

Celebrating Community:
Local Music Festivals and Sustainable Relocalization in Southern Manitoba

by:

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Sustainable relocalization aims to increase resilience and wellbeing in local communities as a response to interrelated social-ecological threats emerging on a global-scale. This grassroots social and environmental movement requires place-based identity, local social capital, post-consumer values, skills and knowledge for community self-reliance, participation in local alternative economic activities, and ultimately the transformation of culture and human behavior. Previous research indicates that festivals can influence sense of place and shared identity, political consciousness and cultural values, and local economic development. This thesis fills a gap in the literature by investigating the ability of community-based music festivals to support grassroots relocalization. While most research concerning festivals and sustainability falls within liberal environmental discourses, this thesis operates from a radical standpoint. It responds to an emerging trend among some types of arts festivals and agricultural celebrations that appear to be reflecting a vision of a post-consumer, post-industrial society.

Looking specifically at community-based festivals in southern Manitoba, this research examines how such events can foster eco-localist values and shared identity as well as support knowledge, practices and economic innovations associated with local resilience. Both of these case studies, the Winnipeg Folk Festival and the Harvest Moon Festival, appear capable of fostering shared identity among communities of place and practice, social networks and capital, skills and knowledge, and cultural values. As liminal spaces, these festivals offer opportunities for participants to strengthen social bonds and experience communal forms of living while the event communities may enable public education and social movement action. Opportunities and limitations for contributing to relocalization depend largely on a festival's size, design, organizational mission, and involvement of community stakeholders. This research confirms much of what is known regarding the community-building capacities of festivals while considering how these benefits relate to radical shifts toward local sustainability. Strategic research approaches are needed to further assess the lasting impacts of community festivals on local economies, cultures, and human behavior with respect to relocalization.

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Last and certainly not least, I must thank my research participants and the many individuals who make Manitoba one of the most culturally vibrant places in the world. The Winnipeg Folk Festival depends on the hard work and creativity of many organizers, volunteers, and artists and it has been a privilege getting to know some of you. The Harvest Moon Society is a shining example of how a group of ingenious people really can change the world and it is a privilege to tell their story. Thank you also to those in my home town of Winnipeg who are helping to transform our city by fighting for social, economic, ecological, and indigenous justice.

Dedication

To the Knights of Avondale and their friends who, together, found the illusive communitas.

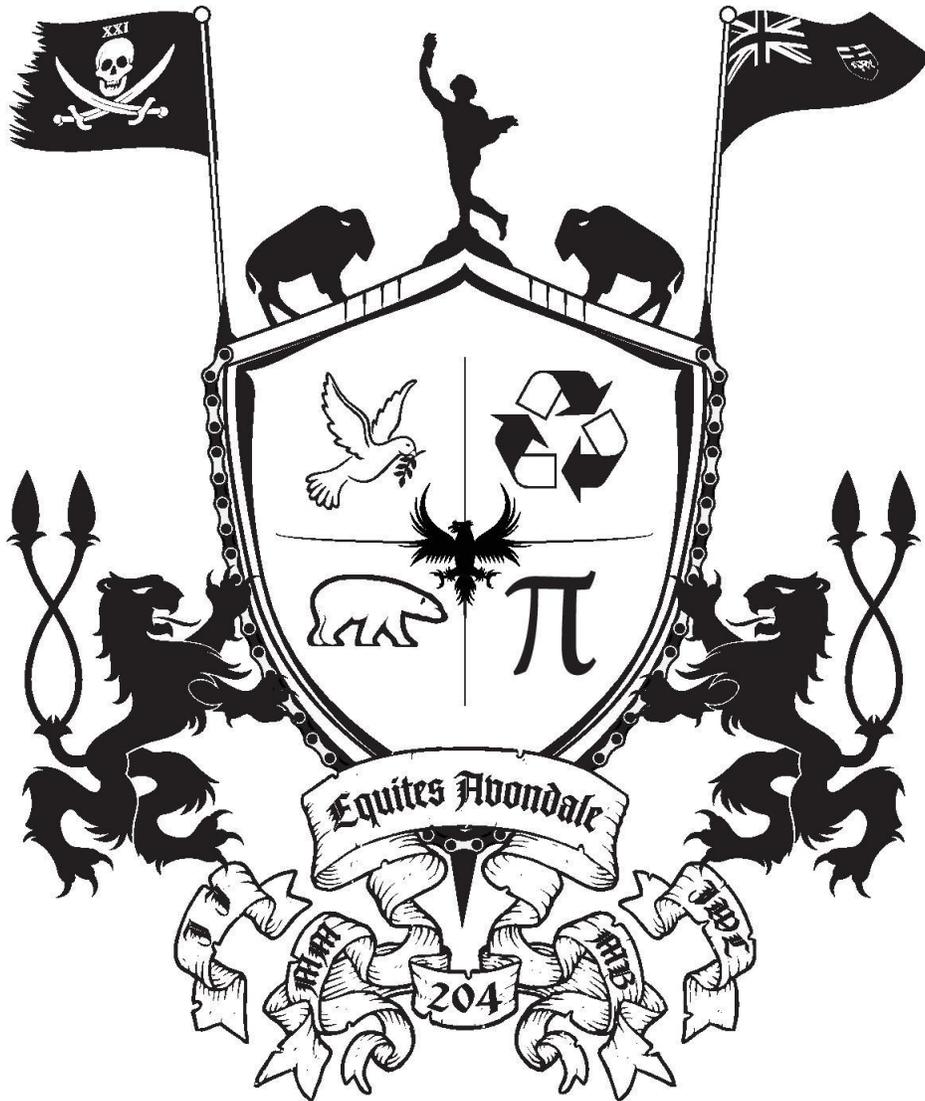


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List of Acronyms

DIY	Do-it-yourself
WFF	Winnipeg Folk Festival
HMF	Harvest Moon Festival
HMS	Harvest Moon Society
HMLC	Harvest Moon Learning Centre
HMLFI	Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative

1.0 Introduction

Let us admit that we have attended parties where for one brief night a republic of gratified desires was attained. Shall we not confess that the politics of that night have more reality and force for us than those of, say, the entire U.S. Government?... Let us study invisibility, webworking, psychic nomadism--and who knows what we might attain?

-- Hakim Bey, *The Temporary Antonymous Zone*, 1991

1.1 *Modernity's Limits, Community Resilience and the Promise of Local Festivals: A Rationale for Exploratory Study*

It is becoming increasingly clear that the development trajectory of the modern era threatens to undermine the long-term sustainability of our civilization, with social, economic and ecological crises unfolding in almost every corner of the globe. The challenges are complex and multi-dimensional and they involve a wide range of political, economic, and ecological factors. They are, however, all rooted in a common cause: our modern globalized, industrialized, consumptive, and growth-dependent form of social organization (Homer-Dixon, 2006; Klein, 2014). Undeniably, the ceiling on quality of life and material wealth has risen dramatically in modern times. However, the global capitalist mode also generates widespread social inequality, disturbs vital ecological and biophysical processes, and remains dependent on finite, and increasingly scarce, energy resources (Rockstrom et al., 2009; Kunsler, 2005; Heinberg; 2003). Local communities and their residents now dependent on a complex array of global economic processes are encountering growing threats to their sustainability and well-being. Global systems are increasingly threatened by economic uncertainty, climate destabilization and ecological destruction—all of which pose serious challenges for the well-being of local communities.

In response, a growing cohort of scholars and activists are exploring alternative forms of social organization that reflect and respond to our dependent and broken relationship with the global ecosystem. Falling broadly under the labels of sustainable degrowth (Victor, 2008), just transitions (Swilling & Annecke, 2012; Hopkins, 2008), and relocalization/localism (Curtis, 2005; Riordan, 2000), the theories and practices of these emerging fields of inquiry and social movements focus on strengthening the resilience of local communities and undercutting the need

for unfettered economic growth. Proponents of sustainable degrowth seek to create smaller, more contained, self-sufficient, steady-state economic systems through the planned downscaling of production, global trade and economic growth while simultaneously separating human needs and wellbeing from consumerism and commercial markets (Sekulova et al., 2013). Sustainable degrowth is founded on the principles of ecological economics, a multidisciplinary field of study advocating against the dominant economic logic of profit maximization. It argues for a holistic integration of development, human wellbeing, and ecological preservation based on the reality that the economy is embedded in, and dependent on, the Earth's biophysical life-support systems (Costanza 1997; Daly & Farley, 2011). Sustainable relocalization is an approach to degrowth which aims to generate resilient, healthy and equitable communities through the "local production of food, energy and goods" in the face of global crises and uncertainties (Post Carbon Institute, 2015). Relocalization is guided by the principles of localism, or eco-localism, a philosophy which values local ownership of the means of production, and the political and economic autonomy of local places (McKibben 2010; Curtis, 2005).

On the ground, relocalization efforts occasionally take the form of government policy. More often than not, though, they are grassroots, community-based initiatives that aim to increase the resilience and sustainability of local places. Local food projects are among the most common within the relocalization movement. In some cases, community organizations attempt to situate sustainability initiatives within an actual framework or model for relocalization such as the Transition Towns program (see Hopkins, 2011). This view sees relocalization as an emerging grassroots new social movement that resists dominant social structures from below by developing skills, knowledge and networks as well as shared values, identities and ambitions tied to local places (Estava & Prakash, 2014; Buechler, 1995).

Sustainable degrowth and relocalization are receiving considerable attention within the fields of environmental studies and radical political economy. Many of the research studies to date focus on slowing the rate of growth from biophysical and entropic economic and governance perspectives. Sekulova (et al. 2013) offers a comprehensive collection of recent degrowth research. Other studies examine particular cases focusing on individual projects or communities (e.g. see Akin, 2012). Davies (2012, p. 8) suggests that grassroots sustainability innovation is "largely driven by communities of place". However, as Quilley (2011; & Barry, 2009) points out, such social dimensions have largely been ignored by transition researchers and

there is a clear need to examine the human side of relocalization. That is to say, we must look beyond policies and supply chains and understand the elements of culture, identity and community that underwrite localism's potential. There is an urgent need to look at all possible avenues that might transform localism from niche experimentation into the "great green shift" while studying humanity's capacity to embrace new cultural norms and social systems.

If relocalization is simultaneously about economics, politics, social structures and cultural identity, the phenomenon of grassroots festivals, which encapsulates all these factors, offers a worthwhile platform to explore the social movement's potential. Today's arts festivals are a complex social phenomenon where cultural values, identity construction, as well as political and economic interests are all in play. Mass public celebrations and rituals have long been understood within sociological and anthropological discourses as events that contribute greatly to social organization of traditional societies by enforcing the collective identities, norms, values and practices belonging to cultural groups (Getz, 2010; Turner, 1969; Durkheim, 1912/2008). However, the sociocultural lens given to traditional collective rituals has not yet been applied to today's festivals, at least not in any substantive way. As Handler (2011) points out, this presents a major opportunity for research in the field of event studies. Despite this gap, previous empirical research has looked at modern festivals in terms of their connections to counterculture and political movements (Sharpe, 2008; Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011), their ability to foster sense of place and local cultural heritage (DeBres & Davis, 2001), and their contributions to local economic development (Brannas & Nordstrom, 2006). While these aspects are important for local sustainability transitions, they have not yet been examined within a comprehensive relocalization framework. Applying such an approach to event studies will also help explain recent trends in public celebrations. Examples include noticeable "greening" efforts by mainstream music events, an increase in alternative lifestyle and arts festivals (often identifying as transformational festivals) across North America, and, of most interest here, the growing popularity of small-time, grassroots festivals. These smaller festivals cater to local artists and local audiences, support local economies, and often embrace principles of local sustainability. This thesis aims to bring increased understanding to the sociocultural process of localism through a secondary analysis of the literature grounded with a comparative case study of two music festivals in southern Manitoba: The Winnipeg Folk Festival (Birds Hill Provincial Park, MB) and the Harvest Moon Festival (Clearwater, MB).

1.1.1 Assumptions and Rationale

The above arguments form a clear rationale for researching local music festivals through a relocalization lens which includes the following assumptions:

- 1) Current social, economic, and environmental threats playing out on a global scale pose fundamental challenges to the sustainable well-being of local communities.
- 2) By failing to acknowledge the dominant system of growth-based global consumer capitalism as their root cause, governments and corporations have not responded adequately to these challenges. In the absence of meaningful top-down intervention, the grassroots have become the frontlines of local sustainability innovation and the wider social movement for degrowth and relocalization.
- 3) Despite their abundance and diversity, grassroots relocalization initiatives remain on the margins of society and have not yet led to wide-spread social change. While many studies have examined these efforts in terms of public policy, economic viability, stakeholder interests, and best practices, they have largely ignored underlining elements of human behavior, collective identity, cultural norms, values, and knowledge. There is a need to better understand how these essential elements of the human condition relate to modern conceptions of community and to the prospects of relocalization.
- 4) Festivals are places where economic and political interests, group identities and cultural values are all in play. Existing research indicates that, because of this, they have the potential to enforce, as well as transform, these elements of social life. Yet, modern festivals are poorly understood within the context of counterculture and social movements despite the fact that an increasing number of mainstream and grassroots events appear to champion environmental sustainability, alternative lifestyles and localism. Therefore, grassroots music festivals should be studied through a localist lens not only as an emerging phenomenon in need of better understanding, but also as an arena potentially capable of bolstering the social transformation needed for sustainable community wellbeing in an age of global uncertainty.

1.1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

Based on this rationale, the objectives of this research are to determine whether or not community-based festivals have the potential to contribute to relocalization social movements. It seeks to identify the opportunities, barriers and tradeoffs that affect the capacity of community celebrations to foster cultural and economic transformations in response to the global sustainability dilemma. In pursuit of these objectives, this study considers four broad strands through which festivals and localism may feed into one another: new social movement activity, shared identity and values; social learning and public education, and economic innovation. Specifically, this thesis will answer the following question:

Can community music and arts festivals contribute positively to the relocalization movement by fostering eco-localist values and shared identity as well as by supporting knowledge, practices and economic innovations associated with local resilience?

1.2 *Introducing the Research Design: A Constructivist Approach to Exploratory Case Studies of two Music Festivals in Southern Manitoba*

1.2.1 Constructivism, Exploratory Case Study, and Grounded Theory

Answers to the research question were sought through grounded, exploratory cases studies of two music festivals in southern Manitoba designed according to the parameters of social constructivism. This paradigm assumes that knowledge is subjective, context dependent and produced through social interaction and shared experience. Constructivists reject the notion of a single objective reality and instead acknowledge that real-world phenomena can be interpreted in different ways (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Creswell, 2007). In order to produce findings about a social phenomenon, constructivist researchers must interpret what matters to their research subjects by listening to their narratives and appreciating the contexts of their lived experiences (Schwandt, 2000). Since knowledge is context-dependent and subjective, research findings must be developed inductively. This differs from the paradigm of post-positivism which assumes that a single absolute truth exists and can be found through deductive reasoning, testing hypotheses

and controlling for variables (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Creswell, 2007). Importantly, constructivism also assumes that researchers do not exist independently from the knowledge they present because their values and experiences influence the production of primary findings (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Creswell, 2007).

Drawing on a methodology proposed by Laukner and Krupa (2012), this research combined aspects of qualitative case study and grounded theory, both investigative approaches that have traditions within constructivism. Case studies are examinations of situations that are bounded in space and time and that are typically representative of a wider social phenomenon. (Yin; 2014; 2006; Creswell, 2009). As contained systems, they allow researchers to target specific social processes and to consider how these processes are influenced by internal and external factors (Stake, 2000). This research used a multiple case study approach, examining two different musical festivals in southern Manitoba and relying on cross-case comparisons that add to the robustness of findings. These case studies were both exploratory and instrumental in their design (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin 201) meaning they attempted to produce transferable insights about a new research idea – the relationship between festivals and relocalization.

When operating within a constructivist framework, case studies should offer detailed descriptions of circumstances and present inductive findings that account for varying and agreed upon interpretations of the social phenomenon in question. As such, the constructivist grounded theory approach of Kathy Charmaz (2006; 2008) guided the process of data collection and analysis within each case study. Grounded theory develops explanations of social phenomena by inductively and systematically categorizing the interpretations of research participants in search of themes and correlations, not by testing pre-determined hypotheses (Creswell, 2009). It is a reflective approach that typically involves two or more rounds of data collection and analysis in pursuit of saturation, the point at which new data no longer contradict emergent categories and relationships (Charmaz, 2000).

In order to achieve saturation, this study exercised purposive sampling when selecting cases and research participants, and when adapting qualitative interview questions as field work progressed. Purposive sampling allows researchers to select subjects based on specific research objectives and to meet emerging theoretical needs (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). In all, interviews were conducted with 33 individuals representing a wide range of roles and experiences across both case festivals (see Table 4.1 and Appendix 3). Both case study and grounded theory typically

require the use of multiple types of data to ensure saturation and robustness. Therefore, this research also relied on participant observation and secondary writings which enabled triangulation of the core findings. Participant observation is a constructivist method whereby researchers gain an insider perspective by actively participating in situations and engaging with others for extended periods of time, not by watching as bystanders (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2011; Crang & Cook, 2007). This meant camping at both festivals and engaging in as many activities as possible on site. At the Winnipeg Folk Festival, participant observation was made relatively easy as a result of my ten years of prior experience as a volunteer at the event. In addition to active participation, the Winnipeg Folk Festival's annual audience feedback survey provided a considerable amount of data for confirming and challenging the grounded propositions.

An in-depth review of four bodies of literature –festival studies, community studies, relocalization, and new social movement theory – supported the primary case study investigations. As seen in Chapters 2 and 3, these disciplines provide a framework for this research. They were also used to guide the selection of initial cases, participants, and interview questions. During the final analysis, the grounded research findings were examined alongside existing theories and knowledge in order to provide well-defined implications. As such, this study's findings, while grounded in the experiences of particular communities, remain relevant in a wider academic discussion. Figure 1.1 displays the research process in its entirety while detail.

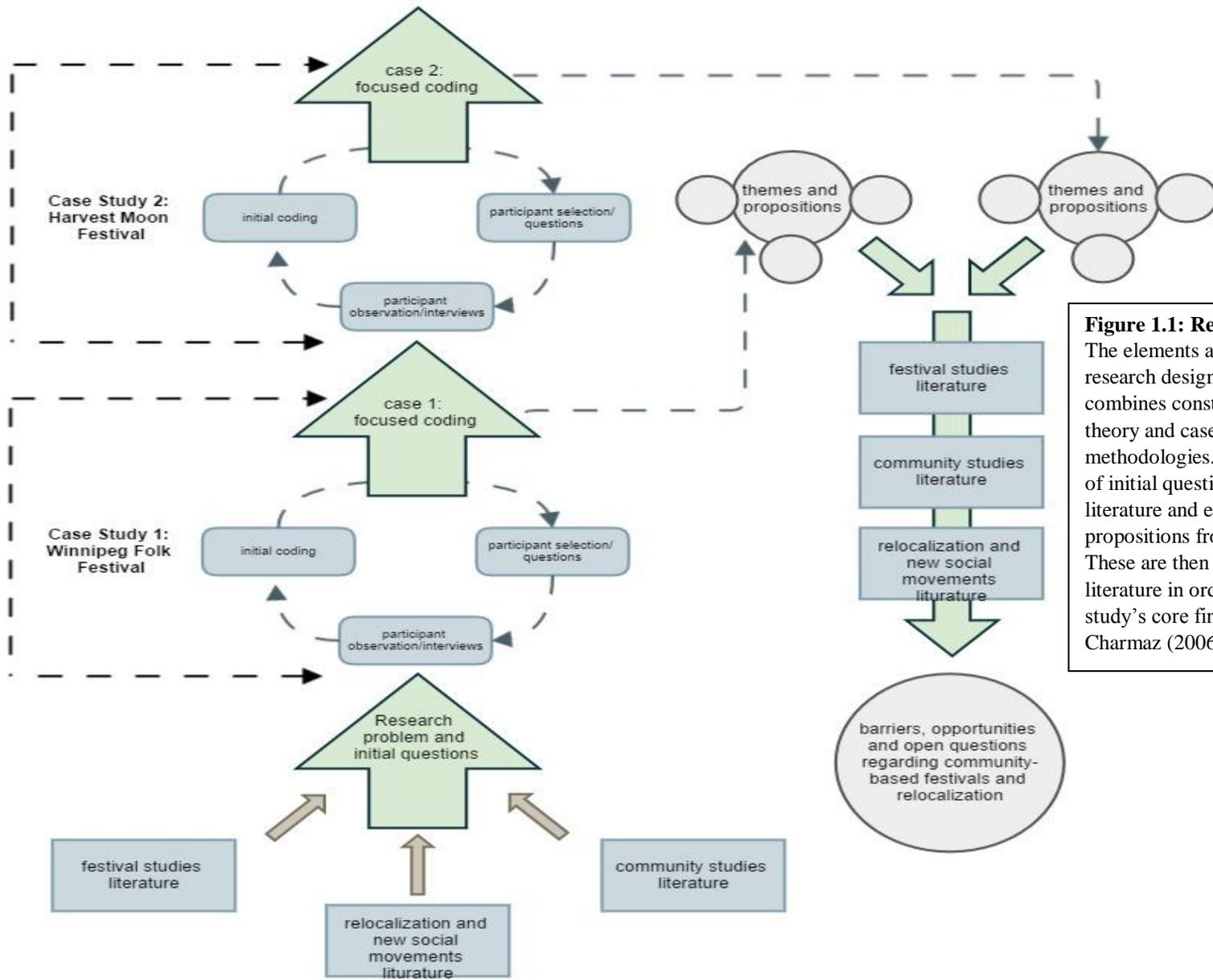


Figure 1.1: Research Design.
 The elements and workflow of the research design. The framework combines constructivist grounded theory and case study methodologies. It begins with a set of initial questions based on the literature and ends with a set of propositions from each case study. These are then taken back to the literature in order to generate the study's core findings. Inspired by Charmaz (2006, p. 11).

1.2.2 Situating the Case Studies

This study conducted case studies of the Winnipeg Folk Festival (WFF) and the Harvest Moon Festival (HMF), with the bulk of the primary data collection occurring in the summer and fall of 2014. The WFF was founded in 1974 in Birds Hill Provincial Park and today the event attracts roughly 10,000 visitors each day and is run by a not-for-profit organization. Founded in 2002, in the town of Clearwater, MB, the Harvest Moon Festival (HMF) draws roughly 2,000. The event is operated by the Harvest Moon Society (HMS), a not-for-profit sustainability initiative involving Clearwater residents, organic small-scale farmers, academics and environmentalists from Winnipeg.

The methods literature encourages researchers to select for cases that are relevant to the research problem (Bleijenbergh; 2010) and when conducting a multiple case study, that share a common social context or have revealing differences (Stake; 2006; Yin 2014). The WFF and the HMF were each selected based on several other considerations. First, as a researcher, I benefitted from having a considerable amount of past experience at both festivals. While this required accounting for biased findings, it also allowed for deeper understanding and a more efficient investigative process. Second, the case study festivals were also geographically accessible to my home town of Winnipeg Manitoba. Third, based on the research question, it was necessary to find festivals that were run by not-for-profit organizations and had an institutional presence within their local communities. Both cases display a commitment to sustainability which also helps place them within the purview of this thesis.

A further consideration for selecting the two festivals was based on their differences in size as well as in their overarching vision and format, characteristics that have the potential to influence the social and cultural outcomes stemming from the events. The final criteria in the selection process were the ability of the festivals to represent a wider regional phenomenon and to be part of similar social contexts which assists in the validation of cross-case comparisons and the transferability of findings. Both case studies are also part of the well-established summer festival scene in southern Manitoba. Appendix 1 provides details on a wide selection of festivals that happen each year in Winnipeg and throughout rural Manitoba. A number of small, independent music festivals in southern Manitoba that have risen to popularity in the last fifteen years include the Harvest Moon, Harvest Sun, Rainbow Trout, Shine On, and Real Love

festivals. To varying degrees, these organizations emphasize local and independent music, local sustainability, local business, and rural livelihoods. Furthermore, personal experience suggests that many of these events are attended by similar groups of people. They may be contributing to a distinct subcultural identity within Winnipeg that reflects a notable appreciation for localism and do-it-yourself (DIY) initiatives.

1.3 Research Contributions and Gaps

1.3.1 Academic Contributions

This research contributes to a range of academic fields including event studies, community studies, sustainable local economic development, social movement theory, sustainable degrowth, and localism/relocalization. Getz (2010) reveals that the festival literature spans a wide range of topics incorporating a multitude of disciplines. However, there remain some under-researched areas. First, as Handler (2011) argues, there is a need to apply the sociological and anthropological lenses, once used to study traditional festivals, to modern mass celebrations. There is a need to better understand how today's festivals and mass secular rituals influence culture. By taking the constructivist approach and examining meaning and identity, this research helps fill that gap (Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011; Handler, 2011; Getz, 2010). There is also a need to understand the socially and personally transformative elements of modern festivals and whether or not rituals and liminal spaces can transform a person's worldview in the age of individualism.

Second, research by Cobb (2015), Selberg (2006) and Chatzinakos (2012) point to shortfalls in the academic understanding of how local heritage, arts, and music festivals contribute to the creation of community and the establishment of place beyond economic development and tourism. This research focused on grassroots, community-based festivals precisely to advance knowledge in this area.

Cummings (et al., 2011) highlights a gap in knowledge relating directly to the festival and the sustainability movement. Their call for a more thorough investigation into "the connection between 'green' music festivals and young people's decision-making when it comes to alternative consumption and sustainable lifestyles" is another focus of this research.

A further open question within festival studies is whether or not mass public celebrations can actively foster political resistance, counterculture movements and social change (Giorgi &

Sassatelli, 2011; Sharpe, 2008). Anderton (2011) identifies two broad trajectories for modern festivals with respect to politics and culture. One is that festivals become co-opted by commercial interests and reproduce dominant consumer culture. The other is that they embrace a more avant-garde and fringe image and become niches of counterculture resistance within the dominant sociopolitical landscape. There is a need to study festivals in ways that test this dichotomy and identify the conditions and management practices that lead events down one path or the other. Such an approach is the unique contribution of this study which looks at governance practices, artistic curation, and models of audience participation as factors that might be influencing the capacity of the case study festivals to encourage cultural shifts toward localism.

Beyond event studies, this project helps bridge gaps between community studies and the relocalization and sustainable degrowth theories. The degrowth literature makes a strong case for its existence with a great deal of hypothesizing in regards to feasible forms of post-carbon social organization (e.g. Martinez-Alier 2010) and the macro-economic implication of this type of restructuring (e.g. Tokic 2012). However, the social and cultural implications of such a transition remain under-investigated (Quilley, 2011; Barry & Quilley, 2009) – a challenge which lies at the heart of this research. It offers empirical evidence suggesting that the transition to localization involves not only policy and supply chains but also culture, identity and community. It also considers whether or not the festival realm offers one possible avenue for social change.

1.3.2 Practical Contributions

This study's findings and analysis also offer several applied contributions. First, the research findings provide a guide for how local festivals can internally pursue an agenda of relocalization. This is especially true given that the researcher was able to establish working relationships with the two festival organizations and was even invited to present the findings of this study at the 2015 HMF. In general, festival producers may benefit from an increased understanding of the importance of celebratory rituals for establishing a new locally-focused sustainability paradigm. This type of knowledge may motivate organizational changes at the case-study festivals and similar events in Manitoba and beyond.

In the same vein, grassroots organizations and community groups who are involved in local sustainability work may learn how collective celebration benefits their cause, giving them another tool for creating change. In Winnipeg, case-study findings may reveal important links

between festivals and the successes of a progressive social-environmental moment, invigorating continued action.

1.3.3 Research Boundaries and Limitations

It is clear that there are also limits to the applicability of the research findings both in terms of its subject matter and methodological approach. Methodologically speaking, Stake (1995) and Yin (2011) both caution when it come to the transferability of case study findings. Because cases are complex systems with many internal components that are heavily influenced by their external environments, findings may not always hold true when applied to cases in other contexts.

Transferring knowledge from this study to other festivals can be beneficial but only if researchers are thinking critically about internal and external differences and how they might affect new cases. The research findings here are most relevant to southern Manitoba and the stakeholder communities involved with each of the case festivals. Furthermore, as is the case for any solid exploratory study, this work generates more questions than answers. Each of the barriers and opportunities it identifies are likely worthy of separate empirical investigations.

With respect to their contributions to a field of study, it is important to note that festivals are just one possible avenue for influencing social change toward relocalization. Although this project does not consider the role of government or of innovations within the marketplace, it does not seek to minimize their significance as they are also important pieces of the relocalization puzzle. It is useful to think of festivals as niches within the modern social-ecological fabric of the world, something that resilience thinkers and social innovators concur are vitally important for transforming systems.

1.4 *Outlining the Thesis Structure*

This thesis invites the reader on a journey that is one part theoretical and one part real world. It situates the contemporary festival experience within the literary bodies of sociology and anthropology while tying that experience to an outlook that sees local communities potentially becoming more vibrant, equitable and resilient. In addition to making an academic contribution, this thesis, aims to empower and inspire those who care about their local communities. It pursues

the idea that celebrating in the liminal space together can generate social ties, alternative systems and transformative knowledge that will help take us into the post-carbon, post-consumption era.

Each of this thesis's eight chapters can be seen as important step in answering the research questions. **Chapter 2** provides the conceptual framework and rationale for this study by exploring the impacts of modernity on community as both a theory and a real-world phenomenon. By linking the transformation of communities, and what they have lost to the processes of global industrialization, the chapter opens the door to the central premise of this research. It suggests that in the face of emerging limits to growth it is time to look for ways to re-establish local resilience not only through local economies and supply chains but also through human identity and belonging. It advocates for more empirical constructivist research leading to a better understanding of what it truly takes to transform communities at a human level.

Chapter 3 outlines the other half of the thesis central argument which is that festivals can, in theory, play a role in the transition toward locally sustainable communities. Through a nuanced review of the sociology, anthropology, event studies and political economy literature, the chapter identifies five avenues through which festivals might connect to, and transform, the world beyond: ritual and identity, liminality and communitas, heritage and place identity, public culture and political change, tourism and local economic development, and event design and management.

Chapter 4 provides a thorough overview of the primary research methodology, first introducing the paradigm of social constructivism, and then explaining and justifying the many elements of the grounded, exploratory case study research design that guided this project.

Chapter 5, the first of two case studies, examines the Winnipeg Folk Festival. It begins by looking at the historical, political and economic context of the event and then summarizes the core findings that emerged from participant observation and qualitative interviews at the 2014 event. **Chapter 6** follows the same structure but looks at the second case study, the Harvest Moon Festival.

Chapter 7 is the critical piece of the puzzle that ties together all of the other elements. First, it analyzes and compares findings from the two case studies, completing the grounded theory process and arriving at a few propositions. It then considers the results of the primary research alongside the bodies of literature introduced in earlier chapters, proposing a set of

barriers, opportunities and open questions regarding the ability of festivals to contribute to the transformations of local communities.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by reviewing the main findings, making suggestions for further research, and offering some final words about the importance of local festivals in modern times.

2.0 Community and Localism in the Age of Global Modernity: A Conceptual Framework and Rationale for Localist Inquiry

To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, "all that is solid melts into air".

-- Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air*, 1982

2.1 Introduction

At the heart of this thesis lies an assumption that there is a need to rethink the form and functions of local places. For this to happen an in-depth understanding is required of how systems of culture and social organization have transformed with the rise of modernity – the period of history dominated by secular reason, personal freedom, growth and progress. In an attempt to foster that understanding, the chapter ahead makes a two-fold argument. First, the limits and apparent consequences of global industrial capitalism pose serious challenges to the “business-as-usual” model of development and social order with real implications for local places. Second, communities (and the social and economic relationships within them) have undergone significant transformations over the course of modernity. This is particularly the case since the onset of the industrial revolution rendering any return to locally-scaled systems a complex social endeavor. The relocalization movement tries to tackle this challenge with advocacy and action at the grassroots level of societal organization but the lens of new social movement theory reveals that success of these initiatives hinges on establishing widely-shared values, identities and ambitions. Local places must be part of the solution to the sustainability problems at hand but unlocking their potential as catalysts for a sustainable economic revolution requires us to grasp the sociocultural elements that hold them together. While evolutions in the human condition have left us far removed from the idea of community as it existed in pre-modern times, this chapter argues that local places can still serve as an anchor point for community identity and that re-

establishing that connection is a vital part of responding to the ecological limits to growth. As a note of caution, this chapter wades into contested academic territory and the following can offer only a brief introduction to some of the major critiques of modernity and relocalization. It emphasizes certain perspectives and omits others in an attempt to define the parameters of debate and articulate the assumptions that bring salience to the research.

2.2 *The End of Growth? Ecological Economics and Relocalization as a New Social Movement*

As part of establishing the conceptual framework for this study, the following section aims to define a number of key terms including globalization, sustainable degrowth, localism and relocalization. It positions sustainable degrowth and localism inside the broader discourse of ecological economics while also establishing the foundational claims of this discipline – i.e. that there are social and ecological limits to growth. This provides the groundwork for a discussion about how relocalization manifests in the real world through grassroots initiatives while highlighting the challenges facing the movement as identified in the literature.

2.2.1 Limits and Ecological Economics: Case for Sustainable Degrowth and Relocalization

Since the (ignore that I stroked out book) *The Limits to Growth* was first published in 1972 (Meadows, Meadows & Randers), the idea that production and consumption cannot continue expanding indefinitely has gained considerable traction. There is increasing understanding that the globally-scaled complexity of modern civilization has resulted from vast energy throughputs in the form of carbon-based fuels (Odum, 1998; Tanter, 1996; Heinberg, 2003). This relationship between carbon-based energy and social and economic complexity leaves modern society at risk on several fronts. Heinberg (2003) make the point that within the closed system of earth, entropy (energy unavailable for work) will always increase and available energy will always decrease while placing faith in renewables is misguided because these cannot match the energy returned on energy invested (ERoEI) of petroleum. Beyond limits to available energy, global production and consumption is also pushing the biosphere dangerously close to clearly defined planetary boundaries and crossing these thresholds will destabilize the Earth's life

support systems (Rockstorm et al, 2009). Kunsler (2005) and Heinberg (2003), among many others, warn of the dual threat of energy shortages and climate change, point to economic volatility, frequent food shortages, and growing political unrest as signs that the global system is becoming increasingly unstable. Complicating things further is the argument that the capitalist, growth-based economy is failing to provide everyone with basic needs and quality of life.

Whether as a result of the total depletion of carbon energy and a destabilizing climate, or because of a global movement to protect Earth's biosphere and ecosystems, an economy based on ever-expanding development and profit will likely not continue forever. These ideas are at the heart of ecological economics, a transdisciplinary field challenging the classical economic logic of efficiency, profit and growth by emphasizing the sustainable wellbeing of the planet and emphasizing that the economy exists within, and not independent from, ecosystems and the biosphere (Daly & Farley, 2011). It sees the economy as a subsystem of the global ecosystem and stresses the need to preserve natural capital, unlike conventional economics which treat the natural world as external to the environment (Daly & Farley, 2011; van den Bergh, 2001). From this perspective, the economy is embedded with containing and sustaining the ecosystem. Foci within this discipline include: ecological integrity, justice, extended time scales, the management of uncertainty, and intergenerational sustainability. Ecological economists argue that mainstream models of economic organization including the subfield of environmental economics and their accepted indicators fail to account for the true level of costs and risks to humanity's well-being in relation to both social and environmental factors on a finite planet (Costanza 1997). Daly and Farley (2011) define the primary objective of ecological economics as follows:

“the maintenance of ecological life-support systems far from the edge of collapse (which requires an end to material growth of the economy) and healthy, satisfied human populations free to work together in the pursuit and clarification of a still vague ultimate end — for a long, long time” (p. 57)

Within this definition there is an explicit commitment to ending “material growth” as part of a strategy for long-term sustainability. This idea, usually referred to as sustainable degrowth, is the primary focus within ecological economics. The concept was first discussed by Romanian ecological economist Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen and it calls for a “downscaling” of production and consumption and the development of local, ecologically-viable economies where the norms

of material wealth accumulation and competitiveness are replaced with cooperation, communalism, culture and community. More specifically, sustainable degrowth is:

...collective and deliberative process aimed at the equitable downscaling of the overall capacity to produce and consume and of the role of markets and commercial exchanges as a central organizing principle of human lives. (Sekulova et al., 2013, p. 1).

This type of transition also requires a “deepening of our democracy” and changes to other major social institutions (Schneider, 2010, p. 511; Martinez-Alier et al. 2010). These paradigmatic assumptions are the core rationale behind this research. Drawing on William Ophuls, Quilley (2012, p. 274) suggests that degrowth is more directly a “reduction in social complexity and the division of labour” resulting in “more muted individuation”, strengthening of “we” identities, reduced alienation, and greater opportunity for human creativity. This last point is essential for understanding the links between sustainable degrowth, relocalization and community.

Finally, the work of political scientist John Dryzek helps clarify the paradigmatic shift that relocalization and sustainable degrowth require. In his book *the Politics of the Earth* Dryzek (1997) provides a taxonomy of environmental discourses, each resting on “assumptions, judgments, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debates, agreements, and disagreements” (p.8). He suggests that all environmental discourses are defined by two dimensions. First they seek either to reform or radically transform “the long-dominant discourses of industrial society” (. 12). Second, each discourse either advocate for prosaic or imaginative alternatives based on whether they are envisioned within the existing “political and economic chessboard set by industrial society” or whether they are seen as part of its transformation (p.13). Along these line, degrowth and relocalization are both radical discourses that recognize the need to abandon global industrial capitalism. Relocalization is also imaginative in that it envisions a world where the macro political economy is less relevant, with local places gaining autonomy and the capacity for self-reliance.

2.2.2 Relocalization in Theory and Practices

2.2.2.1 Relocalization, Localism, and Community Wellbeing

As the discussion above makes clear, the limits to growth mean that our civilization must develop social and economic systems that are less-complex, less-energy intensive and less taxing on the physical environment if future generations are to inherit a sustainable world. Implicitly, reducing complexity and consumption requires a geographic down-scaling of economic and cultural supply chains and an overall reduction in global interdependence and connectivity. This idea is most commonly referred to as relocalization and it is another primary focus within ecological economics. This thesis sees relocalization as an essential process for achieving sustainability and resilience and, more specifically, adheres to the definition provided by the Post Carbon Institute (2015):

Relocalization is a strategy to build societies based on the local production of food, energy and goods, and the local development of currency, governance and culture. The main goals of relocalization are to increase community energy security, to strengthen local economies, and to improve environmental conditions and social equity. The relocalization strategy developed in response to the environmental, social, political and economic impacts of global over-reliance on cheap energy.

The “re” in relocalization is a nod to the historical trajectory of human development – an acknowledgement that prior to the industrial revolution, social and economic systems were organized at local, if not regional levels. Section 2.3 discusses the “disembedding” impacts of modernity in greater detail.

Relocalization is based upon the political and economic philosophy of localism which, according to McKibben (2010), advocates that production and consumption of goods and services occur within local/regional systems along with increasing the overall political and economic autonomy of local communities (see McKibben 2010). O’Riordan and Church (2001) provide a useful clarification by explaining globalization and localization as “processes of change” with tangible impacts on economies, cultures and communities, while globalism and localism are “socially and politically framed interpretations” that place value on certain aspects of change (p.3). In their words, globalism and localism are discourses “through which citizens gain a sense of understanding and awareness over changes to their economy, identity and political structures” (O’Riordan and Church, 2001, p. 11). Curtis (2005) uses the term eco-localism to describe localist ideals and actions, including the example of local farming, that stem from a concern for environmental sustainability.

Although a number of relocalization efforts, such as the Transition Towns movement, focus on building alternatives outside dominant structures (namely the state and the free market), Hess (2009) argues that the philosophy of localism does not exist strictly on the radical end of the political spectrum. Many interpretations emphasize communalism and non-monetary exchange but the localist narrative also benefits neoliberal devolutions of state responsibility and privatization by off-loading responsibilities to local levels and “buy local” messaging fits squarely within the free market framework (Hess, 2009.) While the localism of sustainable degrowth is clearly aligned with an agenda of radical change, this thesis tries not to get hung-up on this point. Rather, it considers if, and how, the festivals under study contribute to relocalization and are connected to dominant economic structures.

Finally, it should be noted that relocalization extends the study of ecological economics by emphasizing equality, social wellbeing and community. For example, the Transition Towns framework focuses on stakeholder inclusion, as well as the social and mental health benefits of going local (Hopkins, 2008). These benefits are sometimes framed in reference to the social costs of globalization such as having less time for family and community. In his study of localist movements in the United States, Hess (2009) looks at how relocalization activities can empower local communities from a social justice as well as an environmental lens.

It is along these lines that the term *community wellbeing* appears in conjunction with local sustainability and relocalization throughout the rest of this thesis. Several different disciplines including health sciences, behaviour studies, economics and environmental studies employ the use term “community wellbeing” as part of holistic frameworks for analysing communities. Public health researchers Wiseman and Brasher (2011) define community wellbeing as “the combination of social, economic, environmental, cultural, and political conditions identified by individuals and their communities as essential for them to flourish and fulfill their potential” (p. 358). Although much of the literature on community wellbeing emphasizes the need for metrics, this paper refers to the concept in a broad sense as a way of framing the impacts of relocalization on communities. Presently, it appears that community wellbeing depends largely on the stability of global economic and political systems and, as these modern arrangements destabilize, local places will have to find ways to secure community wellbeing with greater autonomy and efficacy.

2.2.2.2 *Relocalization as a Grassroots Social Movement*

As the above description alludes to, relocalization happens through various avenues of public life including government, civil society and the marketplace. Increasingly, government agencies pursue relocalization via public policy in relation to urban planning and sustainable local economic development (Nijaki & Worrel, 2012; Naess, 2001). Considerable relocalization-oriented work also occurs through holistic governance approaches such as those coming out of the field of socio-ecological resilience. Here, there is an emphasis on multi-layered governance, adaptive capacity, stakeholder inclusion, and local management policies (Shaw & Maythorne, 2012).

With that said, however, this thesis examines localism within civil society and concerns itself with relocalization activities that happen by way of grassroots social movements. Therefore, it is first necessary to define the terms *grassroots* and *social movement*. In her book examining grassroots sustainability enterprise, Davies (2012) acknowledges that the term “grassroots” is used rather loosely in reference to activities aimed at increasing sustainability within “spatially constrained” communities. This thesis also uses the term to refer to initiatives based within local, place-based communities. Many writers, including Esteva and Prakash (2014), Willie (et al., 2010), and Ghai (1992) situate the term grassroots within the context of political and social struggle, particularly in the developing world. They argue that grassroots belong to groups within society who have less power, resources and access to government and democratic institutions than the majority of the dominant cultural population. From this perspective, the grassroots can be seen as a space where, local marginalized communities identify and build power in the pursuit of social change. This definition is useful when thinking about environmental social movements because it is often the poor and marginalized who bear the brunt of the negative socioeconomic and biophysical impacts of global free market capitalism. Esteva and Prakash (2014) frame grassroots activities as a response to the consequences of modernity in a way that is pertinent to this study. In their words:

An epic is unfolding at the grassroots... Ordinary men and women are learning from each other how to challenge the very nature and foundations of modern power, both its intellectual underpinnings and its apparatuses. Explicitly liberating themselves from the dominant ideologies, fully immersed in their local struggles, these movements and initiatives reveal the diverse content and scope of grassroots endeavors resisting or escaping the clutches of the “Global Project”. (Estava & Prakash, 2014, p. 1)

This research examines relocalization within the context of developed North American society and so the oppression, marginalization, and political struggle aspects associated with grassroots discourses do not explicitly apply. However, the view of the grassroots as a space where community groups can build power for resisting and transforming dominant social structures from below does apply to this thesis. Like the work of Estava & Prakash, it associates the grassroots with the coming together of ordinary men and women who recognize the power in their collective actions for transforming the world.

It is around this idea that grassroots activities merge almost seamlessly with new social movements, particularly when it comes to struggles for local sustainability. This thesis considers collective social action through the lens of new social movement theory, the basic premise of which was laid out by Alberto Melucci and John Keane in *Nomads of the Present* (1989). Melucci and Keane differ from traditional social movement analysts by discussing collective action as a process concerned with social and cultural change more so than political change. They argue that social movements are not always made of conventional political actors and organizations but are “submerged in the social networks of everyday life” (Klandermans, 1990 review of Melucci). They manifest as groups that consciously pursue autonomy and self-actualization through choices, practices and symbolic action (Melucci and Keane (Melucci & Keane, 1989; Buechler, 1995). New social movements are less concerned with instrumental political power and more with transforming broader cultural conditions. In this way, new social movement theory differs from classical Marxist interpretations which view collective social action as happening along class divides and focus on state power relating to the means of production (Buechler, 1995). Buechler (1995) concludes that new social movement theory helps explain how collective action relates to social change by tying together the micro-level of individual identities and local struggles to the meso-level of strategy and organization networks and to the macro-level of dominant social structures.

According to new social movement theorists, modern social movements are concerned with post-material values such as emancipation, quality of life, and individualism, as opposed to class struggle and basic economic needs (Buechler 1995). This shift in focus toward emancipatory social objectives results when a society or group achieves material satisfaction – once basic needs are met other needs related to equality and self-expression come into play (Miller, 2013).

However, rather than use the term post-materialism, this research refers to the values of relocalization along the lines of what Schlosberg and Coles (2015) called “post-post-materialism” or “sustainable-materialism” in their framework for “new environmentalism”. While conventional environmental movements that construct narratives of global justice and protection of ecosystems are very much post-material, “new environmentalism” appeals to a different set of value including a range of radical, grassroots green movements such as DIY, local food, and just transitions. This new environmentalism has three defining elements: 1) it rejects the materialism satisfaction generated by global consumerism and seeks to develop a sustainable materialism based on local and collective intuitions; 2) it opposes and escapes the concentration of power generated by global material flows that characterize globalization and define the global-local struggle; and 3) it sees a maladaptive relationship between the human and non-human therefore aiming to transform human practices so they reflect our dependence on nature.

The second major premise of new movement theory is that constructing collective identity is vital to establishing shared interests and goals within the movement, and that these identities, interests and goals are socially constructed and often contested (Buechler 1995). This idea helps establish a bridge between festivals and the relocalization movement. Through the lens of new social movement theory, relocalization requires community to develop shared ambitions based not only in the values of localism, but in a sense of collective identity around local places. As the next section discusses, this has been one of the major challenges for those pursuing relocalization. Chapter 3 argues that festivals encourage groups of people to coalesce around shared values and identities, and for this reason they may be able to support the objectives of the relocalization movement.

Finally, new social movement theorists believe that social movements are thought to build capacity through diffuse social networks made of individuals and organizations who share a common vision for change and who pool together social capital and resources at times of opportunity and crisis (Klandermans, 1990 review of Melucci). This differs from classical theories which view overarching, hierarchical organizations as the main actors within movements. These types of networks may be another area of common ground between relocalization and community festivals. Festivals often involve partnerships among multiple community organizations and therefore may be able to help establish and maintain the diffuse networks that are the social infrastructure of new social movements. More specifically, Fassy

(2003) identifies three core functions which social networks perform within social movements. First, they perform the function of *socialization* by facilitating the relationships that are essential for developing and maintaining solidarity as well as shared values, identities, narratives and political consciousness. Second, they perform a *structural-connection* function by connecting participants with opportunities to mobilization, “enabling them to convert their political consciousness into action” (Fassy, 2003, p. 24). Third, networks perform a *decision-shaping function* because strengthening relationships and interpersonal connections among members increase the likelihood that they will participate in long-lasting and meaningful ways. If festivals can help maintain relationships and reinforce identities and values while encouraging people to take action around relocalization they can be seen as a valuable networking tool.

The characteristics of grassroots activity and new social movements provide a clear context for thinking about relocalization initiatives on the ground. Relocalization efforts come in many different shapes and sizes – from community supported agriculture and urban farming projects to cooperatively owned businesses and energy projects. The area of relocalization that gets the most attention from media and researchers is local food production which existed as a movement prior to the rise of general localism (Starr, 2010; Francis, 2010). The movement flies under many flags, including permaculture (Birnbaum, 2014), slow food (Pietrykowski, and the one-hundred-mile diet (Smith et al., 2008).

The most well-known and comprehensive approach to relocalization is the Transition Towns movement. The Transition Network, the preeminent organization within the movement, seeks to foster best practices for participatory local economic development aimed at community self-sufficiency and autonomy as a response to the impacts of climate change and peak oil (see Transition Network, 2013). As Quilley (2011a, 76) explains, Transition Towns “tap into a deep frustration with consumer society” and anticipate that within a “post-carbon, post-capitalist order, citizens will live more familial, authentic and creative ‘handmade’ lives, recovering a range of artisanal ‘transition skills’ within, rewarding, tightknit communities”. Transition Towns combine notions of place-bound community identity with principles of bioregionalism (Cato, 2013) in order to establish production and consumption patterns that are less vulnerable to external energy, climate and macroeconomic shocks (Quilley 2011a). To this end, Transition emphasizes local food production, local trade and currency, a relearning of essential community and homemaking skills, and the collective ownerships of projects. Transition Towns also

embody the ideas of Gauntlett (2010) regarding the importance of creativity, craftsmanship and cooperation for community empowerment and identity.

Whether or not Transition Towns are a “new” “grassroots” social movement remains an open question. It is grassroots in the sense that Transition initiatives usually begin outside of the realm of government policy and instead aim to engage citizens based on a view that governments have historically done a poor job generating local resilience. However, Barry and Quilley (2009) are hesitant to label Transition Towns as a true social movement, citing the fact that it is more a pragmatic response to peak oil and the inevitable dismantling of global civilization than it is an ongoing struggle against global capitalism as is the case with many relocalization movements in the developing world (see Estava & Prakash, 2014). They do suggest that transition may fit the bill of a new social movement in so far as it challenges the dominance of broad social structures by encouraging people to internalize its narrative into personal life choices. At the very least, relocalization embodies the three elements of “new environmentalism” proposed by Schlosberg and Coles (2015).

Despite the growing momentum of grassroots relocalization, there may, however, be a number of limits to the movement’s ability to affect widespread social change. First, Quilley (2011a; 2012), argues that relocalization as the preservation of modern values at local scales, or what he calls “low energy cosmopolitanism”, is a contradiction in terms. Drawing on Norbert Elias’s *The Civilizing Process*, Quilley demonstrates that there is a direct and essential correlation between the rise in available energy enabled by petro-industrialization, and the social development of the individual along with our modern, cosmopolitan values including freedom, emancipation, and equality. Liberalism – i.e. the ultimate value of individual freedom – sit at the foundation of modern society, but it depends on capitalist growth and the continued circulation of “goods, people, and information” (Quilley, 2011a). In other words, the very ingredients that produce new social movements – individualism, symbolic identity construction and planetary awareness – can only exist in highly-complex societies. The premise of relocalization is based on sentiments of global, ecological and social empathy and cosmopolitan pluralism but these values may likely wane with trophic contraction and the return to local may be overtaken by oppressive forms of social control (Quilley, 2011a; 2012). In this sense, relocalization is one big experiment, testing whether or not liberalism can exist within a post-growth, post carbon world (Barry & Quilley, 2009).

Much of this experiment hinges on reviving the core features of traditional communities, dismantled by modernity and the fate of “I” vs. “we” identities (Quilley, 2012; 2011a). Speaking about Transition Towns, Quilley explains that relocalization requires people to turn away from the world of individual freedom and intentionally embrace a life of place-boundedness defined by a smaller number of tight-knit relationships. This type of renewed place-bound “we” identity will require viable economic and social roles for all those living within a given region or locale. However, there are two problems facing this form of social organization. The first challenge is that the local level socioeconomic conditions needed for strong place-based identity are a primary casualty of modernity. Through processes of globalization, supply chains, the means of production, and their accompanying economic relationships, have become dislodged from local places and spread out across space through time (Quilliey, 2011b). There are now very few examples of where our economic survival is immediately tied to the people and places where we live. Disembedding greatly contributes to the loss of locally-based skills and knowledge as well, and reversing this trend is a main objective of eco-localists (Quilliey, 2011b).

The second challenge is the “psycho-social problem of moving from the open, connected, fluid, individuated modes of identity formation associated with choice and mobility to the more closed, inscriptive, primary modes of “we” group identification” of pre-modern society (Quilley, 2011b, p. 11). Anyone striving to live a relocalized existence will eventually have to confront “the over-bearing, self-sufficient, highly creative, and often mentally fragile sense of self that defines the modern Ego” (Quilley, 2012, 274). It is possible that individuals may fill this void by reestablishing their sense of self within the context of “we” and “us” groups but people will need to choose this type of socially-bounded meaning-making while still emerged in the temptations and norms of modern life. Although some may debate it, Quilley asserts that the only examples of such social structures that exist within a modern setting are those “regressive far-right and religious forms of communalism” where adherence to non-modern values and belief systems are strictly enforced (Quilley, 2011b, p. 11). While one could counter this assertion by pointing to some examples of place-based communal living communities within a contemporary urban context, at present they are few and far between. The challenge facing the relocalization movement is that it must develop equally compelling place-based cultural narratives and “we” identities without regressing into pre-modern forms of sectarian oppression. It is here where festivals, with their ability to generate collective values and identities, come into view as tools

for relocalization. However, to better understand the sociocultural barriers outlined above, and how the movement might nonetheless be able to thrive, we need to take a closer look at how modernity has transformed the theory and practice of community.

2.3 *Community Lost and Community Found: Ways of Being Together in Liquid Modern Society*

In his book *Key Concepts in Community Studies* (2010), Tony Blackshaw provides an excellent critical review of the literature, challenging readers to re-think their understanding of communities. The book contributes to a better understanding of modern social organization by providing “an alternative way of conceptualizing community” (Blackshaw, 2010, p. 10). Blackshaw accomplishes this by following the idea of community through the historical trajectory of human consciousness and the human condition. Drawing on Agnes Heller’s (1999) interpretation of modernity, Blackshaw divides the historical evolution of community into four stages: pre-modern communities where the notion of community was inseparable from human consciousness; solid modernity where the “baton of authenticity” was passed from community to class with the rise of hierarchical, production-based society; a period of conscious classes where status and consumption increasingly determine social hierarchies; and liquid modernity where identity has now supplanted authenticity and individuals imagine themselves as part of many different communities made accessible by social mobility.

After defining community, this section outlines Blackshaw’s arguments and draws on the works of other sociologists and political economists including Ferdinand Tönnies, Anthony Giddens (1990), Karl Polanyi (1944), and Paul Hopper (2003). It explains the rise of modernity in terms of “community lost” and “community found”. Community as an essential and unavoidable condition of pre-modern times was lost, perhaps forever, with the rise of modernity. However, in a liquid modern world built upon freedom of the individual, humanity has discovered new types of community - those ways in which men and women construct their identities and imagine themselves together. Important to the study of relocalization, local places can be thought of in relation to both these notions. While modernity disembedded social relationships and broke through the retaining walls of geographic locale, the sense of place literature demonstrates how local places, can still act as anchor points for community in modern times.

2.3.1 Defining Community

Community is one of the most puzzling concepts within the social sciences being used with great frequency across disciplines but for which an agreeable definition remains elusive. At a basic level, we know communities by their three key dimensions: “locales, social networks and shared sense of belonging (Blackshaw, 2010). It is possible to think of a community as a group of people who, whether by choice or by circumstance, share time and space with each other for mutual benefit and who inherit or develop common interests and aspirations. Or, as Blackshaw (2010) puts it, communities are our “ways of being together”. Rudimentary sociology text books, commonly draw broad distinctions between communities of place – groups who share identity based on geographic location –, communities of faith – those who share a commitment to the beliefs and custom of a religion – and communities of interest – groups united by a common passion, or occupation. The term social capital appears frequently within community discourses as a measure of the perceived benefits of group membership. More specifically, the term describes the latent economic and social advantages that result from the trust and commitment among individuals participating in community. Social networks within communities produce social capital and facilitate its distribution in times of need or opportunity (Putnam, 2000). In the 1990s, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) introduced the concept of communities of practice, connecting the idea of group identity to learning studies. According to Wenger (1998), communities of practice are groups of individuals who have a common passion or concern and who regularly engage in activities relating to this shared interest. Through sharing information and exploring new ideas, these groups engage in social learning, increasing their collective understanding and knowledge of their area of focus.

Finally, according to Blackshaw (2010), the concept of community has two broad uses. First, social theorists use it as an “orienting device” for empirical research, attempting to show that community is an essential element of everyday life across a wide range of social settings. Second, individuals, corporations, civil society, governments and virtually every other type of group use community as an “appropriating device” – a tool for constructing identity and inclusion (Blackshaw, 2010, p. 10). The typography and list of basic features presented above helps bring initial clarity to the subject of community and these concepts are certainly referred to

throughout the rest of this work. However, tackling the local sustainability dilemma requires researchers to think more critically about community studies and for that it is worth taking a closer look at the writing of Tony Blackshaw.

2.3.2 Community Lost

There is a problematic tension within Blackshaw's work between modernity and community that has important implications for relocalization. It is a tension arising from competing theories about how community relates to modernity. On one hand, thinkers such as Nisbet (1967) and Bauman (2001) argue that, rather than supplant community, modernity has served to solidify the purpose of committed social groups. In his definition of community, Nisbet (1967, p 47-48) suggests that people choose to relinquish individual will in favour of the deep psychological benefit that comes from the "tradition and commitment" and "membership and volition" of the group – the symbolic benefits of "locality, religion, nation race, occupation or crusade". Furthermore, communities draw their strength from the threat of the non-communal side of modernity, "the relations of competition or conflict, utility or contractual assent". Community stands as a refuge and emotional anchor amid the turbulent seas of Heller's (1999) modern social arrangement (Bauman, 2001). Blackshaw (2010, p. 21) reminds us that that this conception of community brings with it a darker side in the form of the "necessary others" – communities possess "ready-made outlets for prejudice" based on fear and hatred of outside groups.

On the other hand, and in direct conflict with the idea of community as a necessity of modernity, Blackshaw argues that modernity actually undermines all together the existence of community as a truly binding concept – this is community lost. Once uprooted from the bedrock of locality and traditional religious grand narratives by the winds of freedom, democracy and individualism generated during the Reformation, Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, the unwavering truth of pre-modern communities was lost forever (Blacksaw, 2010). From this perspective, the very notion that we must choose to commit to community indicates that traditional community, defined by not knowing any other social arrangement or cultural worldview – what Quilley (2012) refers to as "collective unconscious" – and an unquestioned acceptance of duties, roles and relations, no longer exists. Drawing on the works of Tonnies and Giddens adds further understanding to the loss of community.

2.3.2.1 *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*

One of the first people to theorize about the loss of community was German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. In 1887, Tönnies published *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* in which he introduced the dichotomous concepts of *community* and *society* as a way of typifying social order. It was an attempt by Tönnies to qualify the historical transformation of social arrangements from predominantly communitarian toward a more individualistic nature. The work operates from the premise that humans are naturally social and find their greatest fulfillment in “kinship, [place], and spirit” (Heberle in Tönnies 1887/2002, p. ix). Yet, they also tend towards other utilitarian forms of association (such as those of an economic kind) that act as “instruments for [attaining] certain ends” as opposed to community-based interactions which are seen as “ends in themselves” (Heberle in Tönnies 1887/2002, p. x).

According to Tönnies, these opposing forms of interaction each stem from competing forces of rational and natural will (Loomis in Tönnies 1887/2002,). Relationships based on natural will are thought of by Tönnies as essential objectives or ends in and of themselves, chiefly, friends, family and communities. By contrast, rational will refers to willingness resulting from recognition that other ends can be achieved through association with those outside of the sphere of natural instinct. (Loomis (introduction) in Tönnies 1887/2002, p. 5). These are the utilitarian relationships of conventional economics and politics.

Tönnies (1887/2002) proposes there are two types of social order, one based on rational will and the other on natural will: *Gemeinschaft* (referring broadly to community) and *Gesellschaft* (society). *Gemeinschaft* is a form of social organization that emerges where and when natural will relationships dominate, as seen in tribal societies and village life. *Gemeinschaft* living expresses the following characteristics: a strong sense of place-based cultural identity; strong fraternal and familial ties and intimacy within relationships; informal, reciprocal and cooperative forms of economic exchange and activity; craftsmanship based on direct needs and rooted in tradition; guilds and regional trade that expand access to specialized goods and services but that are void of monopolism; and group-centered loyalty and morality (Tönnies 1887/2002).

Whereas communalism and natural will generate *Gemeinschaft*, individualism and rational will produce *Gesellschaft*. Under *Gesellschaft*-like arrangements, the fictitious commodities of land, labour, and money (see Polanyi 1944) become the dominant forces of influence. Divisions of labour and systems of production become increasingly complex, resulting in expanded networks of secondary, impersonal relationships and formal economic interaction outpacing traditional forms of reciprocity and exchange. Community identity grows weak and formal political and legal institutions step in to provide security as social mores decline (Tönnies 1887/2002). Quilley explains how such transformations constitute an historical trend, stating:

A characteristic feature of this process of expansion has always been the overlaying of secondary relationships and interdependencies over the primary relationships of kinship and place. Places get bigger. The scale of economic trade expands. Cultural influences become more diffuse and pervasive. Conscious and unconscious dependence on known and unknown individuals and social groups increases (Quilley 2011b, p 8)

Here, Quilley summarizes what is essentially Tönnies' account of modernization: during the transformative period of the Industrial Revolution, *Gesellschaft*-like arrangements arose to displace the social and economic relationships of community-based living. Tönnies classification remains among the most authoritative accounts of the societal transformations occurring in this period. As Quilley (2011b) notes: “[the] poles of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* became the dominant epistemological and ontological frames through which intellectuals viewed the chaotic dislocations of pell-mell modernization” (p. 10).

From a degrowth perspective, *Gesellschaft* equates to the modern global production-consumption model of social organization. Building resilience for a post-peak world through relocalization requires a total reimagining of social and economic relationships and how they function within local places. Eco-localism assumes it is possible to have a future where low throughput social-economic arrangements provide basic needs, vitality, and well-being all via local economic networks glued together by high-social capital and strong senses of place and identity. At present, however, dynamics within typical communities bear little resemblance to the neo-*Gemeinschaft* vision offered by the relocalization movement and most local places in the developed world lack the ingredients required for sustainable degrowth to flourish there.

2.3.2.2 *Disembedding and the Great Transformation*

The term disembedding also describes modernity's impacts on community, and its emphasis on geographic locality makes it useful to this study. Disembedding refers to processes whereby the separation of space and time brought about by technological advances causes social relationships to be "lifted out" of local contexts. These relationships are restructured around "indefinite spans of time and space" (Giddens 1990). This phenomenon is often discussed as "mobility" within the discourse of globalization (Hopper, 2003; Riordan, 2000). Economic activity, individual identity, and interpersonal relationships are no longer bound to a particular place or time or local cultural context. In other words, the political, economic and technological systems that deliver the necessities of life and well-being are dispersed across space and time, with roles and identities no longer bound to particular place. Putnam (2000) suggests that disembedded social order brings consequences for families and local communities by undermining social capital. Local economic and social activities become increasingly void of their own context and meaning and instead depend upon globally networked chains of production and information for their relevance (Stones 2012). In short, communities move from places of identity and belonging to spaces for economic activity and the pursuit of individual interests.

In a sense, disembedding is the geographic expression of modernization. It reflects an historical process that is still underway but that began with Polanyi's *Great Transformation* (1944) when the "separation of the economy from society" occurred (Scott 1997, p. 309). During the rise of early modern capitalism, the direct exchange of goods and services was replaced with the commodification of everything as competition for the scarce resources of land, labour and money becoming the institutionalized framework for meeting basic needs (Scott 1997; Polanyi 1944). Disembedding accelerated as states endorsed the capitalist mode of production, mandating increased scale and efficiency of networks of economic exchange. Importantly, these processes would not have been possible without carbon-based fuels replacing traditional energy sources that had minimal capacity for spatial and temporal expansion (Scott 1997). By placing individualism first, modern globalization has undermined "shared norms and values, a level of trust, regular contact, sociability among community members, and forms of community and civic responsibility" all of which are essential for high levels of social capital

that make local resilience possible (Hopper, 2003, p. 81). As Quilley (2012) suggests, disembedding has not only uprooted the skills, knowledge and social capital needed for relocalization, but it has also meant the rise of individualism and the making of personal identity through non-communal, non-place-based means. Both of these realities are major barriers for the relocalization movement.

2.3.3 Community Found

Despite the loss of community in its pre-modern, place-based forms, modern society continues to conceptualize and practice new ways of being together, some of which may ultimately benefit the transition to relocalization. To begin with, despite the arrival of the modern individual, the desire to find meaning and fulfillment through collective identity and social interaction remains immutably part of the human condition. Community, as Blackshaw (2010) discusses, has become a hermeneutic exercise of “liquid modernity” (Bauman, 2000) – communities are constructed and interpreted to fill our needs for belonging and identity. In his words, “humankind may have been exiled from the old world of community, but it has the opportunity to make a new kind of community in the modern world” (Blackshaw, 2010, p. 29).

It is clear that “liquid modern communities” (Bauman, 2000) can be seen as part of the social-ecological challenges outlined in the previous section. This is because they are units of identity used as tools of individuation and the creation of self. Communities are not rooted in a deep sense of kinship but are the temporary stages where individuals act out the various parts of their imagined identity – these are Bauman’s “cloakroom communities”. In this sense, liquid modern communities play directly into the hands of proponents of consumerism as men and women exercise their mobility and liberty by consuming communal experiences. Blackshaw (2010) asks us to think critically about how “community” is manufactured for the fans of sports teams, for example, and about the interests of those who produce these experiences. Festivals are also places where the temporary production of community reinforces liberalism and individuation and this is something that the primary research (Chapters 5-7) considers. It acknowledges that in appealing to the timeless desire for group belonging, the producers of community in liquid modern times may also perpetuate the very things that uprooted true community in the first place.

Despite this risk, modern hermeneutic communities can actually support the countercultural social movements such as relocalization. Motivated by the perceived benefits and possibilities of a deeper communalism, modern men and women can imagine and construct community in ways that transcend consumptive individualism (Blackshaw, 2010). We all have the capacity, if not the desire, to create meaning in collective pursuits and experiences and find refuge from modern isolation. As Blackshaw says, we are able to continually re-imagine communities “on the basis of collective commitment to the virtues of human kindness, tolerance, justice and solidarity” (p. 32). Relocalization is ultimately about fostering community, and community in the modern sense constitutes the social construction of collective identity, commitment, ambitions and knowledge. Therefore, there is a need to examine how communities of both place and practice relate to new social movements and local resilience.

2.3.3.1 *Locale, Place, Identity and Community*

Place, neighbourhood, place identity, sense of place, and community of place are all terms found within a multi-disciplinary body of literature concerning the relationship between place, community and identity. They are also all related to the objectives of the relocalization movement and are therefore an important part of this discussion. More than defined geographies, *places*, as they relate to community studies, contain both natural and built environments and are defined through people’s emotional, psychological, social and economic interactions within those environments (Convery et al, 2012). Place – or locality as it is sometimes called (Blackshaw, 2010) – is a central concept within community studies, with particular efforts made at understanding the scale and conditions of places that lead to the flourishing or faltering of community (Hopper, 2003; Blackshaw, 2010; Clarke et al. 2007). Much of the discussion about place and community focuses on *neighbourhood* as the primary unit of analysis (Hopper, 2003; Blackshaw, 2010). Blackshaw (2010) notes that neighbourhoods are often portrayed as places that are familiar, welcoming, trustworthy, safe and secure although not all neighborhoods foster the conditions of community. This is something to keep in mind when reading the primary research chapters of this thesis which make some carefully-bounded claims about the relationship between local festivals near Winnipeg and their impact on community in the city.

Often discussions about community involve the concepts of sense of place and place identity. Convey (et al. 2012) argues that there are two broad uses of the term “sense of place” within the literature. First, it may refer to the “factors which define the character or distinctiveness of local places” and second, it may be used to emphasize the ways in which people experience, use and understand place” (p. 2). Cuba and Hummon define place identity as “interpretation of self that uses environmental meaning to symbolize or situate identity”. As the festival studies literature (reviewed in the next chapter) demonstrates, festivals can contribute to sense of place and place identity.

One of the major arguments against the relevance of communities of place, especially when it comes to the social capital need for local resilience, is that in the globalized world, people, money and identities are highly mobile (Hopper; 2003; Blackshaw, 2010; Perkins & Thorns (2012). However, some scholars caution against over-stating the impacts of globalization and mobility on place and community. Hopper (2010) points to studies that indicate it is still very common for people to live where, or near to where, they were born and place attachment helps explain this. In their book *Place Identity and Everyday Life in a Globalizing World*, Perkins and Thorns (2012) make the case that place remains a central and essential part of daily routine in modern society. This suggests that there is already a social order blueprint laid out in local places for relocalization to follow and that people are already primed to care about where they live. In all, the ambitions of transitioners and localists cannot be written off with the argument that global mobility and disembedding have irreversibly damaged social capital in local places. Significant research indicates that local places remain a primary source of identity and meaning for most people and so the task at hand is to find ways of fostering sense of place and solidarity among local populations while infusing an agenda of relocalization into local culture.

2.3.3.2 *Communities of Practice*

In addition to place, people also fill their need for shared meaning and interaction by constructing communities of practice. According to the lead expert on the subject, Etienne Wenger (2011), communities of practice “are formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavor”. These people “share common

concern or passion” and “learn how to do it better as they interact regularly” (Wenger, 2011, p. 1). More than communities of interest where members share a passive enjoyment or concern (such as fans of a sports team), members of practice communities generate knowledge and resources by sharing “experiences, stories, tools, and ways of addressing recurring problems” (Wenger, 2011, p. 1). The communities of practice concept provides a helpful way of looking at the concerns raised earlier in this chapter regarding the importance of shared meaning and identity to the relocalization movement. Not only do communities of practice help their members develop skills and solutions, but, through the collaborative process, these members negotiate the meaning of their work – what is important and why – and develop personal and collective identities (Wenger, 1998). Identity according to Wenger (1998, p. 5) is a function of how learning through practice “changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities”.

In speaking about alternative food systems, Goodman (et al., 2012) views alternative food networks as “reflexive communities of practice of consumers and producers whose repertoires create new material and symbolic spaces in food provisioning and international trade”. The authors further suggested that the communities of practice concept:

Extends to social movements whose critiques of conventional food systems draw on universal ethical values of social justice and ecological sustainability, such as fair trade networks and organic movements, and those adopting a more particularistic esthetic critique based on the conservation of regional food cultures, localism and traditional farmed landscapes... (p. 7).

Sandlin and Walther (2009) examined learning and identity development within the voluntary simplicity movement in the United States. They found that members of the movement developed identity and meaning through shared experiences of non-consumerist behavior but also that the decentralized nature of the movement and individualist moral codes weakened those identities. However, because relocalization efforts are tied to local places, shared identity development may come more easily and prove to be more lasting than movements that are more disperse. Another barrier facing communities of practice within social movements is that they may not always be successful at drawing in new members, influencing identities and behaviors only with within small-closed off groups. Similar learning and identity formation occurs within the relocalization initiatives which have the added benefit of proximity and the ability to tie new skills and values to a collective passion for a particular place.

Clearly there is a connection between communities of practice and the meaning-making processes of new social movements. Kurzman (2008) defines meaning-making from a culturist perspective as “collective contest over interpretation” whereby people use “institutions, repertoires, and rituals... to assimilate information into established categories of understanding” (p. 6). Relocalization and other radical green pursuits are concerned with promoting the “post-post-materialist” meanings, values and actions associated with Schlosberg and Coles (2015) called new environmentalism (See section 2.2.2.2). Communities of practice provide a way of framing and enabling the establishment of sustainable materialism.

As collaborative, grassroots experiments that are aimed at real-world outcomes, relocalization initiatives become communities of practice and as such, they have the potential to create positive feedback loops of social change. In practicing the development of sustainable local alternatives, community members instill meaning in their activities and develop shared identities and values related to their work and ambitions. In turn, meanings, identities and values motivate further practice, project development and action. As such, communities of practice and collective learning are important to social movements especially when it comes to values and processes of meaning-making as well as for developing alternative skills and knowledge. Festivals such as Harvest Moon (the second primary case study found in Chapter 6) which actively align themselves with local food and local sustainability may be able to help relocalization social movements by fostering communities of practice.

The above discussion serves to illustrate that communities of interest and practice are at the heart of relocalization movements because they facilitate the development of identity and values in conjunction with real-world action aimed at a desire for local wellbeing stemming from place attachment. One of the main considerations of the primary analysis is whether or not festivals can support communities of practice through education and collaboration or by evoking feelings of responsibility for one’s home community in order to motive action and behavioral change. As the following chapter demonstrates, festivals have the capacity to foster cultural values and collective identities among their participants and it is reasonable to hypothesises that they could form a nexus between relocalization practices and knowledge and between local identity and community solidary.

2.4 Conclusion: Justifying the Need for Constructivist Studies in the Field of Relocalization

This chapter set out to establish a purpose and theoretical framework for the research. As such it aimed to demonstrate the relationship between three ideas: 1) resilient local places matter in the quest for a more equitable and sustainable world; 2) resilient local places require communities united by place-based identity, place-based knowledge and place-based cultural and economic practices; and 3) Grassroots movements and community-building processes are vital for resilient local places.

The relocalization movement broadly refers to a wide range of activities based on the principles of localism that aim to foster local resilience in the face of the limits to growth. The movement continues to grow in popularity but has yet to lead to widespread social change or the transformation of global consumer society to a steady-state economy. Some sociologists suggest that there the relocalization movement must reconcile inherent contradictions and challenges stemming from modern, mobile and disembedded social structures and from the relationships between community, individualism and identity.

Communities are no longer understood as the all-encompassing life worlds of the pre-modern age but are stages that mobile moderns enter and exit at will as they construct their individual identities. Nonetheless, the human capacity remains strong, as people imagine themselves as part of groups bounded in solidarity, collective purpose, and shared identity. Relocalization attempts to generate social capital and alternative economic knowledge tied to local places and can perhaps do this best by fostering hermeneutic communities of place and practice. There is, therefore a need to understand how these types of communities exist within the movement as well as how they may be connected. As such, constructivist research must continue to take place at a grassroots level – on the front lines where local identities are negotiated and where solidarity forms around the interests of local places. The overarching image developed in this chapter is that relocalization, as a new social movement, works to produce healthy, vibrant, and resilient places through the fostering of communities of place and practice.

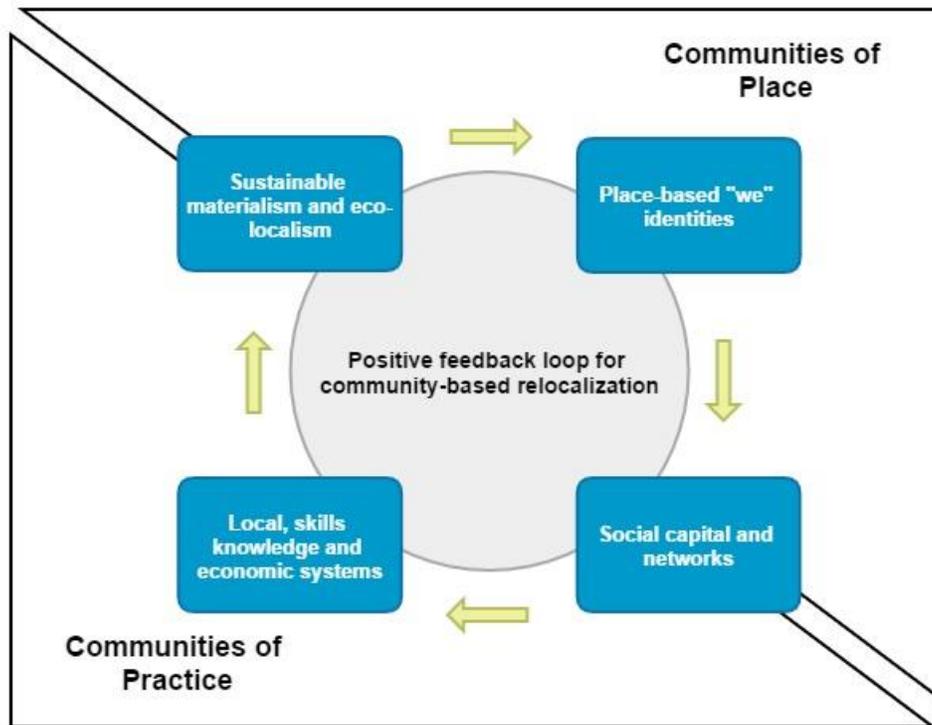


Figure 2.1: A theoretical framework showing how communities of place and practice can support the “key ingredients” of relocalization social movements.

Distilling the discussion down further, there are four key factors that link relocalization to community-building processes. As seen the Figure 2.1, these four elements relate closely to one another and can positively reinforce one another, as well as tie together communities of place and practice, on the path to relocalization. Strong place-based identity contributes to social capital and networks that enable the development of new skills, knowledge and economic systems that increase local resilience and promote meanings-making and values in line with sustainable materialism and localism values, which in turn strengthens place-based identity and belonging.

The model is obviously a simplification of reality. It is important to acknowledge that the proposed feedback loop exists within the dominant system of industrial society and the forces of globalization and individualism push against it at every corner. Nonetheless, it is a useful framework for thinking about how relocalization relates to community. Most importantly, it provides a logical starting point for thinking about how festivals might fit into relocalization social movement processes and, as the next chapter reveals, how public celebrations and rituals have the ability to influence values, identities, networks and practices.

3.0 Understanding Collective Celebration: A review of Festival Studies Literature

For though we are predominantly a highly mobile city people, we have maintained innumerable occasions for celebration from our country past... Moreover, we have developed new forms of celebration, ones which reflect alternative ways of proclaiming and maintaining our relationships with others and with the world around us. But in certain respects, these festivities, and the spirit of life-enhancement that has always been their source of inspiration, are of ever-greater importance to us. Our calendars have become more rigid as we schedule in our weekends, holidays, and vacations; but the festival, the fair, and the other public celebrations that are reenacted each year become the highpoints of our collective lives.

-- Roger D. Abrahams, *The Language of Festivals*, 1982

3.1 Introduction

On the surface, modern festivals appear as recreational activities fueled by people's desire for relaxation, indulgence, socializing, and escape. However, a closer look reveals that festivals are vibrant microcosms of living culture whose meanings and implications for both individuals and communities cannot be summed up simply as leisure. Festivals are places that embody the human need for social interaction, culture, shared identity, self-affirmation, and communal experiences. This research investigates if these social and cultural dimensions give festivals an ability to support the sustainably transformations of local communities. The following literature review explores how festivals are situated within the realm of public culture; and how they serve as places where the identities of both mainstream and non-dominant communities are communicated, transformed, and reinforced through social interaction and meaning-making processes. The chapter begins by defining the festival concept, drawing on the traditional, anthropological study of ritual and modern events studies. This foundation provides the basis for an investigation of the various ways that festivals have been interpreted and understood within the academic literature. The review identifies six discernible discourses: ritual and identity; liminality and *communitas*; heritage and place identity; green social movements and counterculture; tourism and economic development; and event management.

The different festivals used as examples throughout the discussion highlight the main points of each discourse. They also demonstrate that all festivals reflect the values and interests

of distinct communities and stakeholders and, therefore, produce different social outcomes. Understanding the sociocultural impact of a particular festival requires a careful analysis of how groups of people interact with that event and how the festival becomes laden with value and meaning. There is a rising popularity of music festivals among young people as well as a commitment to social and ecological responsibility at a number of these events. This growing interest indicates that there is a discernible link between festivals, counterculture and social movements and perhaps event cultural transformation.

3.2 *Defining Festivals*

What exactly is a festival? A discussion about the nature and importance of modern festivals first requires an informed definition of this complex social phenomenon. Getz (2007, p. 31) defines festivals as "themed, public celebrations" that are planned, temporary, and typically occurring on an annual or seasonal basis. Anthropologist Alessandro Falassi (1987) describes festivals as "time out of time" with their distinct spatial and temporal dimensions that remove us from the normal realities of daily life. Festivals are held in designated times, in distinct spaces, and as a set aside for non-typical behaviors and activities. Many of the festival's acts can be seen as rituals, or rites which Falassi (1987, p. 2) refers to as the "building blocks of festivals".

Festivals are almost always celebratory, as opposed to somber, in nature. A festival usually has a specific theme or purpose which serves as a point of common interest around which a group of people or community come to gather (Getz, 2007; Falassi, 1987). These catalysts can be a specific genre of music such as folk or rock, the life and legacy of a notable cultural figure, or a significant national or religious occasion. As Falassi (1987, p. 2) states, a festival is really a "series of coordinated events" supported by members of a community united by "[geographic], ethnic, linguistic, religious, and historical bonds" as well as a common worldview. Their ultimate purpose is to strengthen and preserve the values that are essential to a community's "ideology, worldview, social identity, historical continuity, and physical survival" (Falassi, 1987, p. 2). Quinn (2000; p. 264 - get citation) similarly states that festivals seek to actively reproduce a community's "shared values and belief systems", with the partial intention of displaying these to the outside world. It is fair to say that festivals have two broad interrelated functions: a social appeal to the human need for interaction and shared experience, and a cultural reinforcement of

the values, identities, and symbols that provide a community of interest with its meaning and ontological security.

One challenge to understanding the identity-based functions of festivals is the contested nature of these events' specific meanings and cultural significance owing to different "values and belief systems" within the participating communities (Getz, 200, p. 200). This is particularly true of most popular modern festivals which appeal to broad swaths of humanity and elicit the attachment of subgroups for different reasons. The opposite can be said about traditional cultural festivals where the meanings of specific rituals or ceremonial acts are more often than not explicitly apparent to participants. This research considers the possibility that the contested meanings and goals of modern festivals may serve as possible barriers to their potential contribution to relocalization, or any kind of widespread social change. However, festivals are still dynamic social environments where meanings and objectives are negotiated and may become clearer and more focused over time.

3.3 *The Scope of Festival Studies*

Today, the academic examination of festivals sits within the broader field of event studies (Donald Getz 2007). This area of research is concerned with the experiences and meanings of planned events and draws on multiple disciplines including cultural anthropology, sociology, social psychology, geography, and economics. While event and festival studies have only been acknowledged as distinct fields in recent years, much of what we know about planned celebratory events comes from the early sociological and anthropological interpretations of the festivities and public cultural displays found in traditional societies. Anthropologists including Arnold van Gennep (1909) Victor Turner (1969, 1982) as well as sociologists such as Emile Durkheim (1912/2008) all made significant contributions in this regard.

In his review of festival research literature, Gertz (2010) determines that there are three main discourses of celebratory planned events. The first, and oldest, contains the works of the writers mentioned above and deals with social and cultural functions, meanings, and impacts of festivals. The second discourse focuses on the link between festivals, tourism and economic development. The third area considers the logistics of planning and managing themed public celebrations. The following discussion adds more nuance to Gertz' classification by distilling six

ways of interpreting festivals within the literature, all of which are relevant to the research questions at hand. Much of the current published research focuses on the proper management of festivals in relation to tourism and economic development. Relatively unexplored, is the question of how festivals of today reflect and shape modern culture and society. It is therefore worthwhile to include here early anthropological and sociological works on cultural festivities that do focus on social, meaning-making, and identity functions. As Giorgi and Sassatelli (2011, p. 5) suggest, we must aim to "study the significance of contemporary, post-traditional festivals... treasuring the lessons from that socio-anthropological approach so successfully applied to traditional ones".

3.3.1 Ritual, Culture, Identity and Values

Much of the foundational knowledge of the festival phenomenon comes from the anthropological and sociological study of *ritual*. Rituals are sequentially performed, formal, stereotypical, and often invariable symbolic acts or gestures carried out at set times, in designated spaces. They are framed in special contexts that usually removed from every-day life. Those who participate usually share membership in a community, united by geographic place, religious faith, or secular interest. In this context, festivals typically reflect the cultural traditions of that particular community (Stewart & Strathern, 2010; Rappaport, 1999; Bell, 1997; Evans, 1996; Mitler et al., 2004).

French sociologist Emile Durkheim conducted the first detailed assessment of the link between ritual and group identity. Durkheim's argued that, during rituals, a society or community essentially worships itself by glorifying "broad symbols of identity" (Stewart & Strathern, 2010, p. xviii; Durkheim1912/2008), Durkheim categorized social life into two broad realms: *the sacred*, the times and spaces set aside for ritual acts; and *the profane*, the domain of everyday activity and interaction. It is within the realm of the sacred that groups validate their shared symbolic meanings and their belief in religious formalities and cultural ideals. Ultimately this is a collective process of affirmation perpetuating the ontological security within the group. Anthropologist Richard Handler (2011, p. 41) summarizes the Durkheimian view, stating that rituals "celebrate ultimate cultural values" and attach people to a worldview, as well as "function to shore up the cultural and social order". Conventional rituals may not change very much over

time but this makes sense given that they are tied to cultural heritage and tradition (Stewart & Strathern, 2010; Brosius & Polit, 2011).

Durkheim's thinking provides an important contribution to the literature about modern festivals which is that there is a social utility to collective, ritualistic celebration of cultural symbols, by enforcing symbolic meaning and influencing behavior within groups. While most modern festivals are secular affairs, they contain many ritualized performances and traditions that reinforce the values and identity of the audience. As Handler (2011) notes, in modern contexts, the term ritual is applied to a wide-range of non-religious formal, public performances. Handler (2011, p. 46) further suggests that modern observers can apply "Durkheim's ideas to the contemporary world" and hopefully determine "the ultimate source of value represented in secular ritual". Indeed, this idea is one of the primary objectives of this research. What values flourish among the mass crowds that gather to watch the famous band on the main stage? In the absence of a single religious idol and amid modernity's endless variations of personal identity, is it possible for festival organizers to design their rituals in ways that lead to coalescence around distinct meanings and objectives? As Handler (2011) points out, many modern rituals paradoxically uphold the value of individualism, and reflect the way people in modern society utilize freedom and choice, in constructing self.

3.3.2 Rites of Passage, Liminality, and Transformation

Another interpretation of ritual and the festival that emerged during the first half of the twentieth century pertains to rite of passage, liminality, and transformation. Ethnographer Arnold Van Gennep was the first person to account for rituals as a transformative process during which participant's transition from one life-stage or role to another, a theory which he laid out in *The Rights of Passage* (1909/1960). However, the stages of the rites of passage and the concept of liminality were popularized in anthropological discourse by Victor Turner (1969, 1982) who built on van Gennep's model through his study of the Ndebele people of Zambia.

According to both Van Gennep and Turner, rites of passage have three distinct stages: separation, transition, and reincorporation. Turner labeled these stages, pre-liminal, liminal, and post-liminal, where liminality is understood as the period of being "betwixt and between", no longer old but not yet new. The ritual space and time facilitates a separation of one's sense of self from a previous social identity, role, and worldview. Following this, there occurs a period of

being "in between", or liminality, where intense experiences void of usual social structures and norms lead participating individuals toward a new understanding, identity, or role. In the final stage, individuals recognize and attach themselves to this newly discovered meaning, a step which typically involves some sort of catalyzing moment, symbolic act, or ceremony (van Gennep, 1909/1960; Turner, 1969, 1982; Strathern and Stewart 2010).

Turner paired the concept of liminality with his idea of *communitas*. In liminal spaces, such as festivals, conventional social order and hierarchical distinctions are stripped away and a more egalitarian and communal structure emerges. With such settings, participants experience *communitas* when they come to recognize, and attach meaning and sentiment to, their common bonds as members of a community (Turner, 1969, 1982; Turner, 2012; Strathern and Stewart 2010). Edith Turner (cultural anthropologist and the wife of the late Victor Turner) describes *communitas* as the actual spirit of community arising when individuals see themselves as expressions of one another and where a group's lived experience takes on full meaning through shared experience (Turner 2012). Through moments of *communitas*, groups of people affirm their collective identity, values, and worldviews. Such affirmations generate social capital and unite communities behind common interests and aspirations.

Both the concepts of liminality and *communitas* are valuable considerations when discussing the modern festival landscape. They help explain the potential for personal transformations, paradigm shifts, and group identity construction at planned celebrations. Most modern festivals are liminal spaces, what Falassi (1987) calls "time out of time", where conventional social order, statuses, hierarchies, social institutions are abandoned. This is part of the reason why they are places where feelings of joviality, sociability and community togetherness flourish. Separation and liminality, and thus the potential for experiencing *communitas*, may be greater at festivals where there is an element of temporary settlement, and where festival-goers live day and night in campgrounds or tent-villages. It is, difficult, however, to measure presence of *communitas* at festivals or its impacts on identities and relationships beyond the main gate entrance. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider whether or not festival organizers intentionally incorporate elements of ritual and transformation into their programs - i.e. do these processes exist because, or regardless of, event designs? *Transformational festivals*, for example which are a growing trend, deliberately emphasize alternative social structures and ritualistic behavior.

Many other types of contemporary festivals appear more as spectacle than ritual. Spectacles are elaborate “cultural productions” designed to entertain by creating a sense of wonderment and awe (Kuutma 1998; Manning 1992). Like rituals, spectacles display and perpetuate the values and narratives of a society or a community (Kuuntma, 1998, Geertz, 1973). But, unlike rituals, audiences are more detached from the preformed acts, consuming them, rather than actively participating in, or creating, them. The spectacle of mega-music festivals can be seen at events like Coachella (California) and Tomorrowland (Belgium) that target a consumption-oriented audience. Festivals that display a high degree of spectacle may offer ritualized or transformative experiences for attendees but there is a lot of grey area when it comes to analyzing the meaning of these aspects at modern festivals, especially given the wide-range of themes, scales, interest groups, and motives for attending associated with modern celebratory events.

3.3.3 Festivals, Heritage, and Place Identity

More recently, the concepts of place identity and cultural heritage have been used to frame the study of festive rituals. Brosius and Polit (2011) introduce *heritage* as a useful tool for thinking about the link between ritual as well cultural and place identity. They suggest that rituals are cultural property that serve to visualize, transform and transmit a group’s cultural heritage. Heritage is a cultural product built out of the remnants of an “assumed imaginary past”, used to “colonize an imagined future” with the meanings and artifacts deemed valuable (Ashworth 2011, pp. 21-22). Ashworth (2011) argues that *place* can serve as an anchor for heritage development because of the association of certain values, aspirations and identities with physical locations. Therefore, rituals framed in a “local” context, such as the festivals examined in this research, can potentially re-shape heritage in line with aspirations of local economic sustainability and social wellbeing.

Local communities often have used festive celebrations and traditions to foster cohesion and strengthen heritage and this is especially true in rural places. Recent research by Selberg (2006) in Norway as well as DeBres and Davis (2001) in Kansas show how festivals draw on historical cultural narratives and natural heritage with the effect of reinforcing community identity and sense of place. Derrett (2003) suggests that festivals influence a “community's sense

of itself" (p. 49) by drawing on local distinctiveness generating togetherness and symbolizing "historical continuity and physical survival" (p. 54) of a place.

Most places have had some form of public celebratory gathering that reflect local culture such as country fairs, fall harvest festivals, and spring parades. Many communities are reviving these traditions as part of the grassroots sustainability movement as people begin to recognize that building community is the first step toward local resilience and this is a central component to the case study of the Harvest Moon Festival presented in Chapter 6. However, Xie's (2004), in an investigation of a rural festival in Ohio, cautions that local events can sometimes have only a superficial impact on participants' perception of sense of place and local cultural heritage.

Chatzinakos' (2012) study of two urban European festivals focuses on the tension between the community-building power of these liminal spaces and the concomitant commodification and marketing of these "representations of place". He found that when there is an active community network involved in the production of an urban festival, the event lends itself more readily to reclaiming public space in the interests of the local community, breaking down barriers among social groups, and achieving local governance and social movement objectives.

Furthermore, some scholars have recently determined that sense of place often applies directly to festivals themselves, not only to the physical locations or host settlement communities. Looking at the revival of American bluegrass festivals, Gardener (2004) found that participants emotionally invest in roots music festivals as communities in their own right. Seeking intimacy, openness, and equality, participants create "temporary mobile gemeinschaft communities" (Gardener, 2004, p.). Looking at the Kansas Walnut Valley Festival Cobb (2015, p. 1) argues that a sense of place and community results from "attendees' continued participation in musical, cultural performances and other rituals". These traditions heighten liminality and *communitas* in the festival setting, resulting in a sense of kinship and "home". However, there are some that would argue the term "temporary mobile gemeinschaft communities" is a contradiction in terms in so far as the word *gemeinschaft* refers explicitly to pre-modern forms of place-bound communities. As discussed in Chapter 2, such forms of organization cannot exist in today's mobile and liberal society. At best moderns can strive for an imagined and idealized form of *gemeinschaft* that celebrates kinship and familiarity but downplays sectarian violence and the absence of personal liberty. Nonetheless, the sentiment holds that many people attend

festivals, including Walnut Valley, because they appreciate the experiences of authentic communities and non-utilitarian relationships on offer.

As this literature review reveals, one social function of festivals is that they strengthen the identity of cultural groups and their attachment to particular values and meanings. The studies mentioned above suggest that, in certain cases, this can be done within the contact of local-places. Place can act as the fulcrum for group identity and values within festival settings. This is a promising indication that celebratory events can contribute to local sustainability objectives, either by intentionally valuing the principles of relocalization, or by developing social capital needed for greater community resilience. Additionally, Gardener (2004) suggests participants at today's grassroots festivals intentionally create communities as temporary safe havens from the surging current of modernity out of a longing for more *gemeinschaft*-based values. At festivals where this is true, the atmosphere may already be primed for innovation and social learning around relocalization projects.

3.3.4 Festivals, Tourism, Place-Marketing, and Local Economic Development

Closely related to the topic of heritage and place identity is the subset of festival literature that focuses on place-marketing, economic development and tourism. Getz (2010) identifies festivals as an important cross-focus between event studies and local development and tourism. Existing literature looks at the economic multiplier effect of celebratory events (Burns et al., 1986), their tangible and intangible effects (Burgan & Mules, 2001), their cost-benefit breakdowns (Brannas & Nordstrom, 2006), and the case for public funding (Felsenstein & Fleischer, 2003). Others have considered the economic development question by looking at how festivals might make local communities more desirable tourist destinations through place-making (Harcup, 2000), the marketability of festivals to different population segments (Lee, 2004) or as part of an urban renewal strategy (Che, 2000). O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002) consider the types of festivals that best lend themselves to long-term economic development within communities. Only a limited amount of work has considered festivals in relation to the social-ecological side of local development. Cela (et al. 2007) measures the contributions of community festivals to the sale of local food and commodities in rural Iowa while Hinrichs (2000) briefly discusses festivals as a part of direct agricultural markets and embedded local food systems. There is a need for more

research regarding the effectiveness of local festivals at supporting local resilience, especially as more and more communities develop events aimed at this purpose.

3.3.5 Festivals, the Cultural Public Sphere, Social Movements, and the “Green” Social Agenda

Sociologists Liana Giorgi and Monica Sassatelli (2011) locate festivals within the realm of public culture. The cultural public sphere "refers to the articulation of politics, public and personal, as a contested terrain through affective (aesthetic and emotional) modes of communication" (McGuigan, 2004, p. 435 quoted in Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011). For Giorgi and Sassetelli, festivals are aesthetic displays of culture that help shape and communicate political ideas and identities. Importantly, they acknowledge that aesthetic representations of culture such as festivals can be "appropriated and influenced" by different "actors and agendas" (Giorgi & Sassetelli, 2011, p. 2). Researchers have occasionally used the stakeholder approach to explain how the roles and interests of different actors set and influence objectives within festival settings (Getz et al., 2006). One argument is that real-world power, networks and resource dynamics mediate festival designs and content, limiting the scope and impact that content can have on attendees. However, a festival's "underlying beliefs, norms and values" can ultimately enable individuals to participate in "the building of political communities", be they "national, transnational" or, as is the focus of this research, local (Giorgi & Sassetelli, 2011, p. 5).

Consideration for cultural identity and political consciousness as they relate to festivals was first applied in a modern context to the North American Folk music scene. There is consensus in the literature that the mid-century folk revival influenced cultural identity, class identity, and political resistance with festivals used a major medium for the art form (Lund & Denisoff, 1971; Macdonald, 2006; Mitchell, 2007; Sharpe 2008). In his book *The North American Folk Revival*, Gillian Mitchell (2007) explains how folk music helped opened the door for cultural pluralism and became connected to the social and political movements of the day. Writing in 1971, Lund and Denisoff note that outdoor festivals were an important part of the folk art form that was openly advocating for social justice. Sharpe (2008) suggests that for part of the twentieth century, festivals played a significant role in social movements and fostering counterculture identities. Folk and rock music along with iconic festivals such as Woodstock

and Newport are strongly associated with hippies and resistance movements of the 1950s and 60s.

Today, much of discussion of festivals and culture focuses on environmental sustainability. In a chapter called *Festival Spaces, Green Sensibilities and Youth Culture* in Giorgi and Sasserelli's groundbreaking book, Cummings (et al., 2011) examines the phenomenon of contemporary music festivals seeking to understand how these places increase young people's understanding of "green" political issues. The authors suggest that festivals may act as "nodal points" for an emerging suite of "youth sensibilities and practices" around environmentalism and progressive green ideologies (Cummings et al., 2011, p. 142). They make the claim that environmentalism and music festivals first came together during the 1960's counter culture movement, citing Woodstock as the symbolic unification of eco-friendly and anti-establishment values. However, these early counterculture events were mired in hypocrisy because they lacked the logistical capacity and competency needed to create "ecologically sustainable environments" and provide transformative learning experiences (Cummings et al., 2011, p. 143).

Recognizing the growing acknowledgement of environmental issues in mainstream culture, Cummings (et al.) set out to determine if the current gamut of festivals aimed at youth culture is more effective at cultivating environmental action and values among participants. To answer this question, the authors explored five music festivals in Australia embodying a "green ethos". They found that the liminal carnivalesque nature of modern festivals allows youth to reinvent themselves and explore new "discourses, practices, and sensibilities" (Cummings et al., 2011, 149). In this, festivals provide a means by which youth can identify as "green" and shape their politics around environmental values. This is particularly true at festivals that "provide a narrative frame for 'proper' and ethical" festival consumption by taking environmentally friendly measures on site (Cummings et al., 2011, 15) or, worse, through green washing. Lang and Frost (2010) discuss the increasing tendency of planned events to incorporate sustainable practices and green messaging.

Cummings (et al. 2011) raises an important consideration that is highly relevant to this research. The authors suggest that most "green" identity formation occurring among youth at festivals is done so within a cosmopolitan framework. Festivals are designed and marketed as the cosmopolitan dream, meccas for globally-minded, consumer-oriented, and highly individualized young people. As such, any greening of personal identity emerges as part of a rise

in global environmental consciousness with locally-based environmental values and practices considered second, or not at all. As Cummings (et al., 2011, p. 150) states: "sole immersion in the local is a symbol of narrow-mindedness, unless such local action can be reinterpreted through a global lens". Green cosmopolitanism at music festivals presents a conundrum for those who recognize that the same high-energy global economy that allows the cosmopolite to flourish is also the ultimate threat to civilization's resilience. This research tackles this contradiction head on by asking how the formation of green values might incorporate local place identity and commitment.

Much of the research focusing on festivals and environmentalism focuses on how event managers are responding to cultural concerns and expectations for sustainability (Laing & Frost, 2010; Hede, 2007). This reflects the reality that when festivals show a concern for the sustainability it is usually within a discourse of liberal environmental reform which assumes the continued dominance industrial society (see Dryzek, 1997, Ch. 1). However, a few scholars have made attempts to understand festivals who approach sustainability within a framework of radical social transformation and political resistance. Mackay (2011) framed the experience of a women's arts and ecology festival as an embrace of sacredness in response to human consequences of globalization.

Erin Sharpe (2008) added a rare Canadian case study to the modern festival literature and his investigation of the Hillside Festival in Guelph, Ontario. Looking specifically at the event's political intentions, her research examined how power dynamics within Hillside's leisure sphere are harnessed to advocate for social change. Sharpe describes how Hillside organizers have intentionally woven elements of education, environmentalism and social justice into the music and entertainment elements of the event. In this way, Hillside became "an act of cultural resistance" (Sharpe, 2008, p. 223), holding out against the prevailing trends of consumerism, corporatization, and apoliticalization.

Transformational festivals, an increasingly popular form of mass celebratory gathering, are also being looked for elements of radical environmentalism. These types of events differ from conventional festivals with their emphasis on community-building and a value system encouraging personal development, creativity, reciprocity and social and environmental responsibility. These events provide a live-in experience structured around three pillars of

activity: the visual and performing arts, music (typically of the electronic dance variety) and educational opportunities in such forms as seminars, workshops and ceremonies. They link spirituality, ecological reverence and equality by promoting neo-pagan worldviews and rituals, an egalitarian social order, and environmental values. Characteristically, transformational festivals promote the active participation of festival-goers, meaning that attendees are encouraged to contribute to the “co-creation” of the experience, moving beyond passive consumers of the event. “Transformation” refers both to the potential for participants to undergo personal paradigmatic shifts in which they form a new understanding of themselves and their place in the world, and to the possibility of these events to fuel a broader cultural transformation toward sustainability (Leu 2013; Perry 2013).

The recent popularity of transformational festivals is often accredited to Burning Man, the first and largest co-created arts festival of its kind. Every September, Burning Man recreates Black Rock City which is a temporary settlement and the Nevada desert home to 50,000 people for ten days. A. For “Burners” – members of the Burning Man community –this huge event (visible from space) establishes lasting community identity through well-established customs, ritual and spirituality, an internal money-free sharing economy, and participatory artistic chaos (Doherty, 2004; Chen 2009; Gilmore, 2010). Burning Man has been the subject of many social scientific inquiries in recent years. Cultural anthropologists have studied it as tribal nomadism and spiritual pilgrimage (Sherry & Kozinets, 2007) and its non-monetary sharing economy as cultural resistance to the logic of consumer capitalism (Kozinets, 2002). Chen (2011) studied how the events’ organizational structure maintains values of artistic creativity and generates local offshoots. Broadly speaking, the Burning Man appeals to sociologists, anthropologists and economists as a research subject because it is a radical, large-scale departure from other festivals and it challenges basic cultural assumptions and social structures. However, the event’s ability to foster wider social change has been largely overlooked in the literature.

Despite the examples above, some scholars have critiqued the notion that mass celebratory gatherings are places that nurture counterculture values and political resistance. Research on this side of the argument commonly focuses on the transfer of power surrounding festivals from creative to commercial actors. Anderton (2011) identifies two broad trajectories for modern festivals – one is carnivalesque and countercultural while the other is based in commercial activity. Waterman (1998) observes a similar distinction between “high-brow” and

“low-brow” festivals. In his work, he argues that control over festive spaces has shifted from the hands of innovators and artistic directors into the hands of commercial interests who see mass events as part of cultural industry. A study by Johansson and Toraldo (2015) focuses on commercial side of the debate by examining cultural production for market-consumption at small, “boutique” music festivals in the United Kingdom. In their investigation of the 2010 Glastonbury Festival, Flinn and Frew (2014) found that social media and technology play a critical role in propagating the brand and mystic allure of the festival, amounting to the “puppeteering” of consumption. Their essential argument is that patrons consume festivals much like they would clothing, as part of their personal identity construction. Burning Man also faces criticisms, where some accuse it of being a playground for celebrities and the ultra-rich by reproducing class divides, promoting a libertarian capitalist order and allowing money to buy prestige within the festival space (Spencer, 2015).

Synthesising this discussion reveals a clear takeaway. Festivals are liminal spaces where subsets of society can experiment with non-mainstream cultural identities, values and practices and these may align with movements of political resistance and social change, especially when they cater to art forms that espouse such messages. They may, however, also be spectacles controlled by economic and cultural elites focused on the benefits of commercialism and consumption and reinforcing mainstream culture. Whether a festival follows one trajectory or the other over the course of its lifespan depends on the interests of key stakeholders and decision makers, artistic curation, and the overall model and governance of participation at the event. As such, focusing on the design and management of festivals is a logical final step for this review.

3.3.6 Festival Design and Management

Getz's festival literature review (2010) uncovered a robust body of work focusing on festival design and management. Research has considered how the planning and governance of festivals can foster social and ecological responsibility (Hede, 2007, Small, 2007), maximum community benefit (O'Brien, 2007), and an innovative management climate (Ensor et al., 2007). Getz and Frisby (1988) developed a systemic framework for assessing the management practices of community-run festivals aimed at maximizing their cultural and economic impact as tourist attractions. Other investigations include analyses of staffing and volunteer structures (Slaughter & Home, 2004), programming and artist direction (Finkel, 2006), and the implications of not-

for-profit, versus private sector, ownership models (Getz & Andersson, 2009). Previous research has found that stakeholder involvement and collaboration (Laing & Frost, 2010) as well as the management strategies and roles of directors (Acrodia & Whitford, 2006; Robertson et al., 2009) play a role in generating positive or negative social outcomes. From an environmentalist sustainability perspective, most research has focused on reducing the ecological footprint of events. For example, Laing & Frost, (2010) looked specifically at how management practices affect the staging of green events while Bakos (2014) attempted to calculate the ecological cost of an Ontario sporting event in absolute terms. Hede (2007) demonstrates that event managers are increasingly using a triple bottom line approach to make their events socially, economically and ecological sustainable. Despite the scope of existing literature, there is still room for learning about how management aspects can be tailored to affect more significant social change associated with eco-localist movements. This is especially important given the increasing number of festivals that are embracing a model of radical sustainability and cultural transformation.

3.3.7 Summarizing the Research Contributions and Gaps in Festival Studies

To review, there are six broad themes within the festival studies literature that are relevant to this thesis: ritual and identity, liminality and communitas, heritage and place identity, public culture and political change, tourism and local economic development, and event design and management. Each focus provides important insights and also highlights gaps in knowledge that have helped frame this study. Table 3.1 summarizes the main ideas and gaps that are relevant to the objectives of this research. Of course, the boundaries between these academic traditions are not clear-cut or impermeable and there is, in fact, a great deal of overlap in the subject matter of the studies discussed here. For example, studies looking at festivals and local economic revival also typically draw on elements of place-making and heritage. Nonetheless, the categorization brings coherence to this literature review and helps structure the application of existing knowledge to this study.

Table 3.1: Summary of the six topics identified in the festival studies literature along with key insights and gaps relevant to this research.

Relevant topics within festival studies literature	Core insights	Limitations of current academic literature	Contributing Authors
Ritual, the festive and cultural identity	Rituals and festivals are a way for a group or culture to affirm identities and values by worshiping certain symbols and actions.	Modern festivals have not been sufficiently examined for how they contribute to social and cultural re-production and transformation. The traditional sociological and anthropological lens can be applied to mainstream and counterculture events in the present day.	Stewart & Strathern, 2010; Rappaport, 1999; Bell, 1997; Evans, 1996; Mitler et al., 2004; Durkhiem, 1912/2008; Handler, 2011
Rites of passage, liminality and communitas	Explains the identity and community building function of festivals using the concepts of liminality, and communitas.	Limited understanding of how festivals influence collective identities, social capital, and individual values and worldviews outside of the events themselves. Liminal spaces have not been examined as niches for social and economic innovation.	van Gennep, 1909/1960; V. Turner, 1969, 1982; E. Turner; 2012 Strathern & Stewart, 2010; Falassi, 1987
Festivals, heritage and place identity	Local places act as the anchor point for identity and value construction at festivals. Often festivals themselves become the place or community of primary importance.	No discussion exists on the tension between place/community identities vs. the global cosmopolitan values present at modern music festivals that are detached from a geographically local context.	Brosius & Polit, 2011; Ashworth 2011; DeBres & Davis, 2001; Derrett, 003; Gardener, 2004; Cobb, 2015
Festivals, the cultural public sphere and “green” social change	<p>Modern festivals are an integral part of political consciousness, counter-culture and social movement activity.</p> <p>Some festivals are understood as acts of resistance against dominant economic and power structures.</p> <p>Others cater to market and profit-based interests and perpetuate the cultural status quo.</p>	<p>Limited understanding of the barriers and opportunities for facilitating social and political change via festivals especially with respect to youth culture, sustainability-based social movements, and personal action.</p> <p>Limited understanding of how governance and economic interests of decision makers affects ability of festivals to foster social change.</p>	Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011; Cummings et al., 2011; Sharpe, 2008; Chatzinakos, 2012; Waterman, 1998)
Festivals, tourism, and local economic development	Explains festivals in terms of their ability to stimulate local economies and	Festivals and local economic development is discussed almost exclusively in terms of economic stimulus and revenue, not in terms of events that might help establish resilient local economic systems.	Burns et al., 1986; Burgan & Mules, 2001; Brannas & Nordstrom, 2006; Harcup, 2000;

	contribute to place-making.		Che, 2000; O'Sullivan & Jackson; 2002
Festival design, planning and management	Focuses on the many aspects of planning and managing public celebration including programming, personnel, organizational models, and stakeholder involvement.	Discussions on planning and management limited to economic objectives or logistical concerns and do not address how event design connects to cultural/community identities/values, and the potential for social change.	Gertz, 2010; Hede, 2007; Small, 2007; O'Brien, 2007; Ensor et al., 2007; Finkel, 2006; Getz & Andersson, 2009

This literature review exposes several gaps in the collective understanding of modern festivals and this research project aims to address some of these unanswered questions. It is clear that most of what has been written about modern festivals is largely issue-specific and has not sufficiently incorporated the classical sociological and anthropological interpretations of cultural celebrations and rituals. As Giorgi & Sassatelli (2011, p. 4) suggest, traditional festivals are considered "relevant and revealing of the societies they emanate from", and so too should modern public celebrations. They suggest that scholars have made a hasty, untested assumption that the commodification of culture has made festivals increasingly irrelevant in terms of "community building, cultural debate, and politics". Similarly, Gertz (2010) concludes that many analysts operating within the events-management discourse provide descriptive and evaluative accounts of specific festivals without drawing connections to the social and cultural functions of rituals and celebrations. There is a need to think critically about the cultural symbols that are upheld at different types of festivals because they reveal many aspects of human motivation.

It seems that modern festivals, for the most part, are treated as isolated occurrences, discussed in terms of their economic utility, their social dynamics, and their logistical challenges, but not in terms of their relation to broader trends and possibilities in society. A report prepared by UNESCO (2015). lists several policy implications for studying festivals including minimizing harmful social, economic, and environmental effects, increasing support for diversity, and involving stakeholders in event planning while making no mention of festivals as tool for community empowerment or social change.

At a fundamental level, this thesis attempts to challenge this norm. The case studies are framed within the context of what appears to be a growing cultural trend, a grassroots embrace of

local, anti-consumerist values. They draw on classical understandings by looking at values and identities that are represented at the festivals. Furthermore, this research responds directly to the gap identified by Gertz (2010) by considering how the intentions of event organizers, and the design and management of the events themselves, influence the potential for transforming the communities they involve.

Cobb (2015) points out a second gap which this work helps to fill. Cobb distinguishes grassroots "musicians' festivals" from more generic types of music festivals arguing that in the former, participants play an active role in the production of art and the festival experience. He suggests that such events have not been sufficiently investigated, especially in terms of how they contribute to community building. Both festivals studied for this project involve the active participation of festival-goers in the creation of the festival experience. I certainly considered how this participant co-production impacts community identity within these festivals. I chose two specific music festival events deliberately because of their connection to local, place-based communities. As such, these primary findings will contribute to an understanding of how community celebrations can strengthen place identity and social capital.

Cummings (et al., 2011) highlights a gap in knowledge relating directly to the sustainability movement calling call for a more thorough investigation into "the connection between 'green' music festivals and young people's decision making when it comes to alternative consumption and sustainable lifestyles". At its core, this research targets precisely this connection. Laing and Frost (2009) suggest that scholarly research has not kept pace with the growing trend of green festivals, events that emphasize a commitment to ecological sustainability or actively promote green social movement activity. Both of this research project's case study festivals fall into this category and the intention is to help to fill this gap by looking at the barriers and opportunities for advancing sustainability issues through community festivals.

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is valuable to review the ways in which the core insights from each of the discourses discussed above contribute to answering the research questions at hand. First, the early anthropological and sociological study of the identity and cultural meaning aspects of festivals provides the foundation for understanding the mechanisms that influence cultural

change in modern day celebrations. In particular, Truner's and van Gennep's work on liminality and *communitas* provide a unique way of looking at the case festivals in this research. Through defining and describing the liminal space of a particular festival, it becomes possible to observe and describe any instances of personal transformation or community-building within.

Second, the research on festivals and place identity offer some promising findings. Festivals often contribute to the place identities of local communities or, the festivals themselves become places, embodying the symbolic identity of a community of participants. These conclusions suggest festivals offer a way to strengthen social capital and unite a group of people around common interests, both of which are essential for grassroots sustainability transformation.

The third relevant discourse ties together festivals, political action and social change. From the early folk music scene and the social movements of the 1960s and 70s, to the rising emphasis on green issues seen at many of today's music festivals, there are several well-documented examples of how mass celebratory gatherings infuse with cultural resistance and social action. On the flip side, the idea that festivals foster social movements and counterculture resistance has also been challenged in the literature. Festivals quite often become enterprises that reflect the interests of economic elites and perpetuate the cultural status quo. Both sides of this argument help frame inquiry into the barriers and opportunities for how festivals may catalyze social change beyond the main-gate entrance.

Fourth, existing studies on festivals and local economic development complement data within this study suggesting that the Harvest Moon Festival, one of the case studies, is very closely tied to the sustainable well-being of Clearwater, Manitoba. Of course, this work aims to build on this knowledge by looking at how a festival can be more than just an economic stabilizer and a means to the broader end of local sustainability.

Last, the insights from the event planning and management discussion are invaluable because they explain the actual mechanisms that a festival has at its disposal for creating participant experiences and affecting cultural outcomes. This literature review with its emphasis on the relationship between festivals and culture community and social change also helps to justify the choice of a grounded approach to the research methodology discussed in the following chapter.

4.0 Methodology: Outlining a Constructivist Grounded Theory Approach to Multiple Case Study

What is needed above all is a way of looking at social phenomena... which places major emphasis on the meaning social acts have for the actors who perform them and who live in a reality built out of their subjective interpretation.

-- Maurice Natanson, *A Study in Philosophy and the Social Sciences*,
1958

4.1 Introduction

At its most basic level, a research design should be understood as the researcher's master plan, one that outlines how and why data collection and analysis should occur with reference to "philosophical assumptions, strategies for inquiry, and specific methods" (Creswell, 2009, p. 233). Qualitative research expert John W. Creswell provides a sound template for constructing social scientific research frameworks, suggesting that a researcher can arrive at an appropriate research design by asking three simple questions (Creswell, 2009):

- 1) What knowledge claims are being made by the researcher?
- 2) What strategies for inquiry will inform the procedures?
- 3) What methods of data collection and analysis will be used?

This chapter aims to answer these questions. Guided largely by the work of Lauckner and Krupa (2012), this research operates according to the assumption of constructivism and combines two approaches that are commonly employed within this paradigm: case study and grounded theory. In all, this chapter provides an overview of the case study and the grounded theory approaches, drawing on qualitative methods experts including Yin (2014), Creswell (2007; 2009), Stake (1995; 2006), Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Charmaz (2006; 2008; 2013). Ultimately, it will explain how, and why, individual methods from each strategy were utilized during the research process with reference to the paradigm of social constructivism.

4.2 The Constructivist Research Paradigm

Constructivism, or social constructivism, founds itself on the assumption that reality and the meanings prescribed to real-world phenomena exist as subjective interpretations (Schwandt,

2000). These interpretations are multiple, varied, often contested, and yet normalized through sociocultural processes. This view of reality reflects a *relativist ontology* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013) meaning there is not absolute truth regarding what exists, only shared interpretations and meanings. Constructivism rejects that existence of an objective reality or an ultimate knowable truth. It differs, therefore, from positivist and post-positive approaches that suggest that the universe is governed by laws that can be observed and tested (Creswell 2009; Lincoln & Guba 2000). Epistemologically speaking, then, constructivism assumes that knowledge is transactional, constructed through social processes of interaction and communication, and unique to specific localities and social contexts (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Creswell, 2007). As Schwandt (2000, p. 197) explains, constructivists view knowledge creation as an active not a passive process. That is to say knowledge is not found or discovered but created "against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, languages, and so forth".

Unlike positivist and post positivist researchers who hold themselves accountable with statistical rigor and internal and external validity, constructivists do so using indicators such as trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, and conformability (Creswell & Miller 2000; Denzin & Lincoln 2000; 2013). As Creswell and Miller (2000) note, qualitative researchers must be aware that their chosen paradigm determines which techniques can be used for ensuring validity. Constructivists can strive for credibility in their overall research findings by cross-referencing the primary themes with the original data set in search of "disconfirming evidence". They may also triangulate their findings among multiple participants or written sources. Researchers can also ensure the credibility of their participants by forming long-term trusting relationships in the field and by asking them to review concluding interpretations (Creswell & Miller 2000). For constructivist researchers, credibility requires "thick", or highly-nuanced, descriptions of the specific sociocultural environments under consideration (Creswell & Miller 2000; Denzin & Lincoln 2000). This means putting both converging and diverging narratives (including the researchers own thoughts and feelings) out in the open and framing those narratives with rich historical, political, and cultural detail. Importantly, this allows others to determine for themselves the applicability of the findings to other cases and sociocultural contexts (Creswell & Miller 2000).

Constructivism is seen as valuable method among those studying sustainability and community development. Lee and Stech (2011) suggest that the constructivist approach is an

empowering tool for community-based sustainability research. This is because it rejects top-down narratives, instead embracing a bottom-up approach to investigation that reveals problems and solutions relevant to those who are directly involved. In the same way, the constructivist approach can reveal meaningful insights about the sociocultural implications of festivals, environments ripe with contested meanings and differing stakeholder interests. In the case of this research, connections between local festivals and relocalization social movement activity emerged not from measuring predetermined criteria but by accounting for the identities, meanings, practices, and networks created by members of the focus-communities through ongoing participation and engagement.

Furthermore, Liana Giorgio (2011) places festivals in the realm of the cultural public sphere. She premises the book by suggesting festivals must be considered as part of public culture, a realm where cultural meanings and identities are created and contested through social interaction. Cultural expressions such as festivals are socially constructed and modern festivals must therefore be examined for how they can build political and cultural identities through social interaction and artistic expression. This further justifies the choice to position this research within a constructivist framework.

4.3 *Combining Exploratory Multiple-Case Study and Grounded Theory Research Designs*

The research design chosen for this project combined two compatible research strategies - *grounded theory* and *case study*. Merging these two strategies into a single methodology hinged on the fact that both are applicable within a constructivist paradigm described above. As discussed by Laukner and Krupa (2012), case study and grounded theory have been utilized within both post-positivist and constructivist approaches. Clarifying the paradigmatic differences of these strategies offers a useful starting point to this discussion.

The case study approach proposed by Stake (1995; 2006) is ideally suited for constructivist research. He stresses the need for detailed case descriptions that account for multiple perspectives in order to identify "collectively agreed upon and diverse notions" of what is happening within cases, notions which are influenced by case-specific contexts (Laukner & Krupa, 2012, p. 5). Similarly, the constructivist grounded theory proposed by Charmaz (2006;

2008) differs from the traditional model proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967; and later Strauss & Corbin, 1998) which operates on post-positivist assumptions. In Charmazian grounded theory, researchers embrace their subjectivity and actively engage in meaning-making processes (Lauckner & Krupa, 2012). This is unlike conventional grounded theory where objectivity, rigor and validity are essential for generating sound propositions.

Works by Halaweeh (2012) and Lehman (2010) demonstrate the usefulness of using the post-positivist lens when combining case study and grounded theory. Through his study of the perceptions of e-commerce security, Halaweeh (2012), found that combining case study with a more objectivist form of grounded theory enabled the systematic and rigorous analysis of a narrow, explanatory question.

In contrast, this research sought answers to a broad, exploratory research question within a dynamic and abstract social environment. Therefore, it utilized the constructivist model of case study championed by Stake in conjunction with Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory, drawing largely on the approach that Lauckner and Krupa (2012) used to investigate the role of occupational therapists in community development. Lauckner and Krupa found the constructivist combination of these strategies enabled the flexibility and iteration required to get to the bottom of what was really going on. Within this project, it enabled the researcher to sketch out the festival experience and its wider implications from the point of view of involved individuals and communities without having to reduce the description into predetermined criteria. The case study approach provided the frame for this sketch, allowing in-depth descriptions of the two events in question, bounding conversations within clearly defined social and cultural contexts, and providing for nuanced and comparable data while preventing responses from becoming meaninglessly disparate.

4.3.1 Multiple Exploratory Case Study

Synthesizing works by Yin (2014) and Stake (2006), as well as Creswell (2009), reveals three defining aspects of qualitative cases. First, a case is a single representation of a real-world phenomenon (Yin, 2014; Creswell, 2009; Stake 2006). Cases offer a way to structure and contain the examination of particular social functions that may be difficult to examine in and of themselves (Stake, 2006). Second, cases are systems bound within space and time and that exist within a real-world social context (Stake, 2006; Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2014). Third, cases need to

be considered within their wider social contexts (Yin, 2014; Stake 2006). This is particularly true for multiple case studies where the wider social, cultural, political, historical, or geographical contexts provide the commonalities that justify inter-case comparison.

This study consists of a dual-case analysis of two community festivals near Winnipeg, MB. Its quintain can be thought of as the relocation social movement activity existing within the civil society realm and cultural public sphere of Winnipeg, MB. The two cases used in this research were designed as exploratory and instrumental, meaning they aim to produce transferable knowledge about a phenomenon that has yet to be studied in detail (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin 2014). Exploratory case study fits logically with constructivist research paradigms because they both emphasize flexibility and bottom-up discovery. In all, Multiple-case research provides insights relevant to the individual event contexts but additionally offers a chance at “more robust, generalizable and developed theory (Santos & Eisenhardt 2004). As an exploratory study, this research seeks to make an initial foray into a topic area that has seen little to no prior investigation and to identify further directions of study within this field (Yin, 2014; Streb, 2010). The cases in this research are also instrumental in nature. This means that they are intended to reveal something about the wider phenomena that they represent (Stake, 1995; 2006). Their ultimate value is what they tell us about the broader relationship between community festivals, place identity and the potential for cultural and economic transformations.

4.3.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is an analytical approach in qualitative research that generates explanations of real-world phenomena by way of inductive reasoning. This means that rather than comparing the phenomena under study to previously developed hypothesis or existing sets of theoretical assumptions, grounded theorists build explanatory theories from on-the-ground observations, experiences, and secondary accounts (Creswell 2007); Strauss and Corbin, 1998). As a constructivist, Charmaz (2006; 2008; 2013): argues that researchers must embed themselves within the environments they wish to understand and actively engage with the social experiences that produce shared meanings. There are several essential elements of constructivist grounded theory.

The success of this process hinges on a number of factors. First, grounded theory research typically requires a large number of participants and a range of data sources in order to confirm emerging themes and relationships to the point of saturation (Creswell 2007; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Saturation refers to the moment when the researcher feels that further inquiry will not reveal further insights either supporting or contradicting emerging theories. Second, data collection and data analysis occur in tandem and inform one another during the grounded theory process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Brant and Charmaz, 2007). By letting emerging data guide further investigation in an ongoing manner, grounded theory researchers ensure that their categories of explanation reflect the reality of the cases in question and are not funneled by a narrow set of initial assumptions. Third, grounded theory seeks to transform data that initially provides a descriptive and concrete understanding of a case into broader, theoretical, and abstract insights about the related phenomena. This process of abstraction occurs through an extensive, multi-step coding process involving open, axial and descriptive coding (Creswell 2007; Strauss and Corbin, 1998)

Grounded theory was originally developed as an objectivist approach designed to give social scientific research greater rigor and creditability (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Objectivist grounded theory emphasizes rigorous and systematic data collection and analytical coding in pursuit of clearly defined constructs that can be subjected to repeatable testing (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Charmaz (2006; 2008) proposes an alternative model to traditional, so called objectivist, grounded theory, arguing instead for one that employs more flexible methods and generates more nuanced results that better reflect the subjective nature of social phenomena. Objectivist grounded theory attempts to fit all variables of a given social situation into an exhaustive, definitive theory. In contrast, the Charmazian constructivist approach acknowledges that the personal realities, networks, life worlds, and biases of the researcher combine to generate one of many possible interpretations (Charmaz, 2008). Knowing that their findings reflect the constructed reality of their participants, saturation focuses not on fitting responses into exhaustive categories but on generating enough data to accurately capture the lifeworlds of those under study (Charmaz, 2006; 2008). Constructivist grounded theorists should therefore account for social processes and personal assumptions when building their explanations and should approach categorization with flexibility and caution (Charmaz, 2008; Creswell 2007).

4.4 Case Study Selection

Stake (2006, p. 4) suggests that multiple case study hinges on individual cases sharing “a common characteristic or condition” which he refers to as “the quintain”. This research set out to explore the social context of community music festivals in order to better understand their potential to contribute to sustainability transformation at local scales. As such, I sought out festivals that: a) were developed in direct connection with, and embodying the interests of, place-bound communities; b) have stated missions directed at local community development with reference to sustainability; and c) are found within southern Manitoba within Winnipeg's cultural sphere.

A broad distinction is being made here between events appearing to be more corporatized, for-profit, destination festivals, and events that have a grassroots history and not-for-profit structure. Examples of the former are numerous throughout North America and include well-known festivals such as Bonnaroo and Lollapalooza. They are operated by for-profit entertainment companies, draw huge audiences, feature an abundance of corporate sponsorships, and count on tourists and pleasure-seekers from abroad. By contrast, the festivals chosen as cases for this study are smaller in scale, are more embedded within a local or regional context, and display grassroots characteristics.

The first case study presented in this thesis (Chapter 5), the Winnipeg Folk Festival, has a distinct grassroots history, developed by an independent group of local visionaries and embodying the North American folk revival movement. Today the Folk Fest is a not-for-profit charitable organization, operated by a volunteer community board, and drawing the majority of its attendance from Winnipeg and surrounding area. According to its mission statement, the organization is committed to, among other things, community building, local entrepreneurship, and environmental sustainability.

The second case study (Chapter 6), the Harvest Moon Festival, epitomizes the term “grassroots”. It began in Clearwater in 2002 at the hands of a group of local community visionaries and a few academic activists from Winnipeg. Those involved recognized mutually-beneficial interests in revitalizing a local rural economy and promoting local, sustainable food production. Today, as stated by the Harvest Moon organization (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. b)

and clearly apparent to all of those who attend then festival, the event is intentionally and overtly aligned with the local food and sustainable communities movements.

It was also important to find two festivals that shared social and geographic contexts, in addition to displaying the characteristics targeted by the research question Stake (1995, 2006) argues that choosing cases that are bound within the same set of social circumstances and that interact in similar ways with their external environment is important for the overall effectiveness of multiple case study. There are many commonalities between the Winnipeg Folk Festival and Harvest Moon. They have overlapping attendees, appeal to similar social and cultural groups from Winnipeg, share organizational knowledge with one another, and exist within the same political, geographic and regulatory climate.

Finally, both cases were chosen for their accessibility and familiarity to me as I have lived in Winnipeg my whole life and attended many of the city's summer cultural events. Case study is a time consuming and detail-oriented process. Nine years of previous experience as both an attendee and volunteer at the Winnipeg Folk Festival, afforded me an in-depth knowledge about the workings and cultural significance of the event. Unlike post-positive research where such familiarity would likely be seen as a harmful barrier to objectivity, the constructivist vantage provides an opportunity for a highly insightful understanding of meaning-making processes (Schwandt, 2000; Manning, 1997).

4.5 *Purposive Sampling and Participant Selection*

. A combination of snowball, expert, and theoretical sampling strategies were applied when selecting interview participants and when determining which case characteristics to pay closer attention to during interviews and observation. All three of these techniques fall under the category of *purposive sampling* and fit within the logic of constructivist grounded theory.

In social scientific research, there is a broad distinction made between purposive and probability sampling (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Purposive sampling (also known as non-probability sampling or qualitative sampling) has an explicit element of intentionality where people and places are selected for study because they possess characteristics that apply directly to the research questions or emerging theory (Teddlie & Yu, 2007; Emmel, 2013; Williamson, 2006). This differs from probability sampling where selections are made to create a non-biased representative cohort of a certain population (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Similar research using

probability sampling might attempt to survey a statistically sound portion of festival attendees representing the demographics of the audience. Instead, purposive sampling techniques used in this project allowed rich exploration of patterns and relationships relevant to the research questions that might appear as non-significant through the lens of statistical probability.

With the first case study, I initially sought to understand the individuals and activities that best fit with the research mandate, exploring sources of shared identity, as well as examples of creative and innovative, social, cultural, and economic practices. Given my longstanding participation at Folk Fest, this was a relatively easy task. There were certain groups of people, and certain questions already in mind. For example, rather than approach festival goers at random, sights were set on those for whom attendance is an annual tradition or who identified as "Folk Festers". During interviews, attention was directed at specific ritualized activities, such as watching the sun rise on Pope Hill and at understanding the reasons for recurring attendance. Curious about the potential for innovation and learning within the festival space, I also selected representatives of unique projects within the event such as educational workshops, local food and craft vendors, and participant-generated installations in the campground.

After coding the initial cluster of interviews gathered during the five days on site at the Folk Fest, further selection of interview participants took a more theoretical approach. Theoretical sampling is an intrinsic part of the iterative grounded theory research cycle. It is a type of purposive sampling where emerging theoretical propositions determine the individuals next selected for study (Emmel, 2013; Teddlie & Yu, 2007; Williamson, 2006; Glaser and Strauss 1967). As themes and categories emerge from an initial or intermediate set of data, researchers select new individuals and cases in order to test, refine and expand categories and their relationships (Charmaz, 2006). Theoretical sampling was executed at the case selection, participant selection, and participant questioning levels. Here, it is beneficial to illustrate a few examples.

At the case selection level, theoretical sampling logic partially informed the decision to add Harvest Moon as the second case festival. For one thing, many participants in the first case study made reference to the fact that the growth of the Winnipeg Folk Festival and its bureaucracy may limit its ability to align with local sustainability social movement objectives, or promote certainly forms of social innovation, especially when compared to smaller festivals. Some even said smaller festivals had a stronger sense of community. For another, in talking with

many people familiar with Manitoba's summer festival scene, both informal and during research interviews, Harvest Moon was often referenced as a leader with regards to local sustainability and public education on all things local. Adding a smaller, younger festival as a secondary case study was done in part to question whether events appealing to narrower communities of place and interest are more conducive to identity formation and sociocultural change.

The decision to include representatives from within the Folk Festival's governance structure is one example of how theoretical sampling was used for selecting participants. This decision was made after it became clear that those on the ground within the festival community are affected, or at least in tune with, decisions made by the festival organizing body. In several instances, festival contributors raised concerns over the expanding bureaucracy of the Folk Festival and its implications for innovation at the event, and so it was thought necessary to bring in those on the management side to test for convergent or divergent opinions. Emerging themes would also influence changes in the line of questioning during informal interviews. For example, further data on issues related to bureaucracy were generated by asking something along the lines of "have you noticed any changes at the festival over the years and how do you feel about them?"

In response to time and resource limitations, I made a pragmatic decision to interview individuals with a high degree of experience and expertise relating to the case festivals. These selections included long-time attendees, founders, and volunteers. This so-called expert sampling is a type of purposive sampling that seeks to maximize the insight gained from interviews (Battaglia, 2008). Selecting experts for interviews also helps to ensure the credibility of participants, one of the keys to demonstrating validity and trustworthiness of qualitative research (Creswell & Miller 2000; Denzin & Lincoln 2000). Furthermore, given that this is an exploratory study, there is less of a need to ensure all categories and theoretical propositions are saturated. The project is an initial foray into the transformative potential of local festivals and, like most exploratory studies, serves to identify plausible explanations and relationships, and establish an agenda for future research (Streb; 2010). As is revealed in the Chapters 7 and 8, many of the core findings require confirmation through future, targeted research.

Last, the selection of some research participants was based on the logic of *snowball sampling*. Snowball sampling, also called referral sampling, is the act of following up with people suggested by initial research participants in the hopes of also including them in the study. Usually, such individuals have knowledge relating to the research objectives (Yin, 2011;

Morgan, 2008). This strategy was particularly handy when it came to the Harvest Moon Festival because I had minimal experience with the event or familiarity with its organizers. The logic of snowball sampling ultimately led to the inclusion of some of the event's founders, members of the organizing committee, and the volunteer coordinator, among others.

4.6 *Data Collection*

I employed three sources of data, participant observation, semi-structured interview, and secondary literature. The Winnipeg Folk Festival case study also incorporated the results from the organization's annual survey as a form of secondary data. Using multiple types of data is essential for high-quality case studies (Yin, 2011; Creswell, 2007; Stake 2006) and grounded theory research. This is especially true for those working in the constructivist lens who recognize the potential for multiple understandings, realities, and identities within a single social setting. Using different types of data helps ensure the trustworthiness and validity of research by enabling thick case descriptions and also providing opportunities for triangulation of emerging findings.

4.6.1.1 *Participant Observation*

During participant observation, researchers move beyond being bystanders, and engage directly in the communities and cultural practices under investigation for extended periods of time. Interpretive researchers choose this method because they believe such intensive first-hand experience is essential for accurately conveying how and why things are happening within a particular cultural niche. (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2011; Crang & Cook, 2007). Participant observation serves to give researchers the insider perspective on the situation at hand (Charmaz; 2008). From the constructivist perspective, knowledge is ultimately created by the researcher in conjunction with research participants. Therefore, a deeply embedded researcher will be more in tune with the socially constructed meanings on the ground, and produce more accurate findings, than one observing from afar whose projected biases might result in misinterpretation. Participant observation also allows for more detailed case descriptions and provides personal experience for triangulating narratives of interviewees.

As a researcher in the field, I capitalized on the opportunity for full and extended participant observation at both case festivals. Each event became an immersive experience, beginning with living in the festival campgrounds. Festival participants, as campers, live on-site for the duration of the event without going home to the city in the evenings. Clear patterns emerged from their day-to-day interactions, revealing not only the functional operations of the events but also the dynamics of the festival community. There was ample opportunity to participate in various festival traditions, from watching converts, to campfire jam sessions, to watching the sun rise on Pope's Hill with thousands of Folk Fest Campers. At the Harvest Moon Festival, I attended skill and knowledge-based workshops and took time to explore the Harvest Moon Society grounds. Casual conversations with others who saw me as just another festival-goer were highly beneficial to the research. Informal conversations offered a way to gauge general emotions and impressions, and find out about activities happening at the events. At the Winnipeg Folk Festival, participant observation took on a deeper meaning because I was also an event volunteer. Working on the campground traffic crew for a total of 22 hours over three days, I gained an appreciation for the volunteer culture that is one of the defining aspects of the event. I experienced firsthand the logistical undertaking of the event as well as the camaraderie felt by my volunteer crew.

Yin (2011) among others stresses the importance of documenting direct observation. Doing so ensures that observations become useable data, adding to the strength of the overall analysis. During my time in the field, I took several measures to adequately document my immersive experience. First, I kept field notes, listing my activities, observations, and thoughts, and took care to reflect once daily in a journal. This was supported by the use of a voice recorder which I kept readily available at all times. The recorder was used to capture the ambient sounds of festival life as well as to record my thoughts and feelings at times when writing notes was inconvenient or not possible. In some sense, recording served as a way of generating memos. Memoing, according to Glaser, is an important part of grounded theory iteration whereby researchers record ideas about the phenomena they are observing or the data they are analyzing (Groenewald, 2008). As Charmaz (2006) states, it prompts critical reflection, early and often. Last, I also had a camera on me at all times to capture images of mundane, peculiar, exiting, and visually-pleasing moments.

4.6.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

The majority of the data informing the research findings came out of the many semi-structured interviews conducted over the summer and fall of 2014. In all, I spoke with a total of 33 individuals during 23 different interviews. The informal interview is a prominent form of data collection in both case study (Stake, 2006) and grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell 2007). Semi-structured interviews are also known as informal interviews or, qualitative interviews (Yin, 2011). While some questions are closed in nature, the majority are open-ended, allowing interviewees to choose their own emphases, and articulate their own experiences (Yin, 2014; Creswell, 2009; Ayres, 2008). Thus, it is an ideal strategy for constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2008). During this style of interview, the researcher must consciously avoid biased or leading questions that steer key informants toward desirable or anticipated answers. The interview guide used during this study (see Appendix 2) provided a number of conversation angles depending on role of the subject within the festival space, be it organizer, volunteer, vendor or spectator.

Of the 33 people interviewed as part of this study, 30 were initially targeted for the Winnipeg Folk Festival while 14 for Harvest Moon. The difference in size between the two groups is sensible given that Harvest Moon is a significantly smaller event, and that a large portion of the participants spoke about their experiences with both festivals. Ten of the HMF participants had also attended the WFF, while five WFF participants spoke knowledgeably about HMF. This factor mitigates against problems in validity that result from low sample sizes. Interviewees represented a wide range of roles, responsibilities, and identities within the festival environment, including life-long attendees, volunteers, vendors, organizers, founders, and artists. Tables 4.1 shows the number of participants who spoke about each case study while Appendix 3 shows the insights offered by each individual based on their roles and experience.

One concern surrounding primary data collection is that several of the interviews involved talking to two (and in one case three) participants at the same time. According to MacDougall and Baum (1997), within multiple-participant interviews and focus groups, individuals may sensor or adjust their responses so that they align with dominant and shared ideas, a tendency known as groupthink. This can lead to biased findings that over emphasize certain aspects assuming that participants might lead researchers to different conclusions during

one-on-one interviews. During this study, participants in multi-person interview were encouraged to compare their experiences with their co-participants, mitigating groupthink to some extent. Furthermore, many of the individuals that were interviewed together shared similar experiences to begin with and therefore co-interviewing likely did not lead to converging of previously divergent opinions. For example, one interview involved a husband and wife both of whom were coordinators on the same volunteer crew.

Table 4.1: Number of respondents corresponding to each of the two case studies listed by role and number of respondents who spoke about both cases.

	Case Study 1: Winnipeg Folk Festival 2014	Case Study 2: Harvest Moon Festival 2014
Respondents with experiences in both cases		
Targeted as respondent in case:	20	13
Target for opposite case but also spoke of experience in case:	10	5
Total number of respondents who spoke about case:	30	18
Respondents by Role		
Attendee	4	4
Volunteer	3	2
Vendor or artistic contributor	8	4
Organizer or board/planning committee member	4	3

4.6.3 Secondary Data and the Winnipeg Folk Festival Annual Survey

A range of secondary sources were used to complement primary data throughout research and writing. Yin, (2011) explains that secondary information can add value to qualitative inquiry but cautions that researchers need to be aware of the context and motivations behind such material. Secondary accounts were particularly useful in helping describe the history, social objectives, and structure of the two case festivals examined in this study, assisting the pursuit of highly detailed case descriptions. Several secondary sources supported the development of grounded

theory propositions including: festival websites, annual reports produced by the festival organizations, event programs, news articles and the Winnipeg Folk Festival's event survey.

The Winnipeg Folk Festival's annual audience survey provided an additional point of triangulation for the first case study, adding to the robustness of the findings. 1685 attendees completed the fifty-question patron survey in 2014. Questions focused on demographics, spending habits, service evaluation, safety, appreciation for recent changes and overall experiences. Within the context of this research, the survey was used to triangulate findings resulting from direct observation and in-person interviews. As such the survey data dealing with audience motivations, reactions to governance and sustainability decisions, demographics, and feelings about key elements of the festival proved to be most important.

This study lacks the essential features to be truly called mixed methods approach in particular because the survey was not designed explicitly for this project as part of a strategy originally intended to use multiple types of data collection (see Creswell & Clark, 2011). Rather the survey was an added bonus, incorporated after field research. However, in using the WFF's quantitative survey the first case study does get some of the benefits associated with mixed methods research design. According to Creswell (2009), triangulating data generated by more than one type of method limits biases associated with a particular source of data. It also increases validity by adding statistical support to findings otherwise relying on qualitative saturation.

4.7 *Data Analysis*

The grounded theory approach requires that sampling, data collection, and data analysis occur in ongoing cycles with the researcher letting the results of each phase influence the choices during others. With this project, the first interviews were collected at the 2014 Winnipeg Folk Festival, with transcription and coding beginning in the following weeks, all the while continuing to contact additional interview participants.

Inductive grounded theory requires interviews to be reproduced in their entirety because accurate theory results from careful comparison of all the spoken passages, in the absence of predetermined criteria. One advantage to intensive transcription pointed out by Bloor and Wood (2006) is that the close listening required during the process familiarizes researchers with their

data set, resulting in greater ease and efficiency during the coding process. As such, all 23 audio recordings of the interviews were manually transcribed as first steps in the data analysis process. The 23 interviews yielded approximately 19 hours and 45 minutes of recorded audio which was transcribed and imported into qualitative data analysis software QSR's NVivo 10 for coding.

4.7.1 Coding

Coding is a qualitative data analysis technique applied to texts such as interview transcripts or secondary documents. The researcher applies one word or short summation labels to individual passages, be they words, sentences or whole paragraphs, based on their descriptive or interpreted meaning. Passages with the same label or code are grouped together in categories often referred to as nodes (Yin, 2011; Creswell, 2007; Charmaz, 2008). As Charmaz (2006, p. 43) states, coding "simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data" and acts as the link between data collection and "developing an emergent theory to explain these data". Unlike deductive coding processes where units of data are slotted into predetermined codes, inductive coding develops its categories on the fly (Charmaz, 2008). The coding process usually involves several rounds of analysis during which codes are paired down and categories become more refined as the researcher looks for patterns and causal relationships. In this way, coding serves to transform the data from descriptive and experiential to abstract and theoretical.

Grounded theory analysis typically involves two or three rounds of coding (Creswell, 2007; Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During the initial or open coding phase researchers attach codes to all of the passages in their first set of interviews and sort them into emerging categories. They also make note of the initial themes to guide future data collection. The second stage of the process, called focused, selective, or axial coding, requires the researcher to identify the most prominent themes, or the ones most relevant to the research objectives. Then, all of the transcripts are reviewed again attempting to reposition codes, or develop new ones, in relation to the selected dominant categories.

As the case study literature advises (Yin 2011; Stake 2008), data pertaining to each case study were coded in separate analyses. Over 300 descriptive codes emerged from the initial coding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival interviews. However, after the selective and axial coding phases, the codes were worked into 14 themes containing a total of 83 related sub-codes. Roughly 160 initial codes emerged from the first round of coding the Harvest Moon data. These

were then refined into 12 primary themes containing a total of 91 sub-nodes. The high quantity of initial codes indicates that data encompasses a wide range of viewpoints and, in turn theoretical possibilities, not all of which achieved saturation.

4.8 *Research Timeline*

Figure 4.1 shows the timeline of this research project, displaying its various phases and events in chronological order. First, it shows the briefness of the actual case study events relative to the entire research journey, emphasizing the importance of proper methodological preparation and the need to remain flexible and adaptable while on site, ensuring the research goals are met within the small window of time. Second, the timeline draws attention to the overlap occurring between the data collection and analysis phases within the grounded theory approach, specifically regarding interviewing, transcribing, and coding.

4.9 *Conclusion*

Drawing together the lessons of this chapter, we return to the three pillars upholding all research designs – worldview, strategies for inquiry, and specific methods – remembering that each informs the next in sequence Creswell (2009). The worldview or paradigm that binds this study is that of social constructivism, complete with a relativist ontology and hermeneutic epistemology. In short, constructivists assume that reality and our understanding of existence are subjective and situational – meanings are relationship-dependent and subject to multiple interpretations. Accordingly, knowledge exists in the form of shared understandings and shared explanations of the experiences common to groups of people. These explanations are generated through symbolic forms of communication such as language.

Based on this paradigmatic premise, constructivists select strategies for inquiry that allow them to closely interact with human communities, observing, and even participating in, the social processes that generate meaning and knowledge. The constructivist worldview and the investigative approaches it calls forth are ideally suited for the study of festivals where human experience rests with a group's ability to produce and support cultural meanings and identities through social interaction.

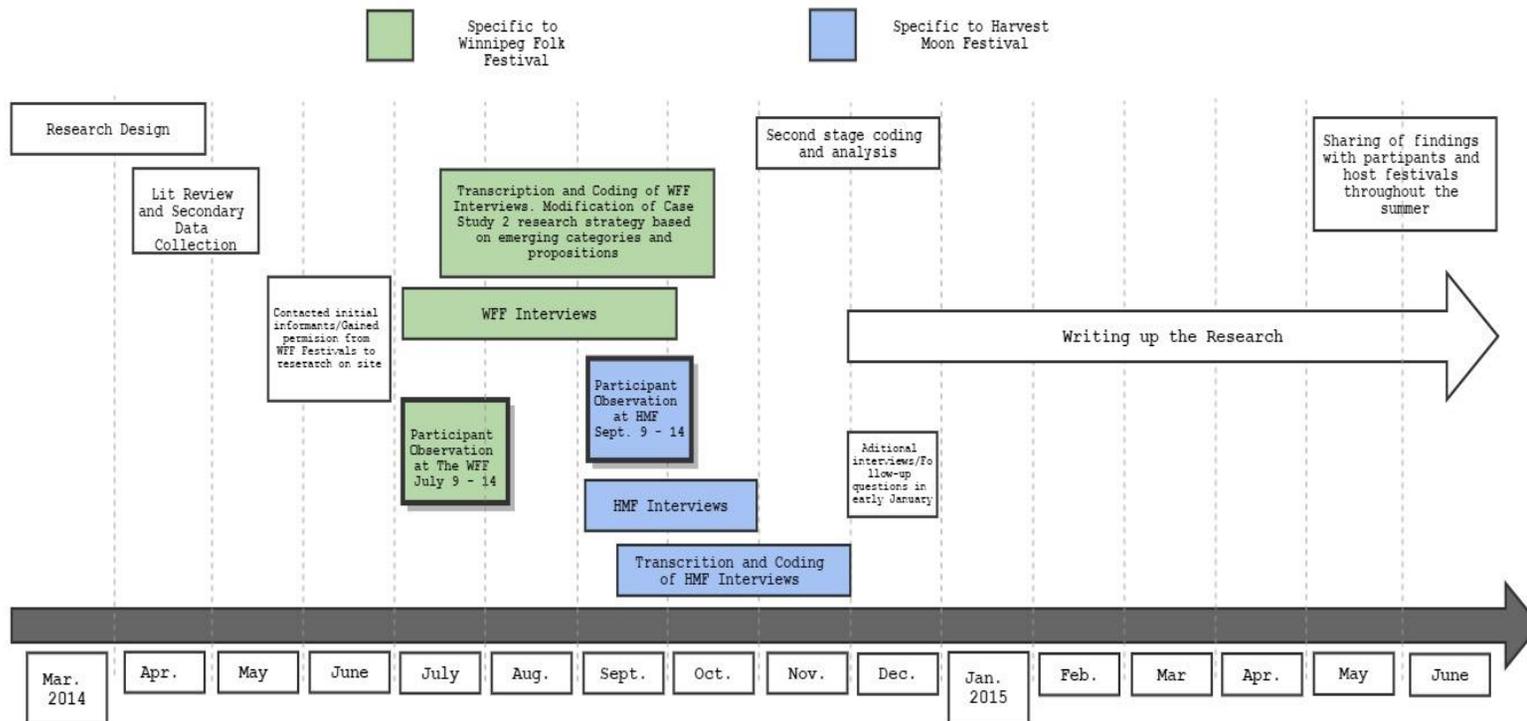


Figure 4.1: Timeline of the research process.

This study employed a strategy that combined two approaches with traditions in constructivism: grounded theory and case study. Each provided its own advantages for exploring the complexities of the festival realm. The interpretive case study approach of Robert Stake (1995; 2009) requires that researchers generate rich, detailed accounts of the phenomenon in question, situate that phenomenon within a wider social context, and embrace the existence of multiple interpretations within qualitative datasets. Specifically, this research study used a multiple, exploratory case study as a framework for examining two local music festivals in search of the most relevant case components in a new field of inquiry. Within this framework, the constructivist grounded theory approach of Kathy Charmaz (2006; 2008) facilitated an iterative process of data collection and analysis. This approach revealed the nature and importance of the case festivals according to the socially constructed realities of stakeholder communities. The resulting insights form the building blocks of an inductive theory about the ability of these festivals to transform those communities toward more resilient forms of social organization.

Several specific methods were employed as part of this constructivist multiple-case study grounded theory strategy. These included the review of secondary literature produced by festival organizers, participatory observation at the case festivals, and semi-structured interviews with individuals in a range of roles. Purposive sampling informed the selection of the research participants as well as the evolution of the interview questions and was essential for the development of a robust theory along with coding and multiple-source triangulation. By following the rigorous methodology discussed in this chapter, the study produced a valid list of opportunities, barriers and areas for future investigation surrounding the capacity of local festivals to foster community sustainability transformations.

5.0 “Celebrating People and Music”: A Case Study of the Winnipeg Folk Festival, Birds Hill Park Manitoba

It's the community that we care about. The music creates the environment for that community. If the audience is folk then the music is folk. As long as people are having a really good time, dancing, hanging out with friends and family, enjoying the company of the people around them, being generous and respectful of everyone else around, I think that's generating good community. As long as that continues, the music can always be that nebulous.

-- Participant FF18, Winnipeg Folk Festival management team, 2014

5.1 *Introduction*

Every year in Winnipeg, during the second weekend in July it is not uncommon to find signs in the windows of some local businesses that read “Closed for Folk Fest”. Thousands of Winnipeggers file out of the city and into Bird's Hill Park, congregating with thousands more from across Canada and the United States to partake in one of the country's oldest and most prominent live music events, the Winnipeg Folk Festival (WFF). They may be there to enjoy the entertainment and relax with friends and family but they are also participating in a multigenerational community tradition. For many people, the festival is an important local cultural institution and collective ritual that each year reproduces a distinct social environment along with familiar patterns of human interaction.

This chapter provides a detailed description of the WFF setting the stage for the final analysis that develops an understanding of how, and if, grassroots festivals might contribute to relocalization by fostering identities and values and promoting innovation and learning. Answering the research questions requires an understanding of how the WFF fits within a larger community and within a wider set of social, cultural, political and historical conditions. It also requires consideration of how its influence may transcend the festival space in terms of economic activity, community identity, and cultural values. As such, the focus here is on the communities that lay claim to the festival, its value and effect on personal and collective identity, its cultural and economic significance, and the governance and artistic vision that ultimately influence all of these factors. Three main types of data helped render this constructivist description. First, there are secondary accounts of the festival's history and objectives, and various cultural and

economic impacts. Second, there are personal observations resulting from this researcher's direct participation in the event. Third, there are firsthand accounts of individuals who take on various roles within the festival setting including, attendees, organizers, volunteers, vendors, and community stakeholders. Combining these interviews with direct observations and secondary information reveals what elements are most important to whom and why in order to ascertain if festivals like the WFF contribute to eco-localism and the broad transition to sustainability.

5.2 *Then and Now: Secondary Accounts of the Winnipeg Folk Festival*

5.2.1 A Trotskyite's Dream and the Unlikely Success of the Winnipeg Folk Festival

The first Winnipeg Folk Festival ran from August 9 to 11, 1974 in Birds Hill Provincial Park and despite Winnipeg's small size and isolation, the inaugural WFF was a major success. The event, headlined by well-known Canadian artist, Bruce Cockburn, attracted a crowd of over 22,000 (Johnson et al., 1980-1989) and within a few years it had become a premier stop for the North American folk scene and engrained itself into Winnipeg's cultural identity. The event was the brainchild of long-time activist and event promoter Mitch Podolak, supported by his wife Ava Kobrinsky and business partner Colin Gorrie (MacDonald, 2006; 2008).

Raised by communist parents during the late 1950s and 1960s, Podolak was keenly attuned to the cultural and political climate of his generation. Podolak was a staunch and vocal Trotskyite and elements of this political philosophy intertwined with the values of the folk music tradition during the development of the WFF (MacDonald, 2006; 2008; Einarson, 2014). The values and organizational skills Podolak learned from his involvement in the Trotskyist movement would come to shape the event as much as the folk music tradition itself. According to Michael Macdonald (2006; 2008) who conducted biographical research on the WFF founder, Podolak's original plans for the WFF combined a communist political interpretation of *folk*, and folk music, with the social objectives of Trotskyism.

For Podolak, MacDonald suggests, folk music was a tool for political resistance and he saw the festival as an opportunity to build a *revolutionary establishment*: "a geographic and temporal communal space" where people could collectively aspire to make social and political changes in line with the Trotskyist principles (Macdonald, 2006, p. 1, 88). Macdonald's interpretation is that Podolak saw folk music festivals as a space for artists, crafts people, and the

working class to interact in unique ways, providing the foundation for a broader challenge to dominant political and cultural structures, with folk music acting as the primary means for the formation of such a collective consciousness. In Macdonald's words:

[The] guiding principles [of the Russian Revolution] had led generations of Left activists to the front lines of labour disputes and even into the halls of government in an attempt to rectify a perceived imbalance of power. Podolak believed that the WFF was his contribution to this fight by creating a space where regular people could congregate to publicly imagine and celebrate themselves as a united group, the folk... Podolak believed that people brought together have the ability to re-imagine themselves and to create change as long as there is a focused and guided foundation from which this experience is built. The folk song becomes the central focus of this social grouping and the celebration of the song is a celebration of the attendance of the festival. (Macdonald, 2006, p. 99)

These beliefs not only motivated Podolak to start the festival but they also led to the design of its volunteer-based organization. Notably, Podolak designed the volunteer structure after the Bolshevik governance model, meaning that volunteers receive the same treatment as performers and organizers and they are given perks that ensure an enjoyable experience. They are also given essential roles within a system of decentralized power as well as access to the core decision-making process. Volunteers, in Podolak's ideal vision, are the central focus of the organizational structure. Macdonald argues that Podolak established these features with the intent of introducing "the power of socialism to the cadre of volunteers required to operate the event" (Macdonald, 2008; 82). Today, these features are still readily apparent among the festivals' volunteer core which now numbers in the thousands.

The historical development of the WFF and its political roots is highly relevant to this research. The WFF represented the anti-establishment and socially progressive values of the twentieth century folk music and, at least in the early years, this impacted the collective identity and cultural psyche of the event. Furthermore, the institutional memory and governance structures of the event may be, at least to some extent, continuing this sense of a non-hierarchical progressive community. While Podolak's revolutionary establishment never fully materialized at the Folk Festival, the event community may still retain an inherent capacity for championing social change. However, it now appears to be a more of a mainstream cultural event rather than one representing counterculture and social change (Macdonald, 2006; Greenhill, 1995).

5.2.2 Growth and Development of the Winnipeg Folk Festival

The WFF has undergone a steady, if not continuous, transformation over its 41 years of existence. The 1970s' festivals with their canvas stage tents, fields frequently churned into ankle-deep mud, and limited audience services, look nothing like the festivals of recent years with their sleek branding, site redevelopments, and a wide range of amenities. Almost every aspect of the event has changed in some way - the music genres, the audience demographics, the mandate and size of the organization, the festival campground, the infrastructure, and so on. Evolution over four decades is not necessarily surprising for a large-scale festival but the event's ability to adapt to changing social and cultural realities has proven to be one of the keys to its longevity.

Healthy and consistent attendance numbers are important to events like the WFF because they help maintain financial stability. After making it through several deficit years in the 1980s, the organization has remained debt-free since 1992 (Kives, 2003). In recent years, the organization has worked hard at generating surpluses, which, as stated in the organization's 2014 annual report, "has brought a new level of financial stability to the organization" WFF, 2014a, p. 17). The festival's path to financial stability seems to be linked to its steadily growing attendance rates. The first festival drew 22,000 attendees but this number grew to 28,000 by 1989. With a few exceptions, attendance continued to rise. A jump in revenue and attendance occurring in 2009 resulted from the addition of a Wednesday evening Main Stage, making the festival a five-day, rather than a four-day event. However, after experiencing a 22% drop in attendance in 2014, the organization has decided to return the event to its traditional four-day format (Winnipeg Free Press, Online Edition, 2014a; 2014b).

The WFF initiated an extensive site redevelopment plan in 2010 to respond to larger audiences and improve the festival experience with permanent structures such as stages and places for food vendors, landscaping, essential services and drainage (WFF, 2012; 2013). This \$6 million project was paid for through some government funding and contributions from festival supporters (WFF, 2015a) These redevelopments suggest that the organization's primary focus is on material and financial growth emphasizing the organization's intent to remain a cultural destination for years to come.

With its growth and success, the WFF has become a major contributor to the economies of both Winnipeg and Manitoba. This should come as no surprise when considering that,

however temporary it might be, the event becomes Manitoba's sixth largest "city" for its duration. As stated in the WFF's 2014 annual report, the event "generates \$29.4 million in economic activity and creates 281 jobs for the province of Manitoba." The report also claims that the event contributes \$14.7 million to the province's gross domestic product (GDP), its net contribution to economic activity (WFF, 2013, p. 2). This economic impact and the large audiences that attend the event, help explain why the Folk Festival has developed investor and sponsorships deals with over fifty businesses, not-for-profits and government agencies, many of which are based locally in Winnipeg or the province.

The festival's large economic impact is an important consideration for this research because it may both strengthen, and limit, the ability of the event to contribute to sustainable relocalization. In strictly economic terms, the festival can help nudge the region toward more sustainable economic practices through its purchasing power and through who it chooses as investment and sponsorship partners. As is discussed in more detail below, the WFF organization makes an intentional effort in both these regards. Partnering with corporate sponsors positions the event as more mainstream and less as a community-based institution capable of encouraging major social change. In its more radical forms, relocalization is about challenging dominant economic paradigms.

5.2.3 The Winnipeg Folk Festival Site

The WFF grounds are located 33 km from downtown Winnipeg in Birds Hill Provincial Park. The WFF has two primary areas, the music festival site and the festival campgrounds. The festival site accommodates up to 12,000 audience members and volunteers each day. The 2014 festival ran Wednesday July 9th until Sunday July 13th. The festival's artistic director curates the lineup and schedule for all of these stages in keeping with the organization's artistic vision: to encourage the evolution of the folk music genre by "bringing together emerging talent and well-established artists" and to foster "collaboration and spontaneity" (WFF, 2015c).

As is seen in Figure 5.1, festival grounds offer many essential services, amenities, and activities in addition to the live music stages. It is common for families and groups of friends to anchor their festival day with a central meeting place, often marked by a tarp or blanket near the main stage. During the day, festival-goers disperse themselves throughout the festival grounds,

but in the evening activity concentrates around the two night stages. After the day stages finish, most people gather in the large field in front of the main-stage for the evening show or at Big Bluestem for more popular rock and electronic music performances.

The WFF operates three campgrounds near the main festival site within Birds Hill Park - the provincial park campground, the Quiet Campground and the Festival Campground. While



Figure 5.1: Map of the Winnipeg Folk Festival site in Birds Hill Provincial Park. (Source: Winnipeg Folk Festival)

families and middle-aged and elderly people do settle in the Festival Campground, campers are mostly youth and young adults. The festival provides a wide range of services and amenities in order to accommodate the 6,000 plus people that make the Festival Campground their home for five days. These include a general store, a first-aid trailer, a volunteer safety and security crew, food vendors, a fruit and vegetable stand, a hardware and repair centre, and a safe zone for women known as the Red Tent Project. Art installations, planned activities, performances, costumes, and music jams are also a part of campground life. Many of these artistic contributions are sponsored through the WFF's Art and Animation Program which provides selected contributors with free festival passes. (WFF, 2015b).

During the day, many campers walk across the highway to watch live music at the festival grounds but many choose to stay in the campground engaging in all manner of activities,

sports, and games, or simply exploring and socializing. At night, after the main stage ends, small groups gather around fires and individual campsites, making music or conversing. There are also planned performances by performing artist and musicians. The most well-known gathering point



Figure 5.2: People gathered on Pope’s Hill in the Festival Campground to watch the sunrise. (Photo by: Joseph Wasylcyia-Leis, 2014)

in the campground is Pope's Hill a human-made elevation so-named for its original purpose of hosting a sermon by Pope John Paul II in 1984. As seen in Figure 5.2, hundreds of campers, many clad in glow sticks or wearing costumes, gather on and around the hill to

watch the fire spinners and merry-making into the early morning. Many stay to watch the sunrise – one of the campgrounds most venerable traditions. Finally, WFF campground is well-known for its lax policy on using illegal drugs and many people see the campground as a safe and exciting place to experience the highs of LSD, psilocybin (magic) mushrooms, MDMA, cocaine and ketamine along with prevalent alcohol consumption.

5.2.4 Governing a Festival and A Year-Round Cultural Institution

5.2.4.1 *Mission, and Values: Commitments to Community and Sustainability*

The WFF is a registered not-for-profit charitable organization whose mandate extends well-beyond an annual music festival. The primary mission of the WFF is to create "experiences of discovery and learning through the celebration of people and music" (WFF, 2015e). In the long-

term, the organization envisions itself playing "a leading role in making Winnipeg the folk music capital of North America" by making the city a "thriving year-round centre of excellence in folk music performance, education and celebration" (WFF, 2015e). The WFF organization outlines nine core values (WFF, 2015e): artistic excellence; collaboration; community; creative expression; entrepreneurship; environmental sustainability; excellence in governance and management; inclusiveness; and serendipity.

The values of community, inclusiveness, entrepreneurship, and environmental sustainability, as well as the organization's intention of remaining a prominent local cultural institution, are particularly relevant when considering the research objectives at hand. They suggest there are avenues within the organization for promoting positive social outcomes directly or indirectly relating to local sustainability.

The WFF has taken meaningful steps in recent years that demonstrate a commitment to environmental sustainability. For example, 2014 saw an end to the sale of bottled water on the Festival site. (WFF, 2014b). Recent years have also seen an increased push for composting at the backstage volunteer kitchen as well as with the public food vendors and in the campgrounds. The WFF aims to divert 95 percent of its waste from landfill over the next five years (WFF, 2014a; 2014b). On the first and last day of the festival, there are supervised group bike rides between Winnipeg and the festival site. In 2013, over 300 people participated in the bike ride to the festival (WFF, 2014). For these efforts, the WFF was awarded the internationally recognized "A Greener Festival" award in 2013 (WFF, 2014; A Greener Folk Festival, 2015). The organization also recently added an "eco fee" to festival ticket prices as a means of funding other sustainability initiatives (WFF, 2015d). It is important to consider if the WFF's sustainability initiatives contribute to the formation of ecological consciousness among participants. It is also worthwhile to think about how these values are, or might be, tied to the relocalization agenda.

The organization's commitment to the values of community and inclusiveness and to its vision of becoming a permanent folk music institution manifests itself in the form of community outreach programs, year-round concerts and the "Into the Music" store in Winnipeg's Exchange District. The WFF organization is one of the city's leading live music promoters. Its concert series put large numbers of artists from across Canada and around the world in front of Winnipeg audiences. For example, in 2013 the WFF hosted 29 concerts drawing a combined audience of 13,000 people (WFF 2013-2014 annual report.) A second series hosted by the WFF is the Folk

Exchange which aims to showcase emerging local talent and young performers through small concerts and open mic nights. In 2013, 35 events were hosted as part of the Folk Exchange (WFF, 2014a). The WFF also offers free live music workshops throughout the year at the city's downtown Millennium Library.

The festival organization also provides several music-based community outreach and education initiatives. Through the Guest for a Day Program (GDP), not-for-profit community organizations working with disadvantaged segments of the population are invited to the festival free of charge. In 2013, 700 people attend the festival through GDP. (WFF, 2014a). Similarly, the Musical Mentors program pairs experienced musicians with youth who otherwise have limited access to music education and music-making. Through the Folk School, the WFF hosts affordable music lessons and workshops for all members of the community while the Young Performers Program provides Manitoba's next generation of musicians with mentorship and performances on stage each year at the actual festival (WFF, 2014a).

5.2.4.2 *Governance and Decision-Making*

An important consideration for this research is the WFF's governance structure through which the organization pursues its objectives. The literature review presented in Chapter 3 identifies event design and organizational decision-making as essential, but under-researched, processes for influencing social, economic, and environmental outcomes associated with festivals.

Understanding that the WFF's governance system is beneficial for this project because it is through that system that the organization can directly pursue objectives relating to sustainable well-being and relocalization. The WFF is governed by a volunteer Board of Directors made up of roughly fifteen people. Their job is to "provide strategic leadership to the organization" (WFF, 2015g) while the paid staff handle logistics and artistic direction. Central to the long-term governance of the organization is its five-year strategic planning cycle. This mechanism allows the WFF to continually re-assess and redefine its mission, mandate and plans based on its core values. The current plan lists specific objectives associated with enhancing the organization's "international reputation" and creating a thriving local arts community (WFF, 2014a).

5.2.4.3 *Volunteers of the WFF*

The success of the WFF has always depended on an impressively large army of volunteers who carry out the vast majority of jobs involved with running the festival. In recent years, the volunteer force has grown to 3000, meaning that there is one volunteer for approximately every five paying customers (WFF, 2014a). There are almost 60 different volunteer crews ranging from parking, box office and site safety to environmental stewardship, food services and photography. (WFF, 2015f). Volunteers receive a free event pass, three free meals a day, a t-shirt, and an invite to the volunteer after party on the Sunday night but most are motivated by a desire to give back to the festival community. The following findings discussion considers the impact of this volunteer culture on the festival's identity and community influence.

5.3 *Primary Findings of the 2014 Winnipeg Folk Festival Case Study*

So far, this case study has summarized the historical, social, and economic contexts, as well as the operation and various components of the WFF. The remainder of this chapter takes on the task of summarizing the core categories and themes of the semi-structured interview findings to lay the foundation for a grounded theory analysis. These findings reveal that there are many different opinions about the festival and different groups of people find different features significant for different reasons. Nonetheless, many people share an appreciation of the festival community, its commitment to sustainability and its ability to turn everyday life upside-down. Ideally, grounded theory seeks to generate fully saturated findings, but since this is an exploratory research endeavor, the following section also presents a number of unsaturated findings in an attempt to outline an agenda for further research. The section summarizes the main themes emphasized by a number of the research participants.

5.3.1 *The Winnipeg Folk Festival: An Important Tradition*

5.3.1.1 *Repeat Attendance of the Festival Highly Common*

2016 will mark the 43rd consecutive WFF and the event is showing no signs of slowing down. It is not surprising, then, that one of the core findings emerging from the interview data is that the

event is an annual tradition for many people. Seven participants (FF1; 8; 12; 13; 17; 18; 19) referred to the fact that they had been attending the festival for more than twenty years, and some had only missed a handful of festivals since the first one in 1974. Eight participants (FF3; 6; 7; 20; HM9; 11; 12; 13) have attended the WFF for the last ten to twenty years, while five respondents (FF4; FF5; FF15; FF16; HM 7) have been to the event between five and ten times. As one interviewee explains, attending the WFF each year is almost a foregone conclusion:

It's an institution...what's the first thing you do after Folk Fest? Book off next year's holidays for Folk Fest. It's something you do, it's ingrained now. (HM11)

Others describe the event as the best part of summer and one of the most important times of the year (FF10; 17; 18; 19; HM11). As one festival-goer exclaimed, "[t]his is summer to me. The rest of what happens in summer is irrelevant to me. This is it." (FF10).

5.3.1.2 A Family Affair

A related finding is that some participants were first exposed to the WFF at a young age by their parents (FF1; 8; 20; HM2), while other participants referred to bringing their children to the festival or that they planned on doing so in the future (FF5; 10; 13; HM 11; 12). As one mother noted, "I want my daughter to say she's attended every single Folk Festival since she's been alive" (HM12). Five participants (FF1; 8; 9; 19; 20) said they encouraged their friends to come with them to the festival, or that they had been encouraged to do so by their friends. For many, part of the appeal of the festival is that it is an outing that a group of friends can experience together on an annual basis. The interview data reveals that the WFF is an important tradition for many people, and an experience they want to share with their friends and family for years to come, suggesting that the event is an important part of personal and community identity and cultural heritage.

5.3.2 Community Identity at the Winnipeg Folk Festival

The concept of community as it relates to the WFF emerged in two distinct ways from the primary data. First, the festival embodies its own distinct community where members experience feelings of togetherness and see the event as an object of shared group identity. This is particularly apparent in the Festival Campground. Second, there is a recognition that the

festival contributes to the social and cultural identity of a broader Winnipeg community. Both of these claims are supported by interview data and are each worthy of discussion.

5.3.2.1 *The Temporary Festival Community*

The sentiment of community emerged frequently during the WFF interviews, with many participants expressing their attachment or sense of belonging to the Folk Fest community (FF4; 5; 7; 8; 9; 13; 16; 17; 19; HM07; SS01). Two respondents talked about “Folk Festers” as a distinct identity group (FF1; 3), and others described feeling a sense of place and belonging within the festival setting, many of them referring to the event as “home” (FF1; 3; 5; 8; 15; 19). For example, respondent FF3 stated: “It’s like I always say, I can’t wait to come home to Folk Festival”. By contrast however, other research participants (HM4; 9; 7; FF20) felt that the large-scale nature of the WFF limited the sense of community and togetherness found there, especially in comparison to smaller festivals.

Several participants spoke about the importance of the Festival being re-created as a temporary community each year (FF8; 16; 17; HM7). Some participants (FF1; FF2; FF7; 13; 19) explain that they have “festival friends” or people that they make a point of seeing each year at the event but with whom they do not interact with outside of the festival. It is also well known that many people who attend the event on a yearly basis come from outside of Manitoba from places like Saskatchewan and Minnesota, suggesting that people can associate with the festival community despite not residing in Winnipeg.

One gentlemen...he’s here from Regina and he comes alone and just makes friends and knows all these people from Minnesota and there is a Minnesota crew so guess it’s interesting how people come together and when they don’t maintain contact outside of this place. (FF7)

It is important to acknowledge that people come to the WFF from outside of Winnipeg and the Manitoba when talking about the ability of the festival to foster a strong sense of local place and local community. While it cannot be concluded that out-of-towners dilute the sense of local ownership or identity among Winnipegger’s and the festival, their presence still reflects the organization’s commitment to promoting Winnipeg as world-renowned folk music destination.

5.3.2.2 *The Folk Fest Identity*

Some participants (FF1; 6; 8) made reference to a shared Folk Fest identity. As respondent FF1 put it, "Folk Festers know Folk Festers". Others (FF13; 15; 17; 18) suggested that there are certain values and worldviews shared by those who attend the festival who find affirmation among like-minded people

...just because they like folk music doesn't mean they are all like-minded, but you've got to be a certain kind of person to participate in that event, and it reminds you that there are people out there that do have similar values. (FF13).

According to some observers, this 'like-mindedness' seems to be based on left-leaning or socially and environmentally progressive values. An important question that arises from this sentiment is whether the festival successfully transmits those values onto participants or if the event simply preaches to the choir so to speak. These ideas are examined later on as part of the themes relating to the festival's political direction. In the words of one of the festival's directors:

You don't have to be a folkie, you just have to believe in the good things about community and the environment and all that stuff... It's about those people who want to learn about the world, who are interested in making it a better place to be and I think that's what our festival embodies. (FF17)

5.3.2.3 *The WFF is part of Winnipeg's Cultural Heritage and Community Identity*

Beyond the identity associated with the festival, interview data also indicates that the WFF is incorporated into how they identify with Winnipeg as place and community. Nine interviewees (FF1; 2; 10; 13 17; 18; 19; HM11; 12) talk about the importance of the WFF to Winnipeg's identity the words of one the festival's directors:

It's probably one of the main reasons that a lot of people continue to live here. People that enjoy the festival as a tradition, they probably stay in Winnipeg. I bet there are people who tell their friends from out of town to come visit in the second week of July if they are going to come visit at all. (FF18)

For participants FF17; 18; 1; 15, the event is a source of pride for Winnipeggers and one of the main reasons they enjoy living in the city. Others view the WFF as an event that brings people

from the city together and a time to meet their neighbours (FF13; 15; 16). As one of the food vendors said:

...it is always such a fun thing to work at the festival, you are feeding so many people, everybody is in a great mood, and the community comes together. Folk Festival is something that brings the entire city together. (F15)

However only a fraction of Winnipeg's nearly 700,000 residents attend the WFF each year and this can be seen a limitation when it comes to the event bringing the community together. A demographic analysis of attendees may reveal that certain segments of the population are not represented at the event, something that should also be recognized as a limitation to community-building.

Several participants, mostly festival organizers, (FF17; 18; 19) feel that the WFF is one of the city's leading cultural institutions – the centerpiece to Winnipeg's cultural hotbed and summer arts scene. These perceptions are certainly supported by the measured impact the festival has on the city's economy, and by the many well-received year-round initiatives undertaken by the WFF organization. The same participants (FF17; 18; 19; 20) also think the WFF promotes other artistic endeavors, and generally encourages a climate of cultural innovation in the city. Other smaller festivals take some of their inspiration from the long-standing WFF tradition. This was something that the co-founder of the Soupstock Festival, a small independent food and music festival founded in 2013, explained during his interview:

I've wanted to throw a festival probably since I was like 18 or 19... I didn't know what scale or what it would be but I just knew that there would be bands and people camping and having fun together because the Folk Festival was something I grew up on and experienced ever since I was a kid. (FF20)

5.3.2.4 *Strengthens Community Ties that Exist Outside of the Festival*

Others talked about the ties between the WFF and other arts organizations in Winnipeg (FF13; 19). Some of the organizers of the Harvest Moon Festival (HM9; 10; 11) mentioned receiving assistance and guidance from the Folk Fest in their beginning years. Additionally, eight interviewees (FF7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 14; 15; 17) feel that the WFF benefits the Winnipeg community by boosting economic activity and supporting local businesses.

... in all honesty as a restaurant owner, I think Folk Festival has got to be one of the best things that's happened to Casa Burrito and I am sure that many other restaurants say the same thing about it. Because of this opportunity, a restaurant such as mine, where we don't have the budget to put ads on billboards... but to have a venue where a whole bunch of Winnipegger's come to enjoy music and also eat... The exposure is just phenomenal... (FF15)

Related to this sentiment, seven participants (FF1; 10; 13; 15; 16; 20; HM16) said that the festival strengthens their personal networks that exist outside of the festival by acting as an annual gathering for their groups of friends.

The responses of these participants indicate that the WFF is a part of the cultural psyche of Winnipeg and suggest that the event can help foster social capital in the community and strengthen the local economy. However, there are limits to these assertions. Those who make up the festival community represent only a small portion of Winnipeg's population and certain groups are excluded from the festival and the community created through the event.

5.3.3 Volunteering is Important to the WFF Culture and Community

My personal experience as a volunteer and the responses of interviewees confirm that volunteering is the operation of the WFF and its internal community. Volunteering is a tradition and an important part of the annual festival experience for many people (6; 7; 13; 16; 19; HM07; 9; 11; 12). For some, volunteering is also a family tradition passed from one generation to the next:

...So from 1975 to 87 I was a volunteer.... I took ten years off because... I didn't want to be out there with little ones and spend all my time worrying about them. But returned to the festival when we knew we could let the kids go free... Actually, both kids ended up volunteering. (FF13)

Two participants (HM11; 12) spoke about the tradeoff between the perks of volunteering - mostly free admission and food - and the work and time required, especially as coordinators. Several other participants (FF12; 13; 17; 18) mentioned the festival's Young Apprentice Program which gives young people an opportunity to try out different volunteer crews over the course of the festival. The program is an important tool for getting younger generations involved with the festival organization (FF17; 18)

Another aspect here is that volunteers contribute to the strength and cohesiveness of the festival community by fostering a sense of ownership (FF6; 13; 17; 19; HM11) and by disseminating the values of the organization on through the years across a broad workforce who are also audience members (FF12; 13; 17; 19). One interview captured this idea succinctly:

The [volunteer] coordinators are engaged with the festival from the close off of the previous festival to the launch of the next one. They have a role creating the festival and the culture of the festival - it goes down into the crew that they cultivate and nurture and develop and train and bring to the next festival. (FF19)

Several participants (FF11; 12; 13; 17; 18; 19) also spoke of the importance of volunteers to the overall success of the event. In the words of one of the festival's directors (FF18), volunteers "are critical, given the fact that they do most of the work after the gate opens - it's mostly the volunteers who run the festival". Volunteers are also seen as valuable because they act as ambassadors, promoting the festival in the wider community (FF12; 18).

5.3.4 Perspectives from the Festival Campground

5.3.4.1 The Festival within a Festival and a Temporary Community

While attendees definitely associate the Festival Campground with the wider WFF event, it is also seen as its own distinct place. Many interviewees (FF3, 8; 17; 18; 19; HM11), including three event organizers, articulated this, some referring to the campground as "a festival within a festival", or the "festival on the other side of the road". Witnessing firsthand the many planned activities and yearly traditions, such as the Flaming Trolley's annual parade or nightly gatherings of Pope's Hill that keep the campground buzzing day and night confirm that it is a semi-independent entity. While organizers (FF17; 18) worry that this takes away from the cohesiveness of the festival and hope that people are "crossing the highway" so to speak, for many, camping is their main focus (FF3; 4; 5; 8; 10).

For some, the sense of place is so strong that they even describe the campground as a temporary community, a city, or a village (FF3; 4; 5; 8; 10; 16; HM7). With over 6,000 people living in such close proximity, along with the many services and amenities, the Festival Campground really does feel like a fully functioning settlement. As one participant put it:

It's really this concentrated space where you are in this temporary community with people and you wake up and you might step out of your tent and then they're at your front door essentially. (HM7)

For many, the tent city lifestyle comes with a distinct sense of camaraderie and togetherness. Some participants spoke of a sense of community and identity reflected in the welcoming vibes in the campground (FF3; 4; 5; 8; 9; 20; HM13). One interviewee stated "There is an instant sense of community walking into a place like this... you are accepted by anyone you run into" (HM13). The Bike Ride to Site helps to strengthen camaraderie by providing a unique shared experience where hundreds of campers cycle the thirty kilometers to the festival early on the first day. One of the Bike Ride to Site volunteers summed up the experience as follows:

...people tell their friends how fun it was to get out there and ride with a giant group of people feels good, you know... it feels good to do something with a large group of people which is a big motivator because, if it was four friends, I guarantee no one would do it, but since it's 340 people or whatever, people are excited about it. (FF16)

In all, interviews and direct observation indicate that the Festival Campground is an important part of many people's WFF experience, central to how they identify with the event, and a place where there is a strongly apparent sense of community. However, with thousands of people in one place it is possible to feel isolated with friend groups and individual campsites often being the main catalyst for feelings of togetherness.

Campers also develop their own traditions and attach their own expectations to the experiences that are curated by organizers. Occasionally, different visions and aspirations lead to tensions within the campground, and the story of the Castle Boys provides an illustrative example. This group of creators rose to prominence between 2007 and 2013 by constructing themed structures, such as a pirate ship and an Egyptian pyramid, and hosting live performances. They became a well-established part of the campground experience - an annual tradition and a popular meeting place (FF 3; 4; 5; 8; 10; 13; 16). However, for the first time since their inception, the Castle Boys' project was not approved as part of the 2014 campground animator program. Organizers clarified their reasons for this decision saying it was done for safety and insurance purposes (FF17), to tone down some of the massive party locations (FF18), and to distribute limited animator funding to a wider range of projects (FF17, 18, 19). These are certainly legitimate reasons but, nonetheless, almost every person I spoke with casually or by

formal research brought up the Castle Boys issue, mostly unprompted. As such, it is a good example of how various traditions in the campground become institutionalized and are given significance and value by participants. Some participants (FF3; 4; 8; 10) suggested that by denying the Castle Boys, WFF organizers appear out of touch with the Campground community. That said, several participants expressed appreciation for this year's array of animation projects (FF3; 4; 8; 10; 13 16).

5.3.4.2 *Essential Services, Innovation and Creativity, or Just One Big Party?*

According to the discussion so far, the WFF Festival campground is an immersive experience that generates shared feelings of togetherness and community on a large scale while being a platform for the traditions of many smaller groups. At a deeper level, this research exposes three visions of what the campground is or should strive to become: a place that provides essential services enabling attendees to enjoy the festival; a place for artistic, social and economic creativity, innovation and experimentation; and a place to party, imbibe and socialize. These visions are not necessarily in competition with one another, nor is any one more or less true than any other. Rather, attendees identify with each of these interpretations to varying degrees as they experience the festival.

One of the festival's current directors and board member (FF17; 18; 19) feels that the Festival Campground's main role is to provide services and comforts to festival attendees, providing a viable alternative to daily commutes between Winnipeg and the festival. Three interviewees (FF7; 8; 10) acknowledged their role in providing food and repair services as an essential part of making the campground a livable community for five days. When asked about the organization's overarching vision for the campground, one director put a strong emphasis on services as artistic creation:

For me it's great for us to have food there, and Pollock's hardware and the little grocery store and stuff like that, like that's kind of the service oriented stuff. I think we should be getting back into more service oriented areas in the campground and then just challenging our campers to do fun stuff with their campsites and just do funky stuff with their campsites. But I'm comfortable with our engagement with the animators as well. I think if people are keen on doing it we can hear them out. But I'd like to see the campground become more of a place of just utility. (FF18)

5.3.4.2.1 Innovation and Creativity

Several research participants are involved with various service-based or artistic initiatives within the campground including the Trading Post (FF3, 4, 5), workshops on do-it-yourself hygiene products (FF6; 7), a local produce stand (FF8; 9), and the Pollock's Hardware Co-Op repair shop. These endeavors are approved by festival organizers and are in-line with their service-oriented and artistic mandates for the campground. But, they also point to another aspect of the site and that is its potential for social and economic experimentation as well as for social and transformative learning. This idea has important implications for the research question and should be discussed as such. Four participants (FF3; 4; 8; 10) saw value in these initiatives as a way to rethink economic activity and commerce outside of the parameters of regular life. Here is what the founder of the Food for Folks fruit stand had to say on the subject:

I like the idea of commerce being re-thought inside a place like this because this is a different kind of place – it's a small society living inside of here. To get out of the city and re-think society with these kinds of ideas going around, it's a really great place for those conversations as well. (FF8)

In the same sense, when talking about the experimental and transformative potential of the WFF campground, several interviewees (FF4; 5; 8; 10; 13; 16; 19) referenced Burning Man as the ideal example of voluntary communal living and anti-capital post-consumerism social organization and experimentation.

5.3.4.2.2 One Big Party

There is another dominant aspect to the campground experience that likely detracts from the feelings of community and the potential from transformative learning and social innovation. Almost all research participants (FF1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 20; HM6; 7; 9; 11; 12; HM1) spoke, either positively or negatively, about the liberal use of drugs and alcohol in the campground, often referring to the space as one giant, five-day party.

You are definitely getting away for five days and in a field and camping, it's such a great time. Obviously, the young [me], at that time when I was 21 and 22, the drinking and the fun and the partying was always something to look forward to, right? (FF15).

At least part of the appeal of the campground and the wider festival, especially for young people, is the apparent freedom to drink liberally and experiment with various illicit drugs. This freedom results both from the fact that festival security and police take a lax approach to preventing such activities, and because, among attendees themselves, these acts are socially acceptable. When asked how they planned to spend their time at the festival, a pair of young participants made their intentions known: "Well, we are planning on dropping shrooms tomorrow" (FF2), one of the two stated, while his friend explained "I am not a hard drug guy but I like a lot of booze and lot of weed" (FF1).

While organizers (FF17; 19) recognize the benefit of providing a safe space for these activities, they also have some negative impacts. For one participant, the prevalence of drugs and alcohol limits the ability for meaningful social interaction:

There's a lot of this induced spirituality going on. People forcing it. I guess I don't even want to get into the whole side of the drugs with these festivals, but like... Trying to mask a social experience as a spiritual experience. There's no hard line between the two things but calling a potato a chip isn't necessarily the same deal. (HM13).

For others, drugs and alcohol contribute to the festival environment feeling unsafe for children and women at certain times (FF13: 17; 18; HM9; 10; 11; 12). The WFF organization is aware of the risks women face in the campground environment and sponsors a safe zone for women called the Red Tent Project. They have also taken steps to curb binge drinking and partying in an attempt to redirect the focus of campers over to the main festival site (FF17, 18, 19). Nonetheless, the concerns accompanying the apparent party culture can be seen as evidence against the view of the campground as a safe and inclusive community discussed above.

5.3.5 A "Time out of Time": The Winnipeg Folk Festival as an Escape from Modern Life

5.3.5.1 The Great Escape

Another common view among the research participants is that the WFF is a time when they can escape the stress and mundaneness of everyday life and that this factor is part of the event's appeal. Fifteen interviewees appreciated the festival as a holiday or get away from the daily

grind of the city (FF4; 9; 10; 17; 18; 19; HM11; 12) or more generally as a place different from ordinary society (FF3 FF8; 17;18; 20). Many interviewees agreed with the fact that the festival happens in a forested rural area well outside of the city contributes to these feelings of liminality (FF6; 7; 8; FF13; 16; 17; 18; 19). One organizer described the “time out of time” aura of the event as follows:

Well yeah it’s a rural location so there’s a circus nature to the site, kind of how the circus roles into town, the big top roles up, and when it’s over it’s gone like nothing ever happened there. It’s kind of got the run away with circus vibe to it in an age when you can’t run away with the circus anymore (FF19).

5.3.5.2 *Freedom and Personal Growth*

Several participants said that personal freedom and freedom from authority were a defining element of their festival experience (FF1; 4; 6; 9; 16; 18; 20). While some participants indicated or questioned whether the festival is simply a place for pleasure-seeking, escapism, and having a holiday (FF6; 7; FF15; HM10; 11; 12), others see a deeper value. For them the festival is seen as an empowering experience because they are free to truly be and express themselves, allowing them to engage in self-discovery, personal growth, and learning a new way of seeing themselves in the world (FF3; 8; 9; 16; 20 HM 7). In the words of one longtime Folk Fester:

When you come out here and you’re outside of your normal social networks and people. You can just think about yourself because you’re not yourself inside the city with all of the structure and obligations...The whole cultural identity here is different. Your level of self-awareness grows and I think you bring that back to your city experience. (FF8)

However, as discussed in Section 5.3.4, the freedom also enables people to engage in binge partying and pleasure-seeking behavior and this also needs to be considered when assessing the transformative learning potential of the WFF.

5.3.6 A Festival Committed to Social and Environmental Wellbeing

The final two themes emerging from the interview data relate to governance and management, with the first concerning the organization’s values. There is widespread agreement that the WFF values community, equality and inclusion, and environmental sustainability. There is also

evidence suggesting that the organization takes these values seriously and that they inform many decisions relating to the Festival.

5.3.6.1 Appreciation for Environmental Sustainability and Community Outreach Programs

In all, twelve participants spoke positively about the WFF's commitment to protecting the environment (FF1; 2; 6; 7; 12; 13; 16; 17; 18; 19; HM11; 12). One staff person drew attention to the fact that the organization received an international award for event sustainability in 2013 while other participants expressed their appreciation for the recent ban on bottled water (FF7; 13; 16; 17; 19), on-site composting services (FF6; 7; 13; 15; 17), and the Bike Ride to Site (FF8; 16; 17; HM7; 16). Several participants also noted that the festival's commitment to environmental sustainability sets a good example that the public can learn from (FF7; 13; 17). Here is how one interviewee sees the WFF's sustainability initiatives:

...the fact that there's no bottled water and that all dishes and everything are compostable this year... if the Folk Festival can do that for all those thousands of people why aren't we all doing it? (FF13)

This speaks to the festival's potential to be a sustainability leader within the community but not all the feedback from participants was positive. Interviewees FF8 and 10 both drew attention to the amount of energy and waste involved with the WFF, suggesting that the event is not as sustainable as some like to believe.

Beyond environmental sustainability, organizers and attendees also touted their commitment to community outreach seen in the Guest for a Day program as well as the community and school music education programs organized throughout the year (FF12; 13; 16; 17; 18; 19). Here is how one festival staff person described the benefit of the Guest for a Day program:

We bring in tours of different groups, it could be anything from Welcome House, it could be Sudanese refugees to some of the First Nations places on Selkirk Avenue in the North End of Winnipeg, Main Street Project, homeless shelters – things like that. So there is an effort to do that and then people have an opportunity to get engaged through volunteerism too. Sometimes those are people that need a sense of community. (FF18)

While programs aimed at community outreach are clearly appreciated, they also raise important questions regarding access to, and exclusion from, the festival community. If a festival reinforces and reproduces systemic inequality, can it really contribute to sustainable and equitable relocalization? On a more general note, several participants believe that the WFF fosters a welcoming environment of respect, love, kindness and inclusion (FF1; 4; 3; 6; 8; 9; 10; 13; 17; 19; 20 HM11; 12; 13).

5.3.6.2 *The WFF Organization Actively Upholds Its Values*

A final finding related to social and environmental wellbeing is that the organization takes its core values seriously when making important decisions. This became evident when talking to present and past organizers of the event (FF12; 17; 18; 19) and when speaking to attendees and volunteers who said they could really sense commitment to community wellbeing, respect, and sustainability as a defining feature of the festival (FF1; 2; 13; 14; 16; HM13). Some participants (FF10; 14; 17; 18; 19) discussed how the festival honours its commitment to social and environmental wellbeing when selecting community partners and sponsors, and when making strategic planning decisions. The festival, according to participant FF18, has “fantastic partners that are all aligned with the values of the organization and the values of our stakeholders”. Further to this, participant FF17 spoke of how most of the event sponsors are locally owned and that many of them contribute to sustainability projects on the festival site. Participants FF14 and FF17 also talked about how the WFF tries to partner with local social enterprises where possible although participants FF10 and FF11 said they see room for more of this type of collaboration. The WFF also uses its five-year strategic planning cycle to make sure the event stays in line with its mission and values. Here is how one of the WFF board members explains this commitment:

The festival has a five-year strategic planning cycle where they set the vision and the mission of the festival, review the values of the festival and make sure there’s a clear annunciation of what those are and how those are practically stated and practiced by the organization. And then some strategic objectives on how we are going to fill our vision and reach our mission. (FF19)

5.3.7 Did Folk Fest “Sell Out”? Perspectives on The Festival’s Vision and Management

The final theme emerging from the primary data analysis is that considerable tension exists around the overall vision, design and governance of the WFF. The festival's current vision to help make Winnipeg the "Folk Music Capital of North America" is a significant departure from the event's earlier years and, as some people argue, has resulted in a turn toward mainstream entertainment. While organizers identify clear reasons for this new direction, others worry that the Festival has "sold out". Alongside this debate, many interviewees also feel that increased top-down decision-making limits the potential for creativity and innovation and alienates the festival community weakening many of its traditions. It is important to understand what enables or threatens the strong sense of community ownership that, as identified in Section 3.2.1, many people see as one of the festival's valuable assets. It is also clear that many people appreciate the ability of audience members to innovate and create within the festival setting – especially in the campground – and the design and governance of the WFF largely controls the degree to which this can happen. This is particularly relevant to the research questions because social movement activity may more readily intertwine with the festival setting where creativity and innovation are allowed to flourish.

5.3.7.1 From Class Consciousness to Building Community: The Changing Social Objectives of Music Programming at the WFF

As a quick scan of the past performers shows, the genres of music found at the WFF have evolved over the years. Primarily, there has been a transition away from conventional North American folk and blues music towards lineups that include a diverse range of ethno-cultural traditions, more local and Canadian acts, as well as more acts and genres popular among older and younger generations. For at least a few participants (FF1; 2; 3; 18; HM11; 12), having better-known, contemporary acts increases the appeal of the WFF and of music festivals in general. Here, one of the directors discusses how the organization has navigated the term "folk" when curating the live music portion of the event:

In some ways that's been kind of limiting for us because we have to stay within the certain genre but we've also found that we can expand what that actually means \ and that's when you get the world music and some of the stuff of people being more creative with electronic music so there are different things that get brought in. (FF17)

In part, bringing in different genres of music and a few mainstream, popular acts helps appeal to younger generations, which is certainly in the interest of organizers who are thinking about long-term economic viability of the event. Unlike other large-scale summer music festivals that cater strictly to young adults, the WFF manages to bring together people of all ages and with a wide range of musical tastes. Anecdotally, this is most apparent at night where it seems that older generations typically congregate at the main stage in lawn chairs, while over at Big Blue at Night, a crowd of mostly young people form a standing-room only dance pit. Evidently, there are those who appreciate that the WFF still upholds its original mandate by featuring folk and roots musicians. For example:

The friend I was talking to this morning said she was so happy with the music. It just seemed to be a little bit more folky... and I certainly appreciated that because I'm not going to a country fest or a rock fest, I'm going to a folk fest. (FF13)

When the festival was born, North American folk music was part of a political ethos involving the anti-establishment attitudes, organized labour, the civil rights, environmentalism, and other social justice issues. These political values were reflected by the festival performers and were woven into the identity of the event at a time when folk festivals were generally seen as part of progressive social movement. Several interviewees (FF12; 13; 17; 18; 19; HM10; 11) acknowledged that this was a significant part of the festival's past. As one director describes it:

I think originally the labour movement in Manitoba probably had a lot to do with it for sure. I think it was born coming out of the Woodstock generation and when tons of festivals were being born and everyone hated Richard Nixon who was president of the United States, and Viet Nam had just started. I think it was a really tumultuous time for civil rights and everything... that whole era was just kind of happening and with a strong labour background I think it was just a fertile place. A lot of festivals were starting around that time. Most of the western Canadian folk festivals were starting around that time. (FF18).

According to some, the move to diversify yearly line-ups reflects changes in popular music (FF18), and serves to fulfill the event's new mandate of artistic excellence and discovery (FF17; HM10). However, according to one of the event's founding fathers, turning away from "protest music", or simply choosing acts for their artistic merits and popular appeal without considering their political standing loses the initial purpose of the event.

Oh well, you need to know that this is an organization that is in cultural decline. It's now reaching for the indie pop market... very little folk music, and it's disconnected from the politics of it...the core mission is gone. (FF12).

Later in the interview, the same participant added the following:

How do you bring politics in, if you don't bring politics in? The relationship between what comes out as the message and what actually gets done in the community is pretty important. So, if they are non-political they're fucking us around. (FF12)

On the contrary, other research participants, including individuals currently part of the festival organization (FF17; 18; 19), feel that the music still serves an important social function by bringing people together and building community, regardless of genre of political messaging.

We really want people to start focusing on whether or not the music that is there creates community, not whether or not this is or isn't folk music. It's the community that we care about the music creates the environment for that community. If the audience is folk then the music is folk. As long as people are having a really good time, dancing, hanging out with friends and family, enjoying the company of the people around them, being generous and respectful of everyone else around, I think that's generating good community. As long as that continues, the music can always be that nebulous and that can always be changing. (FF18)

Whether at the scheduled performances or at the jams in the campground, music is clearly a central part of the festival experience. According to some research participants, music helps foster a sense of togetherness and community at the event. Over time, the nature of the festival's live performances has changed as the festival works to be relevant to a growing multi-generational and diverse audience. The then and now photos seen in Figures 5.3 and 5.4 symbolize that transformation, asking us to consider how the festival's capacity for social change and community-building might be affected by becoming larger, more mainstream, and more curated.

5.3.7.2 *From Counterculture to Professionalism*

Section 5.2.1 discussed the history of the WFF, namely, how it originated as part of the North American folk revival and naturally inherited a progressive social conscious from its music presenting a countercultural image. Several participants (FF12; 13; 16; 18; 19; HM10) agreed with this historical account and talked about how the Festival's roots were aligned with the progressive politics and social movements of the time.



Figure 5.3: A live performance at one of the first Winnipeg Folk Festivals. (Photo: The Winnipeg Folk Festival archives)

Figure 5.4: A live performance at the 2014 Winnipeg Folk Festival. (Photo: Joseph Wasylyca-Leis)



Personal experience and conversations outside of the formal interviews revealed that festival organizers have a relatively strict policy against political and social movement campaigning on the site. This is a strong indicator that the festival has de-radicalized in an attempt to appeal to a broader leisure-seeking base. Yet, one board member feels that while the event may be less political, it still aims to have a positive impact on culture and society. In his words:

Whether there is an overt activist political component I would say it would stand nowhere near close to what it would have been in Mitch Podolak's day. He was an outspoken socialist and made no bones about his Folk Fest being a political forum. I think that the Folk Festival still provides a venue for that sort of thing from that stage and probably does facilitate a more socially conscious expression by what it puts on the stage. (FF19)

The above quotation reflects upon the historical contrast of the WFF's political identity but also shows that there is still a progressive vision emulating from the event. That said, the push by the organization to help make Winnipeg the "Folk Music Capital of North America" singles a commitment to local economic development and a desire to generate a mainstream appeal.

Beyond the political culture of the event, a large portion of the research participants agreed that the WFF has changed substantially in other ways in recent years (FF3, 4, 5, 10; 11; 12; 13; 17; 18; 19; 20; HM 10; 11; 12). Participants discussed changes to the types of music featured at the event (see Section 5.3.5.3), site design and infrastructure (FF4; 13; 17; 18; 19; HM11), and changes to audience and volunteer management (FF3; 4; 5; 10; 12; 15; HM11; 12). While there is general agreement that the festival has undergone a transformation over its lifespan, opinions differ on the reasons for, and impacts of, these changes.

There are those who see the transformation of the WFF as a "sell out" to commercial interests and a de-prioritization of grassroots community (FF4; 5; 12; 20; HM11). Four participants (FF3; 4; HM 11; 12) cited what they see as overly expensive ticket prices as evidence of this shift in priorities and this sentiment was also heard among attendees outside of the interviews. As pointed out by participant FF13, there was also significant pushback from the festival community when organizers brought on multi-national automotive giant Volkswagen as an official sponsor, something that would have likely caused a similar reaction in the 1970s. More generally, participants FF3, 4 and 15 think the festival has lost some of its former allure or enchantment as a result of being a more curated, manufactured or consumer-oriented experience.

Organizers (FF17; 18; 19) were quick to distinguish between "commercialization" and "professionalization" and emphasized that the former has never been the goal while the latter resulted from necessity. Managers of the event (FF17; 18; 19) discussed three reasons why the WFF needed to transition into a more professional mode of operation: financial stability at a time when festivals are a highly competitive market; changing needs and expectations of the festival audience; and health, safety and insurance concerns. Regarding the need for site improvements and better audience experience, one of the festival's managers had this to say:

We get a lot of criticism for having become more corporate and I think that people mistake corporate for professionalization. Now our processes are a little bit better, our book looks a little bit slicker than it used to, right its things like that. We want to put out a good experience for people and I think peoples' expectations changed as

well, like the kinds of things they used to get away with in the early years, they just couldn't do it. People won't sit in wet canvas tents anymore, they just won't do it. (FF17).

Several participants welcome the improvements and amenities, seeing them as valuable additions to the festival experience (FF10 13; 15; HM11; 12). One of the festival's board members succinctly explained why the turn toward mainstream entertainment was necessary for financial stability:

The Folk Festival lived year to year, from financial crisis to successful year to tough year and in the process of trying to smooth that cycle out, it became more professional, probably more aspirational that they didn't want to just play to the same 5,000 people. They could see the aging of their audience, they wanted to start attracting a younger audience, they wanted to start attracting a more diverse audience. (FF19)

5.3.7.3 *Whose Festival?: Perceived Negative Impacts of Professionalization and Centralized Decision-Making*

The last finding of the research on the WFF concerns management decisionmaking. Several participants said that professionalization and centralized decision-making negatively impact the festival community in different ways. At a broad level, there are those who feel the governing body of the festival, including staff and board members, are out of touch with some elements of the festival experience, particularly the campground, and sometimes make decisions that are out of step with the community's interests (FF3, 5, 8, 10). The tension surrounding the removal of the Castle Boys from the festival campground was frequently cited as an example on this front (see Section 5.3.4.1). Speaking about the management of the campground, participant FF4 feels that decisions are being made by people at "the top of the pyramid" without consideration for those who are affected. Some participants suggested that stricter regulations and tighter artistic control aimed at appealing to mainstream audience members limit such innovation and creativity (HM4; 5; 8; 10; 16; 20). The fact that campground animators and innovators are now vetted by festival managers and receive special designations supports this claim.

Participant FF12 argued that these types of disconnects can largely be blamed on centralized decision-making and a large organizational bureaucracy. Participant FF10 feels that the only way to have meaningful impact on the vision of the event is to gain access to the board. Participant FF12 noted that board selections may not necessarily have come up through the Festival's volunteer ranks or understand the culture of the event at a deep level. Two long-time

volunteer coordinators (HM11;12) said they are no longer as included in the decision-making process as they once were and now feel separated from the management of the event.

For their part, festival organizers say that interests of the community are always top of mind during planning and decision-making processes (FF13; 17; 18; 19). Participants FF17 and 19 said the annual patron survey helps them identify the expectations and needs of the festival community. As the following quote illustrates, the organization takes the concerns of the audience very seriously as they work to develop the event.

We listen very carefully to what people are saying and we respond to that. Most of the decisions that we make are a result of what our audience has been telling us because without an audience we don't have a festival. So, it's really important that we embody the values and the spirit of the festival but that we are also able to be flexible enough to react to the realities in the community today. (FF17)

The WFF faces a dilemma with respect to its vision, design and management – one with important implications for the relocalization movement. On one hand, the event has grown to a point where it must appeal to a wider swath of the public with a high quality entertainment experience in order to sustain itself. On the other hand, the “business” vision or model may hurt what many people consider defining aspects of the WFF: the freedom to experiment within the festival space and the sense of shared ownership felt among attendees and volunteers that can support relocalization efforts.

5.4 *Summarizing and Triangulating the Primary Findings*

5.4.1 Findings summary

Through a synthesis of secondary material and primary data from qualitative interviews and direct observation, this chapter presented 36 individual findings which fall under eight broad themes. As seen in Table 5.1, these conclusions focus on why the festival matters in the lives of those who co-produce and experience the event together as well as how core governance components, including the organization's values and decision-making processes, impact and affect the festival community.

Table 5.1: Summary of primary themes and findings from the Case Study of the 2014 Winnipeg Folk Festival. Selective quotations serve to illustrate common sentiments and shared interpretations. (“▶” indicates the finding corresponds with survey data presented in Table 5.2)

Themes	Findings	Number of Participants	Illustrative quotes
The WFF as a community tradition	Attending the WFF is an annual tradition ▶	14	<i>It's an institution...what's the first thing you do after Folk Fest? Book off next year's holidays for Folk Fest. It's something you do, it's ingrained now.</i> -- Participant HM11 --
	Attending the WFF is a family tradition passed on to young generations; a place for all ages ▶	12	
Community, identity and the WFF	The Festival is a temporary community	13	<i>The whole circle here has that same political view... and that has been my circle for sure and the people that I run into are my people here. Whether it's my first degree connections, my closest friends, or friends of friends... everybody is in a great mood, and the community comes together. Folk Festival is something that brings the entire city together.</i> -- Participant FF15 --
	There is a shared Folk Fest identity that exists beyond the festival itself	8	
	Part of Winnipeg's cultural/community identity ▶	11	
	Supports local/culture/businesses; strengthens community ties that exist outside of the event ▶	12	
Volunteerism is a major part of the WFF cultural and community	Volunteering is an important part of the festival tradition for some people	9	<i>The [volunteer] coordinators are engaged with the festival from the close of the previous festival to the launch of the next one. They have a role creating the festival and the culture of the festival - it goes down into the crew they cultivate and nurture and develop and train and bring to the next festival.</i> -- Participant FF19 --
	Volunteers strengthen the festival community ▶	6	
	Volunteers are essential to the operation of the festival ▶	6	
The importance of the Festival Campground	The Festival Campground is its own distinct community within the wider festival; a temporary city; some only come for the campground ▶	12	<i>I like the idea of commerce being re-thought inside a place like this because this is a different kind of place – it's a small society living inside of here. To get out of the city and re-think society with these kinds of ideas going around, it's a really great place for those conversations as well.</i> -- Participant FF8 --
	The Festival Campground provides essential services for people staying at the festival	7	
	The Festival Campground is a place for social/economic experimentation and innovation and artistic expression	10	
	Partying and the excessive consumption of drugs and alcohol are normalized behaviors in the Festival Campground ▶	17	
	Jamming and making music in the Festival Campground is an important tradition	8	
Leisure, freedom and	The WFF is a break or holiday from everyday life	8	<i>When you come out here and you're outside of your normal social networks</i>

escape at the WFF	The WFF is appeals to people as something outside of normal society	6	<i>and people, you can just think about yourself because you're not yourself inside the city with the all of its structure and obligations...The whole cultural identity here is different. Your level of self-awareness grows and I think you bring that back to your city experience. --</i> Participant FF8 --
	The rural setting of the WFF and camping contribute to a sense of escape ►	8	
	People appreciate the sense of total freedom at the WFF	8	
	Freedom enables personal growth and discovery	6	
The WFF's environmental and social values	Appreciation of commitment to ► sustainability and on-site sustainability initiatives	13	<i>The Festival has a five-year strategic planning cycle where they set the vision and the mission of the festival, review the values of the festival and make sure there's a clear announcement of what those are and how those are practically stated and practiced by the organization. And then some strategic objectives on how we are going to fill our vision and reach our mission.</i> -- Participant FF19 --
	Recognition of community/social inclusion values and programs ►	6	
	Recognition that festival actively upholds its values	8	
	The WFF offers a welcoming environment and encourages respect, love, kindness and inclusion ►	14	
Different perspective of the changing vision, artistic direction management of the WFF	Historically, the WFF reflected counterculture and progressive politics associated with early North American folk music	6	<i>But we also want to be innovative and think outside the box a little bit and that's why we encourage entrepreneurialism so that it's not just "oh well we are limited to doing it this way because we are a not-for-profit, or because it's always been done this way"... Let's be forward thinking and ensure we are keeping up with current trends and seeing where opportunities are available.</i> -- Participant FF17 --
	Over time, the image became less radical as the event attracted a more mainstream and diverse audience ►	6	
	Professionalization of the WFF needed for financial stability, appealing to a wider audience in a competitive entertainment market, and responding to needs of a growing audience ►	3	
	Important decisions made in a centralized, top-down fashion that leave organizers out of touch with some of the communities needs ►	7	
	Centralization and bureaucracy limit sense of ownership felt by the festival community and volunteers	5	
	Centralization and bureaucracy limit innovation (especially in the campground)	6	
	The organization claims to be in touch with the needs of its community	4	
	The music used to be more political and "folk" but now it tries to appeal to a young and diverse audience with a range of genres and big name acts ►	10	
	The music is the impetus for bringing the community together	3	

5.4.2 Triangulating findings with the WFF's Annual Patron Feedback Survey

Every year, the WFF organization conducts a patron survey at the festival which helps them assess the audience's overall satisfaction with the event and determine which areas need attention. The 2014 patron survey adds to the robustness of this case study by providing an additional set of data for triangulating the themes discussed above. 1685 attendees completed the fifty-question patron survey in 2014. Questions focused on demographics, spending habits, service evaluation, safety, appreciation for recent changes and overall experiences. While not all of the survey data helps answer the research questions at hand, much of it provides supportive and contradictory evidence to many of the core findings. Table 5.2 explains how each relevant piece of survey data corresponds with the firsthand, qualitative discoveries.

Table 5.2: Triangulation of primary findings with relevant data from the Winnipeg Folk Festival’s 2014 patron feedback survey. (Survey data is unpublished and was provided by the WFF office – April, 2015)

Primary Findings	Survey Findings	How survey findings support or contradict primary findings												
Attending the WFF is an annual tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11.2% of respondents attended the WFF for the first time in 2014 • 29.1% of respondents had attended between 2 and five times • 26.6% of all respondents had attended between 10 and 25 times • 13.1% of all respondents had attended 25 or more times 	<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of respondents are frequent/repeat attenders of the festival <p>Contradictory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small portion of respondents attended for the first time showing that festival still attracts new audience members 												
Attending the WFF is a family tradition passed onto young generations; a place for all ages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 79.3% of respondents did not have children with them at the event • 19.0% of respondents had children with them at the event • The age distribution among respondents was: <table border="0" data-bbox="653 740 1058 919"> <tr> <td>Under 18: 7.7%</td> <td>18 to 24: 15.5%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>25 to 29: 12.9%</td> <td>30 to 34: 10.1%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>35 to 39: 7.6%</td> <td>40 to 44: 7.1%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>45 to 49: 6.9%</td> <td>50 to 54: 8.9%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>55 to 59: 8.8%</td> <td>60 to 64: 6.4%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>65 or over: 6.5%</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> 	Under 18: 7.7%	18 to 24: 15.5%	25 to 29: 12.9%	30 to 34: 10.1%	35 to 39: 7.6%	40 to 44: 7.1%	45 to 49: 6.9%	50 to 54: 8.9%	55 to 59: 8.8%	60 to 64: 6.4%	65 or over: 6.5%		<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost 20% of respondents were at the festival with their children and this proportion increases if you remove respondents under the age of 24 on the grounds that they’re less likely to have children • Relatively even age distribution suggests that the event truly is a welcoming place for people of all ages <p>Contradictory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The high portion of respondents who were not there with their children means the passing down of the Folk Fest tradition should not be over-stated
Under 18: 7.7%	18 to 24: 15.5%													
25 to 29: 12.9%	30 to 34: 10.1%													
35 to 39: 7.6%	40 to 44: 7.1%													
45 to 49: 6.9%	50 to 54: 8.9%													
55 to 59: 8.8%	60 to 64: 6.4%													
65 or over: 6.5%														
Part of Winnipeg’s cultural/community identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 70.9% of respondents live in the City of Winnipeg • 14.0% lived outside of Winnipeg but in Manitoba • 9.1% live in Saskatchewan, Ontario, Minnesota or North Dakota 	<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vast majority of festival attendees live in Winnipeg. When combined with the statistics on repeat attendance, this suggests that the festival is important in the lives of many Winnipeggers <p>Contradictory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A small but not insignificant portion 9% of attendees travel from outside the province likely do not have a strong vested interest in the Winnipeg’s local community 												
Supports local culture/economy/businesses; strengthens community ties that exists outside of the event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 35.7% of respondents attend WFF concerts throughout the year • Respondents’ expenditures in the Winnipeg area resulting from the festival (not including spending at the event) <table border="0" data-bbox="632 1344 1121 1401"> <tr> <td><\$100: 13.0%</td> <td>\$100-\$200: 23.5%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>\$201-\$400: 12.7%</td> <td>\$401-\$1,000: 17.8%</td> </tr> </table> 	<\$100: 13.0%	\$100-\$200: 23.5%	\$201-\$400: 12.7%	\$401-\$1,000: 17.8%	<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some festival goers stay connected with the festival all year and support the organization’s other cultural endeavors • The festival generates a considerable amount of spinoff benefits for the local economy 								
<\$100: 13.0%	\$100-\$200: 23.5%													
\$201-\$400: 12.7%	\$401-\$1,000: 17.8%													

	>\$1,000: 4.1%	
Volunteers strengthen the festival community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 95.2% of respondents agree or strongly agree that volunteers “are friendly, helpful and have a positive attitude” 	Supportive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vast majority of attendees believe that volunteers contribute to the positive culture of the festival
Volunteers are essential to the operation of the festival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 84.8% of respondents agree or strongly agree that WFF volunteers “have the knowledge and experience to help [them] when [they] need” 	Supportive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A large majority of attendees likely believe that volunteers have essential roles to play within the festival
The Festival Campground is its own distinct community within the wider festival; a temporary city; some only come for the campground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 39.6% of respondents camped in the Festival Campground 	Supportive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For a large portion of attendees, the festival campground is part of their festival experience
Partying and the excessive consumption of drugs and alcohol are normalized behaviors in the campground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15.7% of those who stayed in the Festival Campground said that partying and the consumption of drugs and alcohol had a negative impact on their camping experience 	Supportive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The survey indicates that partying and substance use have a major influence on the social dynamics within the Festival Campground. This likely presents a barrier to processes of community-building within the campground
The music used to be more political and “folk” but now it tries to appeal to a young and diverse audience with a range of genres and big name acts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0.8% of respondents said they were unsatisfied with the musical lineup when asked what they disliked about the event 	Contradictory: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on the low rate of respondents who indicated their disapproval with the music lineup, and are likely not concerned by the level of political consciousness and counterculture at the event.
The rural setting of the WFF and camping contribute to a sense of escape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 57.1% of respondents camped at the 2014 festival 	Supportive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of attendees treat the festival like a holiday, immersing themselves in the festival for the duration rather than commute back and forth from the city each day
Appreciation for commitment to sustainability and on-site sustainability initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 92% of respondents use the on-site composting stations • 88.4% of respondents support the festival’s decision to ban the sale of bottled water on site • 1.4% of respondents listed the festival’s green initiatives as positive part of the festival 	Supportive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is widespread awareness and support for the festival’s green initiatives
Recognition of community/social inclusion values and programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 40.5% of respondents knew that the WFF is a registered charity • 54.0% of respondents did not know that the WFF is a registered charity • 24.2% of respondents knew about the Guest for a Day program while 56.0% did not 	Supportive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A significant number of festival goers are aware of the organization’s community outreach programs Contradictory: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than half of attendees are unaware of the festival’s not-for-profit status

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13.4% of respondents are, or were with, persons living with disabilities • 46.6% of respondents felt the site was adequately accessible for persons living with disabilities while 10.7% did not and 42.8% were unsure • 31.3% of respondents made a gross annual household income of more than \$80,000 while 14.0% made less than \$30,000 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although the festival values social inclusion there are barriers to accessibility for those living with disabilities • Higher-income people are twice as more likely to attend the festival than lower income people. Ticket price and location may limit access for lower income people
The WFF offers a welcoming environment and encourages respect, love kindness and inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 93.0% of respondents are not concerned for their personal safety while at the festival • 24.0% of respondents said they found the festival to have a positive social atmosphere when asked what they liked about the event 	<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of attendees appreciate the festival’s culture of trust, respect and human kindness
Over time, the image became less radical as the event attracted a more mainstream and diverse audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1.3% of respondents said that festival is too corporate/commercial, too big or has less folk vibes when asked what they disliked about the event 	<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A small but not ignorable portion of attendees are upset with vision and design of the event aimed at mainstream culture <p>Contradictory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is not a pressing concern for the vast majority of attendees
Professionalization of the WFF needed for financial stability, appealing to a wider audience in a competitive entertainment market, and responding to needs of a growing audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total expenditures of respondents while at the festival: \$100-\$200: 13.3% \$201-\$400: 21.6% \$401-\$900: 34.6% >\$900: 10.8% 	<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ticket prices and general consumption on par with other mainstream cultural events • Correlation between improved services and amenities and cost of attending
Important decisions made in a centralized, top-down fashion that leave organizers out of touch with some of the communities’ needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0.8% of respondents were disappointed that the Castle Boys were not set up in the campground when asked what they disliked about the event • 27.8% of those who stayed in the Festival Campground said that the absence of the Castle Boys had a negative impact on their camping experience 	<p>Supportive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A significant portion of festival-goers who feel strongly about the Castle Boys tradition and were upset by the decision <p>Contradictory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of attendees do not feel personally affected by the organization’s management decisions

5.5 *Conclusion*

By all accounts, the Winnipeg Folk Festival is a complex system capable of reproducing a wide range of experiences that each year meet the expectations of a large and diverse audience. Drawing over 10,000 people each year, the festival contains within it various communities and identity groups: local Winnipeggers, out-of-town tourists, volunteers, vendors and festival campers. As such, it would be impossible to tell a single version of the WFF story that all of its participants and stakeholders would agree with in its entirety. For example, the life-long festival volunteer who resides in Winnipeg has a different relationship with, and appreciation of, the festival than the family who drives in from Minnesota for their annual holiday. Through the lens of constructivism, however, this research acknowledges that no one perspective is more or less true than the other while still exercising the liberty to narrow in on certain groups and narratives. The findings discussed throughout Chapter 5 are not an exhaustive list, but they are nonetheless grounded in the experiences and interpretations common among many of those who lay claim to the festival.

This case study intended to generate an initial understanding of how events of this nature might support sustainable relocalization. Therefore, it investigated aspects of the WFF that appeared to embody or support the core elements of community-based relocalization presented in Chapter 2: post-material values, place-based identity, local social capital and networks, and local economic skills knowledge. The primary findings presented in this chapter should be viewed as individual pieces of evidence that, to varying degrees, strengthen or weaken any claims about the correlation between the festival space and those necessary elements of the movement. As the analysis presented in Chapter 8 reveals, this evidence ultimately leads to a distinct set of barriers and opportunities for how grassroots festivals can best align themselves with eco-localism.

This case study uncovered several aspects of the event that are most relevant to this conversation. First, the festival fosters community identity in two broad senses. There are those who strongly identify with the festival as a community in and of itself and there are those who incorporate the festival into a place-based Winnipeg identity. The rituals and customs associated with the event as well as its cultural prominence strengthen these community sentiments. Constructions of a festival community are particularly pronounced in the Festival Campground

which takes the form of a temporary city for the duration of the event. The upheavals sometimes felt in response to changes at the festival indicate that attachment and ownership run deep quite deep for some. To a less obvious degree, the festival supports networks and social capital within these identity communities.

Second, the WFF accurately embodies much of the theoretical and empirically-tested ideas about the liminal space reviewed in Chapter 3. During this case study, participants discussed the festival's liminality in terms of an escape from the norms and expectations of everyday modern life, a space for self-discovery and personal growth as well as for experimental community living and economic innovation. In the same vein, the intense feelings of freedom surrounding the festival also enable an extreme prevalence of substance abuse and partying that may be a barrier to participation for some and may limit or enhance the personal and cultural transformations within the liminal space.

Third, a certain level of political and countercultural awareness associated with the WFF stems from its historical roots as part of the mid-century North American folk scene. However, ongoing processes of development and professionalization – including an appeal to a broader audience, a business and marketing strategy tied to local economic development, higher ticket prices, sponsors, and more top-down management – bring that identity into question. While the WFF de-radicalized in favour of financial stability, the organization's stated commitment to innovation, entrepreneurialism and environmental sustainability, still leave the event well positioned for social change advocacy.

Finally, this study indicates that the governance of the festival – i.e. the vision, mission, design, artistic direction, model of audience participation, and general management practices of the festival organization – have a significant impact on the aspects of the event discussed above. These are the tools that enable mass public celebrations to make money, build community or transform culture. As the next chapter reveals, the Harvest Moon Festival, founded nearly thirty years after the WFF and only a fraction of its size, is already starting to grapple with similar challenges around balancing growth, community, and social change.

6.0 “Healthy Land, Healthy Communities”: A Case Study of the Harvest Moon Festival, Clearwater Manitoba

There’s a celebratory nature with what’s happening at Harvest Moon. I don’t think we’ll make it if we are not coming together and celebrating our successes, if we’re not celebrating what’s working, if we are not having a good time in creating a new world.

-- Research participant HM8, co-founder of the Harvest Moon Festival, 2014

6.1 *Introduction*

The Harvest Moon Festival (HMF) in Clearwater, Manitoba proved to be the ideal choice for the second case study. The similarities and difference between this event and the WFF make it well-suited for comparison with respect to the research question. The WFF is primarily produced for, and by, Winnipeggers and is recognized as a major cultural symbol in the city. The HMF exists as part of the Harvest Moon Society (HMS), a joint venture involving Clearwater residents, a few organic farmers and a group of Winnipeg urbanites seeking elements of a more sustainable, land-based life-style. Like the Folk Festival, Harvest Moon offers a jovial retreat that thrives on a passion for music and sentiments of community and tradition. Unlike the Folk Festival, the annual gathering in Clearwater is infused with the wider social mission of the HMS. The HMF serves to fund and promote the HMS organization's initiatives and is designed in an attempt to raise the audience's consciousness of local food and sustainable living. The following story of Harvest Moon - its history, its mission, and ultimately its importance to a community, draws on personal experiences and the firsthand accounts of "Mooners" themselves. It lays the last stepping stone that leads up to the final comparative analysis of the two case studies.

6.2 *Planting Seeds of Change” in Clearwater, Manitoba: Providing a Background for the Field Research*

6.2.1 *Choosing Rural Resilience over Rural Decline: The History of Harvest Moon*

The village of Clearwater sits among the rolling hills of Manitoba’s Pembina Valley in an area dominated by livestock pasture and Parkland forest. Located roughly 200 kilometers south-east of Winnipeg, Clearwater and was established in 1876 by early prairie homesteaders (Local

Urban District of Clearwater, 2007). Today it is home to less than 100 permanent residents. Like many small rural communities during the second half of the twentieth century, Clearwater witnessed a decline in population and economic activity and by 2001 both the local school and grain elevator had closed (Davies, 2014). Those living in Clearwater today are a resilient group, committed to preserving many of their core community institutions including two churches as well as a general store and a restaurant both of which were purchased by a cooperative of local residents in the early 2000s (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. a). In addition to the Harvest Moon Festival, Clearwater hosts an annual July baseball tournament attracting ball players from across the province. Despite its small population and relative isolation, the community continues to adapt and innovate in response to the changing rural economy.

The Harvest Moon Festival and the Harvest Moon Learning Society are the biggest developments to happen in Clearwater in the last fifteen years. The Harvest Moon story began with a small group of people who saw a unique opportunity to support local farmers and promote sustainable living through a music concert. In the early 2000s, Ian Mauro, now a University of Winnipeg geography professor, was working on his doctoral thesis researching the impacts of genetically modified crops on rural communities under the supervision of Stéphane McLachlan (Environment & Geography Professor, University of Manitoba). As part of the project, the pair teamed up with Winnipeg filmmakers Jim Sanders and André Clément to make a film showcasing their findings (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. b). The group decided to release the film with a screening for farmers and rural people in Clearwater. Together in 2002, a group of Clearwater residents, academics and artists from Winnipeg hosted the first screening and performances by some of the musicians featured on the soundtrack. The event was held in September on the fall equinox and marked the birth of the annual Harvest Moon Festival (Davies, 2014).

The networks and relationships formed during the planning of the first Harvest Moon gathering solidified into a small official organization, the Harvest Moon Society (HMS) which incorporated on May 14, 2003. That same year, the HMS purchased the Clearwater elementary school turning the building into the Harvest Moon Learning Centre. The Centre has become the focal point of the organization's "educational and community-focused mandate" hosting permaculture weekends and university field courses among other events (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. b). During the decade that followed, additional volunteers joined the HMS and the festival

grew in popularity becoming a more sophisticated artistic endeavor while the organization built bridges with local community stakeholders through a consultative process. The HMS also constructed a nature trail and established a market for locally produced organic foods, always building on a twenty-five-year plan to honour the motto "healthy land, healthy community" (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. b).

6.2.2 The Work of the Harvest Moon Society Today

Today, the HMS's activities fall loosely into three areas: sustainable living education initiatives anchored at the school, the Local Food Initiative, and the festival. The festival occurs once annually but generates revenue, interest, and support that helps maintain the organization's year-round activities.

6.2.2.1 Commitment to Education:

The Harvest Moon Learning Centre hosts a wide-range of educational programs throughout the year that are designed to promote the HMS's "vision of sustainable agriculture, vibrant rural communities, and protecting the environment" (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. c). Among the various types of programming are permaculture workshops, activities for secondary school classes, and university field courses. The HMS also offers internships to students looking to gain experience with local agriculture, sustainability and environmental activism (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. c). Many HMS members are connected to the University of Manitoba's Environmental Conservation Lab and have conducted research projects linked to activities in Clearwater (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. d). One example of collaboration between the Society and academics are the eco-friendly guest cabins found on site which were designed and built with the help of the architecture faculty at the University of Manitoba (Harvest Moon Society, 2014). Partnerships between urban scholars and organic farmers in Clearwater are an important part of the Harvest Moon story and they make the town a place where theory and practice combine in an attempt to demonstrate alternative, land-based living.

6.2.2.2 *Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative*

The Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative (HMLFI) is a food distribution program. It connects small-scale organic farmers and producers in the Clearwater region to consumers seeking locally-sourced edibles in nearby urban centres. The HMS ensures that its producers adhere to production standards guaranteeing the safety, quality and sustainability of food products which are then distributed across a network of food-buying clubs. There are eight distribution locations in Winnipeg as well as one each in Brandon and the town of Starbuck (Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative, n.d. a). The HMLFI has a dual benefit: it simultaneously opens new, urban markets for organic, family-based farm operations, and appeals to the growing demand for ethical and sustainable food. The program aims to shrink the scale of the supply and demand cycle, encouraging people to "know their farmer" by promoting a food system based on community relationships (Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative, n.d. b). The HMS's annual fall festival is at the heart of the organizations activities. The event is "key to promoting the HMLC" and exposing festival participants to the organization's (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. e)

6.2.3 A Closer Look at the Harvest Moon Festival

6.2.3.1 *Growth and Development*

The annual HMF is essential to the success of the HMS's education and local food initiatives and it contributes to the growing profile of the organization. According to the firsthand accounts of the organizers, the HMF has grown steadily since its first rendition in 2002 which only saw about fifty people in attendance (King, 2014). The thirteenth HMF in 2014 drew over 2000 people to Clearwater. As the event grew, it underwent several changes including the introduction of new food vendors, an expanded musical lineup and the addition of a stage on the patio of the only restaurant in town.

The festival attracts a unique audience made up of both rural and city folk, families, and young music lovers. Many young people see Clearwater as the final stop on Manitoba's summer festival circuit. The growth of these festivals has certainly had a positive economic impact for Clearwater but it has also raised important questions among organizers and community members including: has the event reached the community's maximum capacity, and how can festival

remain true to its values and objectives with a larger more diverse audience? The primary data analysis expands on these and other issues.

A unique feature of the HMF is that the majority of those who travel to Clearwater for the weekend, camp directly within the town. The festival operates an RV camping lot at the town's baseball diamond, but most festival-goers pitch their tents near the main stage. As the photo in



Figure 6.1: View of the Harvest Moon Festival main stage adjacent to the Clearwater community centre.
(Photo: Joseph Wasylyica-Leis, 2014)

Figure 6.1 shows, the stage and the food vendors take up space adjacent to the Clearwater Community Centre and the temporary campground sits in the nearby field that is, quite literally, the back yards of local residents.

6.2.3.2 *Music Meets Education*

The most noticeable distinction between the HMF and other summer festivals is how the event combines a quality live music experience with craft and farmer's markets, educational and skill-

sharing workshops, and general advocacy for healthy and sustainable food systems and communities (Zoratti, 2013). The festival celebrates "local food production" while linking "those from rural and urban communities" and promoting "the talent of local artists (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. e). Three pillars - local music, local economy, and local change-- combine to make Harvest Moon a unique experience when compared to festivals that focus primarily on music.

Participants are encouraged to check out a wide-range of knowledge-sharing and skill-based workshops. At the 2014 HMF, these included talks about the history of Indigenous territory, and the constitutional right to a healthy environment as well as demonstrations on blacksmithing and growing winter greens. Festival-goers are also encouraged to take tours of the permaculture gardens at the Learning Centre and the nearby nature trail. The HMS fully displays its commitment to local and ethical products and produce by giving guests places to spend their money. On Saturday, the side street near the community centre becomes a fair trade and local craft market and then on Sunday local farmers sell their freshly harvested produce to festival goers. The "Harvest" in Harvest Moon Festival, is far from figurative. These extra-musical activities are what distinguish the HMF from many other local music festivals in Canada. As the primary findings section below makes clear, elements of intentional social learning and social movement advocacy are a big part of how organizers and participants interpret the event.

6.2.3.3 Governance and Operation

Unlike larger music events such as the Winnipeg Folk Festival, the Harvest Moon organization operates by way of a volunteer board made up of twelve members reflecting the organization's commitment to building urban-rural partnerships (Harvest Moon Society, n.d. f). The board oversees the maintenance of the HMLS and deliberates on issues related to the HMLFI and the organization's other programs (Harvest Moon Society, 2014b). The board focuses on short and long-term planning while ensuring all decisions reflect the best interests of all stakeholders, but particularly the residents of Clearwater.

A separate committee charged with planning and managing the Festival consists of a mix of Winnipeg and Clearwater residents. One of the committee's members also sits on the HMS board. Personal observation (October 14, 2015) revealed the festival planning committee deals

with all aspects of the event including artistic direction, the workshop schedule, food services, participant safety, site logistics, finances and promotion changing practices with a particular regard for the interests of Clearwater residents and maintaining the family-friendly atmosphere. The HMF operates almost entirely on volunteer labour. This is true both of the planning committee and of the on-site operators where volunteers from Clearwater and Winnipeg come together to prepare the site and deliver essential services throughout the weekend.

6.2.3.4 *For the Community, by the Community: Economic Impacts of the Harvest Moon Festival*

Several of those active within the HMS do not live in Clearwater. Nevertheless, the local community has a vested interest in the organization and accrues benefits from Harvest Moon activities, including the festival. The Society makes a point of feeding proceeds from the festival "back into the community to support the activities of the Harvest Moon Society and other projects around town" (Harvest Moon Society, 2014b, p. 3). After the 2014 festival, the HMS spent \$40,000 on maintenance for the HMLC and staff wages, while spending \$18,000 on improvements to the festival site. It also contributed \$3,000 towards renovations at the community and donated \$10,000 for the construction of the Clearwater visitor cabins (Harvest Moon Society, 2014b, p. 3).

Local businesses also benefit immensely from the influx of visitors at festival time. In 2014, the Clearwater Junction restaurant made more than \$7,000 over the course of the weekend. One festival organizer said the event accounts for nearly half of the establishment's yearly revenue. The Clearwater arena takes the earnings from the main stage bar - a sum of \$5,000 in 2014, while the town's Anglican Church made \$3,000 from its annual pancake breakfast held on the Sunday morning of festival weekend. (Harvest Moon Society, 2014b). Finally, the twenty-five local food vendors participating in the festival's farmers market combined for over \$15,000 in sales. This has a significant impact on a community with less than 100 residents. The festival fosters an important relationship between residents and the external HMS community; it is a place where the mutual benefits between these two groups are most apparent. The festival supports a space where urban folk can learn and practice land-based sustainability while giving the local community the economic stability needed to maintain their own livelihoods in spite of an aging and declining rural population.

6.3 Primary Findings of the 2014 Harvest Moon Festival Case Study

Based on the interviews with those who participate in the HMF, it is clear the event has symbolic, social, political, personal and collective significance for the communities it brings together. In many ways, these achievements are tied to the festival's commitment to localism and community sustainability. As such, it serves as a useful case study to investigate how a festival can affect wider social change by aligning itself with the local sustainability movement.

6.3.1 Is Smaller Better? Connecting Identity and Value to the size of the Harvest Moon Festival

6.3.1.1 "Small" as Part of the Harvest Moon Identity

Anecdotally, from the author's perspective, it seems that the word "small" is often the first adjective used when someone describes the Harvest Moon. Roughly 2000 people attended the 2014 HMF making it significantly smaller than many of the more widely-known summer music events in Canada including the Winnipeg Folk Festival. It is clear that "small" appears to be part of the festival's identity, something that people draw on when interpreting their experiences. Several research participants (HM4; 6; 7; 11; 12; FF6; 16; HM13) pointed to this characteristic as one of HMF's defining features. Many organizers and festival attendees believe that the festival's moderate size helps define its image and its desirability. As an example, one of the event's co-founders said "[w]hat's working for us is that kind of intimacy and that experience.... we think that it's a kind of niche experience" (HM8). "Small" certainly fits with the "escape from the urban jungle for a taste of rural living" marketability of the HMF.

6.3.1.2 Value of a Smaller Festival

By and large, the small size of the HMF is viewed as a positive element by members of the festival community, including both organizers (HM8; 9; 10) and audience members (HM4; 7; 11; 12; F16; HM13). Moreover, several interviewees attributed specific, appreciated aspects of the HMF to its size, including greater sense of intimacy and feelings of community (HM 4; 6; 7; 8; 11; 12; FF16; HM13); a reduced need to time manage resulting in a more relaxed pace and

reduced levels of stress (HM 4; 6; 11; FF16); comfortable levels of trust, safety and family-friendliness (HM2; 4; 9; 10; 11; 12; FF16: HM13); and increased comfort levels enabling personal growth, learning and transformation (HM6; 7; FF16).

One first-time participant (HM6) said that she "liked being close to a bunch of people and getting to know other people randomly" and that it was "really cool to have all the tents snuggled together and everyone

was just super nice". For others (HM2; 4; 7; FF16) the size of the event makes it easier to connect with people in meaningful and lasting ways, in part because it's easier to find people again in a smaller crowd. As stated in one interview, "here you're just bumping into people over and over again, you don't have to worry about



Figure 6.2: Participants gathered around a communal fire pit at the 2014 Harvest Moon Festival. (Photo: Joseph Wasylyica-Leis)

not seeing people again for the rest of the festival and I really like that feeling"(HM4).

According to some folks, the large communal fire pits added to the close-knit feel of the camping area (HM2; 4). Figure 6.2 depicts a typical fireside scene at HMF, capturing the inclusive and intimate side of the festival.

Apparently, the HMF appeals to a growing desire among some festival goers for small-scale festive experiences. Nothing highlights this point more effectively than the many interviews where Harvest Moon was discussed as a preferred alternative to the WFF. This idea was brought up by seven participants (HM3: 4; 7; 9; 10; 11; 1Even some of the people interviewed as part of the Folk Fest case study spoke of Harvest Moon's small-time appeal and its ability to offer something its larger counterpart no longer can (HMF 6; 8; 16). Others spoke of being disenchanted by the WFF and appreciating the dynamic of smaller festivals in general (FF3; 4; 20; HM13). Echoing this sentiment are several other small-scale festivals such as

Rainbow Trout that have gained popularity with younger generations of Winnipeggers. One participant (HM12) said that she recognizes more people from the WFF at Harvest Moon each year.

6.3.2 Growing Pains: The Pros and Cons of Increasing Attendance at the HMF

6.3.2.1 Mixed Feelings about the Growth of HMF

The festival's champions recognize that the contained scale and moderate attendance numbers are part of the Festival's identity and, for the most part, they are happy to support that image. However, the festival's attendance numbers have grown steadily since the event's inception in 2002, a reality noticed by many of the interviewees (HM1; 4; 5;8; 9; 10; 11; 12). Growth of the HMF has brought new benefits and new concerns but it is also leading many organizers to wonder if the event is reaching maximum capacity. It is no secret that the town of Clearwater has benefited financially from increasing attendance numbers. One member of the HMF planning committee (HM9) noted that planning and financial management becomes easier when organizers can bank on selling out each year. Another committee member sees how accommodating larger crowds plays into the HMS's vision for wider social change:

We want to change the world through social movement and through values and through celebrating the good things in life and connecting people in a disconnected world so you want as many people to be exposed to that sort of thing as possible but I know in the committee there is a range of perspectives (HM10)

6.3.2.2 Logistical Implications of Growth

As the end of the above quotation indicates, there are those within the Harvest Moon and Clearwater communities who think that further growth is not possible or necessary for both logistical and value-laden reasons. Most obviously, there are limits to the number of people that can exist on the current event site in a way that both residents and guests find comfortable (HH8; 9; 10) and, although organizers have entertained the idea of expanding to the town baseball diamond, they are not sure this is something they want. Here is how one of the co-founders answered the question of attendance limits:

There's going to be a capacity issue and we are starting to see it already where we've hit over 2000 people and that is on the current site the upper limits of what we can do in that space... If it's 200 people a year we can have a couple more years where it's still a safe and legal space. There are other sites we've talked about but then we just become like any other festival with ten thousand people... and I'm not sure many of us want it to be like that (HM8).

Even at its current size, it is plain to see that the festival comes close to overwhelming the built environment of Clearwater, especially with respect to vehicle traffic and with the main stage and camping area sitting in close proximity to residential housing. The setup works because there seems to be a mutual acknowledgement between out-of-towners and locals. As one participant said:

[At]Harvest Moon, you know you're entering somebody's residence. Like straight up, you're camping in somebody's backyard. So people are aware that the invitation is a little more private... It's a tighter community and you've got to be on the same wavelength as everybody else. (FF16)

The site remained remarkably clean and safe during the three days of the 2014 festival considering over two thousand people were in attendance. However, it is reasonable to think that with larger crowds this form of respectful co-habitation could deteriorate should festival-goers find it easier to ignore their status as "guests". Cohesion between the Harvest Moon community and the residents of Clearwater has certainly been one of the keys to the organization's success.

6.3.2.3 *Increased Partying and Safety Concerns*

As the festival has grown, there has been an increase of binge drinking and partying on site with more people coming for the "good times" (HM4; 6 5; 7; 09; 10; 11; FF16). This is an important consideration when assessing the HMF's ability to contribute to social change and sustainable community transformation. The Festival's message of local sustainability and commitment to education might become overshadowed by increasing numbers of party seekers who are may be unaware or don't care about the festival's broader mission. As one member of the planning committee makes clear, it's a reality that the organization is aware of:

In the last couple years it's kind of blown up... there is defiantly this feeling of people that are primarily there to hang out because it seems like a cool festival... and I think that it logically follows if that element can swell and becomes its own segment (HM9)

In recent years, more people have been showing up without tickets and sneaking into the camping area because it's become known as a fun place to party (HM9; 10). During a debriefing meeting after the 2014 festival (October 14, 2015), the planning committee spent time discussing the pros and cons of fencing off the site. The group was largely in agreement that doing so would take away from the non-authoritarian vibe that helps define the event.

6.3.2.4 *Growth and the Harvest Moon's Mission, Values and Social Objective*

Discussion about the Festival's increasing popularity also revealed a desire to preserve the sense of community found at Harvest Moon and to uphold the organization's commitment to building a better world by celebrating local food with music and communion. Several participants suggested that the values and objectives associated with the festival are possible largely because of its moderate size and intimacy (HM4; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12). In the minds of HMF proponents and supporters, a sense of community is integral to the event and goes hand in hand with the locally-based food systems that it promotes. This quotation in particular captures the tensions surrounding the growth of the event:

How do we balance the tension between limiting the number of people that can come and creating a sense of inclusiveness? How do you balance the tension of letting whoever comes for whatever reason even if it's the party and having the core mission be to educate people? (HM9).

Several participants agreed that larger audiences might make it harder to convey the event's message of local sustainability or have people buy into its overarching purpose (HM7; 9; 10; FF16). In the words of one long-time attendee:

I think that's just part of what happens when something gets really big, those messages are harder to communicate to a larger and larger amount of people... I like when people are on to the purposes of the festival and its roots and origins and it's harder to communicate that I think when you have so many people. (HM7)

However, others raised a contradictory point. Some participants (HM3; 5; 6) indicated that the festival still impacts newcomers even if they are not initially aware of the social learning aspect of the HMF. One first-timer (HM6) was adamant that she had learned about new local food alternatives and was looking forward to coming back next year to learn more. This theme is also

a central part of the discussion on the effectiveness of Harvest Moon's educational intentions (Section 6.3.4).

After directly observing the 2014 HMF, the above quote makes sense. It seemed that many participants were aware of, and interested in, the workshops and markets, and were also conscious of the wider theme and message. However, there were also many people who appeared to be there simply to relax and enjoy the music, content to remain in the camping area during Saturday afternoon. It's easy to imagine how continued rapid growth in attendance might bring more people who are not necessarily interested in the event's social objectives. At the very least, engaging new audience members with local food and local living becomes a bigger job. Organizers are seriously considering capping ticket sales and this decision-making process has required them to take stock of their overall aspirations. They are weighing their desire for the HMF to be an accessible and inclusive catalyst for social change against a desire to preserve a sense of intimacy and community and a need to reduce risk. All told, there are clear tradeoffs when it comes to managing the maturation of grassroots festivals and nobody knows this more than those with long-term involvement at the Winnipeg Folk Festival. One of the event managers from the WFF offers an excellent concluding thought on this subject:

I think the thing about all these grassroots festivals like Harvest Moon is that at some point they're going to be forced into professionalizing themselves or being less grassroots and I think when that happens they will also have to make 10make decisions that are unpopular with their stakeholders. (FF18)

6.3.3 A Community's Festival and a Festival Community

Another clear finding of the study is that the idea of *community* is central to the discourse surrounding the HMF. In a broad sense, the festival belongs to the identity of two groups: the residents and farmers of the Clearwater area, and a contingent of non-locals, many of whom are young, urban, native to Winnipeg, and who self-identify as socially and environmentally progressive. Despite having some distinct interests, there seems to be a common understanding that individuals on both sides are working together, cooperatively and respectfully, toward a shared vision of the Harvest Moon community and its festival. Not every attendee arrives at the same and exact sense of belonging - some likely have no such feelings at all. Yet, community emerges within and between groups of locals and non-locals through an array of new and old

interpersonal relationships - a social network - supported by shared attachments to the values, traditions, and cultural symbols of the Harvest Moon phenomenon.

6.3.3.1 *The Harvest Moon Community: Collaboration, Belonging, and the Festival Tradition*

Collaboration between Clearwater natives and non-locals has existed from the start of the HMS and for many participants it is central to how they tell the story of the organization (HM4; 5; 7; 8; 9; 10, FF16). For one of the event's founders, the community surrounding the HMS results from two groups united by the same vision for a more sustainable world:

[There are] individuals in the city, individuals in the country, and then when you bring that together you actually see both of those groups of people re-birthing, coming out of their shells, doing all these new and different things and doing it together... Clearwater is a place where the values and ideals around local food, environment, healthy communities, and healthy land are shared by both urban and rural people and you have people committed to functionally doing it. (HM8)

The HMLC, formerly the Clearwater School, is seen as an important component and symbol of this collaboration. For many, the purchasing of the school marks the official beginning of the HMS and recognizes that both local residents and out-of-towners contribute to making it a reality (HM1; 4; 5; 8; 10). Many also recognize that the financial viability of the HMLC depends on revenue from the festival (HM4; 5; 8; 10; HM13). Most importantly from a community-building standpoint, the school stands as a point of unity between those involved with the Society and Clearwater's permanent residents. Purchasing the school signified the arrival of the HMS as a permanent institution in the town with one organizer explaining it this way: "...in those first of couple years, people were like "who are these guys, they just bought our school, what is this?" and then they started to realize this was serious, this was about building community" (HM8). The same individual also emphasized the organization's commitment to giving back to the community and that the Learning Centre is part of what makes that possible. Specifically, with the building in the hands of the Society, and not a private developer, it has made one of its core functions a childcare facility.

According to several participants, the involvement of academics, research, and courses are an important part of Harvest Moon's urban-rural partnership and sense of shared community (HM4; 5; 7; 8; 10; FF16). One example of how the HMS truly is a shared endeavor is the

involvement of University of Manitoba architecture students in the construction of the Clearwater guest cabin's (HM5; 8) Two participants (HM4) had both attended the University of Manitoba's Living Rural Communities course in Clearwater in recent years. They agreed that the experience strengthened their connection with Clearwater and that the Festival provided an annual opportunity to maintain familiarity with locals. Several participants also drew attention to the fact that the Seeds of Change film – the impetus for the HMF - was a collaborative effort involving researchers from the University of Manitoba (HM5; 8; 10). These connections are an important part of The HMS's history and its mandate for fostering local community resilience.

Winnipeg media have tried to portray Harvest Moon as a story with visionary urbanites rescuing a dying town (Redekop, 2009). However, those involved with the organization know that this is not true and, in fact, local residents have exercised a great deal of autonomy in the process (HM8; 9). The result has been a group of people not solely united by place but by a shared sense of purpose - "not the physical community of Clearwater, but an ideological community" (HM9). There seems to be a sense of symbiosis whereby the proponents of the HMS and the festival have committed to the local community, while residents have, in turn, committed to the festival (HM4; 8; 10). As one organizer sees it:

...the community was seeing that this organization was really committed to community development, to seeing mutual benefit from this initiative. It really won the day. It had people who may have been unsure about these weird kids in mullets walking around town, to going "you know what, this is for real, and this is a partnership". (HM8)

Not everyone sees community at the heart of the HMF. Some put greater emphasis on the escape and relaxation aspect of the event (HM10, 11), while others feel there are large groups of people who just come to party (HM1, 6, 9, 10,). But there is still evidence to suggest that the festival cultivates a shared sense of a Harvest Moon identity between urban and rural people.

Almost all of the participants in this case study agreed at least to some degree that this annual tradition contributes to a sense of a co-created community surrounding the organization (HM2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, FF16). The mantra for the 2014 HMF, heard repeatedly over loudspeakers, was the simple question "do you know your farmer?" It was a call to acknowledge the essential relationships between urban and rural people and an invitation for festival-goers to form personal relationships with the farmers who support the HMS. For many people, the festival is an important tradition in their lives, with most participants having been to several, if

not all, of the festivals since the event's inception (HM4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12). It is through tradition that a shared sense of belonging establishes itself at the event. For some, it gives them a greater sense of connection to Harvest Moon's broader mission and offers a deeper reason to participate in the local food initiative and other projects.

Volunteers are another important aspect of the festival community. The HMS and the HMF are run almost exclusively by volunteers which helps create a sense of shared-ownership within the organization. According to the Festival's volunteer coordinator (HM9), the volunteer crews are made up of both local and non-local residents, a fact which adds to the appearance of a joint urban-rural effort. One volunteer (HM7) said that Harvest Moon volunteering is really built on personal relationships and is part of the reason why she returns each year. Requests to volunteer have sky-rocketed over the last few festivals indicating that people are buying into the model and the community. However, by speaking with other volunteers outside of the interview process, it also became clear that saving money is a major motivator for volunteering.

In all, volunteerism, the existence of academic partnerships, and on-going collaboration between locals and non-locals, and a general commitment to building relationships between rural producers and urban consumers have combined to create what many see as an inclusive Harvest Moon community. It is a community not solely defined by the geographic location of Clearwater but also by its members' love of music, their desire to connect with one another and the earth, and their shared vision for creating viable and sustainable local food alternatives through the HMS.

6.3.3.2 The Importance of Harvest Moon to a Community of Place

Despite the fact that there is a Harvest Moon community that extends beyond a specific place and involves both urban and rural people, evidence also suggests that the event is meaningful to each of these groups for different reasons. For the local community of Clearwater, the HMS and the annual festival have become an institution of both social and economic importance. Two findings are relevant to this point. First, many participants acknowledge the importance of the Festival to the community's economy and second, the festival is a time when the people of Clearwater share their community with a group of outsiders, with the negative connotations associated with the later point having waned considerably over the years.

Seven participants spoke of the economic importance of the HMF to the local community (HM1; 4; 8; 9; 10; 11). One of the craft vendors (HM1) claimed that the festival, along with other summer events in the region, are vital to her business and the businesses of other producers. Participant HM8 also spoke of how the festival successfully opened up a new market for organic farmers in the Clearwater area by drawing in urban consumers looking for healthy local food options. A few participants also mentioned that without the Festival, the community daycare would not exist

These farmers are looking at us going “how did all of these young people become interested in what we are doing on our farms, and they want to buy our stuff”? If we are speaking in strictly economic terms, we created this huge demand for a supply that hadn’t even been created at the farm level. (HM8)

Others talked about the festival arising at a time when Clearwater was in serious decline and that the festival is now the main income for the town's small handful of businesses (HM1, 4, 5, 7, 8; HM11). For some, the festival is part of how the community was able to move away from the failings of large-scale market-driven agriculture and enter into a new area of autonomy.

And so, the first year we established the festival, the second year burned the grain elevator and it was literally the phoenix coming from the ashes... And you know, we burned the elevator and... it was like something different is happening now, something else is happening from the rubble, from the ashes, from the fire. (HM8)

The festival sits at the centre of the story of modern day Clearwater, a story which is about how the town revitalized itself by acquiring economic resilience and efficacy based on the principles of health and sustainable local living.

One indication that Harvest Moon belongs to two distinct groups is that local residents have, at times, seen festival attendees as outsiders. Four interviewees (HM1; 4; 8; 9) noted that, in the past, some residents felt apprehensive about the influx of urban folk. According to HM4 "the locals used to call the festival Hippy Fest because it's when all the hippies come to town". Another participant (HM1) said she felt as though some participants come to Clearwater for an artificial "rural" experience without truly understanding what's going on in Clearwater. Supporting this outsider image are those who acknowledge that many people travel to the festival for fun times and a good party (HM1; 6; 7; 9; 10).

However, there is a flipside to these observations. A few participants expressed having a specific attachment to the place and community of Clearwater. Participants HM11 and 12, for example, are both from Winnipeg but chose to have their wedding at the HMLC because they felt a sense of belonging and attachment to the town and its people. Others pointed to the fact that some people originally not from Clearwater moved to the town because of their connection to the Harvest Moon initiative (HM5; 8; 9; 10). Participant HM8 admitted that Clearwater is the backup plan for his family should global civilization fall into collapse:

...in many ways the Earth ship for me and my family... we've defiantly got a foothold in Clearwater because that's a place where we might be able to endure some really heavy duty stuff.

Participant HM9 explained that some people "who live out there are not life-long [residents] but they got connected to that place through Harvest Moon and who moved from the city". In all, while there is a distinction between locals and non-locals, it is not cut and dry. Some urban participants come to Clearwater with little connection to the community of Clearwater, but other non-natives have strong place-based attachment and sense of belonging.

6.3.3.3 *Group Identity and Value Affirmation among the HMF's non-local Participants*

For some of the Festival's participants who come from Winnipeg, the event has importance for reasons other than those related to the place identity. Many urbanites recognize the festival as a place that promotes sustainable community living. Here, they find affirmation among like-minded people and incorporate the event into their self-image as sustainability-minded progressives. For these people, the festival facilitates locally-sustainable consumption and appeals to a DIY localist subcultural identity. Some participants are active in various environmental social movements as a place to celebrate their work and promote opportunities for action.

A sentiment felt among many Mooners is that the festival brings like-minded people together, people who identify with the values of the event (HM3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 9, 10, FF16). According to one of the market vendors (HM1), many of the attendees that travel from Winnipeg process a certain alternative image, suggesting also that this motivates them to purchase the local produce and handmade crafts on offer. The same participant also felt that some people come to

the festival to incorporate rural experiences into their self-constructed identities. Prior to attending her first HMF in 2014, participant HM7 admitted to believing that the festival was predominantly for "hipsters and hippies".

Participant HM7 sees the festival as somewhat of a subcultural bubble - a niche space that validates people who are attempting to live alternative lifestyles or who are fighting for social change.

...when we start to develop our societies and our subcultures in the way that we have, that kinds of makes us into these little bubbles of resistance, where we have separate spheres of action that have these nodes... we kind of segregate ourselves into these quadrants, like I'm this kind of person, I'm this kind of person and I'm accepted here and you're accepted here... I think we need to acknowledge that it is really special and then at the end of those experiences of feeling rejuvenated by your community type but that this is not the status quo and what do we need to do to make this a reality in a larger sense?
(HM7)

Three other participants (HM7; 9; FF7) referred to the festival as a temporary or intentional community - a space created for and by a particular group or type of people. For some, this annual gathering helps them maintain relationships and networks within a community that continues to exist after the festival space is vacated (HM 4; 7; 8; 9; 10; FF16). Three participants (HM7; 9; 10) said that Harvest Moon events that happen occasionally throughout the year in Winnipeg help to strengthen that community. One participant explained the importance of the festival as follows:

Yeah like when we are not brought together by proximity and we need reasons to get together and celebrate things. So as much as anything, maybe that's a good enough reason to have a music festival... I think that because the way that we formulate our identities has shifted to being not primarily geographic necessarily, getting people together like this is important. (HM9)

Observations at the 2014 Harvest Moon Festival support these interpretations in so far as many individuals projected non-consumerist self-images and the space was mostly void of mainstream cultural status symbols. The workshops were targeted at, and embraced by, those interested in alternative lifestyles. However, the quote above raises a valid point: if the festival is a safe haven or a stage for alternative identities and values, then it may also contain elements of exclusivity. At the very least, there is a potential for the festival to fuel local sustainability if it has a limited reach beyond the in-group.

Finally, it should be noted that many of those who attend the festival are actively involved in progressive and environmental social movements. Some research participants see the event as a place where activists come together, network, celebrate their accomplishments, and refuel for another year of work (HM7; 8; 10; FF16).

It's exhausting to protest and to be critical. It's important to do that but you're always butting up against the limits of the status quo... so creating an alternative space that is democratically controlled and can showcase and celebrate the work we do is really refreshing. (HM10)

This quotation illustrates that some people affirm their memberships and identity within the local activist community at the HMF. To some degree, the festival motivates people to carry on their activist work throughout the year and this must be counted as one of the ways that the event can contribute to a quest for local sustainability.

6.3.4 Harvesting Change: Public Education and Sustainable Lifestyle Promotion

The final section of this chapter discusses the HMF's social objectives - its commitment to promoting land-based living and values, educating people about locally sustainable economic choices, and encouraging political activism. The findings pertaining to this point relate most directly to the research question about whether festivals can be an influential tool in the push for relocalization. Direct observation concurs with the firsthand participant accounts that a distinct set of values manifest themselves through the activities and messaging of the event.

6.3.4.1 Born with a Purpose

Most of the case study participants indicated that social and ecological consciousness has played a central role throughout the history of the HMF. When asked about the social objectives of the event, four participants (HM4; 5; 8; 10) talked about the Seeds of Change film - a documentary about the implications of GMO crops for prairie communities - as one of the original catalysts for the festival. There seems to be a general understanding among many in the Harvest Moon community that sustainability advocacy has been a part of the festival since the very beginning:

It's never just been about music and education has always been critical, food has always been critical; entertainment has always been critical, culture, social, sharing, urban-rural, all those things have been baked in right from day one. (HM8).

For some of these participants, the contingent of researchers and academics who have been involved with Harvest Moon from the beginning helped develop the event's sustainability ethos. The Clearwater school was to become the centre for sustainability education and, because it was fundamental to the viability of the project, the festival reflected these values (HM4; 5; 8; 10; FF16). However, one of the founding organizers was quick to point out that becoming a local food festival was not an intentional goal but rather something that emerged organically by way of opportunities and personal networks (HM8).

6.3.4.2 *Acknowledging the Harvest Moon Values*

Most participants were in agreement that the HMF community upholds a clear set of values related to local sustainable well-being. These include connecting with the land (HM2, 7, 8, 10; FF16), healthy local food (HM1; 4; 5; 7; 8; 10), local sustainability education (HM5; 7; 8; 9; 10, FF6; 20), community togetherness (HM2: 7; 8; 9; 10; 11), as well as artistic and musical celebration (HM4; 5; 8; 9; 10; FF16). These values, according to participant HM8 are embodied in the festivals slogan:

The mantra for the festival has always been healthy land, healthy communities, it's always been about communities. It's been about creating healthy land and healthy communities, that's the core. We couldn't get it down to anything more simple and essential. (HM8)

The values described by interviewees are also articulated in the HMS's secondary literature and were readily apparent while observing the festival firsthand. In particular, the main stage hosts did not shy away from stating the *raison d'etre* of the festival. At one point on Saturday evening a group of local farmers were called on stage and applauded by the audience as one of the organizers explained why community relationships should be at the centre of sustainable food systems.

These values of community, sustainability, and local food clearly underwrite the festival's design but there is one more value that appears to tie the Harvest Moon experience together: celebrating music and art. Several participants highlighted the importance of music to their time

in Clearwater (HM1; 4; 5; 6; 8; 9; 10; 12 FF16). Another idea that emerged from the interviews is that live music is the hook or the excuse that brings people together and exposes them to Harvest Moon's other values and wider social objectives (HM2; 7; 8; 10; FF16). Participant FF2 described the festival as a form of art capable of transmitting social and environmental messages. Participant FF16 recounted the story of a friend who came to Harvest Moon to hear the music but left with a newfound passion for local food. "Maybe your introduction was music" he said, "but then slowly you started tasting really good food and you were introduced to new ideas and you learn... it allows people to be introduced to new things" (FF16). Organizers of the event stressed the importance of upholding both the artistic and educational sides of the event with the values of strong community, healthy food and sustainability permeating all aspects of the event.

6.3.4.3 *From Values to Action: Education, Social Movement Advocacy, and Niche Experimentation at Harvest Moon*

Looking at the next set of primary findings, it is hard to deny the HMS's commitment to its values. The festival hosts educational workshops, markets locally produced goods, experiments with alternative practices, and encourages social movement activity. Participants consistently pointed to these aspects when describing their appreciation for the festival. Five of the case study interviewees (HM2; 4; 5; 7; 8; 9; 10) drew attention specifically to the educational workshops at the HMF, highlighting them as a defining distinction between this and other summer music gatherings. Organizers (HM8; 10) agreed that the workshops are part of the Festival's draw and its identity. One young volunteer made the following observation:

Yeah, so much of it is educational right. It's a little bit different than some of the other festivals you go to in the city where it's just music. Here they have the farmers market as well as having the workshops which are really interesting and bring an educational perspective so you can kind of learn a bit about the different kinds of things people are doing. And it's about a movement. (HM4).

Participants also discussed initiatives at the festival that are designed to encourage direct action - namely the farmers' and fair trade markets that run on the Saturday and Sunday of the festival (HM1; 4; 8; 10). The vendors offer festival-goers a chance to literally buy into the values of the festival and demonstrate that sustainable alternatives exist throughout Manitoba. The HMS also operated a booth in the market that recruited people to the Society's food share

delivery initiative. Two participants (HM4; 5) who worked at the stand over the weekend said it was attracting a lot of new customers:

...there's less of gap with connecting with people [at the festival], they kind of understand what we're doing and why you're doing it... Once you talk to people they are really into it and the prices are pretty comparable for the kind of product it is and I think a lot of people feel really good about doing that you know supporting... families who are doing what they love in a way that's respectful and sustainable to the earth and to the animals. (HM5).

The HMF is a space where innovate practices relating to sustainable living and food production are put on display. Talking with the festival's organizers revealed that underwriting the festival is a strong desire to actually *do something* about local sustainability. The HMS promotes local living and local food not by talking about it, but by allowing people to interact with the alternatives. One interviewee described Harvest Moon as a place for trying new things and putting ideas into practice:

What's happening in Clearwater is a social experiment. It is very much experimental, it's a living laboratory, we're testing things out, we're testing out relationships, we're testing out designs, we're testing out economies, we are testing out so many things in real life and what sticks is something that's real, it's something that works, it something we want to continue. (HM8)

There is also evidence to suggest that Harvest Moon encourages political activism and social movement activity. Conversations with interviewees revealed some examples. First, the overall messaging around local food systems and security became mildly politicized during a speech by one of the Festival is founders. The audience was encouraged to support local farmers, not just because of health and environmental reasons, but also because the dominant food system hurts communities and operates at the hands of powerful global economic interests. Second, one of the workshops was hosted by an organizer from David Suzuki's Blue Dot campaign who actively encouraged those in attendance to volunteer with the organization as it pushes to have the right to a healthy environment enshrined in the constitution (HM2; 4; 5; FF16). Third, three participants spoke about how the HMF community came together to support a family farm operation after it was ordered to stop producing prosciutto for apparent health reasons by Manitoba's provincial government. This case became a touchstone for a group of activists who are challenging the provincial health and save regulatory regime on the grounds that it favors large scale producers and works against the development of local food systems

(Real Manitoba Food Fight, 2015). For two of the festival's organizers (HM8; 10) this is an example of how Harvest Moon generates social capital needed to fight for change.

Most research participants were aware of the unique nature of the HMF workshops. Many interviewees talked about the workshops as a unique feature of Harvest Moon and as evidence that the festival is about more than just music (HM4; 5; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; FF16, 20). Because the workshops fall broadly into the theme of local sustainability and environmentalism, they contribute to the HMF's reputation of being a place for talking about social change. For participant HM10, the diversity among the workshops - which in 2014 included DIY skill sharing discussions on environmental rights, and a recruitment presentation for the David Suzuki's Blue Dot Campaign - helps the festival appeal to a wider audience. Furthermore, because anyone can apply to host a workshop, these seminars and demonstrations help the festival exist as an organically generated community project (HM; HM8)

Several participants agreed the educational components and local sustainability messaging have had a lasting impact on their worldview, increased their appreciation for sustainable living, and influencing their actions throughout the year (HM4; 5; 6; 7; 9; 11; 12; FF16; 20). One participant stated the following:

Yeah and I guess that's where [The workshops] are offering something people can take home and teach themselves and that will have a positive change on their impact. If they're going home learning all these things that they didn't know how to do, that help them reduce their impact then that's awesome and it works year round. (FF20)

This participant feels that, through the workshops, the festival contributes to wider social change by encouraging people to put the festival's values into practice in their own lives. Testimonies such as these, along with personal observations, are evidence that the HMF can influence the way people think about, and react to, the challenge of sustainability. This is one of the most important findings in this research project.

As Chapter Seven addresses in more detail, however, the potential for up-scaling transformative learning - especially with respect to a more radical brand of localism - to large audiences at festivals such as Harvest Moon remains an open question. Testing this question was beyond the scope of this study as it would require longitudinal surveys of festival-goers over several years. Nonetheless, this discussion now ends by emphasizing what the HMF is at its core: a celebration. It is a celebration of a place, of an idea, and of a community's

accomplishments in pushing for a more sustainable world. This can be stated no more effectively than in the following quote from one of the Festival's founding organizers:

I don't think we'll make it if we are not coming together and celebrating our successes, if we're not celebrating what's working, if we are not having a good time in creating a new world, and if we are completely hung up on fighting the man or battling social injustice... There's a celebratory nature with what's happening at harvest moon... People chill out, people mellow out, people enjoy being part of creating a better world and it's easy and it's fun and we like it and we enjoy the interactions and that ultimately is the pathway toward a world that flattens structures, that makes hierarchy less important, that creates love, that creates opportunity, that creates health and well-being. (HM8).

6.4 *Summary and Conclusion*

As seen in Table 4.3, several major findings emerge from this amalgamation of secondary information and primary data. It is fair to say that HMF is the heartbeat of the wider Harvest Moon community, sending an annual pulse of resources, knowledge and inspiration through a network of people who are united by a passion for local food and sustainable rural livelihoods.

Table 6.1: Summary of primary themes and findings from the Case Study of the 2014 Harvest Moon Festival. Quotations serve to illustrate common sentiments and shared interpretations.

Themes	Findings	Number of Participants	Illustrative quotes
Positive perceptions of a small scale festival	“Small” is part of HMF’s identity	9	<i>What’s working for us is that kind of intimacy and that experience.... we think that it’s a kind of niche experience.</i> -- Participant HM8 --
	“Small” is part of HMF’s appeal	16	
Tensions associated with HMF’s growing popularity	Growth is noticeable and needs to be addressed	8	<i>How do we balance the tension between limiting the number of people that can come and creating a sense of inclusiveness? How do you balance the tension of letting whoever comes for whatever reason even if it’s the party and having the core mission be to educate people?</i> -- Participant HM9 --
	Growth is logistically challenging and will need to be capped	5	
	Growth brings an increase in partying and increase health and safety risks	8	
	Growth detracts from the HMF’s community-oriented values and objectives	8	
HMS is a collaboration between local and non-local communities	The HMF has always been a collaboration between local and non-local residents	8	<i>...the community was seeing that this organization was really committed to community development, to seeing mutual benefit from this initiative. It really won the day. It had people who may have been unsure about these weird kids in mullets walking around town going “you know what, this is for real, and this is a partnership”.</i> -- Participant HM8 --
	Purchasing of the HMLC a symbol of outsider buy-in, a symbiotic relationship between the Clearwater, the HMS and the festival	6	
	Academic connections are important to the HMS	6	
The importance of HMF to a community of interest	Sense of identity and belonging associated with the Harvest Moon community of interest	10	<i>It’s exhausting to protest and to be critical. It’s important to do that but you’re always butting up against the limits of the status quo... so creating an alternative space that is democratically controlled and can showcase and celebrate the work we do is really refreshing.</i> -- Participant HM8 --
	HMF is an annual tradition that generates feelings of belonging and inclusion for locals and non-locals	8	
	HMF contributes to group identity and value affirmation among urban progressives who attend the event	9	
	HMF is a place where activists and sustainability-minded people can network	6	
The importance of HMF to the	HMF is economically important for the community of Clearwater	7	<i>These farmers are looking at us going “how did all of these young people become interested in what we are doing</i>

local community of Clearwater	Festival goers have at times been seen as outsiders	4	<i>on our farms, and they want to buy our stuff? ”</i> -- Participant HM8 --
	People from Winnipeg have formed a strong place connection with Clearwater	6	
HMF’s commitment to learning and localism	HMF has been connected to the HMLC from its beginning and it embodies the HMS’s mission for sustainable local communities.	5	<i>Yeah so much of it is educational, right? It’s a little bit different than some of the other festivals you go to in the city where it’s just music. Here they have the farmers market as well as having the workshops which are really interesting and bring an educational perspective so you can kind of learn a bit about the different kinds of things people are doing. And it’s about a movement.</i> -- Participant HM8 --
	Harvest Moon’s commitment to the values of local food, community, and environmental education are widely understood and appreciated.	13	
	Both the HMF and the larger Society are space for social movement advocacy and innovation/experimentation local resilience	8	
	Experiences at HMF influence worldviews and lead to taking action outside of the festival setting.	9	

Two broad groups, locals and non-locals, combine to produce a community of interest around the Harvest Moon initiative. For many residents of the Clearwater area it is part of their place-based identity and economic livelihoods while many Winnipeggers find affirmation among like-minded people and associate the festival with their socially and environmentally conscious values. For these people, the festival facilitates locally-sustainable consumption and may even motivate some folks to engage in social movement activities after the festival is over, although confirming the later point requires further inquiry.

Harvest Moon actively aligns itself with the relocalization movement and makes a concerted effort to demonstrate a more resilient form of local life. Through its markets and workshops, and an open call for increased consciousness about local food, the festival affords patrons ample opportunity for spending money and taking action in ways that back up a desire for sustainable community well-being. There is no question that the HMF promotes a localist ethic, one with a particular emphasis on sustainable food systems, but findings indicate that the scope of the event's influence is somewhat limited. The small-scale nature of the festival means that it's message only spreads so far while other evidence suggests that a large portion of

attendees are, to varying degrees, already indoctrinated with the lexicon and values of localism. This should not automatically count against the HMF's contribution to the localist movement. Arguably this "preaching to the choir" dynamic indicates that the HMF is a space where the preferred ethic infuses with a shared construct of the *festival community* and the Harvest Moon brand. It is also a place that has promoted social movement activity around different environmental and sustainability issues.

Despite this, it is also reasonable to believe that larger, more diverse audiences might enable the Society to disseminate its message of cultural and economic transformation further afield. However, this assumption becomes a point of contention in the face of yet another principle finding of the HMF study: larger crowds make staying true to the festival's founding mission and values increasingly difficult because they are based on a "know-your-neighbour" form of social capital. Herein lies the paradoxical condition of a festival born within a context of counterculture and social change. An increasingly larger audience signifies the growing resonance of the festival's ethos but, at the same time, the arrival of new groups may mean new interpretations and expectations within the liminal space. The HMF need look no further than the Winnipeg Folk Festival for a clear example of this example. The WFF was a project envisioned as an avenue for the kind of social change articulated in twentieth century folk music but which is now, forty years later, so large and so diverse that it can claim only the broad pursuit of "community and music". Given the paradox associated with maintaining an agenda of social change, perhaps then the role of smaller local festivals is not to grow in size but rather to inspire other socially and environmentally-minded community celebrations. Harvest Moon sparked the development of similar events in southern Manitoba including the Shine On and Harvest Sun festivals, and it continues to add to the overall popularity of such events in general. In this way, the HMF makes an important contribution to the localist movement in the region as it helps catalyze a network of like-minded people, ideas and resources around a common goal. After all, according to those who preach its theory, modularity and diversity are both, according to the experts, core principles of social ecological resilience.

7.0 Harnessing Grassroots Festivals for Sustainable Relocalization and Community Resilience: Successes, Opportunities, Challenges, and Tradeoffs

These are modern ritualistic experiences. You meet like-minded people when you're going to these festivals and you have these conversations and experiences that bring you together and promote positivity. You're reaffirming your and challenging your beliefs at these festivals in a really positive way, in a positive environment. It's kind of like the solution-based aspect of activism. We are going to live in this temporary community and we are going to live how we believe.

-- Research participant FF15, volunteer with the Winnipeg Folk Festival, 2014

7.1 *Introduction*

The preceding chapters presented an interconnected set of theoretical concepts, four bodies of literature, a methodical framework, and grounded studies of two community music festivals in Manitoba. In tying these components together, Chapter 7 reveals a set of insights into how festivals can benefit the movement toward sustainable relocalization but it also reveals their limitations in serving that role. It does so by examining the production of social, cultural, and economic outcomes within festive spaces in relation to the needs and ambitions of the movement. The resulting arguments offer a novel way of thinking about the design and management of festivals, encouraging event stakeholders and proponents of localism to consider how celebration and liminality relate to community-building and resilience. The conclusions also establish a platform for future research focusing on the social and cultural drivers of local sustainability transitions.

The analysis begins by reestablishing the two-pronged premise of this thesis outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. First, as a grassroots social movement, relocalization depends on developing shared identities and social capital, transforming values, and producing new skills, knowledge and supply chains through, and within, communities of place and practice. Second, based on existing research, there is considerable reason to believe that community music and arts festivals can play a central role in the transition to relocalized life by supporting communities of place and practice. The apparent limits to the scope and scale of the movement so far and the under-

investigated potential of community-based festivals are the two factors that led to the development of the original thesis question:

Can community music and arts festivals contribute positively to the relocalization movement by fostering eco-localist values and shared identity as well as by supporting knowledge, practices and economic innovations associated with local resilience?

In order to answer this question, this chapter unpacks the primary research findings using the essential elements of community-based relocalization proposed in Chapter 2: shared identity of communities of place and practice; social networks and capital; local alternative knowledge, skills and economic systems; and values and worldviews based on sustainable-materialism and eco-localism. These are used not as deductive criteria but as an analytical cross-section for framing grounded assumptions. The logic behind this approach is that both festivals and relocalization involve communities, collective identity, economic activity human behavior, and politics.

The primary case study research findings as basic units of analysis may be understood as festival outcomes—outcomes that are influenced, in part, by a range of variables including external demands and stakeholder expectations, artistic visions and governance. The analysis looks at each of the four elements of community-based relocalization within separate sections. It considers those findings that point to success, opportunities, challenges and tradeoffs with respect to the fostering of the “key ingredient” in question through festival activities. Each section also draws on the six topics within festival literature to support its claims with existing knowledge about the social, cultural, political and economic impacts of mass public celebration. The chapter concludes by examining the similarities and differences between the two case studies with the intent of identifying the key elements and variables relating to festivals that produce outcomes in support of relocalization, and providing a basic set of best practices for the design and management of grassroots festivals aspiring to contribute to local resilience and wellbeing.

It is worth noting that the forthcoming analysis stays true to the constructivist grounded theory methodology developed in Chapter 4. Given that the findings partially stem from the author’s extensive personal experiences and deeply embedded position within the field, the

discussion attempts to account for any inherent biases. Furthermore, generalizations and applications of the findings to other contexts should be done with caution as the validity of grounded constructivism depends heavily on the rich descriptions and narrative interpretations of the cases at hand.

7.2 *Returning to the Literature for an Analytical Framework: Communities, Relocalization and the Under-Investigated Potential of Festivals*

From urban food sovereignty projects to local energy cooperatives and from maker spaces to Transition Towns, relocalization initiatives are becoming an important part of the response to the global sustainability dilemma. It is possible to see many of these endeavors as part of an emerging grassroots social movement. Many relocalization efforts are characteristically “grassroots” in that they operate within an extra-governmental space and resist dominant social and political forces in an attempt to increase the wellbeing of communities (Esteva & Prakash 2014); Willie et al., 2010; Ghai, 1992). Many initiatives also fit the theoretical mold of new social movements in that they are concerned with transforming cultural norms and institutions based on post-materialist values and self-determination and not with acquiring political power for class struggle (Melucci & Keane, 1989), and because they pursue change via symbolic action and latent social networks (Buechler, 1995). Relocalization is also a new environmentalist movement, concerned less with post-materialism and more with resisting dominant power structures in order to reclaim and redesign the means of production and bring material consumption in line with human dependence on nature (Schlosberg & Coles, 2015).

Relocalization is naturally concerned with constructs of community and differs in this way from other modern social movements focusing on universal rights and appealing to cosmopolitan sensibilities. This is discussed in depth in Chapter 2. Within this paradigm, local communities are considered vital to carrying out the actual processes of relocalizing. They are also seen as vehicles for transforming the modern world of “homo economicus” into communal life as the movement’s ultimate goal. However, creating “authentic” community experiences in the modern world is not an easy task. In order to generate a real tipping point for social change, localists must find ways to overcome the dominant forces of modernity which make place-based social dependence seem impossible, if not unnecessary, to most people. One of the big problems

is that the modern ego and individualism are hard wired into modern peoples' existence (Quilley, 2012; 2011b; Barry and Quilley; 2009). In order to generate meaning and fulfillment, relocalization must provide drivers for human behavior that are more compelling than those based on mobility, freedom, and choice (Quilley, 2011b; Barry & Quilley, 2009). Fulfillment needs to come through occupations, pastimes and relationships that are bound within, and important to, one's home community. However, this is a difficult task given the extent to which global modernity has eroded traditional skills and production capabilities at local levels, and reduced local social capital by dispersing social and economic relationships across space and time (Quilley 2011b Hopper, 2003; Scott 1997; Giddens 1990).

Communities are no longer the all-encompassing life-worlds that bound men and women together in "collective unconscious" in pre-modern times (Blackshaw, 2010; Quilley, 2012). Nevertheless, socially constructed communities are still a vital part of how people make sense of their place in the modern world. Local places remain central to everyday life (Perkins & Thorns; 2012) and individuals still see locality as a major part of identity (Hopper, 2010). Establishing shared identity through communities of practice is also a critical part of social change (Wenger, 1998; Goodman, 2012; Sandlin & Walther, 2009). Therefore, it appears fostering communities of place and practice should remain a central focus of relocalization. It is based on these theoretical propositions and on the need for deeper understanding of how relocalization can generate greater levels of social change, that this thesis proposes its four interrelated and reinforcing elements of community-based relocalization.

Building on this foundation, chapter three further explores relocalization social movements within the context of applied and theoretical reasons for studying festivals in relation to relocalization social movements. On the applied side, emerging research suggests that mass public celebrations are becoming more concerned with sustainability and post-consumer environmentalism in different ways. First, mainstream music and arts festivals, marketed as popular culture, are becoming more concerned with green messaging and ecological responsibility (Cummings et al., 2011; Sharpe, 2008). Second, transformational festivals – mass radical counterculture events that serve as temporary, pagan-like settlements and that bill themselves as a challenge to the individualist-consumer paradigm – are becoming increasingly popular (Leu 2013; Perry 2013). Third, many smaller-scale, often rural, community-based festivals aim to support local economic development and community identity with some directly

espousing the values of localism by promoting local food systems (Cela et al., 2007). To date, few, if any, studies have examined festivals as tools for relocalization and the evidence of such a correlation remains thin despite observations that many public celebrations aim to contribute to local sustainability and the transition to post-consumer localism.

On the theoretical side, there are many parallels between what the relocalization movements need to accomplish and what existing research reveals about the possible social, cultural, and economic impact of festivals. Relocalization involves economic transformations, social learning, paradigm shifts, shared place-based identity construction, the proliferation of eco-localist values, and community-building. The festival studies literature was categorized into six topics in Chapter 3-- each containing insights that suggest how festive processes might serve in aiding the objectives of relocalization. They include: ritual and identity; liminality and *communitas*; heritage and place identity; green social movements and counterculture; tourism and economic development; and event management.

7.3 *Shared Identity for Communities of Place and Practice*

On the matter of relocalization, shared identity and the development of community are considered essential in the literature. Strong, place-based “we” identities need to become the primary source of meaning and social fulfillment in the post-globalized world in order to support steady state economic practices. Communities of practice are important for two reasons: 1) as a means for carrying out the activism of eco-localist social movements while maintaining shared values and beliefs; and 2) as a vital part of maintaining the skills, knowledge and networks of locally sustainable supply chains.

Classical sociological and anthropological studies of ritual indicate a link between public celebrations and rites of passage and identity. Durkheim, for example, argues that during ritual celebrations, communities reaffirm and strengthen their shared identity and values by worshipping broad culture symbols (Stewart & Strathern, 2010, p. xviii; Durkheim 1912/2008). A similar lens has been applied to modern festivals as they relate especially to sense of place and community heritage. Festivals have been shown to foster place identity by drawing on historical cultural narratives highlighting natural heritage (Selberg; 2006; DeBres & Davis, 2001). They can strengthen a community’s sense of self and its cohesion by facilitating interaction and

allowing individuals to see themselves as part of the whole (Derrett, 2003) The benefits to cohesive community are strongest when stakeholders collaborate on the development of festivals (Derrett, 2003; Robertson et al., 2009). Festivals have also been viewed as liminal spaces that create an emotional state among participants called *communitas* which allows for bonding and the solidification of shared identity. There is also evidence to suggest that festivals become communities in their own right, with attendees returning each year to participate in the rituals of a familiar, immersive and authentic communal experience (Gardener, 2004; Cobb; 2015) The discussion below reveals that many of these processes also occurred at the two case study festivals and, to some degree, they support relocalization.

7.3.1 Identities and Communities within Festivals

The primary data gathered in this research project indicate that there are strong feelings of community and shared identity associated with both the Winnipeg Folk Festival (WFF) and the Harvest Moon Festival (HMF) pertaining directly to the events themselves. During the WFF interviews, participants spoke about the “Folk Fester” identity (FF1; 3), about “coming home to folk fest”, (FF5; 8 15; 19) and about feeling a strong sense of community togetherness at the event (FF4; 5; 7; 8; 9; 13; 16; 17; 19; HM07; SS01). These feelings seem particularly apparent within the WFF’s Festival Campground. This “festival within the festival” (FF3, 8; 17; 18; 19; HM11), is seen by some as a temporary city with its own customs, traditions and lexicons that create a sense of familiarity and belonging. Many of the experiences described by participants could be considered *communitas* in nature which can be seen in the words of participant FF4 when recounting a favorite Folk Fest memory:

“...everyone was singing along word for word and I’m staring up at the stars and I’m just losing my shit because everyone is on the same page. You know what I mean, you’re all shoulder to shoulder in that moment.”

The primary data also show that there is a strong sense of ownership of the festival among WFF participants with many people reacting strongly whenever changes to certain aspects of the festival occur. It is also clear that the large contingent of volunteers who make the event possible contribute to feelings of community and collective ownership (FF6; 13; 17; 19; HM11).

Similar sentiments of internal festival identity and belonging emerged from the HMF interviews although they were harder to separate from feeling of community related to the place

of Clearwater, perhaps because the event occurs within the actual town. It appears that feelings of community and togetherness surrounding the HMF stem largely from the small size and intimate feel of the event (HM 4; 6; 7; 8; 11; 12; FF16; HM13). The other major observation is that the HMF brings together rural and urban people which is part of how the festival community sees itself (HM4; 5; 7; 8; 9; 10, FF16). Last, both festivals seem to cultivate social environments of trust, respect, inclusion, and safety which also contribute to feelings of community.

The finding that liminal space has the ability to generate feelings of *communitas* at the WFF is particularly apparent in the Festival Campground where traditions and rituals support the annual recreation of the festival community. This is in line with Cobb's (2015) findings at a music celebration in Kansas where annual rituals and liminality generate shared meanings and identities that meld with the festival, transforming it from "space" to "place".

The data from the WFF study suggest that the festival community is most certainly temporary and there is little indication that its members interact on a long-term basis or attempt to recreate their communal lifestyle throughout the year. As is discussed below, the HMF's internal community is better positioned to maintain itself throughout the year in support of relocalization because the event is itself a product of community of practice. Nonetheless, the fact that the WFF, and particularly its main campground, allow people to experience non-individualist and non-consumption-based social interactions is a benefit from a localist perspective. Furthermore, Section 7.5 discusses how the strong sense of ownership among festival participants presents an opportunity for relocalization social movement activity with the festival community being a vehicle for pursuing ideas and projects associated with radical sustainability transitions. Section 7.6 explains how kinship and *communitas* within the festival setting can help support a set of values that challenge assumptions of the growth-based economy.

Despite these opportunities, the research also identified a number of factors that threaten the cohesion of the festival communities at both case study sites. First, the size of the events and increasing attendance numbers impact perceptions of community at the events. Some participants feel that the large size of the event makes it difficult to connect with other people (HM4; 9; 7; FF20). Others feel that the WFF organization's focus on entertainment and drawing mass crowds takes away from the sense of ownership and community that define the festival (FF3; 4; 5; 8; 10; 12; HM11). Some participants are becoming disenchanted with the WFF and are now exploring smaller events like the HMF (FF3; 4; 20; HM13). Second, the presence of

social cliques and sub-communities within the festival spaces bring with them multiple and varied meanings and interpretations of festival experiences, making it difficult for a single community identity to take hold. This is more of an issue at the WFF which has a much larger audience diversified across age and cultural taste than at the HMF

A final point in this section is that partying and drug consumption constitute a characteristic element of the WFF and this has created a sense of risk to personal well-being and inclusion (FF13: 17; 18; HM9; 10; 11; 12). The HMF has now having to manage the impacts of heavy partying that have come with increasing audience size (HM4; 6 5; 7; 09; 10; 11; FF1). Sexual violence, in particular, is a concern for both festival organizations (F17, HM10). This finding is in line with Blackshaw's (2010) argument that liminal spaces do not always strengthen community bonds especially when partying and obscenity jeopardize the health and safety of participants. In his words, liminal environments have the inherent ability to "undermine society's moral universe" (Blackshaw, 2010, p. 95). This darker side of liminality can be considered a barrier to the benefits of communal festive experiences discussed above

7.3.2 Festival Impacts on Local Communities of Place

Evidence indicates that both case festivals contribute to shared identity among attendees from local communities of place. As one of Winnipeg's largest cultural institutions, the WFF is, not surprisingly, viewed as an important part of the city's cultural identity (FF1; 2; 10; 13 17; 18; 19; HM11; 12). Some participants talked about the WFF as a source of pride for the City of Winnipeg and a major reason for their love of the city (FF17; 18; 1; 15). People also recognize that the festival belongs to the community and is a time when the city comes together (FF13; 15; 16). One of the main reasons the WFF is so strongly connected to a sense of shared identity is that most participants see the event as an important tradition and make an effort to go every year (FF1; 3; 6; 7; 8; 12; 13; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 20; HM7; 9; 11; 12; 13). In certain circles, going to Folk Fest is all but assumed.

Data from the Harvest Moon case study suggest the festival is a major part of how the community of Clearwater sees itself while also being important for non-local residents from Winnipeg. In a village with less than 200 permanent residents, it is not surprising that a festival attracting 2000 people impacts the dynamics of the local community. A number of participants

spoke about how the HMF brings local residents together and that it takes the cooperation of the whole community to host the event (HM1; 4; 8; 9; 10; 11). The festival is also seen as symbol of revitalization for the community which had been in a period of decline prior to formation of the MHS (HM1, 4, 5, 7, 8; HM11).

...in the second year [of the festival] we burned the grain elevator and it was literally the phoenix coming from the ashes...it was like something different is happening now, something else is happening from the rubble, from the ashes, from the fire. (HM8)

It is also clear that there are people from Winnipeg who have developed a strong place attachment to Clearwater because of the festival and the Harvest Moon Society's year-round work, seeing the community as a second home (HM5; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12). A number of Winnipeggers find affirmation in their shared identity and belonging among fellow Winnipeggers at the festival which serves as an annual tradition for their peer group.

As has been discussed throughout this work, shared place-based identity is vital for relocalization. The discussion above indicates that both the WFF and HMF contribute to the sense of place and belonging within their stakeholder communities, although each festival has its own advantages and disadvantages in this regard. The WFF seems capable of fostering a broad sense of community identity which may indirectly improve the potential for relocalization in Winnipeg by helping people feel more committed to place. The HMF mainly contributes to a sense of community in Clearwater and the organization that runs the event exists to improve the social and ecological sustainability of the town and surrounding area. As such, its community-building benefits are more directly related to relocalization. Grassroots relocalization initiatives are typically designed at smaller-scales such as those of a single town or neighbourhood which is also why the HMF lends itself more readily to this social movement. Last, and as Section 7.6 examines, the ability of the festivals to foster place identity may be particularly beneficial for relocalization when combined with their capacity for producing shared values.

Despite these opportunities, there are two obvious limitations with regards to community-building and place identity at the case study festivals. First, there is the reality that many people who attend festivals live far from the host communities. Most HMF attendees travel from Winnipeg and have no long-term interaction with the people of Clearwater. At the WFF, a large number of people travel from outside of the province and even from the United States and are not a part of Winnipeg's social fabric, identity and networks.

Social exclusion from festival spaces is another limitation for place-based community building. Although not readily discussed during interviews, it was a noticeable reality at both festivals. Persons of colour and Indigenous Canadians were poorly represented at both the WFF and the HMF. The 2014 WFF audience survey also shows that proportionately few low income people attended the festival that year. While the WFF takes steps to include marginalized groups through its “Guest for a Day Program” and the HMF includes Indigenous workshops as part of its programming, obvious barriers to access remain at both events including ticket prices and transportation to the festival sites. Many scholars and practitioners agree that the transition to sustainability presents an opportunity to address systemic inequality generated by global capitalism (Swilling & Annecke, 2012; Hopkins, 2008; Esteva & Prakash 2014). For community-based festivals to play a leading role on this front, they would have to make their events more accessible and diverse or, better yet, actively help remedy systemic injustices by adopting reconciliatory approaches.

7.3.3 Festivals and Communities of Practice

According to the data from the two case studies, the third way in which local festivals can support relocalization via shared identity and community-building is by fostering communities of practice. The theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 explains that communities of practice are vital for transformative green social movements because they reinforce shared values and provide frameworks for action through the collaborative development of new skills and knowledge related to the cause in question. Communities within the relocalization movement help people learn new skills for local self-sufficiency while simultaneously forming networks within local places. The connection between the festival space and communities of practice is most clearly seen at the HMF. This is because the organization that runs the event, the HMS, is essentially a community of practice itself as illustrated by its educational programming and use of a local food supply service in the name of sustainable localism. The festival serves as the heartbeat of the organization by generating revenue for the HMS (HM4; 5; 8; 10; HM13) and providing time and space for sharing ideas and knowledge, showcasing projects, facilitating exchanges within an alternative food economy and networking and recruitment (HM3; HM8; 9; 10). Several participants view the festival as a time for the HMS community to celebrate their

work and foster the rural-urban relationships that are fundamental to the organization's projects (HM7; 8; 10; FF16). It is clear that the HMF supports the work of the Society both with practical, hands-on experiences and by maintaining shared identity and purpose vital to such social movement communities.

Communities of practice are not as precisely definable within the WFF when it comes to local sustainability. The event is so large that it is hard to imagine a single social movement organization influencing the entire festival as does the HMS at Harvest Moon. Rather, the primary opportunity for relocalization activity at the WFF lies in the potential of having many different communities of practice operating within the open space that organizers create for entrepreneurial initiatives and creative projects. There are a few existing examples at the festival already, including the DIY workshops organized by the Green Action Centre, and the sustainability-oriented services offered by the Food for Folks stand and Pollock's Hardware repair store. Yet, a vast amount of untapped potential remains for local sustainability organizations to expand their communities of practice at the festival space. Unleashing this potential requires WFF organizers to actively invite these communities to participate or relax their regulations and message control.

7.4 *Social Networks and Capital*

As discussed in Chapter 2, social networks are vital to grassroots social change. According to new social movement theory, networks exist not as distinct, formal institutions, but as a series of loosely connected individuals and organizations imbedded within daily life (Melucci & Keane, 1989; Buechler, 1995). These individuals and organizations engage with one another at times of need and opportunity relating to their shared ambitions for social change, drawing on the social capital developed through ongoing interaction and cooperation. Fassy (2003) defines three key functions that social networks perform for social movements: enforce shared identities and values; facilitate involvement in action; and motivate people to get involved.

Acrodia and Whitford (2006) provide a conceptual framework demonstrating the potential of festivals to foster social capital by supporting local businesses, creating and expanding social networks through their organizing bodies, fostering institutional partnerships, generating social cohesiveness, and celebrating community identity. They suggest that it is

ultimately the governance and planning of a festival that determine net gains or losses for community social capital. Reviewing Fassy's (2003) ideas alongside those of Acrodia and Whitford (2006) reveal, that both WFF and the HMF are capable of supporting networks and generating social capital, although not always directly benefitting relocalization social movements.

7.4.1 Networks, Interpersonal relations, Shared-Identity and Values

From a localist perspective, social capital and networks are intrinsically tied to sense of place and shared community identity. In the same way that there are both internal and external communities associated with the WFF and the HMF, the evidence also suggests that events contain networks pertaining directly to their operation, while also hosting external networks that solidify when their members interact in the festival setting. The internal festival network at the HMF appears to involve most of the same individuals that make up the HMS. Participants describe the festival as a time when those working on Harvest Moon projects reconnect and celebrate their accomplishments (HM7; 8; 10; FF16). The festival also appears to strengthen the relationships between Winnipeggers and residents of Clearwater helping to strengthen networks that exist beyond the HMS. Many participants think the festival attracts a lot of people who are united in a concern for social and environmental justice and who are working and volunteering with aligned movements (HM3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 9, 10, FF16). The festival becomes a place for these people to discuss ideas and build connections that may be tapped into at future times. In these ways, the HMF provides for solidarity-strengthening for relocalization social movement networks affirming commitment to the cause and shared values.

There is some evidence to suggest that the WFF also supports shared identity and values through social interaction, although not in direct relation to social movement activity. A number of participants said the WFF allows them to get to know their neighbourhoods and reconnect with friends and family (FF13; 15; 17; 18). Here is how one participant put it:

It's fundamental to know your neighbors to have any kind of sustainable community ... if we don't know each other at all and we never meet how can we possibly support each other and work together as community to do anything locally. But when you start to see that there's potential because you interact with people even if it's only for a few day of the year you do realize that those people are out there. (FF15)

However, it is difficult to prove that interpersonal relations occurring at the WFF are vital to the social capital of Winnipeg in measurable ways with positive implications for relocalization. The social networks strengthened at the festival become diffuse within the larger community making it difficult to link the event to specific instances of social capital. This is unlike festivals that take place in neighborhoods or small towns where there is a greater concentration from smaller geographical areas interacting together.

Last, both festivals are run with the help of volunteers who can form networks that also support the festival community. Laing and Mair (2015) argue that volunteer-based structures can help generate social inclusion through music festivals and strengthen the local community. Primary findings offer some evidence in support of this claim. Organizers from both the WFF and the HMF talked about the importance of volunteers for promotion, community outreach ambassadorship, and maintaining the inclusive culture of the event. At the WFF, the young apprenticeship program also ensures new generations acquire the tradition of volunteering with the festival (FF16; 17; 19; 20). With over 3000 people involved each year, the WFF volunteer network is a big part of what keeps the event deeply rooted within the wider community. This network could also be used to generate support should the festival pursue localism and community resilience in a holistic way.

7.4.2 Community Partners and Gateways to Action

New social movements typically involve cooperation, capacity-building, and learning among a range of formal and informal organizations existing not solely and specifically in service of the movement but whose objectives are broadly in line with the change it envisions. The primary data suggest that grassroots festivals offer an opportunity for collaboration among groups and organizations interested in relocalization or community wellbeing and sustainability. First, the HMF has increased the social capital and resilience in Clearwater by bringing together several local organizations and community institutions which collaborate on bringing the event to life. The HMS spearheads the operation and handles programming and logistics while the community centre operates the bar and a food vendor; the local restaurant hosts a live stage, and the church runs a fundraiser breakfast. Some participants suggest that the festival has brought the community together and generated support from locals for the mission of the HMS (HM1, 5; 8).

The collaborative model of the HMF works because the organizations involved have a common interest in the wellbeing of Clearwater and in turn that collaboration enables the HMS to continue experimenting and innovating with relocalization projects. Acrodia and Michelle (2006) suggest that festivals help local communities develop resources and services as well as social networks that then have lasting socioeconomic benefit for the community. Evidence from Clearwater and the HMF certainly supports these ideas.

At the festival, the HMS also provides attendees with opportunities for action by encouraging them to sign up for the HMS's food delivery program and by promoting its year-round educational programs. Two interviewees talked about how Harvest Moon used their festival networks to encourage people to sign the Real Manitoba Food Fight petition in 2013 in the fight against health and safety regulations that presented an unfair barrier to independent meat producers. In these ways, the HMF supports the relocation movement by helping people connect with opportunities for direct action which, according to Flassy (2003), is generally one of the main functions of networks within movements.

Unlike the HMF, the WFF is not directly concerned with relocalization or tied to the economic livelihood of a single community. However, it still has an opportunity to support transformative social change by involving organizations focused on local sustainability. The organization does this to some extent already, mainly by partnering with advertisers and service providers who are in tune with its community and sustainability values. For example, participants spoke positively about the Green Action Centre's sustainable living workshops in the campground (FF6; 7; 15; 17; 18) but these kinds of partnerships remain underutilized by the WFF. Winnipeg is home to a wide range of innovative organizations that support sustainable relocalization, including a well-developed Transition Towns initiative. The festival would be an ideal place for such groups to present opportunities to a large audience.

7.5 *Alternative Skills, Knowledge and Economic Systems*

While relocalization may ultimately depend on place-based identity and social capital, it remains principally concerned with helping people develop the knowledge, tools, skills and institutions that will enable a society of reduced consumption and growth and greater community self-reliance (Quilley, 2011b; O'Brian, 2009; Hopkins, 2008). There is reason to assume that public

events and celebrations can support this mission. In fact, many transition and relocation organizations host skill-shares and “re-skilling” festivals specifically for this purpose (e.g. Raincoast Education Society, 2014) while hands-on workshops and collaborative projects are becoming more common at established music and arts festivals.

Many transition and relocation initiatives aim to have a large impact on local economies by developing entrepreneurial endeavors such as initiating community-owned solar energy projects, purchasing land for agricultural use and establishing local cooperative businesses (Hopkins, 2011). The success of these endeavors also depends on changing behavior and consumption as well as generating community buy-in through public education and outreach. It is possible for festivals to play such a role with one example coming from the “Face Your Elephant” initiative which promotes alternative energy sources at popular music festivals across the United Kingdom (Fletcher, 2015).

Despite the clear potential and the many existing examples of how festivals can support relocation with education, learning and skill-development, this remains an under-researched area. Delamere (2001) briefly mentions learning and developing new skills as a potential social benefit of festivals, but not within a specific local sustainability context. Both the WFF and the HMF have capacity for supporting relocation by facilitating social learning and by influencing local and regional economies. They can do so by offering niches for innovation and experimentation that expose people to alternative markets, skills and communities of practice.

7.5.1 Public Education, Knowledge-Sharing and Skill-Development

Both case studies demonstrate commitments to social learning in relation to local sustainability. At the WFF, this happens mostly through promoting the on-site sustainability initiatives, while for the HMF it means offering workshops aimed at traditional knowledge, skill-development and social movement advocacy. Participants see the WFF leading by example when it comes to public awareness with respect to sustainability. People are generally impressed with the bottled water sale ban on site (FF7; 13; 16; 17; 19) and in the words of one participant “if the Folk Festival can do that for all those thousands of people why aren’t we all doing it?” (FF13). One organizer (FF17) talked about having volunteers explain the process of composting at the new on-site composting stations as an example of the organization’s commitment to public education.

Another example from the 2014 WFF was the Manitoba Hemp Harvest industry promotion kiosk which offered free samples and information on why hemp is a local, environmentally sustainable alternative to other fiber products. While these are certainly welcome contributions from a general environmentalist perspective, they are more focused on tweaking mainstream consumer ideology rather than a wholesale rethink of economic growth and thus are limited from a relocalization perspective.

In contrast, one of the unique, most talked about and appreciated features of the HMF is its commitment to local sustainability education (HM2; 4; 5; 7; 8; 9; 10). Broadly speaking, there seems to be two types of workshops: those devoted to teaching skills for local self-reliance including gardening, preserving, and making hygiene products from scratch; and those aimed at educating people on social and ecological sustainability issues, including consumer impacts on ocean health and the constitutional right to a healthy environment. For the most part, all of the workshops are well-attended and festival-goers talk highly of these hands-on educational opportunities.

Another limitation discussed by a few participants is that the people who attend the workshops are already passionate about local sustainability while many people who come to the festival are unaware or choose not to participate in these endeavours (HM1; 6; 7). While there is an argument to be made that festivals can facilitate transformative learning through planned educational programming and social movement advocacy, these are still in competition with what many see to be the primary purpose of the festival space – relaxation and the freedom from formal responsibility.

7.5.2 Niche Experimentation and Demonstration

The case studies provide some evidence suggesting festival spaces provide opportunities for transformative learning by functioning as niches within the dominant social-economic system. This is to say that learning opportunities occur as a product of liminality or that there is a techno-economic dimension to liminal spaces alongside a sociocultural one. Organizers of the HMF certainly see the festival as an opportunity to display the economic innovations that the Society works on all year:

What's happening in Clearwater is a social experiment. It is very much experimental, it's a living laboratory, we're testing things out, we're testing out relationships, we're

testing out designs, we're testing out economies, and we are testing out so many things in real life. (HM13)

Similar sentiments were echoed in the WFF Festival campground where people are able to experience a different kind of economic life. The free hardware repair store and the Trading Post are two initiatives in the campground that emphasize non-monetary exchange and reciprocity.

I like the idea of commerce being re-thought inside a place like this because this is a different kind of place – it's a small society living inside of here. To get out of the city and re-think society with these kinds of ideas going around, it's a really great place for those conversations as well. (FF8)

Smith and Sterling (2008) argue that niches are vital to social-technical transitions to sustainability. They make the point that “niches provide important settings that are less susceptible to prevailing market pressures” and therefore enable “radical sustainable innovations that carry systemic implications” (Smith & Sterling, 2008), p. 8). The HMF seems to reflect this idea more closely than the WFF owing to the fact that the HMS consciously pursues radical sustainability and uses Clearwater as its living laboratory. The WFF creates a large-scale liminal space that presents an opportunity for increasing innovations and experimentations that could incorporate aspects of the transformational festival model and intentionally encourage participants to practice and demonstrate living within alternative paradigms.

7.5.3 Local and Regional Economic Influences

The final area in which the case festivals support the economic side of relocalization is through their direct economic impact. Contributing roughly \$14.7 million to the provincial GDP annually, the WFF has significant economic impact in the greater Winnipeg region. Some participants emphasized that the festival benefits the local economy by working with local suppliers and businesses and that this reflects a commitment to their values of community and sustainability. (FF14; 15 17; 18; 19). Only independent family owned restaurants are signed on as food vendors at the event, many of which aim to promote local food production. These findings are in line with Laing and Mair (2015) who identify businesses and community partnerships as one of the main ways festival production can strengthen local communities. A

detailed economic analysis of the WFF may reveal other opportunities for supporting the local economy and sustainability endeavors.

With respect to the second case study, evidence suggests that the HMF played a central role in the economic revitalization of Clearwater (HM1; 4; 8; 9; 10; 11). In many respects, the story of Clearwater demonstrates how the principles of localism help build resilience in the wake of failing conventional economic activity with the festival standing as a major part of the transition. The HMS has successfully helped small organic farmers in the region connect with a market of urban consumers:

These farmers are looking at us going “how did all of these young people become interested in what we are doing on our farms, and they want to buy are stuff”? If we are speaking in strictly economic terms, we created this huge demand for a supply that hadn’t even been created at the farm level. (HM13)

In this way the transformation of consumer behavior is directly tied to community economic sustainability.

7.6 *Transforming Values and Worldviews: Eco-Localism and Sustainable-Materialism*

As argued in Chapter 2, relocalization requires the melding together of eco-localism – the values and beliefs of concentrating political and economic power at local scales in response to peak oil and climate change (Hopkins, 2008; Curtis; 2005; McKibben; 2010) – and sustainable materialism – the values and beliefs of fundamentally changing patterns of production and consumption so that they reflect human dependence on the biosphere (Schlosberg & Coles, 2015). This cultural paradigm directly relates to the aspects of relocalization discussed above because shared identity and communal experience support value systems and value systems ultimately dictate human behavior.

The literature review in Chapter 3 demonstrates that festivals, as part of the cultural public sphere, are capable of influencing society’s social and environmental values. Following the logic of Durkheim who demonstrated that public rituals clarify shared values through the collective worship of cultural symbols, modern-day writers argue that festivals enforce or challenge dominant paradigms through esthetic and symbolic modes of communication (Giorgi & Sassetelli, 2011; Cummings, et al., 201; McGuigan, 2004). Social and environmental values

first became associated with festivals during the North American folk music revival of the mid-twentieth century (Cummings et al., 2011; Sharpe 2008) but today new forms of value formation and political identity construction are emerging within festive spaces. However, there is tension between the promotion of green liberalism and green radicalism among modern music festivals. Cummings (et al, 2011) argues that many modern festivals shape the values and political consciousness of younger generations by promoting liberal “green sensibilities” including sustainable lifestyles choices and issues of global social and environmental justice. In contrast, others have examined festivals that emphasize radical paradigm shifts in response to ecological consequences of modern society (Makay, 2011; Kozinets, 2002). While the HMF directly advocates for a transformative green agenda, the WFF maintains a more liberal approach as a leader in festival sustainability. Evidence suggests that the mission and mandate of the festival organizations, as well as the culture of the events themselves, affect how audience members internalize social-environmental values.

According to participants at both WFF (FF13; 15; 17; 18) and HMF (HM3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 9, 10, FF16), these events appear to be places where like-minded people find affirmation in their social and political beliefs. At the WFF, evidence suggests that the culture of the festival promotes certain values among community members. There is a perception that “you’ve got to be a certain kind of person to participate in that event, and it reminds you that there are people out there who have similar values” (FF13). Others recognize that the culture of the festival maintains socially respectful and ecologically conscious behavior to a greater degree than mainstream festivals that lack a sense of community ownership (FF1; 4; 6; 8; 13; 17; 19).

While the internal communities created by these festivals seem capable of maintaining shared values and political identities among many of their members, there is little proof that this is leading to cultural shifts in the rest of society. One observation made about both the WFF and the HMF is that they naturally appeal to people with certain political ideologies and values and therefore preach to the choir rather than develop new converts (FF14; 18; 19); HM3; 7). There is a need to better understand how festivals can attract atypical communities and help people develop alternative values and views.

Findings also reveal how value production occurs as a result of the mission and messaging espoused by the festival organizations. Many of the WFF participants identified positively with the organization’s clearly stated commitment to sustainability (FF7; 13; 16; 17;

19). Similarly, the HMS's messaging and approach to sustainable communities impact the way partisans view, and relate with, the HMF (HM1; 24; 5; 7; 8; 10; FF16). However, there are differences in the underlining paradigm to which these events prescribe. As a large-scale event that touts itself as a major tourist attraction and as a partner with sponsors, the WFF seems unable to directly promote post-consumer, post-growth lifestyles in the same way that the HMF can with its small size and specified localist mandate.

7.7 Comparing the Case Studies: Influential Variables and Important Lessons Learned

Reviewing the findings presented in this discussion, there are three clarifying observations to make. First, when examining community-based music festivals as a positive force for sustainable relocalization, a distinction should be made between the ways in which such events intentionally encourage eco-localism and social change and the ways in which they produce requisite social conditions for relocalized life. Examples of the former include public education and social movement advocacy while the latter involves shared place identity, inclusive communities and social capital. With respect to the latter, festivals are social phenomena spatially and temporally contained within dominant social-economic systems but whose organizing bodies often exist as community institutions reaching beyond these festivals' specified times and places. Thus, there is a distinction between findings relating to the operations, capacities, and communities within festival organizations themselves and those relating to festivals' roles and influences within and upon external communities and social systems. These intrinsic and extrinsic outcomes are not mutually exclusive with pressures and variables on both sides influencing the development of social movement communities within festival organizations and their ability to act as agents for social change beyond the main gate.

This final section considers these three observations in more detail by drawing comparisons between the two primary case studies, examining the ways in which these festivals most effectively support relocalization, both directly and indirectly, by fostering social movement activity within the event spaces via their internal communities and organizing bodies as well as by generating social capital and influencing values among members of external stakeholder communities. These comparisons reveal that the ability of local festivals to act as a

positive force for sustainable relocation depends on three main variables: their mission and mandate; their size, and design; and their governance, stakeholder involvement and partnerships. Figure 7.1 compares and contrasts the basic characteristics of the two festivals relating to these three variables while Figure 7.2 summarizes the main outcomes of each event that apply to the four essential elements of relocalization. These diagrams provide visual representation that helps explain the relationship between festival variables and outcomes relating to relocalization and social change.

The Winnipeg Folk Festival

The Harvest Moon festival

Size, location, longevity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Founded: 1974 - Located: Birdshill Provincial Park - Attendance: 10,000 - 12,000 per-day 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rural setting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Founded: 2002 - Located: Town of Clearwater, MB - Attendance: 1200-2000
Mission and values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Encourage learning and discovery through celebration of community and music" - Strengthen and promote arts and culture in Winnipeg-Creative expression, entrepreneurship, environmental sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Showcase local music - Support/partner with local businesses - Attention to event sustainability - Local economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Healthy land, healthy communities" - Localist values, promotion of local food and support independent farmers and craftspeople - Bridge rural-urban divide - Knowledge and skill-sharing
Event Format	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 5 day duration - 7 day stages and 2 night stages - Concerts and musicians workshops - Detached, 7,000 person campground with separate programing and amenities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - On-site camping - Live music/ performance art - Independent craft/ food vendors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 3-day duration - 2 stages - Knowledge-sharing and skill-based workshops - Fair trade/farmers markets - Most attendees camp in town near the stage
Organization and governances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Over 30 year-round paid staff - Volunteer advisory board made up stakeholders and long-time members of the festival community - Extensive network of volunteers and coordinators - Five-year strategic planning cycle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not-for-profit organizations - Events are dependent on volunteers - Allow/encourage input and innovation from community - Partner with other organizations for services and activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collaboration between Clearwater locals and Winnipeg residents - Entirely run by volunteers - Ad hoc festival committee - Festival's objectives tied closely to the Harvest Moon Learning Centre
Stakeholders and communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Audience members - Volunteers - Community/social enterprise/ business partners - advertisers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Winnipeg arts community - Similar audiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Residents of Clearwater, MB - Rural farmers and producers - The Harvest Moon Society - Volunteers
Year-round activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Year-round concert promotion - Folk Fest in the City fundraiser - Folk Exchange open mic nights - Community/school music lessons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promotion - fundraising 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fundraisers - Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative - Harvest Moon Learning Centre programming

Table 7.1: Venn diagram showing the similar and dissimilar attributes and basic characteristics across six event aspects. The image summarizes information found in chapters 5 and 6.

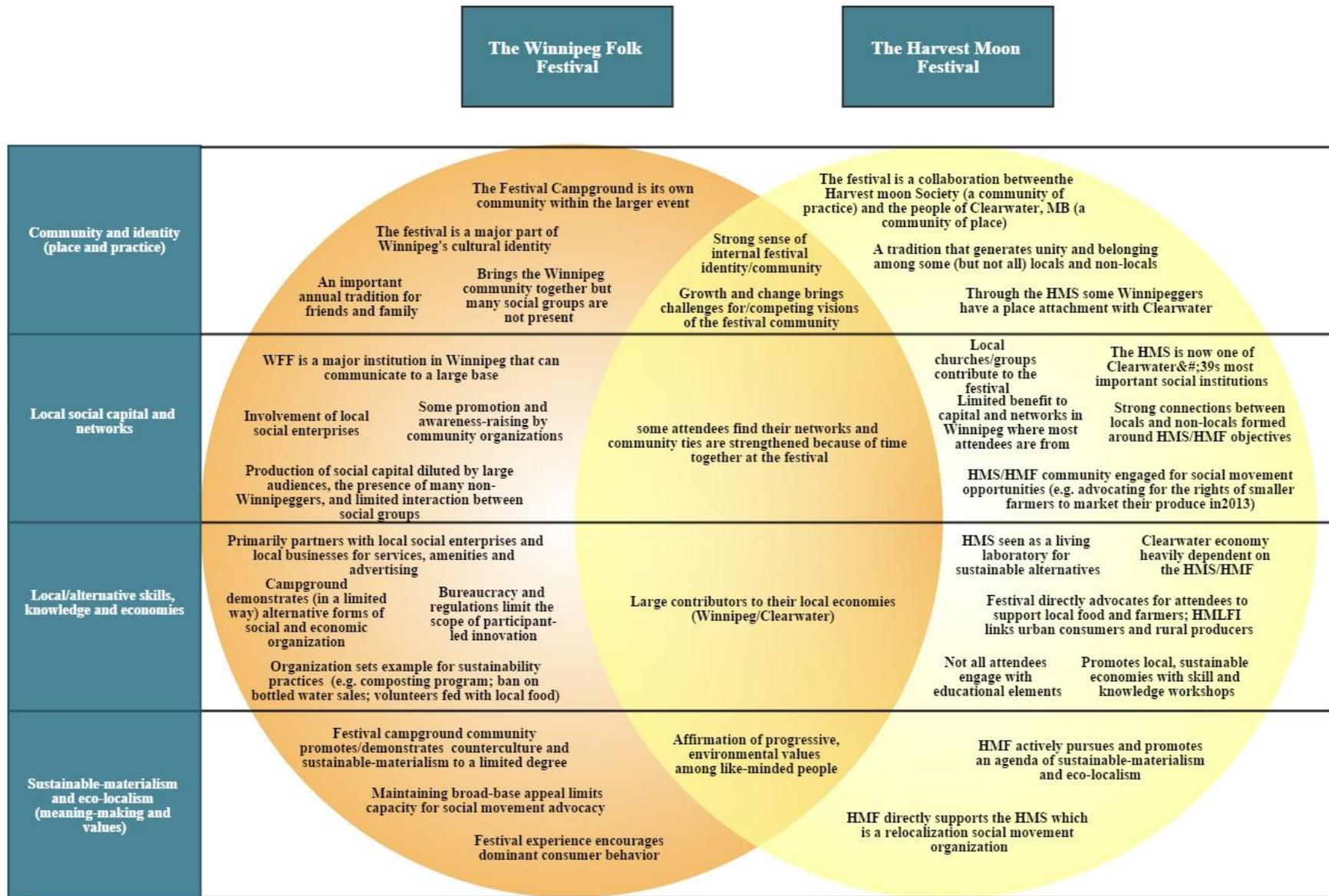


Table 7.2: Venn diagram summarizing the primary research findings of chapter 5 and 6 by showing similar and dissimilar outcomes of the WFF and the HMF. Each outcome is situated next to the element of relocalization to which it most-obviously relates.

Figures 7.1 and 7.2 make it clear that while there are some similarities between the WFF and the HMF there are also many significant differences. As is discussed below, each festival has a different set of benefits and drawbacks when it comes to relocalization and these are influenced by some key factors: they have different stated objectives; they differ in size and design; they involve different types of stakeholders; and they play different roles within their wider social and economic settings.

7.7.1 Mission and Mandate

Evidence suggests that the stated mission, vision and mandate of the festival organizing bodies largely indicate the possibilities for relocalization social movement activity happening within and through community arts festivals. While both the WFF and the HMF are committed to supporting their local communities and to remaining not-for-profit institutions, they differ in how they approach the idea of local sustainability. In Clearwater, MB, the HMF emerged as part of the wider work of the HMS which is an organization dedicated to building “healthy land and healthy communities” by uniting urban and rural populations and educating people about the importance of local food systems. Developed in part to support the HMS financially and via awareness-raising, many aspects of the HMF – including the educational workshops, farmer’s markets and on-stage advocacy – directly embody the mandate of the organization. This has several positive impacts for the relocalization movement. The event appears to be somewhat successful at exposing people to the values and vision of community resilience and self-sufficiency and most participants agree that the HMF is well-known for its commitment to post-consumerism and local self-sufficiency. However, determining if the festival’s localist approach actually transforms the beliefs and actions of visitors who are external to the Harvest Moon bubble remains a difficult task. What is clearer is that the mission and mandate of the festival make it central to the Harvest Moon’s community of practice – i.e. those people who are connected year-round to the Society’s educational initiatives and food-share program – and to a wider community of social and environmental activists who see the event as a space for alternative life-styles and progressive politics. The festival’s radical green mandate also manifests itself in the direct calls to social movement action emanating from the festival main stage and workshops.

The HMF is directly tied to the mission of a pre-existing institution that pursues an eco-localist agenda. In contrast, the WFF organization developed alongside the festival, and is primarily concerned with maintaining the event's integrity and status as a premier cultural institution. The missions, values and visions of the two festivals come from two very different places and have different implications for relocalization activity. The HMF's mission is to make direct contributions to sustainability transitions while the WFF's commitment to being a strong community institution means it supports relocalization indirectly. With its aim of maintaining a premiere music event that bolsters the arts, culture and economy of Winnipeg, the WFF organization does not have the same flexibility as Harvest Moon when it comes to promoting radical social change and remains chiefly concerned with audience satisfaction and financial sustainability. Although the WFF is a not-for-profit entity it is still restricted by mainstream economic activity in the sense that it must remain apolitical and non-radical so as to maintain sponsors and appeal to a diverse audience. Nonetheless, the organization's not-for-profit status and its strong commitment to generating and maintaining a safe and healthy community should not be dismissed. This gives stakeholders and the wider local community a sense of ownership, belonging and connection with the event which can be seen as an indirect source of social capital and cohesion that relocalization ultimately needs.

The WFF also has a clear sustainability mandate. Most participants acknowledge that the organization is strongly committed to sustainability and this commitment manifests itself through effective event sustainability planning and, as well, see the WFF as an example-setter for environmental responsibility. Furthermore, although the WFF does not champion radical social-economic transitions, it nonetheless demonstrates the ability to support local endeavors by partnering with local businesses and entrepreneurs, an objective which the organization also lists as part of its values.

7.7.2 Size and Design

The mission and mandate of a festival organization directly influence the size and design of the festival itself and, in turn, these aspects impact the potential for relocalization social movement activity to occur via the event. The size of both festivals emerged as a topic of conversation in almost every interview during primary research and findings indicate that there are some

tradeoffs when it comes to how smaller and larger festivals contribute to social change. HMF is a relatively small festival attracting roughly 2000 visitors each year and it appears that this provides to advantages when it comes to relocalization. First, because it is small, the HMF belongs to communities that are more specific than those associated with larger events and that benefit directly from the event. The festival produces financial benefits that remain concentrated within the local community of Clearwater while also fostering networks and social capital among a group of people involved with the Harvest Moon's social movement activity. Participants described feeling like they know everyone at the festival and this creates a sense of intimate community that is in line with the objectives of relocalization. Second, it also seems that the small-scale nature of the festival makes it easier for organizers to focus on a specific theme and communicate its message. However, the tight-knit, small-scale dynamics of the event mean that the HMS's message of local sustainability transformation does not reach that far into mainstream society. As the event continues to gain notoriety, organizers will have to balance these considerations.

In contrast, the WFF is a much larger event, drawing over 10,000 visitors. It, therefore, has the capacity for its message of sustainability, however moderate it might be, to reach a wider audience. On the negative side, while the large crowds signify that the event is an important part of Winnipeg's cultural identity in a very broad sense, it does not generate social capital and networks for a single community concerned with sustainable relocalization like Harvest Moon. The contrast in size between the two festivals also impacts the sense of community they produce. At Harvest Moon, participants describe feeling as if they know everyone at the festival and this tight-knit familiarity is more in-line with the requirements of relocalization, especially considering the event takes place in the centre of a small rural village. The WFF is larger, providing spontaneous and serendipitous interactions but has less chance at deep place-based relationship-building.

Related to both size and mandate of community arts festivals is their design. The structure of space and time within in the festival setting greatly impacts the type of experiences participants will have on site. Again, the HMF seems to intentionally consider its ability to have a wider social impact when developing the event's programming. For example, on the Saturday afternoon of Harvest Moon, there is no music at the main stage and organizers encourage people to spend the day attending educational and hands-on workshops. Furthermore, the campground is

situated in a small area and all 2000 people are in close proximity to each other for the whole weekend which further supports the sense of a tight-knit community. By contrast, the WFF is huge in terms of physical space as well as number of attendees. The site and programming are designed to create a sense of freedom and serendipity for people and many participants appreciate this element of the event. Some said they like being able to explore at their own pace and organizers know that many patrons are adverse to an overly curated experience. It seems that this limits the opportunities for intentional learning with respect to radical sustainability. However, the organization does encourage active participation among festival community members and the large and dynamic festival space allows for this to happen. This means there may be opportunities for demonstrating and promoting radical sustainability projects and social change advocacy. To achieve this, though, the organization would need to make a concerted effort to encourage such initiatives.

7.7.3 Governance, Stakeholder Involvement and Partnerships

Findings from the case studies reveal that the overall management as well as the involvement of partners and stakeholders also influence the ability of the case study festivals to generate cohesive communities and foster relocalization. As this analysis demonstrates, organizational networks involving different community partners are important to both the WFF the HMF. In Clearwater, the HMF brings together several local institutions including the community centre, the HMS and the town church. These types of networks produce social capital and uncover new community resources that are essential for local, steady-state economic resilience. It also seems that the community-building strength of the Harvest Moon Festival results from the fact that the event is a collaborative effort involving different stakeholders who all share in the benefits. The WFF has significant economic impact and it can and does choose service and advertising partners who reflect their values. Partnering with not-for-profit social enterprises in Winnipeg is one way in which the festival can support alternative local economies. Furthermore, the festival has little to show in terms of public education, demonstrations, and social movement advocacy. Here, the WFF could extend an invitation to relocalization organizations like Transition Winnipeg as well other localist and alternative economic initiatives with the aim of them using the festival space to demonstrate new ideas and recruit supporters. There is also evidence to

suggest that the mission of the WFF organization and some of its recent decisions are out of touch with what many in the festival community want. This could weaken the ability of the festival to innovate and build shared-identity.

7.8 Conclusion

This final comparative analysis correlated findings from the two primary case studies with existing research about festivals and as well as with theoretical literature pertaining to relocalization social movements. It produced several insights regarding how community arts festivals can serve as tools for sustainable relocalization, although it also leaves many questions unanswered. The analysis demonstrates the need to distinguish between the ways in which festivals actively foster social change through their programming and messaging and the ways in which they indirectly support relocalization by producing resources, social capital and shared identity. Research from the two case studies indicates that the mandate, size and design of these festivals, as well as the existence of partnerships with other community groups, have significant influence on their ability to directly and indirectly support relocalization.

This research set out to determine if local festivals can support relocalization and place-based resilience by providing opportunities for learning, innovation, and the development of shared place identities and post-consumer values. Festivals like Harvest Moon and the WFF do offer possibilities for strengthening localization both indirectly and directly. However, as noted in this analysis, there are also limitations to their ability to fulfill such roles while balancing pressures. For example, they feel a need to be able to operate profitably and grow (associated with liberal-capitalist influences which are notable particularly in the WFF case study) while, at the same time, foster community participation, engage local stakeholders and create space for innovation and social movement advocacy. In contrast to the WFF, Harvest Moon is a small festival intrinsically connected with a rural community dedicated to sustainable local living. As such, it demonstrates an ability to promote eco-localist values and educate the public. However, being small also means the event has a limited reach and serves mainly to reinforce the values of an existing network of people. The WFF is much larger and does not target community resilience in the same way but it has a larger cultural influence and demonstrates a commitment to sustainability.

The most important message emerging from this analysis is that community festivals have the potential to contribute both directly and indirectly to relocalization when they embrace a mission of social change that involves a wide range of local stakeholders and fosters a sense of community ownership. As liminal spaces that offer self-discovery and social innovation, community arts festivals can exist as part of what Esteva and Prakash (2014, p. 195) call the “post-modern commons” which are “contemporary spaces for solidarity and convivial life” that can take grassroots social change beyond survival and toward new forms of fulfillment.

8.0 Conclusions, Contributions and Calls for Further Research

The new grassroots commons look fragile when confronted with the disturbing uncontrolled flood of transnational economic forces still in operation. But new and extended coalitions continue to emerge, becoming stronger step by step. In these spaces, in ordinary people's humble local initiatives, we find hope for starting political inversions of economic domination. The post-modern commons are not forms of mere survival or subsistence. They are contemporary forms of life, spaces for solidarity, and convivial life, sociological novelties, which regenerate the traditions of the "social majorities" while re-evaluating modernity.

-- Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash, *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soils of Culture*, 2014

8.1 *Why Community Festivals Matter in the Struggle for a Resilient and Equitable World*

This thesis stands firmly within a paradigm of radical sustainability – one of deep ecology, ecological economics and sustainable degrowth. It distinguishes itself from liberal environmentalist perspectives by assuming that the globally-dominant economic model with its supporting cultural values produces harmful relationships between human and non-human worlds and fundamentally threatens civilization's long-term sustainability. Responding to the social, economic and ecological crises already unfolding around the world requires a total and complete transformation of modern society. If there is to be long-term sustainability, production and consumption must be made to operate within planetary boundaries by emphasizing necessity and longevity. At the same time, dominant cultural, political and economic policies and practices must substantively support social structures based on cooperation, creativity and equality, as opposed to individualism, competition and wealth accumulation.

In the search for solutions to the modern sustainability dilemma, this paradigmatic viewpoint naturally points to grassroots political spaces and local communities where individuals live out their daily lives together. The relocalization social movement refers broadly to those initiatives that weave a deep ecology worldview into the development of grassroots political power and economic capacity. While this movement has steadily gained traction since the turn of the 21st century through endeavors such as Transition Towns and the multi-faceted transformation of local food systems, the cultural and economic forces of late modernity

continue to dominate global society. Therefore, there is an urgent need to understand and promote strategies rooted in grassroots communities that are capable of swinging the pendulum of human development in the direction of sustainable degrowth and relocalization.

This research considered celebratory community events as a phenomenon potentially capable of broadening and deepening the transformation of society towards a form of organization based on post-consumerism and equitable and resilient local communities. Specifically, it sought to answer the following question:

Can community music and arts festivals contribute positively to the relocalization movement by fostering eco-localist values and shared identity as well as by supporting knowledge, practices and economic innovations associated with local resilience?

The logic behind this line of inquiry can be seen in the many festivals around the world that are intentionally pursuing an agenda of local sustainability and local heritage along with the countless more that exist as community-building institutions and spaces where political and cultural identity construction occur. Importantly, this research has not suggested that festivals are capable of delivering widespread transformative social change solely on their own. Rather, along with policy-development, local governance, local agriculture, and local social enterprises, they may be one of many forms of social activity potentially helping to normalize sustainable materialism and establish relocalized human existences.

Nonetheless, and as this chapter reflects upon, festivals appear capable of drawing together different social, economic and political aspects associated with relocalization while also strengthening the foundations of community needed for resilient local places. They help establish networks and economic practices while also generating shared self-images and visions of a community through collective experiences. In providing periodic authentic communal experiences not easily found within the structures of everyday modern life, festivals may even help us think critically about dominant cultural practices and facilitate transformative learning. However, these are not the de-facto outcomes of public celebratory events. Festive times and spaces are still constrained by the modern world within which they are produced. Even those festivals developed in alignment with social movements may come to reflect, rather than challenge, dominant culture as they aim to survive and thrive amid market

forces. As well those festivals that serve the interests of a local community or become distinct communities themselves may not be able to impact the identity and values of those who attend for primarily individualist reasons.

The degree to which a festival can support the culture and politics of relocalization as well as develop local social capital and place-based identity depends on several key factors: whether or not the event organization has a clear mandate for local sustainability or for serving as a cultural and economic institution within a community; whether or not the festival is designed to facilitate participation, creativity, innovation, learning, and communal living; and whether or not it builds economic and political partnerships with other grassroots relocalization organizations and provides space for showcasing social movement initiatives. This chapter clarifies these claims by discussing the applied and theoretical contributions made by this thesis as well as its limitations, unanswered questions and areas identified for further research.

8.2 *Theoretical, Academic and Applied Contributions*

At the broadest level, this thesis offers a new way of thinking about festivals and framing how they are researched. It helps challenge the assumption that the commodification of culture has made festivals increasingly irrelevant in terms of "community building, cultural debate, and politics" (Giorgi & Sassatelli). It has taken a topic that has been predominantly considered within a framework of economic development and tourism and explored the heart of festival culture as a source of identity and meaning. It has demonstrated that festivals are an important aspect of social change and added to the understanding of how and why festivals impact our communities by focusing on the factors of size, design and mandate while comparing two unique local festivals.

The major applied contribution made by this research is essentially a proof of concept, that being festivals can benefit the transition to locally-sustainable society. The answer to the primary research question is yes, local music and arts festivals can contribute positively to the relocalization movement through community-building processes and public education. Although this answer comes with a number of caveats, the results of this exploratory study are promising and justify further investigation into the correlation between community celebration and relocalization. This research identifies several important insights not yet discussed in the

literature that should be considered by researchers and community organizers concerned with sustainable place-making community celebrations.

8.2.1 The Festival as Community

The research demonstrates that festivals themselves exist as communities in and of themselves. It follows the work of Cobb (2015) who discusses the ability of grassroots festivals to produce temporary, but annually-reoccurring, “homes” for participants that generate sense of place and belonging. This study went one step further by showing how a sense of community belonging created during a festival can be attached to a sense of shared purpose among a network of people dedicated to social-ecological movements. The HMF is deeply connected to the shared identity and purpose of those involved with the HMS, an organization dedicated to building resilient local communities. However, in order for the internal community of a festival to have lasting impact within the wider local community to which it belongs, organizers must attempt to include a wide range of stakeholders and be aware of the different visions, values and purposes that are brought to the festival space.

8.2.2 The Festival as an Institution

Much is known about the role festivals play as social, cultural and economic institutions within communities (Derrett, 2003; Harcup, 2000). However, this thesis has built upon this understanding by focusing on this role through a lens of relocalization. It confirms Acrodia and Whiteford’s (2006) observations that festivals support local communities by providing opportunities for developing resources and social capital while also responding to their call to further investigate how these relate to local sustainability. Specifically, community-based festivals can influence environmental political discourses and consciousness by promoting ecologically-beneficial behavior as well as support local social enterprises and entrepreneurs by providing contracts and markets. Local governments should not overlook the role festivals can play not only in building healthy social communities but also in fostering sustainable economic alternatives.

8.2.3 The Festival as Liminal Learning and Experimentation

The idea that festivals are liminal spaces is not new. In fact, the development of the concept is closely linked to the study of traditional festivals. However, this research puts a new twist on the study of liminality by looking beyond its impacts on individual and collective identity and by also considering its economic and political influence illustrated by the festival case studies. This research indicates that many people have an appreciation for the festival space as a social and economic experiment. Festival spaces challenge dominant culture provide people with the space, time and freedom to experience alternative values and practices. The case studies reveal that when festivals are in rural settings and invite participants to live on site for several days, transformative learning experiences are more likely to occur. This research encourages festivals to embrace a model of experimentation, innovation and active participation in order to maximize exposure to cultural and economic alternatives.

8.3 *Limitations of the Study*

Despite the important theoretical and applied contributions of this research to the realms of relocalization and community festivals, several limitations arise as a result of its main methodological pillars: exploratory case study and constructivist grounded theory. To begin with and as discussed in Chapter 4, there are restrictions to the extent to which findings generated from constructivist case studies can be applied to other social contexts. While the constructivist method enables a deep understanding of the particular situation under investigation, it views knowledge as meanings that are socially-constructed through shared experience. From this perspective, one cannot assume that meanings produced in one social context indicate how they are produced in another. The findings of this study may be useful to those who apply them with careful consideration and comparison to the realities of similar types of festivals in other parts of the world. However, without in-depth comparative analysis with new cases, the applied benefits of the research are primarily limited to the two festivals studied here.

The exploratory research design used for this study also brought with it some inherent weaknesses owing to its broad investigative focus. Exploratory studies give researchers a general sense of the phenomenon under consideration, helping to identify influential factors as well as prospective research questions and methods for future work. However, they rarely

generate definitive answers. In the case of this research, methodology and circumstances did not allow for long-term observations of participants before, during and after the festivals in order to assess impacts on behavior. It also was not possible to map stakeholder interactions in detail which would help assess social capital and opportunities for relocalization initiatives stemming from the events.

To some extent, this research has overstated its novelty in the sense that it chose to broadly investigate festivals as an avenue for relocalization without truly acknowledging how core elements relating to the movement had already been examined in festive settings. This approach ultimately led back to much of what was already known about festivals in the context of healthy communities, community resources, social capital and networks, sense of place, belonging and identity, and alternative societies. By reframing existing ideas in such a way, this study advocates for a new way of thinking about festivals more than it offers ground-breaking knowledge.

Limitations also result from the subjective nature of constructivist grounded theory. First, this approach requires multiple in-depth rounds of data collection and coding. Unfortunately, given the limited time frame that is typical of most Master's research projects, it was not possible to carry out a multi-year study of the WFF and the HMF. This would have allowed for a more complete development of grounded theory where the categories and ideas emerging from 2014 field research could have been used to design a more specific set of questions for the 2015 festivals. This would have resulted in greater clarity and saturation of findings.

Second, constructivism and grounded theory paradigms are known to uncover opposing viewpoints but research bias can lead to one receiving greater emphasis over the other. This study was predisposed to understanding the dynamics of festival communities and the theoretical sampling method led the investigation closer to this nexus while consequently drawing it further away from the viewpoints of those marginally connected to the institutional dynamics of the events. This was likely compounded by the researcher's close familiarity with certain groups and communities that regularly partake in the festivals chosen for investigation. This possibly resulted in the subconscious favoring of narratives that emphasized festival community and eco-political consciousness. To be sure, constructivist grounded theoretical exploration proved capable of uncovering a number of avenues for promoting sustainable relocalization through

festivals by hearing the aspirations and challenges associated with this objective as told by those deeply rooted in the relevant communities. The approach pulled the research toward the organizational centres and community hearts of the case festivals, confirming that grassroots celebrations can solidify shared identity, values, and networks.

8.4 *Calls for Further Research*

It is clear that the relationship between festivals, community resilience and the relocalization movement still requires further research. First, there are a number of existing possibilities for using a participatory action research model to better understand festivals as tools for broadening cultural and economic transitions toward relocalized life. Action research is a form of community-based study that requires researchers to actively participate within organizations working towards social change. Future researchers may consider pursuing a relationship with festival organizations and working closely with them to develop and implement a plan for transforming their event into a tool for promoting local resilience using the best practices suggested in this research and elsewhere. Similarly, researchers could work with an eco-localist community group such as a Transition Towns organization to develop a festival from scratch aimed at broadening the impact of its initiatives. This would provide a real-world demonstration of the opportunities identified in this research. It would also allow the researcher to experience firsthand the political, cultural and institutional barriers that prevent festival organizations from championing a radical local green agenda and to experiment with ways to overcome these obstacles.

There is a need for a more specific understanding about the links between relocalization between these elements and this presents an exciting secondary research opportunity. Existing festival literature should be systematically reviewed in order to incorporate any theoretical and empirical connections between collective celebration and identity, belonging, sense of ecological consciousness, community resources, networks and social capital into a framework for thinking about relocalization and degrowth. This framework could then be used to guide action-based studies mentioned above or to deductively assess the relocalization capacity of different case festivals.

Finally, the analysis presented in Chapter 7 reveals three other opportunities for further research. First, this research identified that intentional learning and public education is one of the primary tools for encouraging sustainability transformations. However, a long-term study of festival attendees would help determine if their experiences at the event lead to lasting behavioral change. Mixed-methods, deductive, and quantitative approaches should be used to make highly-valid claims about impacts festivals have on people's lives and if they can change the way people see themselves in their communities. Second, this research found that networks and social capital are a central part of festival dynamics and that they are also vital for relocalization. However, the nature of the primary investigation afforded only anecdotal evidence about the ability of festivals to strengthen community by supporting networks and generating social capital. A network analysis of individuals involved with festivals might allow for a more accurate understanding of the lasting impacts of festival community cohesion. Network analyses would likely also reveal segments of host communities that are left out of the festival process or receive little to no benefit, perhaps even offering pathways for overcoming these disparities. Third, this analysis also revealed that community partnerships are important for bringing resources into festivals and distributing benefits. Using a stakeholder analysis approach to research, community-based festivals may help identify the resources that different groups and organizations bring to the table and how they can most effectively be used to produce events that foster social change at local levels.

8.5 *Final Considerations*

To say this thesis has covered a lot of ground would be an understatement. It has gone deep into the theory and far into the field, presenting two case studies and tying together insights from the areas of event studies, community studies, sustainable degrowth, and new social movements. Despite the work's breadth, and nuance, its final message remains simple, focused and important. Festivals cannot solve the complex global sustainability dilemma on their own, but they are playing an important role in the fight for a more equitable and resilient world by providing opportunities for experimenting with alternative forms of human existence – other ways of knowing and doing; other ways of being together in community. The grounds of a festival are a time and space removed – they are liminal. They encourage us to check our

worries, our social identities and our economic status at the main gate and then they beckon us in to join in the revelry and the serendipity, to experience humanity, and to partake in explorations of self and society.

The world appears to be accelerating in slow motion toward dystopia while vital ecological systems are increasingly degraded. Festivals, however, afford us brief moments where we can create and experience these alternatives without apprehension. When designed cooperatively and with purpose, festivals can educate society on economic decisions and lifestyle practices that challenge the status quo and can galvanise shared identity and political consciousness behind a vision for grassroots social change. A festival can be a social institution that, in the words of one of Harvest Moon's cofounders, can act as "living laboratories" for "testing out relationships and economies". More importantly though, they bring us together, creating a sense of collective belonging capable of gluing together the political and economic elements of relocalization. As the same individual also notes, at festivals "people enjoy being part of creating a better world, we enjoy the interactions that create love, that create opportunity, and that create health and well-being". Simply put, we draw a few steps closer to resilient, post-consumer local communities when we **celebrate together**.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Selection of festivals in Manitoba with information on theme, size, location and age

Festival name	Location	First Year	Month	Size	Themes
<i>Winnipeg Folk Festival</i>	Birds Hill Provincial Park	1974	July	10,000 per-day	Folk, blues, rocks roots, world and alternative music; visual and performing arts
<i>Brandon Folk Festival</i>	Brandon, MB	1985	July	3500 per day	Folk, blues, rocks roots, world and alternative music;
<i>Winnipeg Jazz Festival</i>	Winnipeg, MB	1990	June	Multiple venues and shows	Jazz, funk, blues, hip hop.
<i>Dauphin's Countryfest</i>	Dauphin, MB	1990	June/July	12,000 per day	Popular country music
<i>Harvest Moon Festival</i>	Clearwater	2002	September	2,000	Local, folks blues, rock and roots music; sustainable food and communities
<i>Rockin' the Fields of Minnedosa</i>	Minnedosa, MB	2004	July	2,000 per day	Rock and blues music
<i>Shine on Festival of Music and Art</i>	Kerry, MB	2005	August	600	Local, indie rock, pop, alternative, hip hop, folk music; visual and performing arts
<i>Harvest Sun Festival</i>	Kelwood, MB	2006	August	Less than 1000	Local, folk, rock, roots, blues music; local food and local sustainability
<i>Rainbow Trout Music Festival</i>	St. Malo, MB	2008	August	800-900	Local, indie rock, funk, alternative, electronic, hip hop, folk music
<i>Dimensional Rift Music Festival</i>	St. Laurent, MB	2009	July	Less than 500	Electronic dance music

<i>Big Fun Festival</i>	Winnipeg, MB	2012	January	Multiple venues and shows	Local, indie rock, funk, alternative, electronic, hip hop, folk music
<i>Soupstock Festival</i>	Whitemouth, MB	2013	October	Less than 500	Local indie, folk, alternative, roots, blues music; homemade soup competition
<i>DIY Homesteader Festival</i>	Fraserwood, MB	2013	June	Less than 100	Radical self-reliance and sustainability
<i>Real Love Summer Festival</i>	Matlock, MB	2014	June	Less than 500	Local, indie rock, funk, alternative, electronic, hip hop, folk music
<i>Great Woods Music Festival</i>	Beausejour, MB	1995	August	Less than 1000 per day	Blues, rock and roots music

Appendix 2: Semi-structured interview guide used in for data collection for the primary case studies

Questions used to initiate and structure interviews, including variations for organizers, volunteers, vendors and creators.

Background/history

How long have you been coming to this festival?

Why did you come this year?

Who did you come with?

What does this festival mean to you personally?

What do you in life outside of the festival?

Identity and values

Would you say this festival is part of your identity?

- Or, do you identify with any aspects of the festival in particular?
- Do you carry your experience here with you for the whole year, or does it have any lasting impacts for you – socially, spiritually, emotionally?

Are there certain core values that flourish here at the festival?

- Do these align with your personal values?
- Do these carry over into your everyday life or into the wider communities you are involved with?
- Is the festival something that helps reaffirm the way you live your life or that influences who you connect and interact with throughout the year?

Are there certain groups of people that you associate with here at the festival? (Volunteers, artists, performers, creators?)

Of all the groups you interact with back home, would you say you are more likely to see some of the at festivals then others?

- Are there any general differences about those you know who come here and those who chose to stay home?
- Why don't they come? Do you think they would have a good time if they did?

Am I wrong in thinking there is bit an expectation here that people challenge there idea of normal, and express themselves freely?

What behaviors at the festival stand out as most in contrast to everyday life?

- Why do you think people engage in these?

Collective experience, ritual, community identity

Would you call this a tradition for you and your friends/family?

What keeps you coming back?

How have things changed over the years – for better or for worse?

So, I'm noticing a lot of people _____ (describe a ritualistic activity such as watching the sun rise on Pope's Hill at Folk Fest, or the annual bike-ride out to the festival site). Is this something you like to do or feel is important? What's the deal with that?

Are there any other symbolic activities/traditions/rituals that stand out for you?

Is the event an important/unique part of how you see your community?

What does this event give to the community?

Social/transformational learning, local sustainability and personal impacts

Do you have any thoughts on the importance of local sustainability and how this relates to a sense of community?

Do you think there is a role for the festival to play in the building of a sustainable community? How well is it playing this role?

Have you learned anything, or seen anything really unique here at the festival this year?

Has your experience here changed the way you think about your community?

Do you think you will be motivated to make any changes to your life when you get home, or get involved in any new activities?

Involvement and Networks

Have you met certain groups or individuals here that you have gone on to interact with outside of the festival?

Are you involved in the arts community in Winnipeg or do you attend other events throughout the year?

Do you volunteer your time with any initiatives in the city?

Questions for those making distinct contributions to the festival (artists, vendors, animators, service providers, etc.)

Can you describe what exactly this initiative is all about?

How many years has this been going on here?

What is your role? How long have you been involved?

What type of reaction have you been getting from people?

How does this project add to the festival?

Why is this project important to you?

Is this project linked to any initiatives outside the festival?

Questions for festival organizers

Can you give me a synopsis of the festival's history?

How has it changed over the years?

How does this festival fit within/link to the larger arts community in the city?

How important is this festival to the community's identity?

I gather that sustainability is an important value for those involved with the festival. Can you talk about that?

What is the vision for the festival in terms of being an institution that promotes local sustainability?

- What have been some major success stories in this regard
- What some barriers?

What do you think this festival can do in terms of getting more people to buy into this vision for the community?

Appendix 3: Roles and experience-types of the research participants broken down between to the two festival case studies.

Respondent Code	Role or Experience with Case Study 1: Winnipeg Folk Festival 2014	Role or Experience with Case Study 2: Harvest Moon Festival 2015
Targeted for Case Study 1		
FF1	Festival/campground attendee	
FF2	Festival/campground attendee	
FF3	Member of “the Trading Post” animation in campground;	
FF4	Member of “the Trading Post” animation in campground	
FF5	Member of “the Trading Post” animation in campground	
FF6	Hosted Green Action Centre DIY workshops in campground	Past attendee
FF7	Hosted Green Action Centre DIY workshops in campground	Past attendee
FF8	Founder, Food for Folks fruit stand in campground	
FF9	Food for Folks volunteer	
FF10	Founder, Pollock’s Hardware Repair Shop in campground; local business owner Manager of Pollock’s Hardware Co-Op	
FF11	Pollock’s Hardware Repair Shop volunteer	
FF12	Co-founder of the Winnipeg Folk Festival	
FF13	Long-time festival attendee and volunteer	Long time festival attendee
FF14	Head coordinator of La Cuisine (festival volunteer food provider); manager of local social enterprise	
FF15	Owner-operator of festival food vendor	
FF16	Attendee and volunteer	Attendee and volunteer
FF17	Executive, Winnipeg Folk Festival	
FF18	Executive, Winnipeg Folk Festival	
FF19	Member, Winnipeg Folk Festival Board of Directors	

FF20	Long-time attendee and past animator	Regular attendee
Targeted for Case Study 2		
HM1		Owner, Simply Heather Handmade Soaps
HM2	Attendee and volunteer	Volunteer
HM3	Attendee and volunteer	Volunteer
HM4	Attendee and volunteer	Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative volunteer
HM5	Attendee	Harvest Moon Local Food Initiative volunteer
HM6		First-time attendee of Harvest Moon
HM7	Attendee and volunteer	Harvest Moon, volunteer and workshop presenter
HM8	Past Attendee	Harvest Moon co-founder
HM9	Past Attendee	Harvest Moon volunteer leader
HM10	Past Attendee	Harvest Moon Festival Committee Chair
HM11	Volunteer coordinator	Long term attendee
HM12	Volunteer coordinator	long term HM attendee
HM13	Attendee and volunteer	Attendee and volunteer