordion club, it meant so much to that group.

According to the interviewees, such events are especially important to local cultural life in small societies because these societies can offer so few similar opportunities. However, since the accordion concert there has been no cooperation between visiting and local artists during the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal in Arvidsjaur. Whilst the interviewees agreed that the participation of local musicians could increase audience involvement, there was a worry that the quality of the festival would suffer:

You cannot have a festival with local bands, the Festspelel has to be something of high artistic value (...) if it should be [perceived as] real festivity, it needs the highest quality.

As seen above, all the interviewees seemed to agree that the Festspelel would not be part of Arvidsjaur's common story. Opinions were mixed about the festival's function as a public face. One interviewee was positive, and thought that it meant a lot that people from outside the community could see that such a phenomenon existed "even here in Arvidsjaur". Another interviewee was definitely negative, blaming the lack of visibility partly on the marketing of the festival in general:

It is not visible enough, it is not sufficient. It has to be [marketed in] other press, other media than our own [local newspaper].

A parallel was drawn to the Lapplands Festspelel in Arjeplog, a festival, which marketed effectively outside the local area and was consequently well known, and which had a clear concept of itself. Opinions were similarly diverse concerning whether or not the Festspelel i Pite Älvdal contributed to building a feeling of togetherness in the river valley. Contrary to the understanding that the Festspelel is a common activity and creates a kind of 'us-feeling', it was said that, whilst this could have been the case, this is not the way the festival is organised now.

In the previous story about Arjeplog and the Festspelel i Pite Älvdal, cooperation with the central festival administration in Piteå was seen to function well. But this is not the case in Arvidsjaur. A need for collective meetings was expressed, so as to organise joint planning, and the follow-up and evaluation of the festival events. As it is now, all contact between the four communities involved in the festival is seen to be small:

The fundamental idea was that it should be an arrangement with four municipalities and four profiles, but *one* arrangement. Now, the Festspelel in Arvidsjaur is by itself, we have lost the link between them.

The local arranger does not have any personal contacts with the central administration in Piteå. This is taken care of through local politicians.

The Arvidsjaur part of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal does not cooperate with local industry in general and has no connection to the tourist industry. This latter form of cooperation could have been a possibility, according to one of the interviewees, especially if the festival was marketed in connection with the popular inland railway, which attracts tourists at about the same time of year as the festival. However, if there was cooperation with the tourist industry, the festival programme would need to be prepared earlier:

You have to have the programme ready around the turn of the year if you want to get it out in time in order to get something out of it (...) April, in the beginning of May, it is way too late!

Festival concerts in Arvidsjaur are arranged in the church, at the community house or at the local hotel. It is hard to find a suitable concert hall in such a small community. As Arjeplog's local festival profile is ballad oriented, Arvidsjaur's focus is on folk music. This initiative came from one single person, and the choice was originally made because of local interest in vernacular music. Nonetheless, there has been little audience interest since then, even when bigger names have appeared:

[One year] we had a big name, at least I thought it should be very well known, but it turned out to be almost unknown, so we got audience from other parts of the county, not so many from Arvidsjaur.

In general, well-known artists are considered to be important for the festival by the Arvidsjaur interviewees. As said before, such artists are thought necessary for attracting people to concerts, and not just those in which a big name is appearing. This applies especially in a small community where the 'core audience' consists of a very limited group of people. The quote above shows also how famous artists might attract people from outside the municipality, which brings economic benefit. In addition, 'big names' have the ability to make the municipality's inhabitants feel important.

Despite relatively low support for the Festspele i Pite Älvdal in the municipality of Arvidsjaur, the statements from the three interviewees show that they would certainly miss the festival if it disappeared. However, with the kind of organisation the festival is about to implement, more responsibility will be put upon the local arrangers. This raises serious doubts about the festival's future in Arvidsjaur:

With the changes made now (...) so much work will end up with us. We are not going to make it.

Älvsbyn

Älvsbyn is the third of the river valley municipalities, with approximately 9,000 inhabitants. It is significantly smaller in square meters than Arjeplog and Arvidsjaur (and also Piteå), and the ending of the municipality name, *byn*, indicates a village of some kind, a smaller place, not a town. To outsiders Älvsbyn seems a small, rather closed community, and difficult to gain entry to for people who have not lived there for generations. Traditionally, the river valley has provided communication routes for both trade and culture. The community is a commuter dormitory town, as many of the inhabitants work in the neighbouring municipalities of Piteå, Luleå and Boden, and because Älvsbyn is seen as a kind of suburb to Piteå. The Älvsbyn inhabitants travel there to shop, to go to the cinema or take part in the richer cultural life:

We are so close to Piteå, it is not so far away, we are almost a suburb to Piteå, you go there by car and take part in the concerts there (...) I use to say, we do not need to have everything that exists in Piteå (...) Arvidsjaur and Arjeplog are more complete municipalities, meaning they have to have everything in the municipality.

Recently, the Älvsbyn inhabitants' patterns of movement have changed as shopping moves away from the high street to larger malls outside Luleå.

Cultural or musical activities in Älvsbyn are of the 'lighter' kind, at least when concerts are concerned. The focus is mainly on entertainment, and now and then a larger audience is attracted to 'popular' events with some famous artist or well-known name. The audience for classical music is small, and those who are interested drive to Piteå or other, relatively nearby places to go to concerts:

If you are prepared to drive for a few miles, so, sure, I think we get our needs [for classical music] fairly fulfilled, at least in the smaller format.

One of the interviewees pointed to a deep-seated difference between inland Älvsbyn and coastal Piteå with respect to culture and music. 'The coast' has traditionally had outside cultural and musical connections, through people's colleges and other educational institutions (in Piteå's case, the Framnäs people's college and the School of Music), and through the Free Church and Low Church. These connections have provided a rich cultural and general education for the inhabitants of the coast, and fertile soil for many musical families. The 'inland' custom has been to connect with nature instead of spending time with cultural activities:

Upbringing makes you enjoy [culture], but up here, being out, using nature is more common I think, here in the inland regions.

The relation between Älvsbyn and the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal goes way back, to the first years of the festival in the 1980s. For the last few years, though with some exceptions, one special performance, Trolltagen, the outdoor waterfall ballet described earlier, has been the main (and usually the only) Festspelelele event in Älvsbyn. It has been very popular with the inhabitants of Älvsbyn, and with surrounding, smaller communities. When asked to make an estimate, the interviewees guessed that almost everyone in Älvsbyn had seen Trolltagen at least once, and they had visited the ballet two or three times themselves. Trolltagen is well-known in Älvsbyn, and inevitably tied to the municipality. However, it seems that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is not. When asked whether or not the festival was important for Älvsbyn as a community, one of the interviewees answered, somewhat puzzled:

Have there been any [Festspelele] concerts in Älvsbyn? (...) I have never thought of Trolltagen as being within the frames of the Festspelele.

This interviewee was not the only one who thought this.⁹³ Trolltagen is considered important to Älvsbyn, but it is recognised as Trolltagen at *Storforsen*, and not as a part of the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. After an early period of trying to arrange other kinds of festival concerts without much response from the audience, this attempt was given up, and by 2005, Älvsbyn had not taken part in other parts of the festival for years. Over time, Trolltagen became an independent institution, arranged without interference from the central festival administration

⁹³ Similar reactions are to be found among the survey respondents: "That Trolltagen was part of the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal, I honestly did not know, even though I live in North Bothnia".

in Piteå apart from marketing, for which the Festspele i Pite Älvdal is considered important for Älvsbyn. Otherwise, the festival is mostly seen as being important only for Piteå.

If the story of the Älvsbyn municipality were to have been told by all its inhabitants together, Trolltügen would have been a natural part of it. The performance (but not the festival) also has a distinct function as Älvsbyn's face towards the surrounding world. Trolltügen has been used for marketing Älvsbyn for years regionally, but also nationally. It is a trademark and is always mentioned on official occasions:

In the marketing of Älvsbyn, Trolltügen is always brought to the fore (...) we are proud of it because of its dignity and because it is, to a certain degree, known in other parts of Sweden (...) last year, when there was no performance, it was like a vacuum: What shall we now say about Älvsbyn? We do not have Trolltügen anymore...

The municipality of Älvsbyn has funded an association to ensure that the Trolltügen performances happen. It is anchored in local industry and cooperates with athletic clubs and hotels. Some local industrial magnates use the occasion to invite business partners. It is an opportunity to show their important guests Älvsbyn and Storforsen at its best.

Every year, a dance camp for young dancers is arranged in Älvsbyn during the period of the Trolltügen preparation and performance. In 2005 these dancers were invited to perform in connection with the 'real' show. Young dancers from a dance company in Luleå also participated in Trolltügen, and in general, dance seems to have strengthened its position in Älvsbyn, probably due to the yearly arrangement and its focussed promotion.

One interviewee thought that the Storforsen/Trolltügen concept suited the audience in Älvsbyn well. Still, when trying to find out who attended the performances, it seemed that the concept of 'audience' might not cover all the social groups of Älvsbyn. Young people are lacking, but children, middle-aged and older people are certainly present. People come, not only from Älvsbyn, but also from all over the county to take part in the yearly happening. According to one interviewee, the word 'ballet' normally creates allergic reactions among working class people, but the outdoor concept of Trolltügen has a certain popularity about it that seems to compensate for this suspicion of 'high culture'. It is a powerful mix of popular celebration, picnic lunch and the Storforsen area. The dead river course is unique, and without this connection to Storforsen, Trolltügen would not have achieved such popularity. Trolltügen and Storforsen are inevitably tied together, and the latter is a very popular outing and picnic area, and seems to be held in common possession by the inhabitants of Älvsbyn and the locality:

The Piteå inhabitants consider that Storforsen belongs to them, too, as a place for recreation.

As we have seen, Trolltügen attracts middle-aged, children and older people, and one interviewee's impression was that the audience come 'in generations'. It is a good place to bring children (and dogs – see the description of the event), because they can run around without disturbing the rest of the audience.

When the Trolltügen concept was first created, professional dancers from what was then considered to be Sweden's best dance company were hired. Their participation functioned to validate the quality of the performance, and was seen as important for marketing. Over the years, quality has had to be compromised in the effort to keep expenses down, and the dancers are now all local. However, nationally well-known artists perform before the ballet itself, which is probably one of the things that attracts the inhabitants of Älvsbyn to visit the performance over and over again. Whilst most of the interviewees said that big names are

needed to attract a big audience, some were sceptical. One thought that big names are connected to the “easily chewed”, an attitude the interviewee himself despised:

It does not have to be that easily consumed.

Another opinion is that famous artists are necessary for attracting potential audience from far away. The interviewee connected this with Älvsbyn inhabitants visiting the festival events in Piteå:

If you travel from here to Piteå, it is important that there exists, so to speak, people who bring something in, who enrich you. That would as a rule be those international names, which they have always had in Piteå.

Famous artists are seen to extend the musical tastes of the municipality and give its people pride that something of this calibre happens within there. In addition, it is generally considered important to the local community that people come from outside, and put their imprints upon it in different ways. As in Arjeplog and Arvidsjaur, nature is brought to the fore when discussing what the municipality might offer artists, but also ‘the exotic’ culture of the Sami people. It is also emphasised that the community knows how to take good care of guests, and gives them good food, experiences and enrichment.

Älvsbyn is a part of the river valley landscape, and the waterfall of Storforsen constitutes a stretch of the Pite river. As such, setting up a festival arrangement there could have contributed a feeling of togetherness along the river valley. However, this seems not to be the case. At an official level, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is seen as a good, and probably the only forum for cooperation around ‘higher culture’ in the four river valley municipalities. But whilst it gives occasions for politicians to meet, the festival does not stimulate feelings of cooperation for ‘ordinary people’. One of the interviewees said that on the contrary, every river valley activity has the potential to strengthen not the smaller communities but Piteå:

Everything that happens in the Pite river valley actually happens in Piteå, at least if you read Piteå-Tidningen [the local newspaper] (...) even if it did happen in Arvidsjaur, there is a Piteå perspective on it, and that might contribute to strengthen Piteå, but it does not contribute to strengthen the bonds between the municipalities in the Pite river valley (...) this is the disadvantage of the Piteå spirit (...) if the Piteå spirit was more inclusive, welcoming, broadening towards the other river valley communities, this [the festival] could be a good thing, but I do not think it is.

Opinions also differ with respect to the development of the festival. One interviewee suggested that, rather than staging a variety of music, it might be better to focus on one style one year and another the next – jazz then folk for instance. Other wanted the Festspelen to continue as it is, with the classical music concentrated in Piteå, and more popular styles spread out across Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn:

[Music] of the lighter kind, nothing complicated (...) it is a good thing if the Festspelen can stay that way (...) I can hardly see it in another form.

Piteå

Piteå is a small town by the sea of around 40,000 inhabitants. In addition to the town centre, the municipality takes in a number of smaller places. During recent years, Piteå has had an increasing population, in sharp contrast to the situation in almost every other municipality in the county. People are moving in from other places, in line with a strong tendency to move from the inland towards the coast. Even if there might not be enough jobs for everyone, there

seems to be a belief that the quality of life is higher in Piteå, even as an unemployed, than in the inland communities.

Piteå has much tourist activity during the summer season, and when asked to describe what characterises the town, the interviewees seemed to agree upon its reputation as a ‘summer town’, the tourists, the sun and the sea. In addition, local food – Pitepalt – is mentioned, as is ‘Piteandan’, the Piteå spirit. When explaining further her definition of the Piteå spirit, one of the interviewees said:

You fix things, it is not long-winded, you help each other out, and then you fix it, it is my picture (...) there exists professionalism and a will and an ability to fix things, it is not complicated.

Of course, such a spirit also has disadvantages. For instance it might be difficult to penetrate the community’s ‘closed systems’, and, according to one of the interviewees, the community is so self-absorbed in certain ways that it is in danger of stagnation. As in many other small towns and places, homogeneity is preferred in Piteå, and there is a tendency towards self-referential thinking, which is well exemplified in the refrain of one of the songs of the local band, Euskefeurat⁹⁴: “We can do it ourselves”. In fact, several interviewees mention Euskefeurat’s songs as exemplary of the Piteå spirit:

They [Euskefeurat] catch the Piteå spirit (...) many people identify with this.

There are some differences between the interviewees regarding whether or not Piteå is well-known in the rest of Sweden. While some are certain that this is the case, others think that these thoughts are a symptom of living in a small town with too much self-esteem:

If you look upon Sweden as a whole, I think Piteå is very unknown; the inhabitants have a tendency to think that we are more well known than we actually are (...) when the national press gives an overview of the largest street festivals of the year, PDOL is not there. Then, the inhabitants of Piteå think it is a misprint.

Cultural life in Piteå is rich and still growing, and the feeling is that there is a lot going on in general. According to the interviewees, the town is good at arranging large events, and there is much local knowledge about how to produce a good festival. In addition to the picture of Piteå as a ‘summer town’, there is also an image of Piteå as a ‘music town’ with its School of Music, Framnäs people’s college and the festivals. Still, this image seems to be more widespread in the north of Sweden than in the south.

Piteå is the place of origin of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, and where it has been arranged every year since the early 1980s. The interviewees considered the festival to be important for the municipality in several ways: as a trademark, as an event which broadens musical taste through the larger symphonic concerts, and the presence of well-known artists, and as a magnet for people from outside. One interviewee recognised the Festspele as a summer meeting place with an important social and musical function. The festival is also important to the municipality’s goal of putting Piteå on the map as an event town with a musical profile. It contributes the cultural caché of classical music to the musical life of Piteå through its cooperation with the School of Music and Norrbottensmusiken. The festival is also considered to be indirectly important to the town’s development, because classical music and related styles are preferred by business managers and educated people and because such music makes the area more attractive:

⁹⁴ The festival concert with Euskefeurat is described in the preceding chapter. The original, Swedish refrain of the song, is: ”Det kan vi göra själva”.

It gives a more complete picture of Piteå as a music and event town, having this style represented; it is like a mosaic of styles where this one naturally has its place. The importance is probably less for the population than what it is for the [music] business and for key persons in Piteå, I imagine that the classical music is more anchored within business management and has a greater significance there. At the same time it has a symbolic value too, Piteå is seen to be an attractive place, a more stimulating and interesting place to live.

One interviewee emphasised especially that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is important for Piteå because it is a small, peripheral town. A lot is certainly going on within the municipality, but the Festspelen constitutes a large part of it, and contributes music that is not otherwise heard. Variety is important for the musicians of the town, but also for people in general.

There were various perspectives on the question of whether or not the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal would be a part of the story of Piteå told by all its inhabitants together. For some of the interviewees the festival's inclusion in such a story was self-evident, but others had their doubts:

It depends who you ask. If everybody should contribute to the story, maybe they would say that music plays a large role in Piteå, but maybe not the Festspelen in itself, still, you might use it as an example, the Festspelen.

The most negative among the interviewees said that the festival would only be valued by members of its target group, not at all by other inhabitants of the municipality. Similar attitudes were found when regarding the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's role as Piteå's public face. All the interviewees agreed that the festival would be identified with Piteå from an outside perspective, but several emphasised that what you see depends on what you *want* to see:

I think it is steered towards different layers of society (...) towards people from an upper layer, more high society, on a higher level, more educated, if you say so, musicians and, yes, who is on another level and who knows about the Festspelen.

Interviewer: Mm, is it a middle class thing, or?

Yes, middle and higher, too, maybe.

Most interviewees agree that the festival functioned as Piteå's public face, but then mainly in a regional context. They also seemed to agree that the Festspelen is a part of what makes Piteå look like a 'music town' from outside:

[Piteå] is marketed as 'the music town', something, which is supposed to attract, and the Festspelen is a part of that. I think that in the official picture of Piteå, this is something important (...) the musical life in Piteå is an important part, and this [the festival] is kind of the pearl in it, the most extrovert [thing].

In fact, by encouraging and hosting several music organisations and institutions, Piteå seems to create a kind of unpredictable synergy that enables people to identify events with the town, even if mistakenly. According to one of the interviewees, her friends in Gothenburg correctly connect the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal with Piteå, not because they recognise the festival, but because they mistake it for the PDOL.

There are diverse understandings among the interviewees regarding whether or not the Festspelen attracts people from afar. While some think this definitely is the case, others think the festival is not as magnetic as it could be, and that what are thought to be 'outsiders' are people with an earlier connection to Piteå coming home for summer.

As we have already seen, for some of the interviewees, the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* was inevitably tied to the middle or the upper class, “better people”, as one of them said. However, when asked who visits the festival, a slightly more subtle picture appeared. Still, the general impression seemed to be that audiences for lunchtime concerts, church concerts and ‘classical’ concerts generally are largely middle aged, with more women than men, and with many people from the upper social classes. Youth is normally not present, and even at the children’s concerts, children might be in minority. However, some claimed that if all the festival concerts were looked at as a whole, all groups of society would be represented and provided for. Mixed arenas, such as the opening and courtyard concerts were especially emphasised as being important for anchoring the *Festspelen* in the municipality:

The anchoring in Piteå (...) the courtyard concerts, it is very important with those broader concerts, that everybody feels they get something out of the *Festspelen*, even if you are not directed towards classical music, you still get something out of it, because you have the courtyard concerts.

Some interviewees thought that the diversity of the festival’s music had the potential to attract many different kinds of people.

The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* is involved with many institutions in Piteå that cooperate in making the festival happen. According to one interviewee, without the School of Music and the people’s college at Framnäs, it would be impossible to arrange the festival. The festival is also richly sponsored by local business agents, a cooperation that is perceived as rather pleasurable, from the business managers’ point of view:

As I said earlier, I think that many business managers are large consumers of classical music, this kind of music, to them, this [the festival] contributes to a concept of quality, it makes it easier and more comfortable to exist in Piteå, and I think it feels good to contribute to this, it does not feel like a sacrifice, but fun and uplifting to make an effort.

The general impression among the interviewees seems to be that many forces in the community contribute to the making of the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*. The festival is something that is wanted by many quarters and everybody participates in making it possible. In many ways, it contributes to a feeling of togetherness: by its use of small, intimate locations that allow the audience and performers to come close to one another; by organising breaks, enabling the audience to socialise; and by offering music as a basis for shared experiences. According to one interviewee, the emotional, familiar relationship among festival administrators, performers and audience is especially close during the *Festspelen*, due to performers returning year after year, and also because there is only a limited number of visitors:

Most people among the audience feel that this is ours (...) for those who are interested, this week is very, very, very important.

A feeling of togetherness is not, however, what characterises the Piteå part of the festival’s relation to the other participating river valley municipalities. Only one interviewee thought that the festival contributed to development of a river valley identity. The others disagreed, saying that distances between the municipalities were too great, the river valley identity was merely notional, that Piteå is the real centre, and that the festival is associated with the town, and not with the smaller communities involved. It was also said that the distribution of responsibility at the moment was right. The municipalities took full responsibility for the festival arrangements, the choice of artists, the execution and the economic risks. Marketing

was the only aspect of the festival that was organised centrally in Piteå. This helped to avoid Piteå being seen as ‘big brother’:

We [in Piteå] have felt more responsible for the success of the concerts in Arvidsjaur than they have done themselves (...) it is better when they get to do it and take the responsibility and the consequences (...) otherwise it is like big brother is coming around and arranging something because he feels guilty, and that is never a good thing.

Some said that the festival’s four municipalities should take responsibility for their own arrangements because their particular circumstances were very different. Piteå has a larger population and thereby a larger potential audience, and this audience is seen to have stronger musical habits than that of Arjeplog for instance:

People here [in Piteå] have more of a musical habit, that is probably why you could have a bit more advanced stuff [than in Arjeplog].

Other positive local factors mentioned by the interviewees were the School of Music with its many good musicians, Piteå’s experience with large events, and the fact that the Festspelen, after so many years, is considered to be a local tradition. The renewal of the courtyard concert tradition, which had been much appreciated in earlier years, was especially important in the 2005 festival, partly because of the return of the band Euskefeurat. Most thought that the audience did not come to the concert to hear Costo Rico, the guests from Spain, but the local heroes:

That was not our music [Costo Rico] (...) but this [Euskefeurat] is the music of the people (...) it was almost like a kind of battle cry, it could lead to rebellion.

The idea mentioned above that, whilst local artists could be a resource, they could also undermine the quality of the festival, was reiterated by the Piteå interviewees. Some said that local artists were available throughout the year, so it was not necessary to have them in the festival, whilst others thought that local artists’ potential for attracting an audience had been underestimated. Still others thought that local artists’ main role in the festival was as administrative staff, which was sufficient to inspire and energise them.

Well-known international artists visiting the Festspel i Pite Älvdal were thought to draw audiences not only to their own concerts, but to the festival as a whole:

[International artists have] great importance, not only for the single concert, but also for how much you attend other concerts (...) a festival without international stars has low status, but with a few [stars] you get higher status, then the wish to attend other events increases (...) The Festspelen as a trademark becomes more valuable.

A visit from international artists and musicians was of emotional significance for some of the interviewees. It was seen as a good way of marketing the municipality, it put Piteå ‘on the map’ and connected with a feeling of pride that something important happens in “little Piteå”. Others seemed to think that inviting profiled artists, though important for attracting audience, had the negative effect of putting other artists in the background. Generally speaking, well-known artists were seen to offer the municipality of Piteå media attention, glamour and a strengthening of collective self-esteem. Furthermore, staging famous musicians also made it easier in forthcoming years to invite others of the same calibre. These musicians offered rich and diverse concert experiences:

They offer good music, different experiences and different music.

In return, the town and people of Piteå were thought to provide professional support for famous musicians, to arrange large events effectively, provide good service, cause great responses from enthusiastic audience and provide different experiences of music from outdoors to the midnight sun. Some interviewees also called attention to the fact that for several artists, Piteå was only one town of many on a longer tour list: a place where famous musicians spend a few hours and then leave for their next gig.

The interviewees seemed to agree that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal could not alone have the power to attract a potential labour force, but that such cultural activities helped:

It [the festival] does not have that kind of attraction, it is not what settles a location, but on the other hand I think that when somebody is thinking of establishing themselves here or taking a job here, they are quite good at finding out: Do they have golf? What kind of music is there? How is the school standard and so on, and in that jigsaw puzzle the existence of the Festspelen is a plus, but it is not conclusive.

Several wishes and suggestions came to the fore about the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's potential for development. Some said that the festival committee should enter into cooperation with interested local agents to turn it into a series of, especially classical concerts to run throughout the year. It was also stated that the festival should cooperate more with local institutions, and provide a platform for young arrangers, producers and composers from the School of Music. Others maintained that the festival would benefit from hosting diverse musical events:

Broaden it a little (...) it would attract a larger audience and the effect would spread to the trademark, the commercial life and the community.

Points of connection between the festival and the municipality

In the stories above, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is presented in relation to its four host municipalities in a narrative, almost horizontal form. Although the narrative of each community allows for and attends to the multivoicedness of the interviewees, there are four distinct stories. Each community has its own special and significant relation to the festival. In short, I would say that in Arjeplog, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is considered to be an important part of the total cultural life. In Arvidsjaur the Festspelen is rarely known by the inhabitants, whereas in Älvsbyn, it is considered important through Trolltagen. However, the people of Älvsbyn do not recognise this event as being part of the festival, whereas in Piteå, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is valued for its contribution to the municipality's will to further the commonly accepted view of the town as being especially connected to music. In an attempt to investigate further what seems to tie municipality and festival together, a vertical representation of the municipality/festival narrative content has been made. Through this matrix, some important points of connection between the festival and its host municipalities can be identified and discussed in terms of how a festival is connected to the development of local identity:

Table 21. Points of connection between the festival and its host municipalities.

	Arjeplog	Arvidsjaur	Älvsbyn	Piteå
Local conditions	The festival constitutes a large part of total cultural life	Active cultural life, especially during winter, own cultural fellowship	Suburb to Piteå, inhabitants take part in cultural life there, cultural life of Älvsbyn is of the 'lighter' kind	Rich cultural life, good competence, arrangement of large happenings
				Strong, uniform understanding of what constitutes the local identity of Piteå, combined with strong, local self-esteem
		Official municipality stand: culture is important, necessary for workplaces and labour force		Official municipality aim: making Piteå visible as a town with a music profile
Local habits	Experiences of earlier, classical music festivals in the community	Classical music has a rather small audience, folk music and swing are strong, local styles	Those who are interested in classical music travel to Piteå, local inland tradition: nature instead of culture	Music plays an important part in general, regardless of style, FiPÅ is part of the 'music town' picture
	Local audience is used to attending festivals, there exists a tradition, habit and knowledge regarding how to use a festival	The festival has no tradition within the municipality, the power of habit is generally strong	Festspelen and Trolltügen have a long tradition within the community (however Trolltügen is not recognised as part of the festival)	The festival has a 25 year history, an important musical and social function, meeting place
Adjustment towards local conditions/ local habits	Repertoire adjusted to local audience, takes knowledge of local circumstances into consideration	Repertoire adjusted to what is believed to be of interest to local audience, knowledge of other local circumstances is not taken into consideration	Trolltügen is perceived as adjusted towards local audience	Repertoire adjusted towards local conditions, larger audience with extended musical habits
Social function within municipality	A feeling that something happens in the community	The festival is not perceived of as 'festive' due to lowered standard, lack of well-known artists	Trolltügen is seen as a mix of a 'popular party', lunch outing and Storforsen, anchored in local nature	One of the municipality's two larger summer festivals, an important summer meeting place

	Arjeplog	Arvidsjaur	Älvsbyn	Piteå
Togetherness	People in the municipality talk about the festival, basis for feeling of togetherness, festival histories from long ago are kept alive	The festival is unknown to the inhabitants	Almost everybody in the municipality has visited Trolltügen, people visit in generations	Feeling of togetherness among the audience, audience knows each other and the returning artists, 'this is ours'
	Contact with festival administration in Piteå is perceived as good and well functioning	No feeling of togetherness towards festival administration in Piteå or other parts of the festival: isolated	Only contact with festival administration in Piteå is through marketing	Festival administration located in Piteå
	A general feeling of togetherness with Piteå			No feeling of togetherness with the rest of the river valley's municipalities
Anchoring in local municipality	Cooperates with local partners, tourist information, hotels, church, politicians, municipality managers	No cooperation with other agents of local municipality, no synergy-effects	Cooperates with local industry, hotels, athletic clubs, economically supported by municipality	Cooperates with local industry, Framnäs people's college, School of Music, etc. Many forces in the municipality pull in the same direction, large perceived potential for further cooperation
	Core group of arrangers, enthusiasts, a social network which longs for the festival each year	The workload following the festival is perceived as too heavy	Trolltügen is arranged by a local organisation anchored in the municipality	The central, Piteå-based festival administration arranges the festival
	Initiative for concert content comes from the municipality itself (from several quarters)	Initiative for concert content comes from one person	Initiative comes from local, arranging organisation	Initiative for concert content comes from festival managers and board
	Core audience and newcomers	Core audience gone during summer	Trolltügen attracts audience from all over the county	Audience from upper layers of society, but anchored through 'popular concerts' among all inhabitants
	The festival concerts feature artists with local connection + local artists in cooperation with artists with national reputation	The performing artists are from outside the municipality, no cooperation with local musicians	Trolltügen features local dancers + artists with national reputation	Few local artists, but those featured represent the music of the people, the Piteå spirit, artists with national and international reputation

	Arjeplog	Arvidsjaur	Älvsbyn	Piteå
Outward visibility function	The Festspel i Pite Älvdal is considered to make Arjeplog visible through the media	Divided opinions regarding whether or not the festival is a 'public face' of the municipality	Trolltügen is part of the municipality's 'public face', used in marketing regionally and nationally as a trademark	The festival is a trademark, functions as a 'public face' towards certain groups in society, famous artists draw media attention, puts Piteå 'on the map'
Developmental function within municipality	The festival is part of meeting the needs of the part of the population with a higher level of education		Through Trolltügen the local interest in education has been strengthened	Important for development of Piteå through meeting cultural needs of business managers

Throughout the methodology chapter of this thesis, the overall design of the study is that of an 'embedded single case', which is to say that the festival is treated as one particular case with two units of analysis. However, with respect to the research sub-question here, if we consider the study to be multiple case, the different cases being the festival's impact upon each of the four involved municipalities, Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur, Älvsbyn and Piteå, the matrix above allows for an interesting cross-case analysis. This is especially interesting because one of the cases, Arvidsjaur, deviates so much from the others regarding festival/municipality connections and interactions that it makes the matching and non-matching of patterns easier. If we believe that the preconditions for a festival contributing to the development of the local identity of a municipality are that it is taken into or interacts with that municipality, the Arvidsjaur case is of special relevance because it reveals what prevents for this to happen, thereby indirectly illuminating important points of connection between the other municipalities and the festival.

As is visible, both through the stories above and through the matrix, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is not recognised as existing in Älvsbyn. However, it still is, 'under cover' as Trolltügen, and is as such considered to be a valuable example of how a large happening is related to its host municipality.

Local conditions, local habits and the willingness to adjust thereto

Making a festival work well within a community seems to demand a great deal of knowledge about that particular community, its special conditions and local habits. Likewise, a willingness to adjust to that knowledge seems necessary. In Arjeplog, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is considered to be a large and important part of total cultural life. Knowledge of how to make use of a festival is grounded in earlier experiences of hosting one. Also, local administrators take into consideration that the audience for chamber music is away on vacation, and therefore concentrate the concert content around ballads, a style known to be attractive to the audience that *is* in Arjeplog at that time. In Älvsbyn, the preferred cultural genres are of the lighter kind, which is mirrored in the kinds of artists that are invited to perform in Trolltügen. This has a long tradition in the community, and is considered to be adjusted towards the local and regional audience, not only through the choice of performing artists but also through making the event a 'common picnic' at one of the most popular outing places in the area. Piteå has built up a tradition with the Festspel i Pite Älvdal across two and

a half decades, and its content is finely tuned to the audience's diverse musical tastes. The festival goes well with the general understanding of Piteå as a 'music town'; and has an important function in fulfilling the official municipality aim of helping Piteå to be known as an event town with a music profile. Whilst Arvidsjaur has an active cultural life, the festival seems not to be included in it. The community has no special tradition related to music festivals, neither the Festspelen or any other; and although the local arrangers know that the core audience is away during summer, they seem to make no special adjustments to fit the festival content to the audience that remain, or, as they do in Arjeplog, to those who visit Arvidsjaur on vacation.

This account of the festival's relation to local conditions and habits illuminates three prerequisites: 1) that it needs to be seen as an important part of the cultural life of the municipality by official representatives, the people or both; 2) tradition is significant for the relations between municipality and festival, either as a set of general habits of attending such cultural events, or as a long-term relationship with one particular festival; and 3) adjustment to the tastes and whereabouts of the local audience is necessary. In other words, as Quinn (2005) emphasised, a festival needs to be rooted in society, and to meet the needs of the community groups available in its host municipality.

Social function and togetherness

Festivals have a social function and create preconditions for togetherness on several levels. At the Festspel i Pite Älvdal this comes through at the level of both individuals and municipalities. In Arjeplog the festival seems to create a feeling that something happens in the community. It is something to talk about, to tell stories about, a large happening that binds inhabitants together, whether or not they have attended the festival events. There is a feeling of togetherness among the core group of local festival administrators, a feeling that their joint trip to Piteå improved. There also seems to be a good connection between the core group and the administrators in Piteå, which has been strengthened by the general feeling of togetherness between Arjeplog and Piteå. In Piteå, the impression is that there is a strong feeling of togetherness among the audience, who know each other and experience a connection with the artists who return year after year. The festival is described as a meeting place with an important social and musical function. Since the core group of audience is relatively small, they probably recognise each other and experience a feeling of ownership towards the festival. It seems that the audience and inhabitants of Piteå do not connect to the rest of the river valley municipalities in any significant way. However this joint river valley feeling is not necessary for a municipality with strong self-esteem and a natural feeling of centrality. Furthermore, the central festival administration is located in Piteå, where it is probably thought to naturally belong. Connections with any of the other river valley municipalities do not seem important to Älvsbyn. Whilst there is a general historical connection to Piteå, the only thing that binds Trolltagen to the central administration of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is marketing. Still, the feeling of togetherness in Älvsbyn is related to the fact that almost everyone there has attended the performance at least once during their lifetime, usually in an extended family and across several generations. In addition, Trolltagen is perceived as a kind of 'popular party', in which the picnic lunch might be just as important as the performance. In Arvidsjaur, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is unknown to its inhabitants. It is not discussed, and, due to the lack of well-known artists, it is not perceived as 'festive'. Neither is there any feeling of togetherness among the local group of arrangers or among the audience in any of the ways described above. Unlike in Arjeplog, the arrangers in Arvidsjaur feel alienated from the festival administration in Piteå, and altogether rather isolated, lacking strong connections with any of the other river valley municipalities.

On the basis of the information given above, there is reason to believe that the festival, when it is able to create conditions for a feeling of togetherness to arise in any form, contributes significantly to strengthening the bonds between itself and its host municipality. As we have seen, factors influencing this might be of many kinds, for instance: 1) the festival is a topic of conversation; 2) the festival generates stories that are kept alive for many years; 3) the festival is experienced as binding people, families or generations together; 4) the festival (or performance, here Trolltügen) has been experienced by almost everyone in the municipality; 5) there is a feeling of togetherness and ownership amongst a core group of administrators or the general audience; 6) there is a strong, perceived connection between the administrators in the four different host municipalities; and 7) the audience feels a strong connection with some of the performing artists because they return year after year. As we can see from the matrix, not all these dimensions were present in each community. Nonetheless, the concept of togetherness seems to be important for the festival/municipality connection. The findings relate to those of Ekman (1999), who pointed out that festivals create cohesion by allowing attendants to draw on shared stories; and De Bres and Davis (2001) who said that cohesion is achieved by involving families, and the young and the old.

Anchoring in local municipality

As we have seen above, creating conditions for togetherness might mean anchoring a festival to its local municipality. How this is done in terms of cooperation with local agents, be they business partners, artists or volunteers, and through creating audience interest and taking initiative to festival content will be treated here.

It is evident that in Arjeplog the Festspelet i Pite Älvdal cooperates with several local agents: tourist information, hotels, the church, local politicians and municipality managers. This cooperation also includes a core group of enthusiastic administrators who long for the festival to start. Initiatives for concerts come from several quarters in the municipality, and in addition to the core audience, the festival attracts newcomers. Artists with local connections are invited to perform, and in 2005 did so in combination with artists with national reputations. In Älvsbyn, the picture is a little different but with similar characteristics. Trolltügen is arranged by an organisation anchored in local industry, and cooperate with a diverse range of local agents. Dancers for the performance are taken from the area, and the selection of artists to play or sing before the dance performance is made by the administration, rather than by an individual. The audience comes from all over the county, but also from the municipality itself, with as many as 1,500 people per performance in 2005. In Piteå, the festival is not only a matter for industry, church and politicians/municipality managers, but also for two large music education institutions: the people's college of Framnäs and the School of Music. There is also a general feeling that there are many people in Piteå who want the festival to happen, and who therefore pull in the same direction. In addition the potential for further cooperation is seen as large, with plans already existing for increased activity in the field. The central festival administration is located there, and has its physical base in Framnäs, in the midst of a very active musical and cultural daily life. Although there are few local artists present, those who are represent some of the Piteå spirit, and come across as extremely significant and very powerful partners with respect to the anchoring of the festival in its host municipality. Initiatives for concerts seem to come mostly from the festival management and board, who are open to the people of the municipality. Although quite a lot of the concerts in the festival are oriented towards the middle class insofar as they feature classical or contemporary music, there seems to be a conscious inclusion of other and more 'popular' styles and kinds of concerts to appeal to the whole society. Then again, in Arvidsjaur, there seems to be no cooperation with local agents other than the administrators

themselves. The artists all come from outside the municipality, and although earlier attempts to combine them with local musicians have provided successful, this has not been tried for some years. As we know from the discussion above, the core audience is away during the summer, and that which is left is small, which also means that the synergy effect that comes from advertising forthcoming concerts during earlier ones, is missing. Initiatives for concert programmes in Arvidsjaur are all from one person who also carries most of the responsibilities for the local administration of the festival, which is probably why the workload is too heavy.

To sum up, the important interfaces between the festival and the municipalities are: 1) cooperation between the festival and other local agents, be they industrial, political, cultural or educational; 2) a target audience, but also, as in Piteå, investing in broadening the scope; 3) more than one person taking initiatives to the festival content to ensure a broader and better understanding of the community, and to give less top-down perspective; and 4) the inclusion of local artists. If this latter is left out, the power of attraction for artists coming from outside must be great, or the artists must return (as in Piteå), so the audience has a chance to become familiar with them. As has been pointed out in all the four stories above, concentrating solely on local artists might endanger the quality of the festival. However, the stories also show examples of how an artist of national or international reputation was not recognised as such by the local audience. Once again it is possible to connect all these four points above to Quinn's conclusions that festivals need to be rooted in society and meet diverse needs; and to Waterman's (1998) reminder that most festivals end up developing a local element, either by including local artists or in other ways. Taking all four interfaces into consideration, it is tempting to conclude that a successful festival, at least such a one as the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*, seems to be something that a municipality has to produce together.

Outward visibility function

With reference to the story of Arjeplog, the Lapplands *Festspel* is a good example of how a festival might make a community visible to the outside world by attracting an audience from far away, and managing to maintain media attention throughout the festival period. The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* is also thought to have such a function, at least to a certain degree, but takes slightly different forms in the various municipalities concerned. The Arjeplog community becomes visible in the media, not because of their part in the festival, but because the overall festival marketing takes in the town. Älvsbyn has for a long time used *Trolltagen* very consciously as a trademark, to such a degree that the community finds itself having some kind of identity crisis during those years when the show is not performed. Whilst *Trolltagen* has been marketed both regionally and nationally, it is only through the festival programme brochure that the connection to the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* comes across. This connection is not so important for the community, neither in itself or for the outward visibility effect following the event. In Piteå there seems to be an agreement that the festival certainly functions as a public face, at least for the especially interested upper layers of society. Still, the overall impression is that in Piteå, the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* is part of a larger plan, a marketing package carefully built up across the years, that brings together the *Festspelen*, the PDOL, Framnäs people's college and the School of Music to make Piteå visible as 'the music town' or, as one of the interviewees said, an event town with a music profile. Arvidsjaur, having a rather active cultural life, and an official stress on the value of culture, could have incorporated the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* into their strategy in order to strengthen their profile, but this does not seem to have happened. Instead there are divided opinions whether or not the festival makes the community visible to the outside world. The findings show that the role

festivals may play as image-makers in the outward manifestations of a municipality (Delamere, 2001; Gursøy et al., 2004; Quinn 2005) can be quite complex and many-sided.

Developmental function within the municipality

The last connection between the festival and its municipality that I discuss in this section concerns the festival's direct developmental function vis-à-vis its host municipality. Three such examples are to be found in the stories, as well as another more overarching one. In Arjeplog, the festival is seen as meeting the cultural needs of the part of the population that has a higher level of education. As can be read from the story, such an adjustment might be necessary when the economy of the municipality shifts from lumbering and mining to concentrate on the service sector. Similarly, in Piteå the festival is considered important because it is seen to meet the cultural needs of those people who represent and take care of municipality development on a quite large scale, namely the business managers. As we can see from the Älvsbyn story, the local inland tradition is to put nature before culture. Still, because Älvsbyn has hosted the dance performance Trolltagen for so many years, local interest in dance has been strengthened and younger generations now see it as a possible leisure time activity. The overarching developmental aspect of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal that was mentioned earlier, was touched upon by one of the Piteå interviewees, who said that the festival was important for her municipality because it provided a level of musical variety that is not often heard in a small, peripheral town. If this is valid for Piteå, it must be even more so for the other three municipalities involved, which are even more sparsely inhabited and even further away from any centre. One of the developmental effects of festivals that is mentioned by Delamere (2001) and Gursøy et al. (2004) is that they become showcases for new ideas (such as dance) and increase the standard of living by, for instance, meeting cultural needs. But Quinn (2005) is also quite critical of putting too much emphasis on such effects without further investigation.

Festival and municipality connections as seen through observation

Many of the functions mentioned above emerge when the log material stemming from the observations of the festival events is categorised. The categories, which in some ways duplicate the information above, will only be mentioned briefly here. More space will be given to two festival/municipality connections that were revealed mainly through observation, namely "the use of physical places" and "the stories told through the festival about who we are".

Local habits constitute a separate category in the log material, and concern observations and considerations of how the festival relates to earlier experiences of festivals or similar events in the municipalities involved, as well as the matter of tradition. The concept of 'tradition' was used several times during the festival week, for instance, when the opening concert was declared 'traditional', and similarly when concerts at the local tannery were reopened. Notes were also made regarding how the festival adjusted to what was known about local musical likings and taste, and also local customs. Especially conspicuous was the contrast between an almost empty Arvidsjaur church and the crowded town market, some few meters away:

There are few people here; most of them are at the town market in the Main Street. The street is closed, people's party, sale, good bargains (...) this obviously attracts more people than folk music [does].

The festival's social function and the matter of togetherness come through in the categories named "togetherness" and "togetherness between the municipalities". The first is

concerned with many of the aspects mentioned above: the festival's ability to create conditions for togetherness through events that include some kind of socialising, coffee breaks, food and so on, and also through friends and families attending concerts together or accidentally meeting each other before, during or afterwards. The second category is a question regarding why no one from the central festival administration in Piteå travelled along the river valley to visit the concerts in Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur and Älvsbyn.

Anchoring in the local municipality is evident through the categories of "cooperation with local partners", "local connections" and "local lore". The one point of cooperation with local partners that was clear through observation was the connections with the sponsors and with various churches. Representatives of sponsoring industry would mount the stage several times during the festival week to bring greetings and to market themselves, and sometimes to hand out gifts. Festival partners were thanked officially by festival administrators, the last time at the closing concert:

Thanks to everybody who has made it possible to arrange the Festspelen in such a good way.

Local connections were emphasised by several of the artists, and by those who presented them. Anecdotes were told about the artists' past or present lives in the area, or, for those who came from elsewhere, celebrations of the beauty of the surrounding nature. Such a connection was also made through using local, Sami music or by singing or talking in the local Piteå dialect, Pitmål. Local lore was reproduced by the telling of histories significant to the area, once through a joke that was only funny if you were familiar with local conditions, but also by for instance telling about the historical background of some of the local songs performed.

The "local/global" category was connected to the outward visibility function because of the presence of international artists and the resultant media attention, and also through the fact that artists coming from outside take away their picture of Piteå with them when they leave, and hopefully through that, make the area visible to the outside world. However, locality is not only global, but also local, and much of the festival's function probably also lies in that the local community becomes visible to itself, through the eyes of outsiders, thereby enhancing community image and identity (Delamere, 2001; Gursoy et al. 2004) from the inside.

The use of physical places

"The use of physical places" represents perhaps one of the most important categories in the log material, because it shows how a festival is tied to its municipality through the use of local spaces, and through the ability of the festival administrators to make the most of those resources. In the preceding chapter I identified seven 'festival spaces': the chapel of Norra Bergnäs, Framnäs people's college, the indoor stadium Norrmalmia, Arvidsjaur and Piteå churches, the waterfall of Storforsen and the courtyard of Furunäset. In addition, I have also noted several other specific spaces in the log material, such as a tannery, the church in Öjebyn (a suburb of Piteå) and the community centre in Arvidsjaur. Here is a situational report from outside the tannery:

Magnificent weather! We sit outside Bölebyn's tannery, down by the river, which runs wide and silent. The stage is built of old timber and is placed by the water (...) There is a smell of bark, the tannery uses old methods. It is warm and green – midsummer.

In the preceding chapter I recorded the interviewee Maureen mentioning how some festival arenas seem to have a certain spatial identity, an attractive power of their own. Her two examples were the courtyard of Furunäset and Storforsen. During this chapter, it is also

evident that an important factor behind the success of Trolltagen is its location at the waterfall. A survey participant commented that she would never have visited Norra Bergnäs (which is part of her home municipality) if it was not for the festival concert arranged there.

Through the festival's use of a variety of locations for the concerts and other events, the audience discovers their own municipality. The festival takes certain spaces and makes them something out of the ordinary. According to Falassi (1987) this valorisation "modifies the usual and daily function and meaning of time and space" (ibid. p. 4) and is an inevitable part of the ritual acts connected to festivals in general. Also, Quinn (2005) emphasised that festivals have been used for centuries to express collective belonging to a place.

The stories told through the festival about who we are

Something that binds the festival and its municipality together, but which was not so visible in the interviews, was the fact that through the festival, stories were told about who we are, 'we' meaning the members of the host municipality, or people belonging to the festival community of practice. In this section, I will concentrate on the first 'we', giving some direct examples from the log. The topic of 'festival storytelling' will also be brought up in the conclusion of this chapter.

In the section above, the festival's anchoring in the local municipality became manifest through artists' local connections and through references to local lore. Both categories involved telling stories, either about artists' earlier or present lives within the area or about local historical events. Such histories have the power to contribute to an extended understanding of the host municipality, and to local people's self-conceptions. More explicit statements were made during at least three of the festival events: the opening concert, one of the 'Tonträff' events and the Euskefeurat/Costo Rico courtyard concert. At an early point in the official opening of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal's opening concert, a man speaking on behalf of one of the largest sponsors came on stage. What he said represented a confirmation of the view of Piteå as a music town. He also contributed to the general story of music being available for everyone:

Piteå is the international music town. Music equals versatility, manifold. Music equals a feeling of togetherness. Age, gender, skin colour does not matter. Music exists for everyone.

The Tonträff event was built upon the 'myth of the Pitebo'. The performing artist had put together a musical stand-up show in which she sang well-known tunes with new Pitmål-texts, made jokes about local ways and habits (the funniest ones were of course about people from other, nearby municipalities) and referred to current municipality incidents. My reflections were:

She relates to the local all the time. Prejudices against other, nearby municipalities + confirmation of own identity (...) is this a kind of own identity celebration?

The Euskefeurat/Costo Rico courtyard concert has been mentioned several times already, both in the preceding chapter, where a thorough description was given, and in the story of Piteå in this chapter. Through these descriptions, we can see how local histories are told by way of anecdotes about places and people in North Bothnia, but also in how the band told a meta-story through their texts about local ways of life, and about the outskirts' civil resistance towards the 'central values' being forced upon them from the capital. As the interviewees point out in this chapter, Euskefeurat somehow captured the Piteå spirit, and were able to tell the inhabitants of Piteå (and of North Bothnia in large) 'who they are' through their songs. In November 2005, this was made even clearer by an editorial in the local newspaper

commenting on a recent debate on the Piteå spirit, and making connections to the Euskefeurat concert four months earlier:

Euskefeurat has made the Piteå spirit concrete in text and music. And the Pitebos love their music. When Euskefeurat was resurrected at the courtyard of Furunäset this summer, a revival meeting atmosphere arose. The pre-band Costo Rico's excellent musicians were only able to, with their samba, rumba, and cha-cha-rhythms, evoke some helpless handclapping. When Euskefeurat reached the stage, something of a riot sprang. The Costo Rico-boys are probably still wondering what those younger-older men had, related to charisma, when they, just by entering the stage managed to get the courtyard to swing and, in the end, the audience to rise and sing in unison *There lives a people of a certain kind down by the Piteå river*⁹⁵. Talking about the strengthening power of togetherness. I left, filled with a strange feeling of having been saved. Somehow. (Pettersson, 2005).

The ability to create preconditions for togetherness also comes through as important in this quote, and echoes one of this chapter's preceding sections.

The 2005 Festsspel i Pite Älvdal told its audience stories about who they were by allowing the artists to refer orally and musically to local past and present happenings, prejudices, traditions and customs. At one point, this even led to a mild state of mass suggestion. Connecting the findings to Ekman's (1999), the festival became an arena in which local knowledge was produced and reproduced, and attendants drew on and created shared stories, cultural practices and ideals. Storytelling is essential for identity development. Here it seemed to have been a really powerful way of tying festival and municipality together. However, before following this thought to its conclusion, we will take a brief look at the survey findings concerning the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal and its contribution to the development of local identity.

Contributions to the development of local identity – survey findings

The survey findings regarding the festival's contribution to the development of local identity mirror in large the findings accounted for in the previous sections of this chapter. Rather than revealing new perspectives they strengthen them.

Seen by all survey respondents together, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal appears to make an important contribution to the river valley's cultural life. In all 88.6% agreed completely or largely that this was the case. Regarding the festival's function as a 'public face', either regionally or nationally, the findings also mirror the impression that this might be so to a certain degree, but more on a regional basis than a national:

Table 22. The festival's function as a 'public face'. Percent. N=350.

	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know	Missing
The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal functions as the local municipality's 'public face' within the county	24.9	35.7	25.7	3.1	8.3	2.3
The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal functions as the local municipality's 'public face' within the nation	15.7	26.9	26.3	9.7	18.0	3.4

⁹⁵ The original, Swedish text is: "Det bor ett folk av en särskild sort nere vid Piteälva".

Of all the host municipalities, Piteå was where the Festspelel was considered to function best as a public face at a county level. This is consistent with previous findings (when taking into account that Trolltügen, which is actively used in marketing, is not necessarily seen to be a part of the festival), but this is still not statistically significant.

Related to the thoughts displayed earlier concerning whether cultural activities are important for the area’s attempt to find a qualified labour force, 70.9% of the respondents agreed completely or largely. The number of participants who agreed that “The Festspelel i Pite Älvdal is important for local industry” was significantly lower at 58%. Perhaps this is a sign that the Festspelel can never be the sole factor of a localisation, but that it is nonetheless important as one of many.

The respondents were asked why they thought that internationally acknowledged artists chose to visit the Festspelel i Pite Älvdal. Six reasons were given: 1) the Festspelel has a good reputation as a serious festival; 2) the high artistic quality of the festival; 3) the special atmosphere that the river valley can offer musicians; 4) the festival administration does a good job; 5) the festival administration has an extended network; and 6) artists see the river valley as an exotic, exciting place to visit. The respondents thought that all of these were equally important, though when they were asked only about ‘large significance’, the two first reasons, good reputation and high artistic quality were thought to be slightly more important. The questionnaire also made it possible for the respondents to give their own reasons regarding this matter. Other topics were brought up in addition to those already mentioned, such as the midnight sun, the festival’s connection to the School of Music and the people’s college at Framnäs, artists doing it for the money and the festival being able to offer artists a well educated and interested audience.

No less than 68.2% of the respondents stated that the presence of local musicians was of great or medium importance for their concert attendance during the festival. Also, 64% thought that cooperation between local and well-known musicians was important to them. 72.3% respondents said that the prospect of hearing internationally acknowledged musicians ‘live’ was of great or medium significance. Such big names were also considered important for profiling the municipality to the outside world (76% agreed completely or largely), to keep the local municipality’s cultural life alive (78.6%) and to make it possible for the river valley’s municipalities to offer concerts of similar quality to those in Stockholm and other large European cities (70.6%). These findings mirror comments in the interviews about how well-known artists not only attract audiences but also inject life into local cultural life, ensure the festival quality and increase the municipalities’ visibility.

Survey respondents were asked to say whether they thought that the Festspelel i Pite Älvdal tied the river valley inhabitants closer together. The number of persons who agreed is not overwhelming, which is consistent with the interview findings:

Table 23. Festival contribution to river valley cohesion. Percent. N=350.

	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know	Missing
The Festspelel i Pite Älvdal ties the river valley inhabitants closer together	13.7	26.9	32.0	8.6	16.0	2.8

As many as 84.9% of the respondents agreed completely or largely that events which give a positive picture of the Pite river valley are important.

At the end of the questionnaire, the survey participants were asked to express general points of view concerning the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. Some complained about the festival's contribution to the development of local identity, and about its lack of visibility at both local and national levels:

They ought to make the marketing more 'visible', for instance by having short performances out in the community a day in advance (...) They are too anonymous and easily forgotten.

Some thoughts about Pite Älvdal being peripheral to the rest of Sweden, and the festival being mainly for the local audience were shared. Likewise, there was a desire for the festival to 'go local' to an even greater degree, by delegating concerts to the smaller villages in the area. Overall, opinions pointed in several directions, and no general conclusions were possible.

Contributions to the development of local identity – summing up

A basic assumption of this study is that individual identity is constructed and reconstructed through the stories about ourselves that we tell to others and ourselves (Giddens, 1990, 1991). This assumption also underlies the investigation of identity at municipality level. Hence, a festival contributes to the development of local identity through storytelling. It tells stories about who 'we' are, the people belonging to this municipality, to ourselves through the concerts and other events, and to the media, which retells those stories to others.

The festival's contribution to the development of local identity seems to have as a presupposition that the festival is included in the municipality's story of itself. The festival presence in this story is at its largest when the interface between the particular festival and its host municipality is wide and rich, and the festival and the municipality are connected in versatile ways. Still, it is hard to establish causality. Is the festival contributing significantly to local identity because it is well founded in the host municipality? Or is it well founded in the municipality because it contributes significantly to the development of local identity? In the case of the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal there seems to be a definite connection between these two factors.

An answer to the research sub-question *How does the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal contribute to the development of local identity in the communities in which it is arranged?* is that the festival did this by telling the audience (and thereby the inhabitants of the municipality) the stories of who they (or we) were, by deepening, re-telling and prolonging pre-existing community narratives. The national media focus on the festival was not too great and the audience came mostly from the surrounding area. Hence, the possibility to tell outsiders narratives of the municipalities through the medium of the festival was limited. Also, the local elements were many, and only clearly intelligible to the local audience. As we know, the narratives told differed between the four municipalities:

In Arjeplog, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal contributes to the development of local identity through prolonging the story of Arjeplog as a festival municipality. It generates festival-related stories, and is a topic for general conversation among the inhabitants. Likewise, it is experienced as a large, common happening. Music is used to consolidate togetherness and a common identity, which is perhaps one of the most universal functions of music (Juslin and Sloboda, 2001). Through using local space and locally connected artists, the festival widens the audiences' knowledge of their municipality, its historical and cultural heritage, and its natural and present cultural recourses thereby enlarging individuals' repertoires of stories. The Festspeleln also contributes to the further development of the story of Arjeplog through being part of preparations for a major shift in the local labour market and economy.

The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's presence in Arvidsjaur is too intangible to be able to say that it somehow contributes to the development of local identity. The interface between the

festival and the municipality is simply too small. Arvidsjaur has another community narrative to tell, in which culture certainly plays an important part though the festival is not included. Still, I suspect that some of the Arvidsjaur-inhabitants attend festival events as a way of stating and strengthening their position in the community as members of a cultural elite. However, this can not be seen as being solely generated by the festival.

Älvsbyn is probably the place where the Festspelel, through Trolltagen, contributes most to telling the community narrative to others, since the dance show is used so eagerly in marketing, regionally and nationally. This strong trademark has evidently become something that the inhabitants also find to be a natural part of the narrative they tell themselves about their local community; but surely also because attending the performance is almost obligatory if living in the area. Visiting Trolltagen is an experience that is held in common by nearly everyone in the municipality. Through the Festspelel, the narrative of Älvsbyn, as the town which hosts Trolltagen, is reproduced, as is that of Storforsen as a magnificent natural resource and outing area. Still, it remains a paradox that the inhabitants of Älvsbyn do not recognise Trolltagen as part of the Festspelel i Pite Älvdal.

The festival's contribution to the development of local identity in Piteå comes mainly through fulfilling its function in the larger picture, and thereby reproducing the narrative of Piteå as an event town with a music profile. This narrative is told both to others, outsiders, and to the inhabitants themselves. It is developed further when music that is not so often heard is performed. In 2005 Piteå hosted some events that retold community narratives in a very powerful way, and with which the audience were familiar, thereby strengthening a pre-existing, strong local identity. The fact that the festival administration is located in Piteå also strengthens the image of this town as a centre. This centrality requires the peripheral nature of the other river valley municipalities to be known as such. In seen as a resource for further development and cooperation, the festival also contributes to the further development of Piteå and the narrative of the town as rethinking and dynamic. As in Arjeplog and Älvsbyn, the focus on, and use of local space contributes to the inhabitants' increased knowledge of own municipality and its stories.

When the community/festival connection is at its most successful, as in Arjeplog, Älvsbyn and Piteå, the processes of interaction have a lot in common with what is going on inside a community of practice as defined by Wenger (1998). A sustained mutual relationship between community and festival seems to be necessary, as are shared ways of doing things together, for only then can many forces pull in the same direction to make the festival happen. Knowledge of what others know, what they can do and how they can contribute to the festival is important. As we can see from above, the festival mediates and reproduces local lore and shared stories, from which emerges a shared discourse reflecting a particular perspective on the world. Hence, it is tempting to conclude that a festival which contributes to the development of local identity, is one that has been able to establish itself as a community of practice.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

This final chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the study's findings with reference to earlier research in the area, and the chosen ontological and epistemological framework. The first section, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal and identity, explains the study's main and overarching research question. The second, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal and learning, is an exploration of the findings through the study's aim, looking into what is learned within the informal arena that the festival constitutes. In the third section I use DeNora's (2003a) 'Musical Event scheme' to dig deeper into preconditions for, and outcome of, hosting and attending a festival; and in section four, I throw light on some themes that have come to the fore during this investigation, including thoughts concerning the generalisability of the study's findings. Finally, I reflect on the most suitable way ahead for research in music education in late modern reality.

The research sub-questions have been answered in the previous three chapters. Before entering the first section of this chapter, I want to reiterate this study's main research question: *How does the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affect the development of the audience's musical identity, and in what way does the festival influence the audience's relation to their local community?* While the section below will display some of the complex nature of this question in full, here is a simple, and hopefully clear 'preliminary' answer: the music festival Festspel i Pite Älvdal affects the development of its audience's musical identity by contributing material suitable for generating the stories necessary for constructing narrative-based musical identities. In addition, the festival contributes strong, sometimes world-transforming musical experiences, and experiences of learning music, about music and via music. What will be each attendee's musical identity development, as an outcome of their festival visit, largely depends upon what the person in question brings into the festival context, in terms of earlier experiences, knowledge, understanding and previously developed musical, but also extra-musical aspects of the self. Because the outcome for most of the festival attendees is the maintenance of their already developed musical identities, there is reason to believe that attending the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is part of already ongoing identity work, and not so much about starting entirely new narratives about oneself and one's relation to music. Regarding how the festival influences the audience's relation to their local community, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal in Arjeplog, Älvsbyn and Piteå strengthens pre-existing traits and features of these communities. Through the festival, the municipalities become more distinct to the festival audience by using the event as a means for telling them who they are as community members, and what kind of community they participate in. In Arvidsjaur however, participating in the festival as a member of the audience means attending a cultural practice that is not rooted in that particular community.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal and identity

This section gives a deeper answer to this study's main research question. The first part is dedicated to the development of musical identity, firstly by displaying general features of the findings and relating them to the reported earlier research and secondly by looking further into how the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affects the development of musical identity through being an arena for lifestyle choices and a basis for self-regulatory strategies. The second part deepens the explanation of how the festival influences the audiences' relations to their local communities. As above, more general features will be discussed in an introductory section, before moving on to how the festival functions as an outward manifestation of community identity, and as an arena for reinforcing social and cultural community identity. In conclusion, I draw together the four identity dimensions of music festivals, and show how they contribute

to making such festivals a means for reflexive self-understanding in the 21st century. I will also discuss how self and society interact to co-produce musical identity.

Musical identity – general features

In the foregoing three chapters, results are given regarding musical identity that largely confirm or mirror those discussed by other researchers. In this section, I will concentrate on the general features of the construction of musical identity that become visible through the information given by the interviewees, and connect these features to research reported earlier on in this thesis.

As in Ruud's (1997) study of music and identity, some of this study's participants, the interviewees, were encouraged to share their musical self-narratives. Some of Ruud's (ibid.) 'rooms' can be found within these musical self-narratives: the personal room, the social room, the room of time and space and the transpersonal room.

Mark, in telling about his Christmas present, the recorder, entered his 'personal room' of early childhood experiences with music. He recalled the emotions that being given the instrument brought, the enormous feeling of mastery it gave him to 'crack the code' of being able to transfer his knowledge of fingering to other songs, and the experience of musical competence it gave to play "whatever he liked". He also told me about another early childhood memory, in which a zither caught his attention, and the fantastic feeling it gave to be allowed to explore the instrument closer. Betty has early memories of her mother putting her in front of the piano at four or five years of age. She attributed these early experiences with music to the fact that she was a musical omnivore. Her mother seems to have been quite active in her musical life, because she appears later as the one who put Betty in front of old ladies, this time to sing. In addition, Betty's early habit of going to concerts on her own seems to have made an indelible impact. She is able to recall details about seating and also names of conductors and performers. Although she does not say anything explicit about it, it seems likely that attending the concert hall alone since she was ten had developed her musical competence, maybe her expression and fantasy as well, and certainly her experience of self (ibid. p. 96). The latter comes through in a sentence pointing out the difference between herself and others: "There was no one [else] in my class that had such interests". In Laura's story about her children there is a vivid example of what children *do* with music, how they act further on musical experiences, and how music is a vehicle for the development of expression and fantasy (ibid. p. 94): "After we went to that sinfonietta this summer, they play symphony orchestra, conducting with sticks and playing the violin with those Couronne sticks". Maybe, in some distant future, Laura's children will tell about this sinfonietta concert experience as part of their own musical self-narratives.

The 'social room' is touched upon in Mark's account of his experiences with the wind band: "We were a gang of boys and girls (...) who played together. Practised and played and practised". The cohesiveness (ibid. p. 140) among the band members came through strongly in his story. Mark also pointed out that joining the band opened up the world of concerts for him, and that he would not have been the same person, musically speaking, without it. For Leo, music had been a way to mark his identity as a 'searcher', perhaps also that of an outsider. He constructed himself through telling about his musical taste, as a man who experiments and searches for the odd. Also, he identified deeply with Pink Floyd, whose music constituted a large part of who Leo is musically, because they are able to stimulate his "emotions in a good way". To Chris, Bach's music is a mediator of values (ibid.). He connected this music to his life as a Christian, using the metaphor of J. S. Bach being the fifth evangelist, and even spoke of his music's spiritual dimension, which other kinds of music

lack: “A Bach concert is for me a spiritual experience”. Chris’ example is a good reminder that not all marking of one’s own identity through music happens during adolescence.

The musical self-narratives do not give much information about incidents that can be related to the ‘room of time and space’. However, for some of the interviewees, the mere presence of the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* gives a sense of time through being connected to summer holidays, and through being perceived as a tradition. For Laura, the festival “has always been there” for as long as she can remember. It is a tradition and an institution, something that she looks forward to every year. Ellen saw the festival as a meeting place where people come to participate in a common celebration of summer: “Some come home for the ‘summer experience’ to be part of the dressed up, happy crowd”.

Both the musical self-narratives and the short statements from the survey show that when people enter a music festival as audience members, they sometimes enter the ‘transpersonal room’. We can glimpse what triggers the experiences made within this room, by looking at the survey material dealing with audience’s descriptions of strong emotional experiences. These triggers may be contextual factors, understood as frame factors and factors connected to the mediation of music, but also intrapersonal factors, understood as features brought into the situation by the individual in question. As can be seen from the quotes, audience members told me about their peak experiences (ibid. p. 178), changed states of consciousness (ibid. p. 175) and even experiences of a religious or a spiritual dimension (ibid. p. 186). Some of the statements tell about the close connection between emotions and identity, which will be further discussed below.

DeNora (2000) pointed out that we all resort to music in highly reflexive ways, creating and sustaining ontological security, modulating mood and levels of distress. The interviewees of this study come through as truly powerful musical agents in that they consciously used music as a feature of their own agency, and were able to tell me so during the interviews. For instance, Betty used the concert situation to regulate her energy levels (ibid. p. 53) and concentration (ibid. p. 58). She described herself as a very active person, who needed to find balance between all the things she is doing and herself. To attend a concert, means focusing, being unreachable: “I push away the reality outside, and go into the music and listen”. Laura used music to modulate and enhance mood (ibid. p. 47), especially when she feels melancholic or sad: “Sometimes I feel the urge for something special (...) something that in a natural way follow my emotional atmosphere”. Both Mark and Chris used music for active listening (Rusten, 2006; Small. 1998). Chris especially was very clear that listening to music for him was an activity in itself: he was unable to use music as a background. Chris also said that when he listens, he does so with the purpose of understanding how the music is put together, searching for the structure of the piece. Maureen, the youngest of the interviewees, had the most diverse ways of using music. Her preferred background music was pop, while she put on classical musical at home for relaxing, and as a means for regulating energy levels (DeNora, 2000, p. 53). She used folk music to enhance a happy mood, and also for activity, in her case dancing.

The *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* as an arena for lifestyle choices

In the chapter dealing with the theoretical background of this study, I introduced the idea of music festivals as arenas for lifestyle choices (Bocock, 1992), through their provision of social rooms wherein the attendees could be seen shopping for those lifestyle, cultural and musical experiences that had a strong distinctive value for them (Bourdieu, 1984), whilst also developing experiences that were important for the construction of their autobiographies. I also mentioned the possibilities that festival attendees had for staging the different aspects of the self, to choose and change between who to be, and to grow or develop parallel and

mutually contradictory identities, so as to cultivate many expressions of self-identity (Hall, 1992). In this section, I discuss the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal as an arena for the attendees' lifestyle choices by drawing on some of the examples from the foregoing chapters.

Festival audience members are not going to tell an interviewer that "I attend the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal because I want other people to see me while I shop for my lifestyle experiences". As Bourdieu (1984) pointed out, taste is first and foremost distaste, and is expressed by negation and by dissociation from other people's taste. In other words, this distaste must be sought out in the lifestyle related information. Another good way of investigating into how people position themselves in the lifestyle game is to see if they are able to identify who is an 'insider' and who is not, thereby revealing themselves, their own values and positions.

Looking through the chapters dealing with the findings, it seems evident that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is an arena wherein lifestyle is negotiated. The interviewees knew who in their community were possible festival attendees, and who were not. In other words, they had quite a good grip on who belonged to the festival community, and who was thereby an insider, and who was not. We also discover what kinds of people the festival attracts through the festival-municipality stories. Interviewees often dissociate themselves from certain features of the festival, or from certain people who attend it. Also, some of them are able to describe in detail the distinctive mechanisms that prevent some people from attending the festival and let others in. I will give some examples:

Andy's fictive person, "Karl-Oskar, the moose hunter" is a representative of those who do not belong to the festival community. According to Andy, this is because Karl-Oskar and his kind think the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal represents upper-class culture. Betty said that some people in her municipality will not set foot in concerts featuring "that kind of music", referring to classical music, while Ellen included her fellow 'cultural aunts' and fellow Low Church congregation members in the festival community, because of what she perceived to be their general disposition towards taking part in society, and having the habit of "going out".

Through the story of the relations between the host municipality Piteå and the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal, it becomes clear that the festival is considered important for Piteå in the sense that business managers and people with academic competence prefer classical music, and stimulating their taste will in turn make Piteå a more attractive place to live. Some of the Arjeplog interviewees pointed to a similar phenomenon. They said that the town needed the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal because it encourages workers to come from outside, people who "know what to ask for", with a lifestyle and a habitus that require "quite another kind of cultural life" than that which Arjeplog has to offer.

Chris was eager to disassociate himself from, not only certain features of the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal, but from the whole thing. Unlike the Lapplands Festsspel, he thought that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal was too diversified and although he had attended events, he did not admit these experiences into his musical self-narrative. Betty said that the opening concert attracted "the wrong kind of people", who came to see the Idol-singer, and who were not members of her 'classical music community'. Betty was also of the opinion that several people attended the festival to be visible. It is not enough to display your lifestyle by driving a Mercedes, she said: "You have to show that you are a little cultured, too".

Laura described some of the distinctive mechanisms that prevent people from attending the festival or let others in. Knowing the codes by which to be able to decipher festival information is a typical insider attribute, here related to knowing and recognising names of composers and pieces of music. Also, she pointed out that not recognising someone who is marketed as a world-famous artist makes you feel rather stupid, and leads to avoidance of her or his concert.

From the examples given above, and also with reference to information given in the sixth chapter about what kind of festival features scare people away, it seems that it is the Western

classical music that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal presents, or sometimes the absence of it, which constitutes the lifestyle factor with the strongest distinctive value in this connection. Returning to Bourdieu (1984), this could frame the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal as a typical middle-class lifestyle arena. However, the picture is more complicated than this, for there is also evidence that the festival appeals to other groups in society than the middle class. The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is certainly perceived of and functions as an arena for audience's lifestyle choices, and for lifestyle negotiations. Throughout the musical autobiographies it also becomes evident that this arena can be used not only as a way of maintaining a lifestyle, but also in the hope of adopting one.

For Betty and Mark, attending the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal meant maintaining and prolonging the lifestyle that they had established early in life. Betty said: "I am brought up with it". Her cultural habitus was developed when as a little girl she had access to piano playing and singing, but perhaps the concert hall in her hometown was even more important. Her regular, solitary visits to concerts as a child, and later as a young woman, had become part of a lifestyle she tried to keep, despite moving to a part of the country with less available cultural activities, and living there for more than 50 years. She said, "during [all] those years I have satisfied my needs (...) through the Festspelelen". The festival is for her one of the links back to 'life as she knew it', and an arena in which she had been able to keep in touch with that particular part of her self-identity. Mark was explicit that visiting the festival for him was connected to the maintenance of a lifestyle or habitus stemming from earlier experiences: "if I didn't have that experience [playing in the wind band], then I would have been another person (...) I would maybe have been a person who did not care to attend any concerts at the Festspelelen either".

For Laura, attending the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal was not so much about maintaining the lifestyle she had already achieved, as it was part of developing the lifestyle she *wanted* for herself and her children. She mentioned in particular that none of her friends or acquaintances attended the festival (except for her mother-in-law), which suggested that her festival habitus was not so well grounded as it was in the case of Betty and Mark for instance. Bringing her children to the concerts was a way for her to give them lifestyle experiences that were not so easily obtained in her community. She wanted to give her sons "something else", to "widen their horizons", and she was very clear about what she distinguished herself from: ice hockey and the commercial music industry related to Idol and similar TV-shows.

In chapter six we saw that there were not many 'lifestyle-jumpers' or experimenters among the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal-audience. Although the attendees generally had more than one musical identity, there were relatively few who were prepared to throw themselves into the 'habitus-transgressive' and non-everyday experiences offered by the festival. Not many seemed interested in the festival's safe guided tour out of their musical 'protective cocoon' (Giddens, 1991). The average audience member did not choose between who to be, or grow more parallel and contradictory identities. This was mainly reserved for attendees with high cultural and/or economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984) and a large amount of basic trust (Giddens, 1991), or in other words members of the upper middle class. It seems that there were few cosmopolitan 'citizens of the world' (ibid.) at the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal and thereby few who had mastered the distinctive trait of exhibiting and shifting between identities according to taste, even if the festival in many ways facilitated for such behaviour. Playful seriousness was linked to members of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984). Some of these members were interviewees such as Mark, Ellen and Andy, all of whom had middle class occupations, a good income and solid cultural capital. However, this is not the whole truth. Maureen, the youngest of the interviewees did not come from a typical middle class background. Her father was an industrial worker, and yet she distinguished herself from other interviewees by having the most 'changeable' musical identity of all. She emphasised that she certainly used the

Festspel i Pite Älvdal and similar arenas to discover new music and to cultivate the many expressions of her musical self-identity. So, what may the explanations be for such an exception? I will point out two possibilities, though Maureen's flexibility of identity is certainly due to a wide range of circumstances: 1) Maureen is young, in her early 20s, and she is still in one of the most intensive phases of discovering and constructing possible self-narratives (Hargreaves et al., 2002). Her age tells us that she was both born and raised in the era of late modernity, and the floating identity construction that this era requires and allows for may be seen as her 'natural' state of being. 2) Through her musical self-narrative, we can see that Maureen had access to various forms of music education throughout childhood and adolescence. She had played the violin since the age of nine, and participated in several formal and informal music-related learning practices. Although she may not be considered to have a middle class background, her access to community (and other) music activities ensured that she possessed quite high cultural capital in the field of music. This was part of her basic trust, her musical ontological security (ibid.), which allowed her to explore, shift and change between who to be, musically speaking.

In the current study, Maureen was more an exception than a rule. Overall, it seems that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is certainly an arena for lifestyle choices, but it is not so much an arena for the staging of the late modern self (Karlsen, 2004), as for a more traditional modern self, or what Hall (1992) calls the 'sociological subject'. Possible explanations of how and why the festival comes to be such an arena will be discussed further on in this chapter. For the moment, I would like to point out that when it comes to this particular festival's outward, 'staging' level of festival-related identity work, it is not so much about 'who to be' in an exploratory way as it is about confirming and maintaining prior identities, 'who I am'.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal as a basis for self-regulatory strategies

Music festivals present music, which, as first shown in the theory chapter of this thesis, is a tool that is integral to everyday identity work. This section explores how this more inward kind of identity work comes through in the data of this study. As already mentioned, audience's non-exploratory musical behaviour may be understood not only as social class or habitus-related. It can also be viewed as what DeNora (2000) named 'self-programming', and taken as a sign that the members of a festival audience possess strong musical agency, so that they know to a very large extent what music they need and where to get it. Similar strategies will be explored in this section with reference to study participants performing emotional, memory and biographical (ibid. p. 45) work through the festival, at which their attendance is connected to coping, generating pleasure, and creating a sense of occasion, and regulating feelings, moods, concentration and energy levels (ibid. pp. 16, 53). Hence, this section is dedicated mainly to the stories that the festival attendees told themselves about 'who they were' through the music, thereby constructing, reinforcing and repairing the 'inner' thread of self-identity (ibid. p. 62).

Examples of emotional work and memory work come through in the section about interpersonal factors in the survey participants' memories of strong emotional experiences with music. For instance, one participant wrote that her strong emotional experiences were due to the processing of a deep personal sorrow, and that going to hear the music presented at the festival was one of the strategies she used to cope with it. During one festival concert, another participant performed memory work connected to childhood and deceased parents: "The night concert with Birgitta Svendén presented pieces of music that were played by my parents during my childhood, and that were therefore also present at my mother's funeral". Similar examples can be found in the musical self-narratives. For instance, Laura said that she visited classical symphony orchestral concerts during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal that had given

her strong emotional experiences. These experiences seemed to be connected to some kind of emotional work, understood as an attempt to overcome or process awe, a “respect for the fantastic”, and a reverence towards the composers of the classical canon. When Chris chose to visit the festival performance of J. S. Bach’s *Musical Offering*, I interpreted this as a kind of biographical work (ibid. p. 45). As noted above, Chris emphasised during the interview that he was a Christian, and had chosen to live “that kind of life”. He was also very clear that taking part in a Bach concert was a spiritual experience for him. By attending this particular festival concert, Chris reinforced his Christian faith by seeking out a potentially spiritual experience, and spinning a “continuous tale” (ibid. p. 63) of who he is.

Although the festival audience did not themselves build or deploy the musical montages (ibid. p. 16) presented by the Festspele i Pite Älvdal, it is evident through the data that ready-made montages can also be used for coping, generating pleasure, creating occasion and affirming self- and group identity (ibid.). One of the survey respondents, in her ‘strong emotional experience’ statement, and Ellen gave examples of visiting one of the festival concerts as a way of coping with a difficult work situation: “I work with people who are sick from cancer and dying. The concert was balm to my soul”. Ellen said that the world of festival concerts was a contrast to her work in social security. Iris knew that visiting what she calls a ‘good concert’ generates pleasure and makes her feel ‘high’: “I feel drunk, as if I can embrace the whole world (...) I have enjoyed so much”. Ellen thought that just the festival preparations in themselves created a sense of occasion on a general level that was available to all the inhabitants. The Festspele i Pite Älvdal is a ‘summer experience’, a common celebration, something grand, which causes pride and joy. That the festival audience used the festival to affirm their self-identity has been dealt with already. However, both Mark and Maureen showed how the festival could be used to affirm group identity. Mark shared his concert experiences with friends, hence enhancing the experience and creating opportunity for a shared topic of conversation. Maureen recalled attending a concert with her cousins, and how she enjoyed not only the music and the atmosphere, but also the social occasion that allowed her to spend time with people she really cared for.

I have already mentioned Betty’s use of festival (and other) concerts to find balance, and to regulate energy levels and concentration. In addition, Betty knew that concerts helped her to change her mood, or to enter into what she called a trancelike state of mind. Looking through my descriptions of the different festival concert settings in the beginning of the sixth chapter, I find that I have described a mood change in myself, and also a change in my energy level. Entering the closing concert, probably in a rather stressed state of mind due to my tight observation schedule, I described how Bach’s *Musical Offering* made my stomach ‘fall into place’, how my breathing became deeper, and how the music, perceived of as ‘non-invasive’ allowed my thoughts to wander freely. During the same concert, Chris, through active, concentrated listening, let the music regulate his level of concentration, which was for him the only possible listening mode. The festival concert descriptions also contain a good example of how music’s regulation of energy level or structuring of action is a matter of reflexivity and agency, of *acting* upon music (DeNora, 2003a, p. 134) rather than being a simple stimulus-response connection. During the courtyard concert with Euskefeurat and Costo Rico, the Costo Rico vocalist worked very hard to make the audience act upon the music, to dance and to clap with the music. She received almost no response, although the music certainly afforded rhythmic movements. As we know, the audience behaved in a completely different manner as soon as Euskefeurat entered the stage. The folk rock they played may not have afforded as much movement in itself as the Latino music and reggae played by Costo Rico, but the audience’s relation to the music, *their music*, to the band and to the texts, made them *act* upon what the music afforded, “shouting, singing along, dancing, laughing, wildly applauding”, creating a revival meeting atmosphere as one of the local journalist recalled.

The examples above show how the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal can be used as an arena or a basis for its audience's self-regulatory strategies (DeNora, 2000, p. 52) with music, as part of their everyday identity work of a more inward kind. What the audiences are doing can be related to Small's (1998) concept of *musicking*, meaning an action or a series of actions that people do towards, with or alongside music. In some of the settings described above, festival attendants 'musick' internally as individual listeners, though still together with others, participating in a musical performance – the concert. This is the case with, for instance, processing grief, remembering childhood, reinforcing Christian faith, and regulating moods. In other examples, the musicking is more of an external activity, as with the Euskefeurat audience. However, audiences have in common that the work they carry out with music helps them make meanings, and gives structure not only to their musical experiences, but also to their experiences in general. Through festival-related processes, the single 'musicking' attendee tells and retells herself, by feeling, remembering and knowing not only 'who she is', but also 'how she came to be this way'.

General features of the festival's relations to the host municipalities

In this section, I will connect some of the more general features of the study's findings concerning the festival's relation to the host municipalities to theory and research reported earlier in this thesis. Then, in the two forthcoming sections, I will describe more closely the aspects of identity on the festival/municipality level that are revealed through the data.

Like the festival Mehmetoglu (2002) investigated in the north of Norway, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is a festival that cater mostly for the residents. Audiences are predominantly local (Waterman, 1998), and the festival has some well-developed local connections. Whilst some of the attendees come from the areas surrounding the host municipalities, or are visitors for reasons that have nothing to do with the festival, few, if any come from afar for the sake of attending the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal alone.

Although the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal certainly has quite a lot of local elements, it also links the global and the local (ibid.) through, for instance, featuring the world-music band Costo Rico and the local band Euskefeurat in the same concert, but also through allowing festival audiences to participate in the worldwide rituals connected to performances of Western classical music (Small, 1998) in local space. Thereby, the audience participate to some extent in an international arena (Walderhaug, 2000).

In the Rollin' Down the River Festival described by De Bres and Davis (2001), its success was inversely related to population size. In other words, events held in small communities were likely to attract more people than events in larger ones. This result is equivalent to the comparison that I made in chapter five between the audiences at the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal (another river-related festival) and those at a similar event in Stockholm. However, this result is not valid for all the river municipalities. Piteå, the largest host municipality involved, has an average audience of 373 per event, while Arvidsjaur, which has the third largest population has only 49. Älvsbyn, second on the list, has an average audience of 1,500 per event while Arjeplog, the smallest municipality, has 200. The data shows to some extent how the audience numbers came to be this way. Surely population size and audience are not simply inversely related.

The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal is definitely about intensification, one of the cardinal points of festival behaviour mentioned by Falassi (1987), but perhaps not so much about reversal, trespassing and abstinence as may be the case with rock and pop festivals, or other large events such as carnivals. Still, through reading and categorising the statements about the audience's strong emotional experiences with music, it becomes apparent that the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal certainly does produce exceptional frames of time and space, 'time out of time'

(Bachtin, 1986), the single components being what are categorised here as ‘contextual factors’. These seem to be the principal triggers for the audience’s liminal experiences with music, their transformed states of being (Gadamer, 1986). With reference to Waterman (1998), there is some evidence, as was discussed earlier in this chapter, that the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* might be seen as a ‘high brow’ festivals because of the classical music it features, and the ways in which this enables the social elite to distinguish themselves from the lower classes. Still, the festival is not only an event that the elite give to themselves, but also an event that is given “by the establishment for the people” (Falassi 1987, p. 3). The courtyard concerts especially, provided a broader arena with the potential to attract many kinds of people, so that everyone could “feel they get something out of the *Festspelen*”. We can see from the survey that some of the concerts also functioned in this way. Hence, the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* displays some of the crossover tendencies mentioned by Bjørkås (2001).

Delamere (2001) and Gursoy et al.’s (2004) ways of measuring the impact of festivals are only in part applicable to the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*. For instance, the festival enhanced the image and identity of some of the communities that were investigated, as well as building community pride, creating cohesion and preserving local culture (all these aspects will be dealt with more closely in the forthcoming sections). However, this kind of impact does not come automatically just by arranging a festival. In the previous chapter we saw that whether or not the festival would contribute or function in such a positive way was connected to the wideness and richness of its interface with the host municipality, and also to the festival’s inclusion in and agreement with the municipality’s self-narrative. In the three municipalities to which the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* contributed ‘community benefits’ (Delamere, 2001) or ‘community cohesiveness’ (Gursoy et al., 2004), the development of local identity happened first and foremost through telling festival audiences who they were, by deepening, re-telling and prolonging pre-existing community narratives. This agrees with Palmer’s (2004a) findings, namely that impact on a host destination and sustainability will be greater if the cultural initiative, here understood as the festival, is part of a long-term cultural development strategy for the municipality.

As well as benefits to the community, we see examples in the current study’s data of various ‘individual benefits’ (Delamere, 2001). For instance, both Betty and Mark talked about the pleasure of meeting festival performers, several participants mentioned the variety of cultural experiences available through the festival, and Ellen experienced a personal sense of pride when she talked about ‘grandness in a little town’. Benefits like opportunities to learn new things (ibid.) and festivals being educational (Gursoy et al., 2004) are also visible in the material, and will be dealt with in depth further on in this chapter. Several interviewees and survey participants also believed that the festival contributed ‘economic benefits’ (ibid.) by enabling an increased standard of living, and by being attractive to the newcomers in Arjeplog and the business managers in Piteå.

Both Delamere (2001) and Gursoy et al. (2004) pointed to the ‘social costs’ of festivals, such as disruption of routines, intrusion, crowdedness and unacceptable levels of traffic, noise and litter. However, these costs do not seem to be applicable to the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*. This may have several explanations, among other things that not many festivalgoers come from outside the host municipalities. It may also be related to the fact that for three of four municipalities the festival prolongs a pre-existing community image, and is as such not an ‘intrusive’ element. In the story concerning Arjeplog, the Lapplands *Festspel* was said to have intruded “into the lives of community residents” (Delamere 2001, pp. 28-29). One interviewee described the feeling of having to “move over!” because of this particular festival, which “took over the whole place” bringing all normal activities to a standstill. In comparison, the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* was seen to be far more quiet and non-invasive, appealing more to the host community.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal as an outward manifestation of community identity

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal was described above as an arena for lifestyle choices, allowing concertgoers to stage their identity or identities, displaying who they are or who they would like to be. It also became apparent in the seventh chapter that the festival sometimes functions at the municipal level to advertise the identity of the community. As accounted for above, in Älvsbyn, Trolltagen is used as a trademark to market the place both regionally and nationally, and the festival is what makes Arjeplog visible in the media. In Piteå, the festival is considered to have a double outward visibility function: 1) towards an especially interested ‘high-brow’ audience; and 2) as part of the larger plan to market Piteå as an event town with a music profile. In the latter example, the festival is part of what Palmer (2004a) would have called a sustained vision for the city. Still, the image making effect of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal may be considered somewhat unstable, and not as pronounced as for the festivals in Hultsfred (Bjällesjö, 1999) or Arvika (Eriksson, 2004). This is for several reasons. Firstly, the Trolltagen event in Älvsbyn is not seen to be part of the festival at all. Whilst it has an image-building function, it gives nothing ‘back’ to the festival. Secondly, the Festspel i Pite Älvdal is mistaken for the PDOL by people from other parts of Sweden, who identify the latter with Piteå, but not the Festspelen. This contributes to building the music-event profile of Piteå, but does not tie the Festspelen and Piteå together explicitly. Both Delamere (2001) and Gursoy et al. (2004) emphasise ‘enhanced community image’ as one possible festival impact. However, Gursoy et al. (ibid.) made a distinction between enhancing the community image to *outsiders*, and doing the same for the municipality inhabitants. In chapter seven, there is a story about the inhabitants of Piteå believing it is due to a misprint that their street festival, PDOL, had been left out from the national press’ yearly overview of festivals. This story points to a possible disjunction between the image of the festival within the municipality, and that seen from outside.

In Quinn’s words (2005) a festival is not a “sort of ‘quick fix’ solution” (ibid. p. 932) for a town or a municipality’s image problem. Using a festival as an image-maker, as an outward manifestation of a community’s identity is a complex task, because the ‘truth’ or rather the image, lies in the eyes of the beholder, the outsider in this case. However, festivals can contribute, as does the Festspel i Pite Älvdal to some extent, to the municipality’s work of deciding ‘who they want to present themselves as to the outside world’.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal as an occasion for reinforcing social and cultural community identity

Just as music festivals can be used as a basis for individual self-regulatory strategies through the music they present, so can they also be used to reinforce social and cultural community identity, and cohesion among the inhabitants of a municipality. This work involves storytelling, celebrations of local space and the bringing together of the community across generations.

The section called ‘the stories told through the festival about who we are’ in the preceding chapter, contains several examples of how the Festspel i Pite Älvdal created opportunities for drawing on shared stories, shared cultural practices and ideals (Ekman, 1999) by artists telling stories about local past and present happenings, prejudices, traditions and customs. The Euskefeurat part of the Euskefeurat/Costo Rico concert is a good example of how music symbolises and offers an “experience of collective identity” (Frith, 1996, p. 121), and how people come to know themselves as groups “through cultural activity” (ibid. p. 111). The story about the Festspelen and Arjeplog showed how the former also functioned as a general conversation topic, something to talk about and to tell stories about that had been kept alive in the municipality, thereby enhancing local continuity (Ekman, 1999) in several

ways. Also, local history and culture was promoted and preserved (Frisby and Getz, 1982; Gursoy et al. 2004) by for instance the highly localised Sami ballad and jojk evening in Norra Bergnäs.

The data called ‘the use of physical places’ shows how the Festspele i Pite Älvdal is an occasion for expressing collective belonging to a place (Quinn, 2005) or for celebrating a sense of place (Derrett, 2003). The descriptions of Trolltagen show how the event is not created by the performance alone, but also by the place in which it happens, which makes it something out of the ordinary. This celebration of particular space contributes to the feeling of the community being unique and special (Delamere, 2001) and helps to build community pride (Gursoy et al., 2004).

Trolltagen has also developed social cohesion because for many years it has included almost every inhabitant, young and old, of Älvsbyn. According to Gursoy et al. (ibid.) families who participate in such an event demonstrate commitment to their community. De Bres and Davis (2001) also observed that involving families in a festival was among the things that promoted cohesion.

When we combine all these aspects included in a municipality’s festival-related self-identity work, we can see how a music festival like the Festspele i Pite Älvdal represents a strong tool for a community to tell its members or inhabitants ‘who they are’.

The four identity dimensions of music festivals

Summing up the sections above, it seems that a music festival like the Festspele i Pite Älvdal has four dimensions of identity work to maintain and develop both individual and municipality identity. Each of these has an outward and an inward dimension. The different dimensions interact with and affect each other, and should therefore not be seen as completely separate entities. Nonetheless, the figure below provides a provisional model of the identity dimensions of music festivals.

	OUTWARD DIMENSION	INWARD DIMENSION
INDIVIDUAL	<p>Arena for lifestyle choices</p> <p>Displaying, staging and choosing ‘who to be’ and ‘who I am’</p>	<p>Basis for self-regulatory strategies</p> <p>Feeling, remembering and knowing ‘who I am’ and ‘how I came to be this way’</p>
MUNICIPALITY	<p>Outward manifestation of community identity</p> <p>Deciding ‘who we want to present ourselves as to the outside world’</p>	<p>Occasion for reinforcement of social and cultural community identity</p> <p>Telling, retelling and celebrating ‘who we are’</p>

Figure 4. The four identity dimensions of music festivals.

As can be seen above, all four dimensions can be recognised in the data of the present study. They all have narrative features, and help to maintain and generate the stories about ourselves “that we tell others and indeed ourselves” (Hargreaves et al. 2002, p. 10) in order to construct meaningful connections (Hall, 1992) and continuity in the floating, ephemeral and open-ended identity work of late modernity. A music festival enables the past, present and future aspects of identity work, from ‘how I came to be this way’, through ‘who I am’ to ‘who I want to appear as or become’. Maybe this is what constitutes music festivals’ significant ritual power in the 21st century. Looking back to the chapter dealing with this study’s relation to earlier research, Falassi (1987) spoke of festivals’ connection to social identity, historical continuity and even physical survival by emphasising the ritual traits of festivals that contribute to these kinds of events having such a function. Festivals seem to origin in some deep human need, but from whence this need originates may shift as society changes. In the Western world of the 21st century, festivals may be not so much about a community’s physical survival, as about our individual and collective mental survival, because they provide a means of understanding ourselves reflexively (Giddens, 1991).

The co-production of musical identity: self and society

Earlier in this thesis I quoted Wenger (1998) saying that the focus of analysis of identity should not be on either the person or the community, but on their mutual constitution, or the co-production of self and society. At the end of this section, where I discuss the identity dimensions of this study, I will reflect on some aspects of the co-production of musical identity that are revealed by the data. I will begin from what I know about the identities of the interviewees, whose musical self-narratives were written up as their stories in chapter five, and from what I know about the communities in which they live.

Betty’s classical and contemporary Western music identities were very strong, having been developed through childhood and adolescence when she lived in an area of Sweden that was relatively rich in cultural opportunities. She then moved north, to a place where opportunities to visit the kind of concerts she was used to were much more sparse. As pointed out earlier, visiting the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* could be understood as one way Betty retells herself to herself – a way of connecting to ‘life as she knew it’. That is how the festival came to be the ‘gas station’ or ‘elixir of life’, in the sense that it kept alive, or kept her in contact with a very important part of herself, which it was harder to maintain in North Bothnia. Maybe, if she had remained in the area she was from, her classical music identity may have been equally strong, but not that pronounced, because of the easier access there to the music she needs.

The classical music identity Laura wants for her sons stands in direct relation to how she experiences her community. Laura wants to present a counterculture to her kids, in contrast to a society filled with commercial music-related TV shows and a local community with a heavy emphasis on sports as the preferred leisure activity for boys. This was her main reason for visiting the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* in the year of the study.

The individual and social co-production of Mark’s musical self-narrative is not so much about the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*, and neither is it limited to his musical identity. Mark, who was a recent newcomer to his municipality, said that he, curiously enough, had increased his cultural consumption since moving there from a rather large town, which certainly had much more to offer. As in the case of Betty, when it is harder to maintain an identity, because of less access to the kind of music needed to do so, it becomes more important for the individual. Chris also mentioned something similar when he said that people in his rather small municipality visited concerts more often than people living in Stockholm even if the opportunities were considerably less.

Leo constructed himself through the interview as a musical experimenter, something of an outsider who had searched for the odd, and reached out towards the edges. Within his small community, his wide musical preferences from electronic music to Wagner made him a musical outsider. However, had he been living in a larger town, he would maybe have had access to one or more musical communities, which could have made him construct himself as an affinity group member instead of someone searching for the odd, alone.

Maureen's many and diverse musical identities originated in the music education and access she had in the municipality in which she grew up. Still, it comes through in her interview that it is much easier to maintain and develop her identities in the larger town where she lives now, because of better access to a wider variety of music.

What all these interviewees have in common, is that, through participating in the festival community, they also participated in an international arena (Walderhaug, 2000) and thereby made it possible to connect the identities brought into and developed within the festival context to "broader constellations" and "broader styles and discourses" (Wenger, 1998 p. 149). Individual and social co-production becomes then, not only a matter of the mutual constitution of person and local community, but also of relations between the individual, the local and the global.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal and learning

This section explores the Festspel i Pite Älvdal as a source of informal learning by cross-reading the findings from two different, epistemological angles. Firstly, I will look into the material using the same socio-cultural theory that provided the main epistemology of this thesis, namely the theory of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Secondly, I will explore how the study participants' learning experiences and outcome can be understood in terms of musical knowledge. This is done by turning to the frameworks of Mark (2002), Small (1998) and Swanwick (1994). Finally, I will discuss some additional aspects of the festival-related learning, including relating the findings to earlier theory and research, investigating learning on the municipality level and discussing the learning-related implication of the findings that were reported in chapter six regarding the audience's development and maintenance of musical identity.

Festival learning in a situated perspective

Quinn (2005) discussed festivals *as* communities. Using Falassi's (1987) definition, as I have done before, it is possible to see music festivals as attracting musical communities or affinity groups who are united by their love for music, either generally or only for particular styles, and who thereby share a worldview. The way is short from here to looking into music festivals as communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991). In this section I will investigate festival-related musical learning closer and from a situated perspective, which is the main epistemological point of departure for this study. I will look into how learning goes about, if it is possible to detect any learning strategies among the study participants, and what the learning outcomes, which were described in an earlier chapter, may look like when seen through the chosen epistemological glasses. I will also discuss whether the festival contains one or more communities, and what these afford when it comes to what is or should be learnable within them. Finally, I will lift the discussion to a meta-level, regarding the community's function in relation to society at large: who is learning what, by whom and for what purpose?

According to Lave and Wenger (1991) learning within a community of practice happens when full members act as models for more peripheral participants. Thus, learning processes can be detected by considering the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and through

looking at how participants relate to the activities, identities and artefacts of the community. Since learning is understood within the epistemology as a process of becoming (Wenger, 1998), investigating participants' identity development or maintenance will also reveal experiences of learning.

Betty is a good example of a person who is a 'full member' of the festival community of practice. She certainly had access to a "wide range of ongoing activity" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 100) and knew her way around. From her musical self-narrative, we can tell that not only did Betty visit an impressive number of concerts during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, and had great knowledge of the music presented there, she was also personally acquainted with several of the festival administrators who had been employed by the festival over the years, and had seized the opportunity to influence the content of the festival programme. In addition, she had lent out personal artefacts to performers and grew to know them as individuals, and not only as musicians. However, there are no suggestions in Betty's story that she was acting as a model for newcomers. However, there were more of her kind 'out there'. Several of the other interviewees seemed to either have, lack or act as a kind of mentor, understood as 'a more full member' when orienting themselves in the festival community of practice, or similar informal learning arenas⁹⁶. Laura's mentor was her mother-in-law, with whom she attended the festival regularly. She described this woman as interested, enthusiastic, and above all as having the self-confidence to throw herself into new musical experiences, something Laura was a little more cautious of doing. Likewise, Ellen's social network of friends and acquaintances acted as her mentors in her search for new musical fields. On the other hand, Leo explained his shortcomings with electronic music without the help of a more full member: "I had no-one in my surroundings that could help me, because it was too difficult [to do it all on my own]". When Maureen attended the festival with her mother, I suspect that she acted as her mother's mentor within the festival community because of her great knowledge of and interest in different musical styles. Still, mentors may not always be people closely related to us. From Iris' description of the festival-related learning experience when she learnt to trust her own musical judgement, we can see how the acknowledged musician seated close to her, who was a full member in many ways, acted as, or rather became, her model: "I did not applaud. I turned around and saw that [the musician] did not applaud either. Since then, I have learned to trust my own senses and my own judgement".

From the description of Betty's character given above, we can see how she learnt by relating to the performers' different identities. Through interacting with a musician by lending him her bike, she learnt something new about the music he produced. The other interviewees (including Betty) also learnt from participating in the festival community's central practice, or what Small (1998) called the ritual of the concert, and from the music itself. The audience does not have a lot of 'supporting artefacts', such as music instruments or notes, for the work of learning music from participating in the festival community of practice. This results, at least for some of the interviewees, in a learning strategy close to what I will call 'surrendering'. I will describe closer what I mean in the following.

When Betty talked about how she used the concert situation for self-regulatory purposes (see above), she also said something about learning: "I push away the reality outside, and go into the music and listen, and then I experience and *learn a lot*" (my italics). Similar can be found about strong emotional experiences: "Occasionally I am filled with happiness by *understanding* parts of, or whole musical sequences when I have forgotten everything around me" (italics and underlining by the survey participant). Chris also described a process of surrendering. When talking about the possibility of learning music that may seem difficult or

⁹⁶ Having access to mentors, or significant people who help to open musical worlds, was also a characteristic of the interviewee in Rusten's (2006) study.

impenetrable at first, he recommended respecting people who could recognise good music better than oneself, or in other words who were 'more full members'. By continuing to listen whilst surrendering both to the opinions of the full members and to the music itself, one starts to appreciate the quality of the music, and learn to understand it. At first I interpreted what Chris said as submissive, but then realised that the process he described could also be understood as a learning strategy. As emphasised above, in the concert situation the participants of the festival community are left with very few artefacts to support the musical learning process, except the music itself and perhaps an occasional concert programme. Hence, surrendering is a suitable and probably one of the most effective ways to learn music in this or similar contexts.

Wenger (1998) described the work of becoming – the identity work that combines the experience of being-in-the-world with the reflexivity necessary for creating a sense of inner self – not only as a kind of identity development, but also as a process of learning. This particular learning process incorporates “past and future into the meaning of the present” (ibid. p. 163). From figure 4, showing the four identity dimensions of music festivals, we know that such learning also takes place in the community of practice of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal. Through participating in the festival, attendees learnt about themselves, who they were, how they came to be this way and who they can become. Furthermore, they also learnt about themselves as members of a community or municipality, and their relation to broader, global discourses (ibid.).

So far, the findings correlate well with how the theory of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991) states that learning should be in a community of practice. Furthermore, from the evidence of the learning outcomes, some of this learning can be described as learning to behave within discourse. Sara talked about learning to master a new social arena, Maurice was concerned with learning the rules of behaviour, whilst Iris, learning to trust her own judgement, as described above, represents an instance of negotiating “ways of being a person in that context” (Wenger, 1998, p. 149). However, not all the outcomes of the learning experiences reported by the interviewees, are compatible with the chosen epistemological framework. What seems most incompatible with theories of situated learning is that some of the interviewees learnt facts such as names of composers and pieces of music (Betty) and the stories behind music (Laura). Also, as shown in the description of the festival events in chapter six, factual knowledge was mediated by the artists in a way that could be interpreted as an attempt to educate the audience. Stories were shared about music and Sami culture at the Sami ballad and jojk evening; during the lunch concert in Arvidsjaur stories were told about the origin of the folk music played; and in the closing concert one of the musicians guided us through a part of Western music history so as to put Bach’s music into context. Learning within a community of practice may not be mainly about internalising facts, but so long as the individual acts “in the world” (ibid. p. 49), in this case that of the music festival, factual knowledge is mediated through several sources, and some of it sticks as learning outcomes. There were also processes that closely resembled those of teaching.

I touched before upon whether or not the Festspele i Pite Älvdal could be seen as one or several communities of practice. On the basis of the findings, I propose a model of the festival as one overarching community, including the festival staff and board, artists, teachers, master class students, sponsors and audience. Still, there are signs in the findings that there might have been sub-communities. I will give two examples.

Firstly, there is a strong classical music community, which I earlier called the ‘inner core’ of the Festspele i Pite Älvdal. The members of this community may not be many, compared to the total number of festival attendees, but findings show that they are very active. They attend a lot of concerts, mainly classical ones, but are also active in transgressing style and genre borders, or in other words they have access to large parts of the total community of practice

“and all that membership entails” (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 100). With what we know about the social class of these border-crossers or experimenters, and taking into account that quite a few of the interviewees thought that listening to classical music is connected to belonging to the upper layers of society, it seems quite reasonable to believe that most of the members of the classical music community of practice in the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal belonged to the middle class or above. Hence, it is my belief that the learning which this community afforded was not only connected to the music played or to the rules of behaviour inherent in particular concert contexts, but to all that listening to classical music entails, in other words to what it meant to be a person within the social group that does so.

Secondly, one of the sub-communities was connected to the folk-rock group Euskefeurat, as was clearly apparent in all the ‘findings’ chapters. With reference to both the journalist’s and my own descriptions of the concert, it was evident that the audience did not learn the music by attending the concert because they *knew the music already*. What this community afforded in terms of learning was mainly what it meant to be an inhabitant of North Bothnia, rather than the music itself.

With reference to one of the topics discussed in the theory chapter concerning whether or not a music festival can be an educational arena, it is possible to see a music festival like the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal as a means by which different groups in society, whether they be social classes or affinity groups, educate their own members. According to Frith (1996), making music is not a way of expressing ideas, “it is a way of living them” (ibid. p. 111), which means that when participating in the music-making practices constituted by the festival, the audiences learnt not only about music, but they also developed an understanding of the ethical codes and social ideologies that constitute this particular aesthetic practice. Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasised that the community of practice carry the knowledge necessary for “making sense of its heritage” (ibid. p. 98), for producing the practice’s own future, and for constituting and reconstituting it over time. Hence, the educational intention may not lie primarily with the festival director and board but with the festival community of practice itself, or rather with the social groups in which this practice originates. The answer to the above stated questions concerning who is learning what, by whom and for what purpose, is that the festival community members learn what the practice itself affords, and what is necessary to keep it alive and to pass on its worldview (and all that this entails) to future generations of community members. Since different festival communities share different kinds of worldviews (Falassi, 1987), they will have different learning outcomes.

Relations between festival audience’s learning outcome and theories of musical knowledge

I have said above that not all learning outcomes that were described by the interviewees were possible to explain or understand through the sociocultural epistemology that I chose for this study. This may be due to learning encompassing at least two branches of interconnected processes, the sociocultural ones and the inner, cognitive ones (Illeris, 2001). Learning music, about music and via music as the participants in the current study did, and as categorised below, involves an interplay between these two branches of learning processes. Because this thesis is within the field of music education, I wanted to explore the learning outcomes in terms of learning music, or rather to look into what kinds of musical knowledge were developed by the study participants attending the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. As indicated in the heading, this section is an investigation into what the festival audience’s learning outcomes look like if we see them in relation to theories of musical knowledge.

In the category of *learning music*, Mark, Maureen and Andy mentioned learning to be familiar with and enjoying musical styles and genres. Chris pointed to developing listening

skills, such as recognising music and building a ‘live musical experience library’ in order to compare festival performances with earlier live performances of the same piece. Similarly, Laura mentioned that she had learnt to distinguish between different instruments, such as the xylophone and the marimba. This latter outcome could of course be fact-oriented, but may also be interpreted as learning how to discriminate musical sound. These learning experiences can be seen in relation to the conceptual framework of musical knowledge developed by Swanwick (1994). In fact, these three examples may all come under Swanwick’s conception of “knowledge by acquaintance” (ibid. p. 17). Learning to discriminate between different instruments is aural discrimination, one of the components of “knowing how,” whilst learning to enjoy new styles and genres of music can be placed under attitudinal knowledge – “knowing what’s what” (ibid. p. 19). Building a listening library means extending knowledge of and ability to identify expression and form, which Swanwick called “knowing this” (ibid. p. 17); and although we are talking here of an immediate, primary acquaintance with music, Chris described a comparative process that points beyond intuitive knowledge towards “selection, interpretation and reconstitution” (ibid. p. 43) of earlier acquired and immediately experienced data, or between former and present performances of the same piece of music.

Laura was *learning about music* when she was told about the history of some of the music presented. Similarly, Betty was learning to know the performers personally through participating voluntarily in festival administration activities, and thereby gaining insight into the people behind the music. This insight helped her to discover other dimensions of the music itself. In addition, ‘facts’ were also learned about names of composers and pieces of music. Learning stories behind the music and names of composers and pieces is what counts as factual or propositional knowledge, historical and sociological backgrounds, or in Swanwick’s terms, “knowing that” (ibid. p. 16). As Swanwick was careful to point out, this knowledge is not what musicians and music lovers see as being crucially important. However, when propositional knowledge provides a framework for secondary analysis, this “activity [...] can enlarge [...] intuitive response” (ibid. p. 43), as was perhaps the case when Betty’s increased knowledge of the musicians as persons prompted her to discover other dimensions of the music.

Learning non-musical skills via music or through participating in the music festival community, was mentioned by several of the interviewees, and explicitly tied to the concept of ‘general education’ by Leo. For instance, both Laura and Leo thought that visiting festivals could widen your horizons, which was among the festival outcomes that Laura wanted her children. Leo also pointed out that making such visits contributed to what you were. For Sara, attending the festival meant learning how to master a new social arena. Others, like Maurice and Iris, pointed to learning rules of behaviour of the concert situation. Iris also pointed out (the whole story was told above), that she had learned to trust her own musical judgement through the festival. Music education theory and research often refer to learning via music as a non-musical outcome of music education. Wolff (2004) concluded in her article on the subject that even if most of the research related to such outcomes has produced positive results “the conclusions drawn generally remain unconvincing” (ibid. p. 86). However, as Mark (2002) noticed, the non-musical outcome of music education has probably been the most common way of legitimising music’s place in school curricula “throughout Western history” (ibid. p. 1045). If we look at the examples of what the interviewees learnt via music, this learning seems to contribute to the development of people who know their society and their culture’s ideas and ideals, and who also know how to participate in society as “capable, useful and contented members” (ibid. p. 1047). This agrees with Plato’s understanding of music education as a way of establishing “good citizenship” (ibid. p. 1051).

As shown in a previous chapter, some of the factors mentioned in the statements about strong emotional experiences may be understood as a kind of learning. This is particularly

relevant to those factors that were categorised as intrapersonal, such as emotional work, memory work, cognitive understanding and insight. As mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter, emotional work and memory work can be thought of as the identity work that allows people to constitute the self with the help of music (DeNora, 2000). Identity work and learning are also closely connected (Wenger, 1998), so by participating in the festival, the audience learnt about themselves. As explained previously, these kinds of processes can be recognised as ‘musicking’ (Small, 1998), implying that the audience discovers, rediscovers and learns *who they are* in the act of participation.

Through understanding the study participants’ learning outcomes in relation to theories of musical knowledge, it becomes evident that the informal arena that a music festival like the Festspele i Pite Älvdal constitutes, offers possibilities for its attendees to gain similar learning outcomes that we might expect people to gain from other informal as well as formal music educational settings⁹⁷. Hence, in addition to, or included in learning the things that were necessary for keeping the festival community of practice alive, the audience developed a wide range of music-related knowledge.

Additional aspects of festival learning

In this section I will treat some additional aspects of festival learning by viewing the totality of the two previous sections in relation to what was said in the second chapter about earlier theory and research concerning festivals and learning or education. I will also see if any learning outcome can be detected on the municipality level, and what implications the findings regarding who uses the festival for developing parallel musical identities have when it comes to learning.

Some of the thoughts concerning festival education or learning that I discussed earlier are only brief, rather superficial descriptions of what such processes may imply. However, through the two previous sections it became clear that yes, music festivals like the Festspele i Pite Älvdal may advance the audience’s appreciation of the arts (EFRP research group, 2004), the attendants may learn new things (Delamere, 2001), and in these senses the festival had the potential to make people aware (Gursoy et al., 2004). From the evidence of the square named ‘reinforcing social and cultural community identity’ in figure 4, it is apparent that festival audiences can learn about their own heritage (De Bres and Davis, 2001), because this learning is one of the benefits that were told, retold and celebrated during the festival. Also, as pointed out above, the heritage of the festival’s community of practice must be mediated to its participants to ensure its continuation. Snell (2005) emphasised the educational role of festival administrators, but although I agree that they may assume and have such a role, I have tried to draw attention to the fact that the educational intention may not be primarily based there, but within the social group initiating the festival. Still, many of Snell’s (ibid.) findings are recognisable in the data of this study, such as members of the audience learning to know unfamiliar genres, styles and instruments, and through deep, world-transforming experiences that I have called strong emotional experiences. It is also clear that among what creates these exceptional musical experiences are contextual factors like outdoor arenas and community contexts. Also, participants claim to have lasting memories of close performer-audience relationships and of being immersed in music for a long period of time. The findings in this study generally strengthen and support those of Snell (ibid.).

In earlier sections, I investigated festival-related identity development at both individual and municipality levels, and related them to each other. When looking into musical learning, I

⁹⁷ Certainly the members of the festival audience do not learn how to play a music instrument, however this constitutes only a small part of the expected outcome from participating in music education within formal schooling, e.g. in Scandinavia.

have hitherto concentrated on the level of the individual. However, the story about the Festspel i Pite Älvdal and Arjeplog is possible to interpret as musical learning going on at the level of the municipality. One voice within the municipality of Arjeplog said, with reference to the chamber music played during the Lapplands Festspel, that “some of the inhabitants of Arjeplog learned to enjoy this”. Also, there were concerns that the habit or habitus achieved through this festival, and the knowledge of how to make use of a festival may be lost if the Festspel i Pite Älvdal disappears: “If it [Festspel i Pite Älvdal] does not exist, we will not be able to pass it [the knowledge of how to make use of the festival] on to the next generations (...) the children have to have a chance, too”. In a later section, I will develop further the ideas concerning the connection between a municipality habitus and a fruitful relation between festival and municipality.

From chapter six, we know that using the Festspel i Pite Älvdal to develop musical identity may be reserved to a certain group of people, or even to a certain social class. Wenger (1998) defined possessing or developing parallel identities as experiencing “multimembership” (ibid. p. 158). If we think about musical multimembership in terms of learning, it seems that learning to enjoy unfamiliar musical styles and genres is restricted in the festival context. Not all members of the festival audience have access to this kind of learning, which is restricted, not by objective rules or regulations, but by individuals’ economic situations, levels of education, habitus, their life situation in general and various kinds of distinctive mechanisms. In chapter five it became evident that a strong musical experience can sometimes provide the incentive to develop a new musical identity. However, those who enjoyed such experiences were not a random social group. The survey showed that participants with a strong connection to the Festspel i Pite Älvdal had more chance of having strong emotional experiences. This may mean that those who, in Lave and Wenger’s (1991) terms can be categorised as ‘full members’ of the festival community of practice, are likely to have greater learning outcomes, at least when it comes to developing their musical identities, because they have access to a wider range of “ongoing activity” (ibid. p. 101) than more peripheral members. The question remains as to whether full membership *is* generally accessible, or if entrance to such a membership is somehow regulated or restricted.

On basis of the discussion above, it is apparent that the informal arena for learning and education that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal constitutes cannot be perceived as democratic, in the sense of giving the audience equal opportunities for learning or gaining access to new kinds of music. The findings of this study also raise some interesting questions about who possesses musical agency, and what the limitations of such agency might be. I will come back to this topic in a later section.

The Festspel i Pite Älvdal – The Musical Event

DeNora’s (2003a) Musical Event scheme was introduced in the theory chapter of this thesis as a practical, paradigmatic tool for investigating how musical events affect society. The scheme ‘TIME 2 – During the Event’ was used to capture what happened within the many social rooms for musical activity provided by the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. Its features can also be found in the descriptions of the different events in chapter six.

My original intention was to bring this scheme into this discussion chapter in order to investigate the possibility of making a ‘generalised’ version of it that would encompass the individual, all of the study participants’ preconditions, the experienced event-features and the outcomes. Also, I wanted to see if it was possible to do the same at the municipality level. But a short time after I started the work on constructing this scheme, I rejected the idea. This was not due to a lack of empirical examples of how an event, like a music festival, affects society at the level of the individual. On the contrary, the data showing how, through what means,

and in which ways this happens was so comprehensive, complex and diverse that trying to capture it all in one model seemed to violate the study participants' personal experiences, along with the good and practical tool that the Musical Event scheme constitutes. That doing music is "simultaneously doing social life" (ibid. p. 38) comes through in the preceding sections and chapters. Likewise, it is evident that the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* affects society at the level of situated activities by contributing to different kinds of identity work, and to a multitude of learning processes and outcomes. The descriptions of the festival concerts in chapter six show how this happens on a collective level. This can also be seen on the individual level in the musical self-narratives, but also further on in the sixth chapter.

What seemed like a meaningful way of using DeNora's scheme, was to lift the analysis to a level above that of the individual or municipality, and use the 'TIME 1 – Before the Event' and 'Time 3 – After the Event' parts to compare the two levels with regards to similar preconditions and outcomes (see also Karlsen, 2007a). Hence, the two sections below concern preconditions for establishing fruitful connections between the festival and individual attendant or municipality, and similarities in outcomes on the levels of both the individual and the municipality. In making this comparison, I have attended to the six festival-audience connections that were found in the interviewees' musical autobiographies, and to the four festival-municipality connections found in the stories in chapter seven.

Fruitful preconditions

Individual and collective habitus, understood as the habit of attending or hosting a music festival or similar event, alongside knowing how to use it, seem to be crucial for a successful and lasting relationship between a festival and attendant/host municipality.

At the level of the individual, all the interviewees referred to above had a long history of participating in community music activities, either as listeners, performers or both. With one exception, Leo, they were all, or had been occupied with amateur music making, and had received different kinds of music education, not only in school. All of them had a well-developed habit of visiting concerts or festivals, the most impressive being Betty, who went to symphony concerts almost every week at the age of ten, and had continued to do so as often as possible over the past 70 years.

At the level of the municipality, a collective understanding of how to use a festival seems necessary for a successful relationship between festival and municipality. The notion of 'tradition' is used several times in the festival-municipality stories to describe why the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* works so well in Piteå, Arjeplog and Älvsbyn, and why it does not work in Arvidsjaur. This is not only because of a tradition, understood as the repetition of an event over a sufficient number of years, but also because the community is competent with, and interested in using what this particular tradition affords. Therefore, I find the notion of a 'collective habitus' more appropriate as a "generative principle" at the level of the collective (Bourdieu, 1995, p. 36). For instance, the Arjeplog inhabitants I interviewed emphasised that their habits and understanding of how to use a music festival had developed because the municipality had hosted several in the past. As mentioned above, this was also seen as something that was necessary to pass on to the next generation. Likewise in Älvsbyn, Trolltügen was often visited by families, and informants claimed that almost everybody in every generation of the inhabitants had attended the performance. In other words, they all knew how to use the event. The festival, which had been in Piteå for almost 25 years, had also become an important musical and social meeting place. However, in Arvidsjaur, where the festival had only been staged for a few years, there was no festival history, and, whilst collective habits were thought to be strong in this rural municipality, they did not include

attending a local music festival. This was probably one of the reasons why it was difficult for the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal to gain entry to the community there.

The correspondence between festival profile and identity is important on both levels. On the individual level, all interviewees except Chris had musical and social identities that were compatible with the festival profile. Chris revealed strong bonds between his well-developed classical music identity and the Lapplands Festsspel, but he considered the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal to have an unclear diversity of styles and genres. We have seen above that Arjeplog, Älvsbyn and Piteå used the festival actively in the municipality's identity work by prolonging pre-existing festival-related identities, which corresponded with the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal's profile. Arvidsjaur on the other hand, shows a strong identity tied to cultural activities, but not music festivals. Also, the music presented at the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal does not correspond with Arvidsjaur's collective musical identity, which interviewees told me was centred on swing and local folk music.

Outcome

As pointed out earlier, the relationship between festivals, their audiences and their host municipalities is closely tied to identity work. This implies that the connection has strong narrative traits. Hence, understood as an outcome, festivals seem to generate stories for building identity on both the individual and municipality level.

At the level of the individual, this study focuses on an investigation into how a festival affects its audiences' musical identity. So I have searched for information in the musical self-narratives about important musical experiences, stories told about people and music, and the situations in which the music had been experienced (Ruud, 1997) in the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal. In earlier chapters I showed how the festival had provided material for such experiences and stories, which are worth reflecting on again. For instance, Laura had several strong music-related experiences during the festival, related to large orchestras and classical music, a combination that made her cry. When talking about her children, it was also evident that experiences from the festival had made Laura's sons re-tell and prolong their stories of the concert in play. Some of Betty's festival stories concerned how she had come into personal contact with famous musicians. For instance, she had lent out her bike to an acknowledged violinist, and bumped into famous musicians when eating lunch. Chris told many festival-stories during his interview, although none of them were related to the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal, but to the Lapplands Festsspel, which Chris claimed had left an indelible impression on his musical life.

As noted before, festivals create opportunities for drawing on shared stories, cultural practices and ideals, and can as such provide an arena where local knowledge is produced and reproduced (Ekman, 1999). In Arjeplog, the Festsspel i Pite Älvdal gave the inhabitants "something to talk about", and festival stories from many years back were kept alive in the community. Trolltügen was a common point of reference across generations in Älvsbyn, where the interviewees assured me that experiences from the show constituted a "shared story". In Piteå, more than in the other host municipalities, the festival told the audience stories about 'who they were', especially in Euskefeurat's concert.

The Festsspel i Pite Älvdal functioned mainly to strengthen and maintain pre-existing individual and municipal identities. The majority of the study participants preferred to attend concerts of music they knew before, so as to maintain pre-existing musical identities. Likewise, for the host municipalities apart from Arvidsjaur, the festival contributed to reproducing pre-existing collective narratives. Arvidsjaur had another collective narrative to tell in which the festival was not included.

Previously, I reflected on how individual and collective mutually constitute each other (Wenger, 1998), when it comes to musical identity. Showing how individuals and municipalities co-produce the preconditions and outcome of attending or hosting a music festival like the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* involves accounting for a pre-existing festival-related habitus, a correspondence between festival profile and identity, festival generating stories supporting different kinds of identity work, and evidence of the use of the festival for strengthening and maintaining pre-existing identities.

Concluding remarks

In these concluding remarks, I will reflect critically on three aspects of the theories used for building this study's theoretical framework. These are Giddens' (1990, 1991) notion of the seemingly nearly endless freedom and possibilities of making individual choices ascribed to the state of late modernity; DeNora's (2000, 2003a) understanding of musical agency; and the constructionist understanding of language as the means by which the world is constructed and by which we come into being (Burr, 1995).

The 'endless' freedom of late modernity

Giddens (1990, 1991) displays a late modernity so full of possible choices that a cocoon is necessary, not in the form of limiting or steering people's actions, as for instance Bourdieu's (1984) notion of habitus, but a cocoon offering protection from chaos. Lifestyles are adopted, individuals have nearly endless freedom to choose, and the most compulsory aspect attached to this, is that we all are forced to choose (Giddens, 1991). The findings in this study only partly support this version of reality. Certainly the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* shows features of late modernity, with respect to, for instance, the multi-style content and the quite diverse opening concert described earlier (see also Karlsen, 2005b). Nonetheless, the freedom of choice of the festival attendants, at least in a musical lifestyle-sense, is connected more to a restraining habitus, social class, and to cultural and economic capital rather than to a self-protective cocoon. These restraints are not only to be found at the level of the study participants themselves, but also in relation to available time, money and level of education.

These findings could be related to the fact that the municipalities in which most of the participants of this study live are in an age of conflict between more traditionally modern ways of living and late modernity. Such conflicts are apparent in the story about the relationship between Arjeplog and the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*, which records parallel different forms of modernity that also Giddens (1990) emphasise. Hence, the participants' non-experimental behaviour could be seen to reflect the fact that Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur, Älvsbyn and Piteå are small, transparent communities in which people hold pronounced social and cultural positions. These communities bear several signs of traditional modernity, often featuring 'grand narratives' (Lyotard, 1984). Also, in small communities like these it is difficult to disappear or become 'somebody else', since your neighbour or mother-in-law will always be around the corner. Identities are mainly given, not chosen, and the mastering and exploration of several, parallel identities, including musical ones, is reserved for people with a strong 'basic trust'. This latter is also emphasised by Giddens (1991).

In chapter six, I suggested that there has been a turn away from the bourgeois use of negation and distaste as a distinguishing mechanism, towards the flexible exhibition and mastering of different identities, and the ability to embrace plurality, which latter is the most valuable and distinctive trait. Similar conclusions have been reached by Danielsen (2006) in his investigation into audience behaviour in Norway. He found 'cultural omnivory', the ability to embrace multiple styles and genres and willingness to attend both 'popular' and 'high-brow' events, to be the new ideal competence within culture and the arts. Danielsen

(ibid.) also found that this particular kind of cultural capital correlated with a high level of education.

Late modernity certainly allows for relativism, fragmentation, dissolution and diversity, but this is not to say that this richness is accessible to all. The fact that distinctive traits might shift, does not mean mechanisms of distinction have ceased to exist. In our rich, Western societies, having a lot to choose from is not equivalent with having unlimited possibilities and freedom of choice. Giddens (1991) reminded us that modernity produces “*difference, exclusion and marginalisation*” (ibid. p. 6), and that the poor are excluded from making lifestyle choices. Still, ‘the poor’ is not what we are looking at here, but cultural manifold reserved for the few, within a country where the general conditions of living are exceptionally good. In my view, the theories of modernity underlying this thesis fail to address these important issues of social and cultural justice in well-to-do societies. The next section questions who possesses musical agency and what it takes to develop it.

The possession of musical agency

DeNora (2000) discovered that her interviewees were powerful ‘musical agents’ in the sense that they knew how to “regulate, elaborate, and substantiate themselves” (ibid. p. 47) while engaging in musical practice. As pointed out before, so was the case for the interviewees of the current study. She (ibid.) declared agency to be the opposite of social ‘sleep’: “To possess agency, to be an agent, is to possess a kind of grace; it is certainly not merely the exertion of free will or interest. It is rather to possess some capacity for social action and its modes of feeling” (ibid. p. 153). In this sense, ‘musical agency’ is the ability to interact reflexively with music, to construct oneself through musical expressions, while feeling, thinking and acting. Although this capacity is highly valued by DeNora (ibid.) she does not discuss who might be restrained by it or for whom it is accessible, but seems to take for granted that musical agency is more or less democratically distributed. Indeed, she discussed (Batt-Rawden and DeNora, 2005) how such a capacity as “the complex skill of how to *use* music” (ibid. p. 289) could be learned. Still, she did not go into whether these skills can be learnable for some and not for others.

If we believe, as has been suggested earlier, that different kinds of music afford different modes and forms of behaviour, then a crucial aspect of possessing musical agency would be the ability to draw on what music affords as richly as possible in order to construct oneself through it, and thereby act in the social world, and through a variety of emotional expressions. Although possessing such agency may not necessarily be about “exerting free will or interest” (DeNora, 2000, p. 153), a lack of ‘musicking’ abilities or access to ‘musick-making’ situations would certainly limit or endanger a person’s musical agency. Giddens (1993) pointed out that what is analytical to the concept of agency, is that “a person ‘could have acted otherwise’” (ibid. p. 81). Through this thesis, we have seen, that ‘acting otherwise’ is not always possible when it comes to music, either because the music is inaccessible or because the consequences of seeking it out are simply too socially uncomfortable or even painful. Let me draw on two particular examples.

Leo, the interviewee who described himself as searching for the odd and reaching for the edges, possessed a large degree of aesthetic agency. His story about the boat, the loudspeakers and Wagner, shows a person who sets his own definitions of what constitutes an aesthetic experience. What he saw as significant about the story, or his ‘evaluation’ (Labov, 1972, 1982) of it, is summed up in the sentence: “Well, that is some kind of a cultural experience, too”. Despite these well-developed abilities, Leo had experienced shortcomings when trying to extend the powers of his musical agency to access new styles. “I had no one in my surroundings that could help me”, he said, referring to a lack of support from either the

educational system or within his circle of family and friends. Leo evidently lacked the tools necessary for extending his taste on his own.

Through investigating how the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal*'s content and form affected the interviewees' choices of concerts, it becomes apparent that sometimes agency is restrained because distinctive mechanisms make it socially unbearable to seek out certain contexts. Also, from the summing up of chapter six, we see that some of the audience could not have 'acted otherwise'. They *were* limited in the sense that they did not have enough time or money to draw on the breadth or width of all the music that was presented. From the previous section dealing with the *Festspel i Pite Älvdal* as The Musical Event, we see that the preconditions for a fruitful relationship between audience/municipality and festival comprise a pre-existing habitus, or the habit and knowledge of how to use such an event, plus an already developed, corresponding identity. Evidently, knowledge and development has to be achieved beforehand in order for an audience to be able to utilise the festival in full as graceful agents.

The possession of the grace of musical agency is not evenly distributed. The musical choices we make are not only a result of self-programming practices (DeNora, 2000) but are sometimes also due to a weak agency. Musical agency can be limited by where we live and who surrounds us, and in terms of social class, and must be learned. This is where formal music education has an important mission: to help students develop the tools they need to be able to possess musical agency and to know how to further develop it in order to explore and experience the full richness of music. Hence, by helping to create powerful musical agents, the formal school system may to a certain degree reduce the effect of the undemocratic features of the informal learning arenas discussed earlier, and teach students how to 'musick' in full, and to thereby achieve both autonomy and empowerment in both formal *and* informal contexts.

The limitations of words

This thesis has been written within a paradigm that is fairly constructionist, in the sense that it emphasises that it is through telling others and ourselves our self-narratives that we come into being. Language is crucial, and as explained in the methodology chapter, the study has a strong narrative focus. Nonetheless, it is evident through the study's theoretical framework that we also construct ourselves through *music* by using its materials as resources for "imagination, awareness, consciousness, action" (ibid. p. 24) and also for emotional, memory and identity work. In these situations we interact directly with music, and avoid or move outside or around the world of language. Hence, language obviously has its limitations when it comes to investigating how humans draw upon music in different ways. One of the interviewees in this study chose to play music as part of telling her musical life-story. Similarly, Ruud (1997) let his participants put together a tape of music as an extension of their musical autobiographies. In the light of hindsight, such approaches could have been used as part of this study, and maybe should be applied to similar ones to overcome the limitations of words.

Thoughts concerning generalisation

To what extent can an inquiry among a rather small sample of a festival audience attending one particular festival, which is situated in a peripheral Swedish town, be generalised to a broader context? Or is this even a proper question to ask?

Yin (2003), whose understanding of these questions is compatible with the ontology of this study, thought about generalisation in terms of analytical rather than statistical generalisation. The implication here is that the task of the case study researcher is to generalise to some broader theory, or in other words to develop transferable theoretical

assumptions on the basis of their findings, which other researchers can depart from and investigate further. The ‘core findings’ of the present study concerning the four identity dimensions of music festivals, how and what audiences learn from attending a music festival, and the possibility that music festivals are means through which different groups in society educate their members, are transferable to broader contexts, understood as other music festivals and similar events. The findings also throw light on learning outcomes and strategies in other related, but non-festival arenas of musical learning. Hence, other researchers may investigate other environments on the basis of the theories developed here.

The present study deals to a certain extent with statistical material, and tests of generalisability in terms of statistical significance when dealing with cross tables have been made. Nonetheless, the quantitative material has been used to develop a deeper *understanding*, and not with an intention to “predict and control” (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007). As such, this study is mainly qualitative, with strong features of narrative inquiry. Pinnegar and Daynes (*ibid.*) emphasised that when researchers turn towards narrative data, they focus on the particular, and signal an understanding of the value of “a particular experience, in a particular setting, involving particular people” (*ibid.* p. 21). This way of viewing research resonates with post- or late modern theory, while generalisation and the hope of capturing the universal is thought to be an attempt to construct a ‘grand narrative’ (Lyotard, 1984), understood as a typical trait of a more traditional form of modernity. Local truth is what counts in a late modern understanding, and instead of one way of knowing the world, we find “multiple ways of knowing and understanding human experience” (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, p. 25). As a consequence of the present study being built largely on the theories of late modernity developed by Giddens (1990, 1991), maximum variation sampling strategies have been used for capturing multiplicity, and multivoicedness has been pursued in the process of writing up the study’s findings.

If researchers abandon generalisability as a possibility, what then is left in terms of extending the value of a study beyond itself, with exception of Yin’s (2003) possibility of generalising to theory? Lincoln and Guba (2002) point to *applicability* as a criteria that case studies should meet, implying that they should have the power to provide experience and insight, which will make the reader re-examine and reconstruct her pre-existing assumptions. In addition, case studies should “*empower, activate and stimulate*” (*ibid.* p. 214) the reader’s consciousness and level of responsiveness. Finally, a case study report should “be extended beyond ‘safe’ limits” (*ibid.* p. 210) and the author should be prepared to take risks as a way of inviting criticism and debate. Hence, the present thesis should be judged in relation to whether or not it is consciousness-raising, whether it is a valuable contribution to the debate concerning festivals’ contributions to our societies, and what music education as a research field should be occupied with.

Looking ahead

This section will not contain any direct suggestions for further research, or suggest implications for formal music education⁹⁸, but will reflect on the way ahead for research in music education. As already pointed out, the conditions of late modernity leave us with “bewildering and ever-expanding variety of sources” (North et al., 2002) available for musical learning, and as society changes with increasing rapidity, the means, contexts and possibilities we have for learning music change, too. In other words, music education researchers have a rapidly expanding field to investigate.

⁹⁸ For a discussion of possible implications for higher music education, see Karlsen (2007b).

In the opening chapter of this thesis, I referred to an earlier debate among Scandinavian music education researchers concerning the definition of the field. As the reader might recall, Jørgensen (1995) argued that the field of music education research should be restricted to investigating intentional education within formal schooling. The three reasons he gave for this narrow definition were: 1) the definition was not as narrow as it seemed, but included a vast multitude of possible learning and teaching situations and processes; 2) that the field must be consistent with an institutional apprehension of music educational practice; and 3) that the research discipline needed a core to support its identity, or a “central idea to cling to” (ibid. p. 14). Twelve years later, this way ahead seems like a much too narrow path, even a potentially dangerous one (ref. Karma, 1995) for music education research to set out on. I will explain why by addressing each of Jørgensen’s three arguments in turn. Firstly, if we agree with Paul and Ballantine (2002) that “much of an individual’s music education is, in fact, informal in nature” (ibid. p. 566), the narrow definition is simply not wide enough. To ignore the increasing number of informal ways in which people learn music would not only cause us to fail as researchers, but also as music educators, because we would be unable to recognise the knowledge our students bring with them into formal educational contexts. Secondly, using my own background and experiences in the field as an example, I will claim that the understanding of music education practice is no longer (and perhaps has never been) as consistent as Jørgensen (1995) suggested. Late modernity’s fragmentation and dissolution have infiltrated the practice itself. Studying music education does not necessarily lead to a career working as music teacher within formal schooling. All sorts of mixed work exist, and I know that I am not alone in having combined formal teaching with working within the informal field as a community musician, performing and teaching, whilst also working in administrative and other music-related tasks. If consistency is an ideal, then music education research must resonate with this current and much wider understanding of what music educators’ practice is today, and be prepared to keep in step with it. Thirdly, Jørgensen’s (1995) identification of core, central idea and identity are interesting when examined in the light of modernity theory. The notions of ‘core’ and ‘central idea’ have strong connotations of a traditional modern or even a pre-modern understanding of identity. It is my sincere conviction that music education will be much better off as a field of research within a late modern reality, if it strives towards a more open-ended, floating and even incoherent understanding of its project. Such fragmentation and contradiction may prove fruitful, especially when investigating unknown, expanding informal waters.

As the reader may have understood, I sympathise with Folkestad’s (2006), assertion that research in music education should “deal with all kinds of musical learning, irrespective of where it takes place (or is situated), and how and by whom it is organised and initiated” (ibid. p. 136). However, I also believe in the importance of investigating learning situations not only in terms of learning, but also as potentially educational, for reasons that concern uncovering intentionality in order to reveal deeper structures within individuals’ access and non-access to what is learnable. Above all, I think it is a precondition for being able to meet changes in the field and future needs (Karma, 1995) that the music education research field is not unnecessarily restricted, but open, enabling and inclusive. As long as researchers continuously spin the tale of ‘who we are’ by participating in the ongoing discussion, there will be no danger of losing the research discipline’s ‘self’ as Jørgensen (1995) indicated, rather we will contribute to its increasing richness and growth.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Appendix 2: Interview guide – festival audience

Appendix 3: Interview guide – official representatives from host municipalities

Appendix 4: Information and contract sent to interviewees

Appendix 1: Questionnaire



MUSIKHÖGSKOLAN I PITEÅ
LULEÅ TEKNISKA UNIVERSITET

This questionnaire is part of a research project called, "The Festspele i Pite Älvdal – a study of festival impact on identity development". The study is connected to the School of Music in Piteå, and partly financed through the structural funds of the EU. Data will be gathered through this questionnaire and a later interview inquiry. The findings will be published as part of a doctoral thesis. Your answers will be treated according to the ethical advice given by the Swedish research council. This implies:

- Your answers will be treated confidentially and you will keep your anonymity.
- Participation in the study is voluntary.
- The data gathered through this questionnaire will be used exclusively for this research project.
- Through returning the questionnaire you give your consent that your answers will be part of the forthcoming research process.
- You are free to withdraw from participation in the study whenever you wish to do so.

If you have any questions, please contact:

Sidsel Karlsen
Telephone: 0911-726 82
Mobile phone: 070-614 17 25
E-mail: sidsel.karlsen@ltu.se

Attached, you will find a stamped addressed envelope. When you have filled in the questionnaire please put it in the envelope and return it to me before July 25. It is of significance for the quality of this study that as many as possible answer and return this questionnaire. Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Sidsel Karlsen
PhD-student at the School of Music in Piteå

A. Questions concerning yourself and your relation to music

1. Please state your year of birth
2. What do you do for a living?

.....

3. Please encircle your total number of years of education. Count compulsory schooling as well as other education:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19+

4. What is your household's total gross annual salary before tax?

.....

5. What kind of music do you like listening to?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Do you play an instrument/sing? Please tick one or more options:

- I play an instrument
- I play several instruments
- I perform as a solo singer/vocalist
- I sing in a choir
- Other:

B. Questions concerning your relation to and your experiences of the Festspel i Pite Älvdal

7. If you *do not* play an instrument/sing please proceed to question No. 9.

If you do play an instrument or sing please answer the following question: Have you ever participated in a concert as a performer during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember

8. If your answer to the preceding question was yes, which concert(s)?

.....

9. Why do you attend concerts during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal? Please tick one or more options:

- To listen to music
- To see friends
- To combine good music with social companionship
- To support the Festspelen
- Because I have free tickets
- Because my family wants me to come
- To experience the festival atmosphere
- Other:

10. How many years have you attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal?

- I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal every year since the beginning
- I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal almost every year since the beginning
- I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal occasionally
- This is the first year I have attended the Festspel i Pite Älvdal

11. Count attendances (total number of concerts/events) during this year's Festspel and Festspel attendances made in earlier years:

- 1 – 5 concerts/events
- 6 – 10 concerts/events
- More than 10 concerts/events

12. Which events did you attend during this year's Festspel? Please tick:

- I participated in the master classes

Tuesday July 5:

- Sami ballad and jojk evening in the chapel of Norra Bergnäs kapell with Sofia Jannok

Wednesday July 6:

- Lunchtime concert – Framnäs
- Opening concert
- Tonträff – Åsa Persson with guests (Patrik Öhlund)
- Night concert – Bäck & Gunnel Mauritzon (Piteå)

Thursday July 7:

- Morning concert for the family – John Bauer Brass
- Lunchtime concert – Framnäs
- Evening concert – St. George Strings & Maria Fontosh
- Folk music evening – Bäck & Gunnel Mauritzon (Arvidsjaur)
- Trolltagen – Roger Pontare – Sofia Jannok
- Ballad evening – Ballads in dialect
- Tonträff – Åsa Persson with guests (Hardly Still Fresh and Young)
- Night concert – Jönköpings Sinfonietta

Friday July 8:

- Lunchtime concert – Arvidsjaur
- Lunchtime concert – Framnäs
- Family concert – Instrumix – Jönköpings Sinfonietta
- Evening concert – The world's best Rilton
- World music concert – Costo Rico (Arvidsjaur)
- Trolltagen – Roger Pontare – Sofia Jannok
- Tonträff – The final – Åsa Persson with guests (Babben Larsson)
- Night concert – Birgitta Svendén & Matti Hirvonen

Saturday July 9:

- Lunchtime concert – Framnäs
- Trolltagen – Roger Pontare – Sofia Jannok (14.00)
- Courtyard concert – Euskefeurat – Costo Rico (Piteå)
- Music in a summer evening – Jazz and folk songs
- Trolltagen – Roger Pontare – Sofia Jannok (19.00)
- Night concert – Liisa Pohjola & Zakhar Bron

Sunday July 10:

- Lunchtime concert – Framnäs
- Family concert – Anders Lundin & Lars in de Betou
- Courtyard concert – Sissel Kyrkjebø
- Evening concert – Johann Sebastian Bach

13. Have you bought a festival season ticket? Please tick one or more options:

- Yes, the Festspelsklassikern (the Festspel classic)
- Yes, the Borggårdskortet (the courtyard card)
- No

14. If your answer to the preceding question was yes, what consequences did this have for your concert attendances during this year's Festspel i Pite Älvdal?

.....

15. Do you consider that the Festspel i Pite Älvdal covers your areas of interest when it comes to music?

- Yes, to a large degree
- Yes, but to a lesser degree
- No, not at all
- Other:

16. If you could choose freely, what kind of concerts would you like to have more of, compared to this year's programme?

.....
.....

17. a) Have you ever *consciously* attended Festspel concerts out of curiosity about another genre/style than that which you would usually listen to?

- Yes, often
- Yes, but on rare occasions
- No, never
- Do not remember

b) If your answer to the preceding question was yes: did this lead directly to you attending similar concerts or buying CDs of this kind of music?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember

c) *If you do not play an instrument/sing please proceed to question No. 18.*

If you do play an instrument/sing please answer the following question: Did this lead directly to a decision to play/sing this kind of music?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember

18. a) Question No. 17 asked if you had *consciously* chosen to attend a concert in another genre/style than that you would usually listen to. This question asks whether, during any Festspel concerts, you have *accidentally* heard music in a genre/style other than that to which you would usually listen?

- Yes, this has often happened
- Yes, but rarely
- No, never
- Do not remember

b) If your answer to the preceding question was yes: did this lead to attending similar concerts, or buying CDs of this kind of music?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember

c) *If you do not play an instrument/sing please proceed to question No. 19.*

If you do play an instrument/sing please answer the following question: Did this lead to actively deciding to play/sing this kind of music?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember

19. Only answer this question if you attended the Opening concert or the Courtyard concert with Euskefeurat and Costo Rico (otherwise please proceed to question No. 20): Did you experience a genre/style other than that to which you would usually listen?

- Yes
- Yes, to a certain degree
- No

20. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please tick *one* box per statement:

Statement	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal is an important part of my life					
I always try to stay in the river valley during the Festspelen so I can attend the festival events					
The festival concerts contribute to broadening my musical taste					
I mainly visit concerts during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, which I know in advance that I will enjoy					

21. Music may sometimes stimulate strong emotional experiences. Have you ever had such an experience during a concert at the Festspel i Pite Älvdal?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

If yes, can you please tell me about it:

.....

.....

.....

.....

22. If your answer to the preceding question was yes, how did this experience impact on your relation to music?

.....

.....

.....

.....

23. How significant are the following reasons for your concert attendances during the Festspel i Pite Älvdal? Please tick *one* box per statement:

Statement	Large significance	Medium significance	Little significance	No significance	Do not know
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal gives me the opportunity to listen to internationally acknowledged musicians 'live'					
The unique thing about the Festspelen is the cooperation between well-known and local musicians					
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal creates an important arena for local musicians					

24. Do you attend other music festivals – in North Bothnia or in other places within or outside Sweden?

- Yes, pretty often (more than 3 times per year)
 Yes, sometimes (1 – 3 times per year)
 Yes, but on rare occasions (less than 1 time per year)
 No, never

25. If your answer to the preceding question was yes: please give the name(s) of the festival(s) and/or name(s) of host municipality(ies):

.....

C. Questions concerning the Festspel i Pite Älvdal's significance for the local community

26. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please tick *one* box per statement:

Statement	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal makes an important contribution to the river valley's cultural life					
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal is mainly for people who enjoy classical music					
During the Festspel i Pite Älvdal it is possible to find concerts suiting every musical taste					

27. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please tick *one* box per statement:

Statement	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know
Cultural activities are important for the area to obtain a qualified labour force					
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal is important for local industry					
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal functions as the local municipality's 'public face' within the county					
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal functions as the local municipality's 'public face' within the nation					

28. The Festspel i Pite Älvdal has in recent years featured world famous artists, for instance Anne Sofie von Otter, Take Six, Truls Mørk and Omara Portuondo (Buenavista Social Club). Why do these musicians choose to come to this particular festival? How significant are the following reasons for international musicians agreeing to participate in the Festspel i Pite Älvdal? Please tick *one* box per statement:

Statement	Large significance	Medium significance	Little significance	No significance	Do not know
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal has a good reputation as a serious festival					
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal presents concerts of high artistic quality					
The musicians come to experience the special atmosphere that the river valley offers during the festival					
The festival administration is doing a good job					
The festival administration has an extended network within the music business					
World famous artists see the river valley as an exotic, exciting place to visit					

If you have any other reasons why world famous musicians visit the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, please give them here:

.....

.....

.....

.....

29. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please tick *one* box per statement:

Statement	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know
Visits from internationally acknowledged artists are important for showing the municipality to the outside world					
Visits from internationally acknowledged artists are important for keeping the municipality's cultural life alive					
Visits from internationally acknowledged artists make it possible for the Festspel i Pite Älvdal to offer concerts of similar quality to those in Stockholm and large European cities					

30. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please tick *one* box per statement:

Statement	Agree completely	Agree largely	Agree to some degree	Do not agree at all	Do not know
The Festspel i Pite Älvdal ties the river valley inhabitants closer together					
Events that provide the rest of Sweden with a positive picture of the river valley are important					

31. If you have other opinions concerning and/or comments about the Festspel i Pite Älvdal, which it has not been possible to express through the questions above, please give them here:

.....

.....

.....

.....

32. Later in this research study, I will conduct an interview inquiry among several festival attendants about their relation to the Festspel i Pite Älvdal. If you would like to participate in this inquiry, please tick the box below:

Yes you may contact me to make an interview appointment

Thank you very much for filling in this questionnaire and thereby contributing to my research!

Appendix 2: Interview guide – festival audience

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – THE FESTSPEL I PITE ÄLVDAL

Aspect 1

- Describe your musical tastes
- Describe your musical life: playing/singing, concert attendance?
- For what purpose(s) do you use music?
- How often do you attend the Festspelelen? Other festivals?
- What is your impression of how people use this festival – musically and socially? How do you use the festival?
- If you have participated in the festival (as a performer), at which concerts did you play/sing? Can you tell me more about your experiences?
- Have you ever had any experiences that you remember particularly well (connected to music, musicians, the festival in general) during the Festspelelen? Have any of those experiences left lasting impressions?
- Have you had strong emotional experiences during the Festspelelen?
- Have you had musical and other experiences that you would not have had access to if it was not for the festival?
- What does the festival contribute that makes you attend?
- Do you learn anything from attending the Festspelelen? If yes, please explain what.
- How would you define a musical experience?
- If we assume that all musical experiences create a musical life story – what does your musical life story contain? How is the Festspelelen placed within that story?

Aspect 2

- What concerts do you attend? Do you go to concert of familiar or unknown music?
- Does the annual nature of the festival effect the kinds of concerts you attend?
- What is your opinion of the festival programme (this year, earlier years)? Is there anything that you find especially attractive, or something you want to change?
- Does the festival form restrain you from/encourage you to attend concerts; and does it in any way affect how you make use of the festival?
- What do you think about the festival content? Do you find it attractive/valuable? Why – why not? What would you like to change?
- Has the festival introduced you to music that is new to you? If so, how has this affected your musical taste, or affected what you listen to/buy, play or sing?
- Does the festival contribute to broadening your musical taste?
- Have you ever had a festival season ticket – has this had impact upon what kinds of events you have attended?

Aspect 3

- Do you consider the Festspelelen to be important for your municipality? If yes, how?
- If the Festspelelen ceased to exist – what would you miss? What would be missed apart from the festival itself?
- Does the festival contribute anything that the municipality does not offer in any other way?
- In what ways is the Festspelelen coloured by being arranged in this particular place?
- What is your impression concerning how people from 'outside' view your municipality? Does the festival have any significance in this regard?

- If all the inhabitants created a joint story about [name of municipality], would the Festspelen be part of that story?
- Who attends the Festspelen? Who does not attend it? Why?
- Is it possible to describe the Festspelen as a joint activity involving audience, artists and arrangers? If yes, in what ways?
- How do you assess local musicians' role in the festival?
- Does the Festspelen contribute to the municipality's public face – on the regional or national level?
- Does the Festspelen have any significance for local industry? Might it attract (and keep) a qualified labour force? What will be the demographic effects on the town?
- Does the festival contribute to the joint identity of the river valley inhabitants? If yes, in what ways?
- In what ways can the Festspelen increase its contribution to the municipality? How?

Aspect 4

- The Festspel i Pite Älvdal invites international artists. Does this have any significance for the audience's concert attendances?
- What is the significance of visiting international artists to the municipality?
- What can the municipality offer these artists?
- What can the artists offer the municipality?
- How would you assess the quality of a festival? Is the assessment of the overall quality of the Festspelen connected to inviting 'big names'?
- Do people from 'outside' attend concerts with international artists? How does this affect the municipality economically and/or emotionally?
- Do visits from international artists to the festival in any way contribute to developing cohesion in your municipality? If yes, how?
- What significance do visits from international artists have for you personally?

Aspect 5

- Other thoughts about the festival – do you wish to add anything?

Appendix 3: Interview guide – official representatives from host municipalities

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – THE FESTSPEL I PITE ÄLVDAL

Aspect 1

- Do you consider the Festspelelen to be important for your municipality? If yes, how?
- If the Festspelelen ceased to exist – what would you miss? What would be missed apart from the festival itself?
- Does the festival contribute anything that the municipality does not offer or have in any other way?
- In what ways is the Festspelelen coloured by being arranged in this particular place?
- What is your impression concerning how people from ‘outside’ view your municipality? Does the festival have any significance in this regard?
- If all the inhabitants created a joint story about [name of municipality], would the Festspelelen be part of that story?
- Is it possible to describe the Festspelelen as a joint activity involving audience, artists and arrangers? If yes, in what ways?
- How do you assess local musicians’ role in the festival?
- Does the Festspelelen contribute to the municipality’s public face – on the regional or national level?
- Does the Festspelelen have any significance for local industry? Might it attract (and keep) a qualified labour force? What will be the demographic effects on the town?
- Does the festival contribute to the joint identity of the river valley inhabitants? If yes, in what ways?
- In what ways can the Festspelelen increase its contribution to the municipality? How?

Aspect 2

- The Festspelelen i Pite Älvdal invites international artists. Does this have any significance for the audience’s concert attendances?
- What is the significance of visiting international artists to the municipality?
- What can the municipality offer these artists?
- What can the artists offer the municipality?
- How would you assess the quality of a festival? Is the assessment of the overall quality of the Festspelelen connected to inviting ‘big names’?
- Do people from ‘outside’ attend concerts with international artists? How does this affect the municipality economically and/or emotionally?
- Do visits from international artists to the festival in any way contribute to developing cohesion in your municipality? If yes, how?

Aspect 3

- Other thoughts about the festival – do you wish to add anything?

Appendix 4: Information and contract sent to interviewees



MUSIKHÖGSKOLAN I PITEÅ
LULEÅ TEKNISKA UNIVERSITET

PhD-student Sidsel Karlsen
School of Music in Piteå
Luleå University of Technology
Box 744
941 28 Piteå

Piteå,

INFORMATION AND CONTRACT

Thank you for participating in the research study, "The Festspel i Pite Älvdal – a study of festival impact on identity development". I hereby confirm our appointment on [date]. If you should need to contact me to change the date, I can be reached on telephone: 0911-72682 or mobile phone: 070-614 17 25.

This letter is written on the basis of the Swedish research council's ethical advice regarding research studies. The advice implies that I need your "informed consent" regarding your participation. This means in practice that I inform you about the project and how the information you contribute will be used. I also guarantee that the information will be treated confidentially and that you will keep your anonymity. By signing this contract you accept that the information will be used as described.

The aim of the research project is to develop knowledge about how the Festspel i Pite Älvdal affects the municipalities in which it is being arranged, the musical preferences of the audience and the development of local identity in its host municipalities. The project is connected to the School of Music in Piteå, and partly financed through the structural funds of the EU.

Information for this study is being gathered through the survey you have already participated in, through interviews with the festival audience and official representatives of the municipalities involved in arranging the festival, and through my observations and recordings thereof as field notes concerning many of the festival events.

I am asking you for an interview at a location and time of your choice. I will record the interview on minidisk, and thereafter transcribe it. You will receive a copy of the transcription, which you can read through and confirm your acceptance thereof. The minidisk will be stored in a place where no one else but me will have access to it.

Information about myself

I am educated as a musician and a music educator at the Norwegian Academy of Music and have worked as a freelance singer and conductor in the Oslo area. In addition, I have been employed as a project administrator at Oslo International Church Music Festival for four years. From 1.1.2004 I have held a position as a PhD-student of music education at the School of Music in Piteå, Luleå University of Technology.

Further plans

I hope to be able to send you the transcribed interview for confirmation in December 2005. Then all the collected data (questionnaires, interviews and field notes) will be analysed using theoretical models borrowed from the sociology of music and music education. Finally, a doctoral thesis will be written, which is expected to be finished during autumn 2007. All interviewees will receive a copy of this thesis.

Use of information

All the information mentioned above will be treated so that all interviewees retain their anonymity. If it is necessary to use participants' names, these will be changed in the thesis. Interview quotes will be used in a way that makes identification of the interviewee impossible.

Voluntary

Participation in the research project is voluntary. This implies that you are free to withdraw from the project whenever you may wish to do so.

Contract

This letter is designed as a contract with two copies. You may keep one copy, and I will be happy to receive the other with your signature when we meet for the interview.

Sincerely yours,

Sidsel Karlsen
PhD-student at the School of Music in Piteå

I have read the text above and accept that the information will be used as described.
