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**ENGAGING RESOURCES FOR CULTURAL EVENTS**  
**A Performative View**

**Marjana Johansson**



**STOCKHOLM SCHOOL  
OF ECONOMICS**  
HANDELSHÖGSKOLAN I STOCKHOLM



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A Performative View

Marjana Johansson

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## **Preface**

This report is a result of a research project carried out at the Center for Media and Economic Psychology at the Economic Research Institute at the Stockholm School of Economics.

This volume is submitted as a doctor's thesis at the Stockholm School of Economics. As usual at the Economic Research Institute, the author has been entirely free to conduct and present her research in her own ways as an expression of her own ideas.

The institute is grateful for the financial support which has made it possible to fulfill the project.

Filip Wijkström  
Director of the Economic Research Institute  
at the Stockholm School of Economics

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**STOCKHOLM SCHOOL  
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## Acknowledgements

*“And what were you doing? Serving the drinks?”* A lecturer at SSE once told me that as a PhD student his supervisor asked him that question after having read a text of his. The supervisor’s point was that there was no trace of the author in the text. The story struck a chord with me, as I have found that writing a dissertation is about finding a voice as well as producing an academic piece of work. I am responsible for the finished product, but it would not have come into being without the support of many others.

First and foremost, my gratitude goes to my supervisor Guje Sevón. You invited me to come to SSE, and the many good things that have followed from your invitation and supervision have by far surpassed my expectations. Secondly, I am indebted to the other members of my supervisory committee, Sven-Erik Sjöstrand and Lena Hammergren, for providing insightful and constructive comments on various versions of the manuscript. I value your contribution.

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Hythe Hill  
January 2008



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## **PART I**

In which I set the scene of the study by introducing the subject and my methodological approach. The events, which are included in the study, are introduced. Further, I outline the theoretical framework and key concepts of the study: events, aesthetics, temporary organising and resources. A proposed performative perspective on resource engagement concludes the first part.



## CHAPTER 1: SETTING THE SCENE

It is a sunny, hot Saturday afternoon in July 2006. At the outskirts of the town Järvenpää near Helsinki several thousand people are gathered on the grassy slope in front of a large stage. It is the main concert of the annual *Lakeside Blues Festival* and it looks to be a pleasant affair. Adults and children sit or lie down in the grass or on picnic blankets. Some have put up sun umbrellas. Those who have not brought their own snacks can buy food and drink from vendors. Colourful balloons hover above the audience and flags unfurl in the slight breeze. The concert started at noon and now, four hours later, the lawn is filled. The crowd that stands in front of the stage are dancing and cheering, and gearing up for the concert's main performer, blues veteran Buddy Guy. On a wrestling mat people are trying out fake sumo wrestling in foam filled body suits, bouncing around like strange human balls. The security guards that patrol in their fluorescent vests look relaxed, and the first aid bus is quiet. No clients in need of help at the moment. Around the festival area the volunteers are busy carrying out their designated tasks. Some six hundred locals volunteer each year, a fact which the organisers take pride in. The festival is completely run on a voluntary basis, the artists being the only ones who get paid. The weather is on the organisers' side this year. Two years earlier they were not so lucky, and the whole festival was in danger of literally being washed away. Luckily the municipality came to the rescue and the festival could continue its unbroken chain since its start in 1978. The concert finishes around 8 p.m. and as the crowds of people start making their way to the buses which will take them to town where those who wish to continue can do so in clubs, the day's success seems guaranteed. The *Lakeside Blues Festival* is set to return the following year.

Started by a group of local amateurs with a yearning for good live music, the *Lakeside Blues Festival* has steadily grown into one of the largest European festivals in its genre. It is run by the Järvenpää Blues-Jazz Diggers, a non-profit association the members of which are called Diggers. The festival is on for five days, transforming the main street of Järvenpää into a blues street, filling local clubs with live music performances, providing space for children's activities, and climaxing with the main concert in the park. At its most there have been over 10,000 people in the park. The Diggers do not hibernate in the winter either, they organise club performances throughout the year. Other activities which have been undertaken in the course of the years include a small-size film festival and a record fair. The activities are co-organised with

other local actors such as club owners and the public library. When I met the festival manager-cum-chair of the association in 2005 I asked him which resources they depend on to keep the festival going. He resolutely gave me a list of names, saying it was their single most important resource. It was a list of volunteers. Without them, no festival. The volunteers are locals who usually return year after year – not necessarily because they love blues music, but because they love the “good vibes”, as the festival manager put it. The craving for good live music that set the association and the festival in motion some thirty years ago has resulted in a number of additional cultural activities and a spot on the blues festival map for the town.

Festivals and events have a general appeal in that they are seen to contribute to a positive image of a place, to strengthen the local community, to increase visitor numbers, and to create job opportunities (Edström, Beckéus, & Larsson 2003). Cultural events provide arenas for bringing together performers, visitors, inhabitants, entrepreneurs, the public sector, associations, and volunteers. To organise events might be a deliberate strategy for enhancing the attractiveness of a place (Yeoman, Robertson, Ali-Knight, Drummond, & McMahon-Beattie 2004; Ek 2007), in line with an increased emphasis on the production and consumption of experiences for generating value (O'Dell 2002). Along with a culturalisation trend of the economy (Löfgren & Willim 2005), festivals and events have become a marked feature of the contemporary cultural and economic landscape. I will here approach this particular genre of experience creation from an organisational perspective.

This study is about organising cultural events such as the *Lakeside Blues Festival*. Specifically, the aim is to study *how resources are engaged for organising cultural events*.

A number of actors and tasks need to be coordinated in order for a festival to be carried out. An event happens for a short period of time, it can be experienced only momentarily. Organisational tasks are carried out long before and after the event – booking artists, raising funds, constructing performance sites and so on – but the event itself is temporary. An event is simultaneously produced and consumed and those involved in the production and consumption of it scatter when it is finished. However, the value of an event is seen to extend beyond its immediate boundaries. I find the underpinning idea of what constitutes value in such a context of interest. Given the emphasis on the aesthetic characteristics of organising practices in the culturalised economy – as in the case of events – the “conversion process”



(Jones 1998) by which organisational inputs are transformed into outputs, to use classical management terms, becomes interesting. The event is, then, the setting in which inputs, or resources, are transformed into output of an elusive character, “experience”, which is translated into value. The resource concept has expanded from consisting of tangibles such as labour and capital to including intangibles such as knowledge and brands. What different conceptualisations have in common is that resources are seen as value-enhancing factors that an organisation possesses or should aim at possessing in order to attain its strategic goal. With tangibles it is fairly easy to see the value transformation attributed to resources, the input being for example raw material and the output being a finished product, whereas pinning down the value of intangibles does not as easily lend itself to operationalisation.

There are several topics which I wish to investigate through the chosen focus on resource engagement. Firstly, the temporariness of an event organisation raises particular issues regarding control over resources. As resources are engaged temporarily for the event to happen there is no sustained control over them. “Resource” is not a neutral label – it denotes an element which contributes to the organising. Being a resource is not a given or stable character of an element. A resource is not a resource before it is engaged and contributes to the organising – it is performatively constituted by the process. To frame these particular circumstances, I propose a view on resources as situationally constituted rather than stable and available for acquisition. To view the process as *engagement* serves to emphasise an implied change of state of the concerned parties. To become engaged is to enter a state of active involvement.

Secondly, the aforementioned conditions also pose interesting challenges regarding the boundaries of an event organisation. To organise an event implies including – or, conversely, excluding – various actors, or resources as conceptualised in this study. Resource engagement is thus boundary work, and boundary work in turn serves to establish an identity for the event.

Thirdly, an event is an aesthetic experience. The nitty-gritty work that the Diggers undertake each year has as its aim to create yet another festival where “the good vibes” can rule, that is, to provide an aesthetic experience. To account for the aesthetic aspects of organising is imperative for this study. Research into the aesthetics of organising has steadily gained ground during the last decade in the field of organisation studies. Some studies concern an aesthetic perspective on organisations and organising (e.g. Strati 1996, 1999;

Linstead & Höpfl 2000), where organisational life is viewed through an aesthetic lens. This aesthetic lens might be a sensorial one focusing on how an organisation is experienced in ways other than the cognitive (Strati 1999), one which allows us to consider the organisation itself as an aesthetic form (Ramírez 1991), or one which frames the work that is carried out in organisations as being aesthetically ordered (Carr & Hancock 2003). Other studies concern the organising of the aesthetic production of arts and cultural organisations (Guillet de Monthoux 1998; Stenström 2000; Guillet de Monthoux & Sjöstrand 2003; Guillet de Monthoux, Gustafsson, & Sjöstrand 2007). This study falls within the latter stream as regards the organising of aesthetic production. The aim of the organisations included in the study is to stage aesthetic experiences in the form of cultural events.

## **POSITIONING THE STUDY**

Although research into aesthetic production in the field of organisation studies has increased as mentioned above, studies of festivals and events in that stream are not particularly rife. Guillet de Monthoux uses festival examples when laying out a model of artistic production (1998; 2004).

Two examples of recent studies which specifically focus on resources related to festival organising address the subject from a resource dependency perspective (cf. Pfeffer & Salancik 1972), outlining various stakeholders and their roles connected to managing festival costs and revenues (Andersson & Getz 2007; Getz, Andersson, & Larson 2007). The clear focus on economic aspects places the research in the stream of cultural economics, which emerged in the 1970s and which focused on the economic mechanisms of cultural production (Negus 2002). Events and festivals as drivers of local and regional development has been addressed in terms of local business development (Sundbo 2004), and in terms of constituting an important practice in creating a regional profile (Berg, Linde-Laursen, & Löfgren 2002).

The performative aspect that I wish to emphasise combined with the focus on event organising presents a similar approach as Lena Porsander's study of how Stockholm became Cultural Capital in 1998 (Porsander 2000). Porsander describes the organising of the cultural capital year in terms of how different actors were associated to the project Stockholm 98, which she construes in terms of an actor-network. Of importance is how the various actors which become associated to the project have to withstand certain trials – committing

to the project by agreeing to perform in accordance with the rules set up by the central event organisation – and how the cultural capital project takes shape as a consequence.

I thus see that there is an opportunity for a study with an organisational focus, and which aims to understand the organising in terms of how resources are engaged for organising cultural events, given the particular circumstances of temporary organising, imperfect control over resources, and organisational boundaries which cannot be clearly drawn.

## **THE EVENTS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY**

Five cultural events are included in the study. Four of the events are annually recurring but still having to some extent to start from scratch every year, not necessarily struggling but sometimes juggling to make ends meet. One of the included events was a one-off anniversary. The organisations represented by the study are non-commercial cultural organisations, in this case non-profit associations and the public sector (municipalities). I will describe the events in more detail in the following chapter; suffice here to make a short introduction:

The *Lakeside Blues Festival* is an annual five-day jazz and blues festival in the town Järvenpää. It is run by a non-profit association called the Järvenpää Blues-Jazz Diggers. The first festival was organised in 1978 after which it has steadily grown into a large one in its genre. It continues to be run on a completely voluntary basis.

*Avanti! Summer Sounds* is an annual classical music festival run by the Avanti! orchestra collective. The collective was established as a countermovement to the institutionalised classical music domain and they continue to adhere to an avant-garde profile. The festival, which started in 1986, makes up an important part of the orchestra's activities. It is an annual four-day event with some 6,000 to 8,000 visitors, which takes place in the town Porvoo. *Avanti! Summer Sounds* has the reputation of being fresh and experimental.

*The Raseborg Summer Theatre* is an amateur theatre which performs each summer by the Raseborg medieval castle ruins. It is run by a non-profit association called the Ring, which is an umbrella organisation for local youth associations of the small surrounding communities. The first play was set up

in 1966. The theatre is one of a number of cultural events which together go under the name *the Raseborg Festival*.

*The Loviisa Sibelius Festival* is an annual three-day chamber music festival, which takes place in the town Loviisa. It has been organised by the town's culture office since 1989. It is the smallest one of the featured festivals in terms of audience attendance, around 2,000. The festival's theme stems from the circumstance that Jean Sibelius spent part of his childhood in the town and that there thus is a Sibelius heritage to honour.

*Garden City 50* was the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the urban community Tapiola, which took place in 2003. Tapiola was constructed in the 1950s according to garden city ideals, which emphasised a healthy natural environment combined with the comforts of modern living. The purpose of the anniversary was to celebrate the cultural heritage of the Garden City by arranging a broad range of events involving local actors. The municipality's culture office was in charge of the organising.

## **OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION**

The outline of the dissertation is as follows. Having introduced the subject in this chapter, I will next move on to describing how I have approached the subject in chapter 2. The chapter includes a discussion on methodology and a description on how I conducted the study in practice.

In chapter 3 I will discuss events and festivals. In a broad sense, my subject ties in with the so-called experience economy – an economy the value of which is created by providing aesthetic experiences for the presumptive consumer. Part of it consists of labelling some activities as experience production and organisations as experience producers. The organisations have then been bundled to form *the creative industries* or, notably in Sweden, *the experience industry* (more on this in chapter 3). Cultural organisations acquire a central position in this context. Further, in the experience economy festivals and other cultural events are seen as effective aesthetic tools for experience production. However, they are also unpredictable. One can plan and organise to the last detail but there is no guarantee that the event will “work”, that a desired aesthetic experience will be created.

Chapter 4 addresses the temporariness of event organising. An event is often seen as a separable entity, which takes place at a certain time and a certain

place. To view events as such clearly limited entities, however, obscures their larger context. I wish to stretch the view on events further, seeing it as part of an organisational web which extends beyond it. To conceptualise these aspects of event organising the chapter theorises temporary organisations.

The issue that follows in chapter 5 is to conceptualise how resources are assembled for the temporary organisation. A resource is an active element which contributes to an organisational endeavour. As I wish to grant resources precisely that active part I need a research perspective which sensitises me to the agency of resources, as well as being inclusive of a broad range of resources. I will turn to actor-network theory (ANT) to provide that perspective. Two key features of ANT are pertinent aspects for my subject: relational materialism and performativity, that is, that elements gain their identity in relation to other entities and that they perform in and through those relations.

In chapter 6 I move forward to analysing the organising of cultural events in terms of resource engagement practices. I will outline the practices in terms of how a legitimate position is constructed for the event, how boundaries are constructed in the process and how the aestheticising quality of events can be conceptualised.

In the concluding chapter 7 I summarise the central findings of the study, indicate its implications and make suggestions for further research.



## CHAPTER 2: PACKING THE WORLD INTO WORDS: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Having framed the research subject in the preceding chapter, I will now proceed to describe how I have approached and made sense of it. Undertaking research is akin to “pack the world into words” (Latour 1999), for which one needs a perspective on that world, and a methodology for making sense of it.

In *The art of science*, editors Stefan Tengblad, Rolf Solli and Barbara Czarniawska refer to Robert Merton’s calls for transparent research accounts and his proclamation that the finished product is usually a highly tidied version of how the research process actually progressed. The editors’ answer to his concern was to “[produce] a method book that that shows how the research is *actually* done” (Czarniawska, Solli, & Tengblad 2005:10, original italics). As the various authors of the book testify, research is *actually* quite a messy process rather than a neat project, which progresses in an orderly fashion. The formulaic research process usually consists of the following steps: reading theory, selecting a method, designing the empirical study, performing the analysis, writing up the results. The research process in practice often looks quite different. To deal with the mess becomes a task both unnerving and stimulating. Mess is to be sorted out methodically and methodologically.

Deciding on how to approach the field in order to answer the research questions we pose is one step in the research process. As regards the field, it is not readily out there with its facts for us to collect if only we can get the method right. What we see is dependent on how our questions are framed and what theoretical glasses we choose to wear. The produced text is one representation among many possible representations. As I approached the field I had a set of preliminary questions and an underlying imagery (Becker 1998:10) of what it was I was about to study. The underlying imagery provided an initial sense of guidance regarding what to look for. Without it, it is impossible to make sense of the field at all, but one should also be prepared to revise the imagery according to what one learns as the work progresses.

## ABDUCTIVE REASONING

My initial idea was to focus on the workings of the aesthetic versus the administrative (or economic) aspects of event organising. In the first interviews I conducted with the artistic directors and managers I aimed at learning about the artistic and practical aspects of cultural event organising. It could be said that my preconceptions largely followed prevailing ideas of the idealist artist versus the realist administrator. When conducting the interviews I however noticed that their respective roles were not necessarily clear-cut, neither did they conform to the aforementioned dispositions. Some artistic directors take a great interest in the administrative running of affairs, while some administrators have knowledge of and experience of the artistic work, having themselves an artistic education. The artistic-versus-managerial analytical divide did not seem fruitful. My initial underlying imagery needed revision in the light of what I encountered in the field. The movement between theoretical reasoning and empirical findings can be seen in the light of the concept of abduction, as formulated by pragmatist philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce. His view on how we get to know about things is based on us being part of the world we seek knowledge about, rather than being disinterested observers. The process oscillates between empirical observations and theoretical formulations, as a result of which our understanding about the phenomenon in question is fortified or perhaps refuted and reformulated. Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldbberg (1994) relate the abductive approach to cases that show surprising characteristics. The surprise prompts us to formulate a hypothesis – an understanding – of the phenomenon, which we then seek to verify with other cases. The idea of understanding is central, as opposed to explanation. This, according to Alvesson and Sköldbberg, is reached through the possibility to reach “deep structures” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 1994:44) through the abductive approach. Abduction is “a repeated process of oscillating or alternating between (empirically laden) theory and (theoretically laden) empirical observations” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 1994:47, my translation). I find the notion of abduction appropriate with regards to describing the progression of research, as well as with regards to the stance of the researcher not being a dispassionate bystander. Reality is not an autonomous entity the understanding of which is independent from our engagement with it.

Regarding how we describe the reality we set out to study, Becker devotes part of his discussion on imagery to the description of the empirical setting. As he puts it simply, “everything has to be someplace” (Becker 1998:51) and so we



need to locate the studies we undertake in time and space. The reason for this, Becker goes on to say, is more important than “local color thrown in to give off a little verisimilitude” (Becker 1998:54). Events (here meaning occurrences), people and organisations do not exist in a vacuum. The surrounding circumstances of the studied phenomenon are pertinent for making sense of it. The next question which quickly arises from this is where to draw the line. Again, I follow Becker (1998:56):

Recognizing the dependency of social organization on its environment brings into focus the problem many researchers have when they write those little accounts of where they did their research. Since it's clear we can't include everything, which things related to where our case is located should we take into account? That's a tactical question. The provisional answer is that you include anything that tells you it can't be left out by sticking its nose up so that it can't be ignored.

For me, this is one instance of the notion of the art of science (Tengblad, Solli, & Czarniawska 2005). Conducting research is to a large extent about making judgments regarding how to best go about doing it. There is no single correct answer to be found “out there” or in the literature. If one is to follow that premise, then the role of the researcher cannot be neglected, and the presentation of the research needs to be of a reflexive character. In practice it means that the author is present in the text and that the choices and actions undertaken are made explicit.

## THE POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER

As one key concept of this thesis is engagement, it is well worth noting that the same term can be used to frame the activities of the researcher, whereby researchers “engage a subject of study by interacting with it through a particular frame of reference” (Morgan 1983:13). The engagement and interaction suggest a two-way relationship where what is produced – the findings – are the result of the mode of organising rather than the inherent qualities of the phenomenon under study. As the view of research as engagement implies that researcher and researched are intertwined, so is the researcher in turn part of a larger set of relations. In a reflexive paper on how the research subject is shaped by the researcher and a wider network Cynthia Hardy, Nelson Phillips and Stewart Clegg point out that the focus on the researcher–researched relationship is not enough, but that there are several

other actors and ways of working which contribute to the construction of the research subject. Research is situated and knowledge is produced “not only by the aggregated actions of different researchers, but also by institutionalized practices, channels of dissemination, gatekeepers, universities, research councils, etc.” (Hardy, Phillips, & Clegg 2001:536). As constructing the research subject happens in interactions within research communities, so is method not simply an objective toolkit to employ in order to make sense of what is happening. Method, argues John Law (2004), has a part in creating the reality that is referred to in the finished text.

## CONDUCTING THE STUDY

For my study I conducted interviews and undertook participant observation. I also collected materials regarding the events (newspaper clippings, programmes, leaflets) as well as documents from the culture office of each town to see if and how the event was presented in culture strategies and programmes.

The study was carried out between 2002 and 2005. I started out in 2002 with the four recurring events, conducting interviews and visiting each event. The purpose of the first part of the study was to gain insight into the organising of cultural events; artistic as well as operational aspects thereof. The following year I conducted the Tapiola anniversary study. In 2005 I made a follow-up on the four recurring events, conducting repeat interviews with the managers and including the cultural secretaries of the towns in question (except Loviisa, where the festival manager holds a position in the municipality’s culture sector). I also visited *Avanti! Summer Sounds* and the *Lakeside Blues Festival* for the second time in order to visit festival sites that were specifically mentioned in the interviews.

## GAINING ACCESS

Access is not a singular occasion that is settled at the beginning of a research project, rather, it is “something that has to be both scrutinized for the way it transforms the research and continuously negotiated throughout the time of fieldwork” (Gellner & Hirsch 2001:5). Negotiating access was not an issue when I conducted the interviews for the recurring events. Scheduling the interviews was a matter of finding a time, and I visited the events as a member of the audience. When it came to the Tapiola anniversary, negotiating access became a more formalised procedure.

When preparing for my first scheduled meeting with the project manager, I prepared a document stating my aims, and what elements I considered would be part of my research (interviewing, participant observations). I also included shadowing in my proposal, which she responded positively to, but which I subsequently did not follow up, as it seemed unnecessarily stressful later on when the anniversary week drew nearer and work load and tension increased. In hindsight, the events which had to do with gaining access seemed to pass with considerable ease. I wrote one page of text on how I intended to carry out my research, I asked the project manager if she would be willing to have me around to which she replied positively and I asked her superior the same question to which he equally responded positively.

It favoured my proposition that the project manager was working alone in the sense of being employed as an “outsider” with no formal colleagues or subordinates. She said she welcomed having someone to relate to, while also telling me to tell her if she started using me too much to offload her frustrations. Our first scheduled meeting showed no signs of difficult rapport or fundamental personality clashes, something which also facilitated the access process. Gender and proximity in age could also be considered as possibly contributing to establishing a favourable contact.

## INTERVIEWING AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Regarding participant observation and interviewing, Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont warn against opposing the two, often done by giving doing primacy over saying. Participant observation is not “superior” because witnessing what people do would be more trustworthy than asking them about what they do:

They are different kinds of enactments, certainly, but we would argue that the specific dualism that implicitly asserts an authenticity for what people (observably) do and the fallibility of accounts of action is both unhelpful and “untrue”. By treating both the observed and the narrated as kinds of social action we move beyond such simple articulations, and instead reassert a methodological principle of symmetry. (Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont 2003:108.)

Interviewing and observing, then, are complementary rather than opposing or hierarchically ordered activities.

The interview is a particular situation with implied roles for those involved (the interviewer asks questions, the interviewee produces answers) and with

the aim of generating knowledge about the subject at hand. The special circumstances surrounding an interview, however, does not mean that what is produced during the interview holds for that occasion only, as “the narratives and reminiscences that are produced in the interview are not necessarily unique to that context.” (Coffey & Atkinson 1996:78.) Apart from not being unique to the interview situation only, accounts may also appear contradictory. It is quite common that people draw upon different frames of reference when producing accounts, which as a result can seem inconsistent. “Social actors are perfectly capable of producing plausible and reasonable accounts that contain apparently incompatible – or at least perceptibly different – kinds of explanation or motivation.” (Atkinson et al. 2003:130.) Rather than seeking to sift out a truth by comparing and juxtaposing accounts, we need a different approach to analysing informants’ accounts, for example “how they chronicle facts and evidence; how they represent their own motives and feelings; how they attribute motives to others; how they display the rationality of their own and others’ actions” (Atkinson et al. 2003:132).

As for participant observation and what can be observed as an event, Atkinson et al contend that “Events are far from things that just happen. They are made to happen. They are enacted. They are also comprehensible as “events” because they can be described and narrated. Likewise, the tellings or narratives about events are themselves performances (or social events). They too are enacted.” (Atkinson et al. 2003:104.) The focus of this dissertation is events in the sense of staging performances – but the “eventness” of those events is brought about not only in the carrying out of them, but also in the narrating of them. What makes it an event is how it is related to a context and for example other events, how it is staged as well as narrated.

I conducted 23 interviews that I recorded and transcribed. The interviews usually lasted one hour, the occasional one stretching to up to two hours. The interviews were semi-structured. I had a number of preconceived topics to guide me through the interview but depending on the interviewee the specific topics of the interviews varied. In addition to the interviews that were set up with the interviewees I also took the opportunity to talk to members of the audience and volunteers when I visited the events, making note of the conversations. While following the organisation of the Tapiola anniversary I participated in meetings with the project manager and in events which were organised in connection with the anniversary. At each meeting and event I made notes, which I completed and wrote down on my computer as soon as possible after the observation, usually directly after the occasion or at the end

of the day. When writing my field notes I kept a record of what happened but also what my role was during the instance I was observing, and the interpretations I made. As for the recording of meetings and conversations, my basic approach followed David Silverman's seemingly uncomplicated notion of always recording at least what one sees and hears, and how one behaves and is being treated (2000:126). In practice, decisions have to be made regarding what to record as what one "sees" alone can amount to indefinite levels of detail.

I visited the festivals as a member of the audience. At the time of my visit I had interviewed the artistic director and manager of each event (save Raseborg, where I interviewed the director after I had visited the performance). I visited the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* and the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* once, and *Avanti! Summer Sounds* and the *Lakeside Blues Festival* twice. For the *Tapiola Garden City* 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary I adopted an ethnographic approach, conducting interviews as well as participant observation over a period of time (eight months totally). I wanted to follow the planning and staging of the anniversary closer and over a consecutive period of time, compared to how I conducted the study of the four recurring festivals. This was motivated by my wish to experience the planning unfold, witness the negotiations that took place and see which actors were involved in the process. In the course of the anniversary study I participated in 13 events. While I had participated as a member of the audience in the other festivals, my access at the Tapiola events was more like that of the organisers (witnessing the preparations, having access backstage). During one event I participated as a volunteer handing out balloons. Throughout the Tapiola study I also participated in 27 meetings that the project manager had with potential or secured partners. At the meetings I was usually briefly introduced by the project manager and anyone wanting to ask more about my project was welcome to do so.

A multitude of texts on fieldwork and writing ethnographies concern the position of the researcher. It has been elaborated upon through, for example, shifting identities (e.g. Murray 2003), multiple selves (e.g. Reinharz 1997), and fieldwork roles (e.g. Fielding 1993). I encountered situations that are invariably described in ethnographies; the expectations on the researcher, the degree of participating, being assigned the roles of confidant and informant. It was a further reminder of the engagement with the field; of the shifting identities that one is faced with.

To perform participant observations entails choosing the instances when to be present. Making the selection might feel daunting regarding how to cover significant instances. Sometimes I felt at a loss when conducting my observations as to what the significance of the event at hand was.

As John Law (1994) pointed out, nothing ever happens right where and when the researcher is observing. All important events happen at some other time, in some other place. In the beginning the researchers tend to panic and try to chase 'the action', but in time they learn that 'important events' become such in accounts. Nobody is aware that an important event is happening when it takes place, although in most cases people are aware of the time of day and the day of the month. Events must be made important or unimportant. (Czarniawska 2004b:776.)

I realised this activity was undertaken constantly by those I encountered during the study as they were discussing and making sense of how to proceed with the anniversary, what had been decided at one point but abandoned at another, what the result had been of a specific event, and so on. The informants were doing a good job making sense of what was going on. This is also Latour's point: "[The actors], too, compare; they, too, produce typologies; they, too, design standards; they, too, spread their machines as well as their organizations, their ideologies, their states of mind. Why would you be the one doing the intelligent stuff while they would act like a bunch of morons? What they do to expand, to relate, to compare, to organize is what you have to describe as well." (Latour 2005:149-150.) Following Latour means following a more inductive approach rather than cutting up the data by applying ready-made labels.

## ANALYSING AND WRITING

Writing and packaging the field (Czarniawska 1998) is as much part of the research process as being in the field. Constructing the accounts – or tales – of the field is a literary endeavour and the styles according to which it can be made vary among others from realist to impressionist to confessional (Van Maanen 1988) to ironic (Kunda 1992) to polyphonic (Latour 1996). In any case, they are stylised and dramatised descriptions of events in the field. Writing is not a matter of just "writing up" the findings, it is part of constructing the reality which is in focus of the research:

Writing becomes ... part of this assemblage itself: not a report on fieldwork as a set of stabilized research findings but a process of translation and stabilization in its own right” (Austrin & Farnsworth 2005:148).

Writing, then, is not mechanical reporting and further, “[t]here is no single right way to analyze qualitative data; equally, it is essential to find ways of *using the data to think with*” (Atkinson et al. 2003:2, my emphasis). Referring to the notion of the art of science as mentioned earlier, the view of there not being a single correct way to “crack the data”, but rather to use it to sharpen one’s questions and refining one’s theoretical understanding, thus seeing “more” in the data, or seeing it differently – the abductive process – is assuring. It does not mean that it is easy, there is still need for rigour as well as creativity, but it the process of analysing becomes less daunting. Coffey and Atkinson formulate the process as “a cyclical process and a reflexive activity; the analytic process should be comprehensive and systematic but not rigid; data are segmented and divided into meaningful units, but connection to the whole is maintained; and data are organized according to a system derived from the data themselves” (Coffey & Atkinson 1996:10).

Coding is the advised first step to undertake, whereby labels of categories are attached to segments of data. Coding is not, as Coffey and Atkinson strongly emphasise, analysing. Rather, it is a first step to create “links between particular segments of data and the categories we want to use in order to conceptualize those segments” (Coffey & Atkinson 1996:45). After coding – which does not imply a mechanistic application of labels to segments, but thinking with the data – we move to interpretation, “the transcendence of “factual” data and cautious analysis of what is to be made of them” (Coffey & Atkinson 1996:46).

Coding was the first step I undertook with my interview transcripts, and field notes. Reviewing the texts, I found themes that were recurrent and that I subsequently grouped together, giving the grouping a code label. I identified instances of interviewees talking about or myself observing certain activities which could be grouped in subthemes under the overarching themes. These themes in my view relate to the research questions guiding the project, and the theoretical concepts which the study centres around.

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) refer to Harry Wolcott’s notion of transformation of data, suggesting that data can be transformed according to three types of method: description, analysis and interpretation. The first one, description,

entails being as true as possible to the data (recognising, however, that description is a framing process itself and that there is no such thing as pure description), where “the goal of description in Wolcott’s terms is to tell the story of the data in as descriptive a way as possible” (Coffey & Atkinson 1996:9). This rings in accordance with Latour’s notion of following the actants and striving to describe what is going on. In reference to description it might be worth noting Clifford Geertz’s much-cited notion of “thick descriptions”, which, according to Atkinson et al, is “a dreadfully misunderstood and misrepresented term” (Atkinson et al. 2003:114): “What it clearly does not mean is a sociological or anthropological account that simply has a lot of “detail”, or that is “richly illustrated” with vignettes and illustrative material. Rather, it means a disciplined appreciation of the over-determination of cultural phenomena and of social forms” (Atkinson et al. 2003:114). The gist is, then, that social action takes multiple forms and it is the task of the researcher to acknowledge that richness and make sense of social action through drawing upon those multiple forms.

Wolcott further acknowledges that his three chosen elements – description, analysis and interpretation – are not necessarily applied in their entirety to all research, nor are they mutually exclusive. They overlap and emphasis on one particular stage may vary between research projects.

#### TRANSLATING INTERVIEWS, FIELD NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The interviews were conducted in Swedish or Finnish. I wrote my field notes in Swedish and the majority of additional materials such as policy documents and newspaper articles were in Finnish or Swedish, with the occasional one in English. I do not indicate the original language of the interview excerpts as I do not consider it relevant. In translating the interview excerpts and field notes I have strived to convey the meaning of the statements as closely as possible, albeit not necessarily verbatim as some expressions may be untranslatable. I have then used the to my knowledge closest English expression. In some cases I have included the original word or name, where I have deemed it as relevant for clarity.

#### THE USE OF “CULTURE” AND “CULTURAL” IN THE DISSERTATION

As said, the study focuses on the organising of cultural events. Culture is a complicated term to say the least. To define the meaning by which I use it in



this thesis, I will start by how it is outlined by Alan Warde (2002:187, referring to Williams):

(i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development... (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group, from Herder... (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. This seems often now the most widespread use: culture is music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film.

In this study it is chiefly the third notion, the works and practices of artistic activity, which is applied. It relates to the Swedish word *kultur*, which is commonly used to denote arts-related activities. For example, the art forms supported by the Arts Council in Finland include theatre, dance, music, the visual arts, photography, literature, critics, crafts & design, and architecture (Karhunen 2007:3).<sup>1</sup> Cultural policy activities (*kulturpolitik*) refer to policies, incentives and governing structures concerned with the said areas.

#### **FOUR FESTIVALS AND AN ANNIVERSARY**

The study includes five examples of cultural event organising. Four of the events are annually recurring. One event was a municipality's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary and thus a one-off occasion. The recurring events are organised within the performing arts (music and theatre) whereas the anniversary included a wide range of cultural activities. The events were selected with respect to showing variation in some aspects while still retaining the common denominators as described earlier. Some central characteristics that differ are summarised as follows.

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<sup>1</sup> The corresponding areas of operation of the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs (*Kulturrådet*) comprise theatre, dance, music, painting, photography, sculpture, literature, cultural journals, museums and libraries (Kulturrådet 2007).

	<b>The festivals</b>	<b>The anniversary</b>
<i>Frequency</i>	Annually recurring.	A one-off celebration, which included a number of events.
<i>Genre of the events</i>	The festivals have an offering within a particular genre (music, theatre).	The anniversary had an offering spanning several cultural genres.
<i>Type of parent organisation</i>	Non-profit associations (3) and municipality (1).	Municipality.
<i>History</i>	The festivals have a history going back some twenty years or more.	The anniversary being a one-off event did not rely on a history of a chain of events but it relied on the history of the place that was being commemorated.

Table 1. Overview of the events included in the study.

What, then, do I regard the events have in common? They all bear a notion of “starting from scratch”, no matter whether they are recurring events or a first time occasion. Of course, they do not start from nothing – there are always a number of actions that lead up to each event being organised, but the idea of a fresh start is presented as a central feature. All of the events also operate within the cultural field, which means that they draw upon similar discourses and share funding sources.

All events are situated in a small-town setting in Southern Finland within a range of some 90 kilometres from Helsinki. The location of the events in relation to the capital was something which was mentioned by the interviewees, as the events were related to the proximity of the capital and what that meant in terms of getting an audience. The events also relate to one another. It may be other actors that they depend on, such as public funding bodies; it may be the mentioning of each other in order to position oneself, and so on. The connectedness of the events – although they are placed in different genres – is not negligible. It shows that they have some ways of operating in common and in so doing contribute to the upholding of guiding boundaries of action.

All the recurring events featured are “successful” in the sense that they have gained permanency (a criterion which is important for most organisations). The idea of permanency or durability becomes interesting in a temporary setting such as event organising. An event is seen as an ephemeral occasion, and the idea of starting afresh seems to be important as mentioned above. However, there is also a strive for permanency by way of making it possible to recur or by way of aiming to create lasting effects which transcend the event itself.

## **THE FOUR RECURRING EVENTS**

Having briefly introduced the events in the introductory chapter, I will here proceed to a slightly more detailed account of them. With this description my aim is to outline some characteristics of the events, which will have a bearing on the subsequent analysis.

### **THE RASEBORG SUMMER THEATRE**

The 14<sup>th</sup> century castle ruins of Raseborg in the Southwest of Finland provide a spectacular setting for the annual outdoor performances of the local summer theatre. The performances attract visitors from outside the immediate region – the Raseborg Summer Theatre carries the epithet “Finland’s largest Swedish-speaking summer theatre” (“Raseborgs Sommartheater” n.d.). The average annual amount of visitors is some 15,000 people. However, according to the producer, the purpose of the event stretches beyond putting up a performance. He refers to the student assemblies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that were held on the field next to the ruins, and how the local community association and the theatre can be traced back to them. You do not only come to see a play, you come to meet and greet friends and acquaintances. The theatre productions are part of *the Raseborg Festival*, which includes a series of cultural events which take place by the ruins or in nearby villages. The theatre is an important part of it:

The Raseborg Festival was born out of love for the theatre, and it is still the theatre that is the driving force of this largest summer festival of Swedish-speaking Finland. However, through the years the cultural supply of [the festival] has been markedly broadened and the Raseborg Festival of today is much more than theatre. (“Trettio år av festspel på Raseborg” n.d.)

The Raseborg Festival is coordinated by a network of local youth, culture and community associations called *the Ring*, “a non-profit cultural producer”.<sup>2</sup> Festival activities include a Midsummer celebration (organised by local community associations), a medieval fair and tournaments (organised by the Raseborg Medieval Society), an ancient market day (organised by a committee of some ten local community associations) and a series of concerts (organised by the Raseborg Medieval Society). The largest part of the Raseborg Festival is the Raseborg Summer Theatre, and it is the part I chose as a focal point for my study. “It was called a festival to start with and then the summer theatre crystallised into its own part, and then other things have appeared along the way”, as the producer put it. The festival celebrated its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2006, making the year 1966 the start of the Raseborg Festival, and the theatre. In a historical overview of the festival (Lindroos 1996), an earlier starting point is also mentioned: 1882. That is when the first regional assembly was held by the ruins. The assemblies were initiated with the purpose to bring local people together to strengthen ties. The ruins are ascribed with a magical aura:

It is no exaggeration to claim that that the ruins themselves have provided inspiration [to start the festival]; each and everyone who has visited the ruins have for themselves been able to experience the enthralling timelessness that marks the place; it is as if the stone walls harbour a great secret. In romantic terms one could say that Raseborg is one of the holy places of the Swedish-speakers of Finland, a place which is deeply and eternally ingrained in the soul of the Swedish-speaking Finns, if there is such a soul. (“Trettio år av festspel på Raseborg” n.d., my translation from Swedish. The website features the text from 1996.)

There is a political agenda which emerges as the producer sums up the atmosphere of the Raseborg summer theatre:

We aim to make productions which... are of a good quality and also emotionally moving... but there are perhaps other goals that are equally important... the thing about bringing people together ... you can call it language politics or something, well, language is the wrong word but some

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<sup>2</sup> Västnyländska Ungdomsringen r.f. in Swedish. The number of member associations in 2007 was 38. (“Västnyländska Ungdomsringen r.f.” 2007)

kind of belonging... because.. I mean, for me Raseborg and the summer theatre is a meeting point for Swedish-speaking Finns. It is here that you meet your old friends from school and people you haven't seen in ages because they will be here. (Producer, 15.8.2002)

The audience is not, however, only Swedish-speakers. According to the producer's estimate some 20-25 percent is Finnish speakers. The Raseborg Festival is visited by between 15,000 and 25,000 people annually; making it the largest cultural festival of Swedish-speaking Finland. The ethnocentric character of the festival and the theatre in terms of its role for "Swedish-speaking Finland" is visible throughout. This role is used to legitimise its importance, making it more than a theatre or festival: it is cast as an important force in upholding the identity of a designated group of people. Without the festival, the interpretation is, this group would be culturally poorer and socially weaker.

A total of about four hundred volunteers participate every season as cast and musicians, and taking care of parking services and catering. Over the years, the producer estimates that some 1.500 people have been involved in the productions. The production relies on ticket sales to a great extent. The annual budget is around 200,000 euros (figure given in 2005).

The annual budget is around 200,000 euros, of which ideally one fourth would be at hand when they start working on a new production – which has never happened according to the producer. The producer says he usually calculates that five per cent of the budget is generated through grants from the municipality and other funding bodies. The municipality grants an annual sum of about 5,000 euros, but it has to be applied for each year. Sponsorship does not constitute a large part and much of it is channelled through ticket sales; an estimated ten per cent of the total budget is covered by sponsors. The remaining 85-90% has to be generated through ticket sales. The financial outcome thus hinges on the audience – which, according to the producer "paradoxically gives us more artistic freedom" as they do not have to take donors or sponsors into consideration when they plan their productions.

## THE LAKESIDE BLUES FESTIVAL

The *Lakeside Blues Festival* in Järvenpää (featured in the opening description of chapter 1) is a five-day affair that culminates in an outdoor concert held in a park just outside the town. Other festival activities include organising club

gigs and turning Järvenpää's main street into a Blues street with live performances, food and drink, and children's activities. The blues street is a visible part of the festival during all five days and "brings the blues festival into the reach of everybody in Järvenpää" (Kari 1998:63). The festival is the biggest single event of the association, but they organise other music events as well. Over the years, the activities undertaken by the association have included organising club performances, a record fair, a small-scale film festival, and an open golf tournament. The activities are carried out with other actors of the local community, such as club owners and the local library.

Of great importance to the festival are the some 600 volunteers which are engaged for its organising. All festival work is carried out on a voluntary basis. The festival is run on a budget of about 500,000 euros (figure given in 2005). The municipality grants an annual sum of ca. 16,000 euros. Sponsorship is negligible I am told by the festival manager. There are two larger sponsors and some small cooperating firms, but 95% of revenues stem from ticket sales. In 2004 the summer weather was less than accommodating, resulting in plummeted ticket sales and an uncertain future for the festival.

The Lakeside Blues Festival played under wet conditions for the second year in a row. The organisers of the internationally renowned festival are feeling blue. Only 3,500 tickets were sold for the main concert, compared to 11,000 in the best years. ("Märkä festarikesä" 2004)

The municipality came to the rescue, agreeing to guarantee a loan to cover the losses and secure a continuation. The municipality also supports the festival with technical equipment and by letting the Tuusulanjärvi park where the main concert is held.

## AVANTI! SUMMER SOUNDS

In 1983 three young students at the Sibelius Academy, who later became renowned conductors, felt frustrated with the institutionalised classical music scene in Finland. Their answer to the situation was to form an avant-garde orchestra, which was spiritedly named *Avanti!*.

Two basic factors influenced the founding of Avanti!: the need for young, ambitious and skilful musicians to get together to perform high quality music, and the realisation that there is a need for an orchestra, which is flexible by organisation and open by attitude, to perform music which would otherwise

not be performed. There is a vast amount of magnificent music, which is not intended to be performed according to standardised orchestra assemblies. That is why Avanti! changes its shape continuously. The point of departure is the oeuvre, the music itself – not the institution. ("Avanti! Kamariorkesteri" n.d., my translation from Finnish.)

The flexible organisation was achieved by means of establishing the orchestra as "a democratic art collective". The musicians have regular employment elsewhere, but can "fulfil their dreams and artistic ambitions", according to the general manager, through Avanti!. The orchestra was conceived as a countermovement to the established classical music scene and its avant-garde, "crazy" spirit is something that is cherished by its members. It is a hallmark of Avanti!, portrayed as an unconventional actor in a traditionalistic domain of music making. The orchestra performs regularly in Finland and abroad. The office and rehearsal space is in Helsinki while the festival takes place in Porvoo, a small town some 60 kilometres east of Helsinki. The orchestra has a permanent artistic director, while a separate artistic director is engaged for the festival each year. A general manager has the administrative responsibility.

Shortly after founding the orchestra, the idea to gather the musicians during the summer break emerged. The town that was chosen as the site for the camp was Porvoo, a popular tourist destination with characteristic red wooden boathouses by the river and a quaint old town. As well as providing the musicians with a way to meet in the summer, the camp would also provide a setting for performing concerts. They succeeded in getting the mayor's support for their idea and the first *Avanti! Summer Sounds* festival was held in 1986. During its first twenty years of existence the festival has grown into a regular feature of Porvoo, extending over four days and attracting between 6,000 and 8,000 visitors.

The festival constitutes a significant part of the orchestra's activities. The annual turnover of Avanti! is about 800,000 euros, of which the Summer Sounds festival roughly amounts to 250,000 euros (data given in 2005). The orchestra has a permanent artistic director while the festival hosts a new artistic director every year. *Avanti! Summer Sounds* has the reputation of being fresh, experimental and of high quality.

The Summer Sounds festival constitutes a significant part of the Avanti! orchestra's activities. The annual turnover of Avanti! is about 800,000 euros,

of which the Summer Sounds festival roughly amounts to 250,000 euros. About one third is funded through governmental and municipal support, of which the municipality of Porvoo grants a standing sum of ca. 50,000 euros. The share of ticket sales is circa 15%. The rest needs to be generated through annual project-based funding, which means applying for money from various foundations.

## THE LOVIISA SIBELIUS FESTIVAL

*The Loviisa Sibelius Festival* has been held in the town Loviisa since 1989, bi- and triannually to start with, annually since 1998. Loviisa is a small town on the southern coast of Finland. The town dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and was built around a fort. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Loviisa blossomed for a period of time as a sea and spa resort, after which there was a decline and a quieter period. In the 1970s the town experienced an increase in population and development of infrastructure when Finland's first nuclear power plant was built in the vicinity in 1977. The image of Loviisa is partly tied to the power plant, something which is not always desirable as it overshadows other more desirable aspects of the town. The festival was conceived to establish a classical music festival tradition, and to enhance Loviisa's cultural profile.

I think the festival is of enormous importance with regards to doing image-work, that's one point as I see it. On one hand we have this tremendous cultural event as such with the wonderful concerts and these enormously talented artists but then we have this other side to it and that's the PR value for Loviisa which I see as an important thing and I think we have a fair number of politicians as well who are starting to see it. We've been working on the Loviisa image for a couple of years now and we need these types of positive events that promote the town and through that channel we can then maybe attract more people, established inhabitants as well as new ones, that's what we need. I think this is part of doing that work, to attract people and make the town known. Now we're not known at all and it's really a beautiful town and so close to Helsinki. [The museum director]

The festival is run by the culture office of the municipality. Composer Jean Sibelius spent the summers of his youth in Loviisa and he also did some of his work there. The Sibelius connection gives the festival an authentic, historic *raison d'être*.



Within the tourist sector of the municipality, the tourist sector and the culture sector, they started thinking about [ideas for a festival] in the late eighties and they chose Sibelius, because crassly speaking Sibelius is the most known Finn abroad, and since Sibelius had such a strong connection to Loviisa it had to be capitalised upon. I don't think there's any point in creating an event that doesn't have a natural connection, because in that case it can be [held] anywhere and you miss out on an important dimension if you just make something up... so I think the Sibelius Festival works because there's a natural connection." (The museum director, 11.1.2005)

The festival started out in cooperation with the region's summer university and lectures were held as part of the festival. The lectures, however, did not attract a significant audience. The first few years the festival had no appointed artistic director. When the permanent artistic director – a cellist whose father came from the area – was appointed in 1998, he immediately brought about two changes: a focus on concerts and a shift from August to June. The festival takes place over three days making the festival "intensive and short, not like those miserable two-week long [festivals], but rather compact" according to the artistic director. It is a small-scale chamber music festival with an average audience of some 180-200 per concert, bringing the total to some 2,000.

The municipality constitutes a security for the festival, as "we always have them as a backup", in the words of the museum director. The municipality grants an annual financial support amounting to ca. 20,000 euros, of a total budget of ca. 50,000 euros. The rest is financed through foundations, sponsors and ticket sales of which ticket sales amounts to about 25 percent.

## **THE ONE-OFF EVENT**

As opposed to the festivals that have been organised for a number of years, the anniversary was a one-off event. A project manager was specifically employed for it and the task was formulated with regard to there being a point in time when the event organisation would be dissolved. There was no dress rehearsal so to speak, no routines to test and improve, no possibility to reschedule for next year. Everything had to work. That there is no second take goes for any event, as events are produced and consumed simultaneously, but the organising that is undertaken to make the event happen may be more or less routinised. Organising the Tapiola anniversary was a unique task.

## THE 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF TAPIOLA GARDEN CITY

The foundation stone of Tapiola Garden City was laid on September 5<sup>th</sup> 1953 in a cut clearing in the woods some eight kilometres west of Helsinki. The official ceremony of laying the foundation stone was performed among others by Heikki von Hertzen, who was the visionary behind the ambitious project. Heikki von Hertzen came to personify the creation of Tapiola. His conviction can be traced back to Ebenezer Howard's garden city ideals. In the garden city, rural and urban features would be successfully combined, as "[h]uman society and nature are meant to be enjoyed together" (Howard 1902/1965:48). The design of Tapiola combined a garden city ideology with functional, modernist architecture in the spirit of Le Corbusier.<sup>3</sup> Fifty years later the original ideals and planning guidelines have been challenged by urban growth and a change in lifestyle. Although still carrying the epithet Garden City, the identity of Tapiola was a discussion topic for the planning of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2003.

At the turn of the millennium, the city council of Espoo<sup>4</sup> decided to give Tapiola a 50<sup>th</sup> birthday gift in the form of funding for organising an anniversary. A project manager was employed in March 2002 to take on the role of party organiser par excellence. She was employed by the culture office, with the cultural director as her superior. It was the culture office that was the official body in charge of organising the anniversary. The budget amounted to about 400,000 euros. The main aim of the anniversary was to give Tapiola some attention:

The aims are, well... sort of multidimensional but quite simple of course, primarily to display the offering and variety of Tapiola, that is, to make known everything that happens here and show how rich in activities this area is... and then of course Tapiola has for several reasons lagged behind in the internal development of Espoo so one of the ideas of this project has been that the municipality kind of presents Tapiola with a gift by making note of the fiftieth anniversary because Tapiola is after all a kind of an exceptional place in Espoo. (Project manager, Tapiola Garden City 50, 26.2.2003)

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<sup>3</sup> The result is a curious mix of Howard's decentralised small-scale town and Le Corbusier's metropolitan landscape. Their common denominator, however, was an idea of creating a better alternative to the prevailing urban misery they perceived (Fishman 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Espoo is the municipality where Tapiola is situated.

The anniversary was to be celebrated with various events throughout the year, starting in February. The number of events in the distributed anniversary programmes amounted to 137, ranging from concerts to architecture walks to sports activities to parades. The first week of September was to be the main anniversary week, culminating in a carnival-like day of performances and activities on September 6<sup>th</sup>. The main task of the project manager was to establish cooperation with cultural institutions, schools, non-profit associations, local entrepreneurs, and different departments of the municipality, that is, to mobilise a broad basis for the anniversary. The anniversary slogan, “Everything good together”<sup>5</sup> meant that Tapiola has everything good to offer in one place and package, as well as stating that everything good is achieved together, collectively.

The total project budget was estimated at 450,000 euros, of which one third was to be supplied by the municipality, one third from the culture sector and one third from sponsors. Unfavourable economic developments forced the municipality to cut spending, and 50,000 euros that were originally allocated for the anniversary were subsequently reallocated.

Having thus provided an overview of the events which are included in the study I will next proceed to situating events in a broader context.

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<sup>5</sup> My translation into English from the Finnish ”Kaikki hyvä yhdessä”.



## **CHAPTER 3: CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND EVENT AESTHETICS**

As indicated in the introductory chapter, events and festivals have gained a prominent position in what has been branded a cultural economy (Löfgren & Willim 2005), where art and aesthetics are at the forefront. In this chapter, I will discuss cultural production, specifically events and festivals in the context of the so-called cultural industry. The purpose of the chapter is to outline features of event production, and to contextualise the management of that production in a broader perspective.

Of the cultural events included in this study some are concerned with what would be considered fine art whereas others are concerned with what would be considered popular culture.<sup>6</sup> A note to be made is that I will analyse the events included in the study “on an aesthetic par” when it comes to their genre. I will not specifically focus on problematising and comparing genres in aesthetic terms, while still acknowledging instances when such distinctions are drawn upon by those included in the study.

### **ORGANISING CULTURAL PRODUCTION**

Within organisation studies, an interest in looking towards the arts for understanding and studying organisations, or the organising of art has steadily gained ground. Part of the work concerns the cross-fertilisation of art and business (e.g. Jacobson 1996; Guillet de Monthoux 1998; Guillet de Monthoux & Sjöstrand 2003). To relate culture and the arts to the economics of production and consumption is to bring two discourses together, which can be seen as incommensurable. Of late, culture and economy have been coupled and packaged to form the so-called creative industries (see further below), but the issue has been addressed earlier. The coupling of art and administration and especially the mass production of art was of concern to Theodor Adorno, who protested against art being subordinated to economic transactions. As Adorno puts it (1991a:93):

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<sup>6</sup> Evoking this distinction irrevocably leads to Pierre Bourdieu’s work on cultural production, and his theory of taste and distinction. I acknowledge his presence while not attempting to further refer to his theories in this study.

Culture would like to be higher and more pure, something untouchable which cannot be tailored according to any tactical or technical considerations. ... [T]his line of thought makes reference to the autonomy of culture.

At the same time there is a paradox, because

culture suffers damage when it is planned and administrated; when it is left to itself, however, everything cultural threatens not only to lose its possibility of effect, but its very existence as well. (Adorno 1991a:94.)

The mass production of art was vehemently criticised by Adorno, who felt concern about the popularisation and commercialisation and, in his view, consequent banalisation of art. The term “culture industry” was allegedly introduced by Adorno and his fellow Frankfurt School scholar Max Horkheimer in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* in 1947 (Adorno 1991b). This industry, says Adorno, views cultural artefacts “by the principle of their realization as value, and not by their own specific content” (Adorno 1991b:86). The term industry is not to be taken literally, rather, it refers to the standardisation of cultural artefacts (such as films) and “the rationalization of distribution techniques, but not strictly to the production process” (Adorno 1991b:87). The focus is thus on consumption rather than production.

The term still persists, and has taken on a more literal meaning. In later years, the cultural sector has been hailed as a potential source of entrepreneurship and business growth. It is tied to the experience economy, a term introduced in the popular management literature by Joseph Pine and James Gilmore (1999). Although branded a recent societal phenomenon by Pine and Gilmore, it has been acknowledged and criticised earlier, for example by French situationist Guy Debord in *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967/1995). For Debord, contemporary society is one based on representation; image prevails over reality, and social relationships are mediated by images. German sociologist Gerhard Schulze describes contemporary society as one marked by the production and consumption of experiences in *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft* (1992). He outlines an experience rationale, upon which the society rests, and according to which action is undertaken, and much of life is lived, based on the desire to consume experiences. He defines experience-based consumption as the consumption of “any product the value of which is predominantly defined in aesthetic terms” (p. 422, my translation). Common for all these is a

view on society where “experience-creation” is a fundamental part of society and the main basis for production and consumption.

The experience economy concept has gained extensive attention in Sweden, reflected in attempts to define and promote an experience industry (Löfgren 2005). A central institution in the conceptualisation of a Swedish experience industry has been the Foundation for Knowledge and Competence Development (*KK-stiftelsen*). The foundation’s definition of the experience industry includes architecture, design, film/photography, art, literature, marketing communication, media, fashion, music, food, the performing arts, tourism and experience-based learning (KK-stiftelsen 2003). In 2006 the foundation published a report, *FUNK: A Growth Model for the Experience Industry*<sup>7</sup>, on the growth potential of the experience industry. In the report, culture is included as an ingredient alongside research and development, which can make the Swedish experience industry internationally competitive. The experience industry is clearly about business, but “culture” is seen both as an important input into and a consequence of the industry. The beneficial effects of culture are presented from a production and consumption perspective. On the production side there should be room for “playfulness, willingness to experiment and competition” (p. 100) and as a result of such a rich cultural life there will be a growing number of sophisticated consumers who, as they become familiar with the offerings of the experience industry according to the acquired taste axiom, will increase their consumption. On a European level, a study of the experience industry commissioned by the European Commission was carried out in 2005-2006. The study (“The Economy of Culture in Europe” 2006) maps the industry’s activities and potential. The report makes a difference between the cultural sector and the creative sector. The cultural sector is further divided into two spheres. Part of the cultural sector includes non-reproducible goods and services aimed at being consumed on the spot, such as concerts and fairs in the arts field (visual arts, the arts and antique markets, performing arts, and heritage). The other part of the cultural sector is the industrial sectors which produce cultural products aimed at mass reproduction, mass-dissemination and export (e.g. books and films). These are the cultural industries (film, video, games, broadcasting, music, and book and press publishing). In the creative sector, “culture becomes a “creative” input in the production of non-cultural goods”

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<sup>7</sup> The acronym stands for research, development, business and culture (in Swedish forskning, utveckling, näring, kultur).

(p. 2). It includes activities such as design, architecture, and advertising. “Creativity is understood ... as the use of cultural resources as an intermediate consumption in the production process of non-cultural sectors, and thereby as a source of innovation” (ibid.).

Cultural production is seen to have some overarching commonalities (p. 35):

1. *Short-lived products with a high risk ratio of failures over success;*
2. *Many products are marketed for local audiences but compete with international products;*
3. *The market is volatile and dependent on fashion, trends and unpredictable consumption patterns;*
4. *The sector has an important social role as a major and attractive communication tool.*

The very idea of the experience industry is the alchemic synergy of culture and business. To view culture in economic terms is not new. Cultural economics emerged as an area of inquiry in the 1970s, concerned with applying economic models and theories to artistic activities (Negus 2002). The term cultural economy can be seen as “a way of raising critical questions about the fusing, blurring and interaction of practices understood with reference to the analytic distinctions between economy and culture” (Negus 2002:116). An early study of the performing arts in economic terms is William Baumol and William Bowen’s study of “problems common to theater, opera, music and dance” (1966). They treated the production of cultural performances “not as an intangible manifestation of the human spirit, but as a productive activity which provides services to the community; one which, in this respect, does not differ from the manufacture of electricity or the supply of transportation or house-cleaning services” (Baumol & Bowen 1966:162). They analysed cultural organisations in financial terms and penned out the income gap as the general problem for all of them. In the course of the study I carried out, the question and problem of financing was frequently touched upon by the interviewees. Indeed, it seemed to be the overshadowing concern. The strategies for dealing with the lack of financial resources included applying for public funding, working to get sponsorship (in these cases in fact marginal), organising barter-solutions and arranging for bank loans.

Whether small or large cultural organisations, some kind of managerial administration is required in addition to expertise in the specific area the



organisation is concerned with. Often, this is handled by establishing a division of labour between an artistic director and a general manager (e.g. Martorella 1983:98), a dichotomous setup which is also questioned (Guillet de Monthoux et al. 2007). Pierre Guillet de Monthoux (2004) draws up an art firm with the help of aesthetic philosophy to answer questions about how aesthetics creates value and how the creative process could be conceptualised. He argues for a view which neither fetishises and romanticises the genius artist, nor managerialises art to death (which he sees is the stifling danger of the calculative character of the experience economy). Art is made to work through the interplay of a number of actors, or aesthetic players as they are called by Guillet de Monthoux: technicians, artists, critics and the audience. In a more sociologically oriented vein, Howard Becker (1982) conceptualises art as being assembled through various resources, and as being distributed in networks. Art is produced through collaborations and conventions, where the conventions make up the “art world” within which artefacts take shape and are established as art. To produce a work of art requires a number of activities to be performed:

Think of all the activities that must be carried out for any work of art to appear as it finally does. For a symphony orchestra to give a concert, for instance, instruments must have been invented, manufactured, and maintained, a notation must have been devised and music composed using that notation, people must have learned to play the notated notes on the instruments, times and places for rehearsal must have been provided, ads for the concert must have been placed, publicity must have been arranged and tickets sold, and an audience capable of listening to and in some way understanding and responding to the performance must have been recruited. A similar list can be compiled for any of the performing arts. (Becker 1982:2.)

Becker defines the resources that go into the process as material and human ones. The availability of these resources is dependent on demand and supply and the reputation of those wishing to acquire the resources. The focus is on existing albeit fluctuating “pools of resources” (Becker 1982:70, drawing on Lyon 1974). The conventions of different art worlds shape what is produced within the respective world. Becker further points out that what is available in terms of resources also affects the planning process: “Available resources make some things possible, some easy, and others harder; every pattern of availability reflects the workings of some kind of social organization and

becomes part of the pattern of constraints and possibilities that shapes the art produced” (Becker 1982:92). Art thus gains a clearly material character, a notion of collective assemblages of materials and people who perform predefined roles. Art work is not conceived and executed by one artist alone. How tasks are divided varies among different genres – but generally there is a well-established division of labour – each actor is assigned a “bundle of tasks” (Becker 1982:9). When setting up a theatre production, roles are predefined and carried out accordingly (dramaturgy, direction, lighting, casting and so on). As the bundles of tasks are so well-established they become the norm and alternative divisions of labour are inconceivable, or at least considered unpractical.

A second point that Becker makes is that the art work, as it is displayed at the end of the process, is not a given. At any point during the process different activities could have happened due to other resources being available or other constraints being posed. There would still be a work of art, only different. There is no rule that says that activities must occur in a particular way and that what is produced must remain the same. “This is not, then, a functionalist theory which suggests that activities must occur in a particular way or the social system will not survive. The social systems which produce art survive in all sorts of ways, though never exactly as they have in the past. ... [The functionalist view] is misleading in suggesting that there is any necessity for such ways to survive exactly as they are.” (Becker 1982:6.) The notion of things not being sustained “exactly as they are” is interesting for the further development of my analysis. It seems that when it comes to events, it becomes noticeable – for they have to be re-organised continuously. However, if the notion of change is inherent in the process – that all things need to be continually sustained but not necessarily by repeating exactly the same formulas (cf. Jeffcutt 1996) – the situation becomes more one of a continuous flow of activities rather than the change/stability dichotomy. I will return to the dichotomy of change and stability described as temporariness and permanency in the following chapter, where I frame the events as temporary organisations.

An event may be an extracurricular activity for an organisation, a special occasion which is not part of how the organisation usually performs, as when a company holds its annual Christmas party, for example.<sup>8</sup> For others, such as

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<sup>8</sup> However, even if considered an extraneous activity, an event can always be seen to be an instance of performing the organisation itself (Johansson & Näslund 2007).

the cultural organisations described in this study, organising events is a central part of the way they work. To follow Paul Jeffcutt (1996), there are the simultaneous processes of the organisation of performance and the performance of organisation. Jeffcutt uses the example of an experimental theatre group, describing the setting up of a performance with the help of a number of volunteers. He views the process as follows:

On the one hand, there was the process through which the company and volunteers achieved the organization of performance, meaning the working practices by and through which the performances of the show became prepared, rehearsed and performed. On the other hand, there was the relationship between these working practices through which these performances became realized, and the nature of the 'artistic vision' articulated by *Bread and Puppet Theatre*, through which this organization became performed. (Jeffcutt 1996:96.)

On the one hand, the organising of the performances described by Jeffcutt involved distributing parts among the volunteers, rehearsing, and finally performing. On the other hand, the practices (the setting in an old tram shed hall turned into a performance space, the experimental form with puppets, handing out bread at the performances) reinforced and contributed to what the Bread and Puppet Theatre "is about", an avant-garde ensemble with a political mission. Organising the performances is not about mere replication, of gathering the exact same resources for each performance to be identical. The composition and practices may change, and if so, so does how the organisation itself is performed, what it is about. To be housed in a converted tram shed is not only about using any physical space available; it shapes both how the performance is organised and what the theatre group is about.

## **FESTIVALS AND EVENTS**

In Finland festivals abound. Statistics Finland, the national statistic agency, lists 163 cultural events in 2005 ("Kulttuuritilasto 2005" 2006). The number contains events supported by the Ministry of Education, film festivals supported by the Finnish Film Foundation, and members of Finland Festivals (which amount to 80). The sum total thus only represents part of all cultural events, as those organised without the support of the mentioned bodies are not included. In 2006 the Ministry of Education supported cultural festivals

with 3,7 million euros (Saha 2006). The types of events include music, dance, film, crafts, art, photography, children's events, and theatre.

The word *festival* has an intuitive, instant image-generating quality: "Festival time signals jostling crowds, overflowing bars, and cacophonies of multilingual conversations" (Jamieson 2004:64). The image which arises usually includes crowds moving around the streets, watching performances of various kinds, from concerts to improvised jam sessions to street acrobats. A certain theme or genre is usually in focus and activities cater to all senses. It is an aesthetic experience, and a realm which is entered and exited. Encyclopædia Britannica cites festival as derived from *feast*, originating in religious celebrations:

[a] day or period of time set aside to commemorate, ritually celebrate or reenact, or anticipate events or seasons – agricultural, religious, or sociocultural – that give meaning and cohesiveness to an individual and to the religious, political, or socioeconomic community. ... Festivals often include not only feasting but also dramatic dancing and athletic events, as well as revelries and carnivals that at times border on the licentious. Depending upon the central purpose of a feast or festival, the celebration may be solemn<sup>9</sup> or joyful, merry, festive, and ferial. ("Encyclopædia Britannica Online")

A festival, "an annually recurring festive event" (Edström et al. 2003:12, my translation), is one form of event and I here use the terms synonymously. The common denominator of the events included in this study is that they are concerned with culture as defined in chapter 2. Bowdin et al (2002:19-20) outline the following types of cultural events:

1. *High-profile general celebrations of the arts*
2. *Festivals that celebrate a particular location*
3. *Art-form festivals*
4. *Celebration of work by a community of interest*
5. *Calendar festivals*
6. *Amateur arts festivals*

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<sup>9</sup> Arguably, the idea of a "solemn festival" appears oxymoronic, as festivals usually imply fun and, to a certain extent, licensed disorder.

## 7. Commercial music festivals

The events are categorised according to scale, genre, aim (to celebrate a location or a community group), professionalism, and commercial profile. The events in the study represent several of these categories. What they all have in common is that they are hosted by non-commercial organisations. The degree of commercialisation is tied to sponsorship, which varies between cases. The *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary had the highest degree of sponsorship, a third of the budget. The other events had minor sponsorship which is not necessarily financial (there are barter deals). The *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary was also an event which was clearly organised to celebrate a particular location. The *Raseborg Summer Theatre* has an amateur profile while also employing professionals for the productions. It also represents a particular art form, as do the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, *Avanti! Summer Sounds* and the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival*. However, the music festivals are organised “for the sake of the particular type of music” while at Raseborg, theatre can also be seen as a chosen vehicle for expressing a community. The category “art-form festivals” as outlined by Bowdin et al suggests a broader format which includes for example seminars on the particular art-form. The *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* started out in collaboration with a summer university and there were panel discussions during the first few festivals but due to a lack of interest they were dropped and the festival was concentrated to concert performances.

The categories serve to group events according to characteristics that I find helpful in this case. They are not however mutually exclusive; an event may fall into several categories depending on which features one chooses to focus on.

## EVENT AESTHETICS

The artistic director (and equally performing artist) walks into the salon, goes up front where they will be performing and shifts a piece of what looks like cardboard from under one chair on stage to under another. For the cellist. He then exits. I can hear instruments being tuned and then the first ensemble enters through the door at the back. People applaud all the way until they have taken a bow and are seated. The few seconds before they start playing are absolute silence. Brahms' sextet is performed (the "obligatory" piece of a chamber music festival, and one that pleases the audience according to the artistic director). Throughout the performance, the musicians look a lot at each other, they communicate vividly. As they play the last note their faces relax, they smile and look like they have accomplished it. For a few seconds there is silence, then the applause breaks out.

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As the modern clarinet piece is about to start I see the artistic director gesturing to the technician at the back. The lights should be switched off. The clarinetist briskly enters into the salon and then (maybe noticing the lights are on) abruptly turns on his heel. After a few seconds the lights go out finally and the clarinetist re-enters and takes his place on stage. The piece is accompanied with different colour spotlights floating across the stage, creating a haunting and quite mesmerising effect. After the piece the clarinetist comes back to take a second bow as the applause is quite strong. (Field notes from the Loviisa Sibelius Festival, 15.6.2002)

A successful event is to engross the spectator, making him or her completely in flow with "the emotional rhythm" (Ristilammi 2000:98) of the event without consciously reflecting on how the event is staged and structured while being in held in anticipatory suspense. Events are conceptualised as being governed by "event-time" and "event-space", a rupture in the flow of everyday life and showing a particular flow of activities so as to create a

distinct realm (Ristilammi 2000). To arrive at an event usually means entering through a specific point in space, to wait for the cue which starts the event and so on. These demarcations are part of making the event possible, as exemplified with the theatre by Steyaert et. al. (2006:94):

As the audience enters this outer space [the foyer], they begin to distinguish and separate themselves from the outside world. ... They join the collective identity of the audience and leave behind their everyday props. While the actors are taking on a role, audience members leave certain roles behind.

The aesthetic appeal of an event is related to immersing the audience and to make them lose reflective knowledge of participating in a staged occurrence while attentively focusing on the spectacle at hand (Crary 1999; Ristilammi 2000). An event is staged to be sensational in a particular meaning of the word: appealing to the senses. This sensory definition of the aesthetic is in line with Baumgarten's 18<sup>th</sup> century treatise of aesthetics as knowledge attained through the senses (Taylor & Hansen 2005). I consider the aesthetic to be a relational quality rather than an essential one. Andrew Light Smith considers aesthetic experiences as a way of approaching the world relationally. "[T]he aesthetic properties of everyday aesthetic experience inhere in the fusion of sense and imagination that is the experience, in itself, and not in the object of the aesthetic experience. The question for everyday aesthetics therefore becomes not what are the formal properties of this object that make it beautiful, but rather what is the relation between subject and object that makes this particular experience of that object beautiful." (Smith 2005:ix-x.) Aesthetic experiences are thus relationally defined. An object or another entity is not regarded as aesthetic *in esse*, but as being constituted in a relation.

To return to event aesthetics, an overarching theme or idea for the event is called for. For example, the Tapiola anniversary was organised to celebrate the Garden City heritage. The main question was, then, how to design the anniversary in terms of what kind of events and activities to include.

MJ: The expression "people's festival" is used a lot, what does it mean?

Project Manager: The 6<sup>th</sup> of September is the people's festival, it is open for everyone. But of course it is also an expression that signifies the anniversary in total, that there won't be only [classical music] concerts for example, which are clearly high culture, instead, we want events that are for everyone ...

independent of your personal interests towards some specific subject... we want a broad range! Different kinds, like events for children, amateur theatre, something for everyone. It is kind of a mixed bag but we don't see it as a negative thing. (21.3.2003)

A mixed bag holds something for everyone. Also, the term popular festival and the example with Tapiola Sinfonietta are expressions of criteria that came up throughout the planning of the anniversary. Tapiola has a classical music tradition, which translates into a high art image. It was a conscious decision of the project manager to include a pop music concert to counterbalance the classical image, and to associate Tapiola with a more youthful, popular culture.

To design a festival in terms of conceiving of a theme and designing the parts to make up an appealing whole is part of the aesthetic. However, achieving a desired aesthetic experience is an elusive matter. Following a step-by-step manual of event organising (see further below in the section on Event Management) does not guarantee that the event succeed in providing an aesthetic experience. In this study I am not concerned with experiences as subjective perceptions, but with the material practices that are undertaken to produce them. What organisational action is taken to produce such an elusive experience as “a place to hide where you can be completely honest with yourself”, as expressed by one artistic director I interviewed, or indeed to produce the “good vibes” of the *Lakeside Blues Festival*?

There is no safe recipe for guaranteed success. What is important is to try to engage the audience emotionally, a not altogether easy task. The director and the producer of the Raseborg Summer Theatre comment on it:

Director: I work with emotions ... of course, when you experience things in life you gain some insight and you also know practically and technically what works but on the other hand I think that if you have experienced grief you can just follow your own instincts ... it is as simple as that... you try to recreate what you believe in and then it carries out to the audience because those same feelings, so I believe, reside in everyone.

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Producer: You want the audience to cry and laugh ... If the performance causes emotional reactions we have succeeded ... I've cried myself, during



every performance I've seen [of *The Brothers Lionheart*] I've cried at least three times and that's kind of a sign that [the performance] works... and that's kind of my role as well, to act as a trial audience because those who are engaged [in performing] don't have the necessary distance... but I'm the one who sits there and tells the director 'well, that doesn't touch me' or 'that's not good enough'. I mean, I don't tell him how to do his work but I can say what doesn't work, and of course also what works.

Emotion, then, is a slippery element which is partly captured through having experience of how to create emotional engagement, but which partly remains elusive.

As mentioned before, a culturalised economy is much concerned with how an aesthetic perspective can be harnessed to produce value. This general tendency may be thought of as aestheticisation processes, that is, moves whereby "reality as a whole is coming to count increasingly as an aesthetic construct" (Welsch 1997:1). Wolfgang Welsch refers to how this includes that people (styling, grooming, and ideas of the body); landscapes (regeneration projects) and the economy are viewed in aesthetic terms. This aestheticisation, Welsch further asserts, can be outlined on two levels: surface aestheticisation and deep-seated aestheticisation. The former is about "sugar-coating the real with aesthetic flair" (Welsch 1997:2) and the latter about granting the aesthetic the position of a foundational logic in society. Surface aestheticisation is embellishment and decoration, a significant part of which is the idea of experiences. Often this amounts to recasting everyday activities in experience-induced terms; you do not merely go shopping, you have a shopping experience. Further, according to Welsch, events and festivals have become a significant part of this aestheticisation – they are an important part of a "society of leisure and fun" (Welsch 1997:3). Aestheticisation, however, also has more deep-seated consequences as it becomes a principle upon which society is mediated, as also proposed by Schulze (1992).

I would like to dwell on Welsch's point of the aestheticisation of the physical landscape a bit longer, particularly with regards to events. Cultural events are often seen as efficient ways of promoting a place, and are thus ascribed a distinct economic value: "Just as culture has been discursively reconfigured according to economic and managerialist logic, so now festivals are increasingly written into civic cultural policies as both product and framework, designed to attract a wealthy target market and furnish the city with a

competitive image” (Jamieson 2004:66). Hultsfred, the name of a small town in southern Sweden, is often followed by the suffix Festival, as the two combined signify the largest national rock festival. Hultsfred is also marketed under the epithet “the Music Municipality”. A six-page article in the weekend supplement of Sweden’s leading business newspaper tells the story of how the small manufacturing community has been thoroughly rebranded with the birth and development of the festival (DI Weekend, June 2007). The latest addition to the activities and organisations that have emerged as a result of the festival – including an event management company, a bakery, and an ad agency – is a high school with a focus on the creative industries. Hultsfred is not merely the site of a rock festival, it is an envisaged hub for the experience industry: “We want to enlarge [Rock City, the cultural centre] to become Rock City Experience with an indoor camping site in order for people to be able to experience the festival all year round” (Kiepels 2007:19, my translation). The festival has extended beyond its time-space boundaries; it has given the municipality a branded identity, it has spawned a host of organisations and now it is to be re-enacted as a year-round experience. What is sought to be re-enacted is a festival experience, not the actual festival. Put starkly, the suggestion is that coming to Hultsfred in February and pitching one’s tent at an indoor camping site would be to experience the festival in extension. The example serves as an illustration of how the boundaries and resources of an event can be redrawn, and drawn upon, in shifting forms.

A festival transforms the space where it takes place. Ordinary space is transformed into festival space. Kirstie Jamieson (2004) describes how Edinburgh is transformed into The Festival City each year with a string of festivals that take place in August: “[a] framed spontaneous play which contrasts routine everyday life is observably squandered in the dedicated time and place of Edinburgh’s festival season” (Jamieson 2004:65). The seemingly improvised and carnivalesque character of the transformed city are, however, tightly directed: “behind the animated street scenes, the gaze is influenced by stakeholder, institutions of local government, and an expanding service economy, which benefit from the promotion of the festival’s playfulness and liminality. ... Although spaces appear as though spontaneously formed by the company of strangers and the collective experience of performances, the city *en fête* is also the result of painstaking planning by a city administration that seeks to control the ways in which public spaces change. The city is nonetheless redefined by the altered energy and velocity of strategically planned festivalized spaces.” (Jamieson 2004:65.) The city is not only a

backdrop for a series of festivals; the festivals transform the city both in terms of altering its spaces when they are carried out and in terms of attributing the city with a festival identity. Jamieson further describes transforming Edinburgh into a festival city as fixing “the festival gaze”, meaning that the city is presented as a space of festivities and fun. She exemplifies this with how the Old Town’s alleyways, “which usually provide social gathering territories for the city center’s homeless community, are re-claimed during the festival season by the authorities and re-configured as performance and market stall spaces” (Jamieson 2004:71). The festival demands a re-presentation of space in order for it to successfully lock the festival gaze onto the city and engage the festival visitors in the festivities. Space is theatricalised, sometimes quite literally as in the case of medieval festivals, which are staged complete with dressing up, peddling handicraft work and doing all things medieval as exemplified by Saara Taalas’ observation of such a medieval event (Taalas 2006). Whether incorporating dressing up in historical outfits or not, an event recasts the space where it takes place.

For example, in the case of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* the idea of a festival preceded its contents. The festival was conceived by the municipal culture office with the specific idea of enhancing the town’s cultural profile, particularly to counterbalance the fact that the town is known for being the seat of a nuclear power plant. Jean Sibelius spent part of his youth in Loviisa and so the composer was selected to lend his name to the festival as well as defining its genre. In this case, the festival as a form of organising was initiated on the grounds of it contributing to the aestheticisation of the town. In the case of the *Tapiola Garden City 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary*, a similar aestheticisation beyond the contents of the events was sought for: to cast Tapiola as a vibrant place with a range of activities to offer, and that this effect would stretch beyond the anniversary. One of the issues which were discussed during the organising of the anniversary was the perceived quietness and emptiness of Tapiola in the evenings. The anniversary, then, would serve to show how Tapiola can come alive. The aesthetics of an event are not limited to what is performed during it, it extends further.

## **EVENT MANAGEMENT**

Given the increased economic interest in festivals and events, management literature on events is rife. Given my organisational focus on events, it is of relevance to gain insight into how events are conceptualised in managerial

terms. In the event management literature, the event management process is often outlined as successive stages such as research, design, planning, coordination, and evaluation (Goldblatt 2002). Part of the initial research phase in the process is, according to Goldblatt, to establish an *event philosophy* to “determine the financial, cultural, social, and other important aspects of the event” (2002:46). The event philosophy, then, is the governing idea of the event, and organisational decisions are taken on its basis. Further according to Goldblatt, the main points to consider when assessing the feasibility of an event are the financial, human, and political matters (2002:48). The political dimension refers to mapping the view of the municipality or other influential governing body on the event. A guideline for planning an event is to answer five questions akin to classic rhetoric: why, who, when, where and what (Goldblatt 2002:41-42). *Why* is the most important question to ask; the reason for organising the event in the first place needs to be clear and compelling. It clarifies the relationship to stakeholders, which Bowdin et al (2002) identify as participants and spectators, the host organisation, the host community, co-workers, the media, and sponsors.

Further in the management literature, the SWOT framework is presented as a viable tool for assessing the success of an event (Goldblatt 2002). Potential strengths, or, vice versa, weaknesses relate to funding (financial resources), potential for sponsors (brand, image), staff and volunteers (human resources), good media relations (again; brand, image) and site (physical resources). If disorganisation occurs, i.e. “frequent changes resulting from substitutions, additions or even deletions” (Goldblatt 2002:49), it is due to poor research and design. To ensure an effective planning process, Goldblatt suggests adherence to the “time/space/tempo laws” (2002:49) in order to use resources efficiently. “These three basic laws will affect every decision you make; how well you make use of them will govern the final outcome of an event” (Goldblatt 2002:49). Time refers to the amount of time needed for planning and setting up the event, as well as how the event itself is carried out. Timing also relates to space, the second law to observe according to Goldblatt. Space concerns the venue of the event, and its characteristics determine the time needed for preparation (rearranging, decorating) and carrying out the event (getting to the venue, time needed for everybody to enter, possibly moving around between performances, and so on). Finally, tempo is the pace at which the planning and organising, as well as the event itself are carried out. Time and space are the main variables which are to be manipulated to succeed with events.

The models presented in the event management literature are models of normative project management. While the categorisations of stakeholders and resources are helpful for outlining an organisational framework of events, it is not my intent to pursue normative claims. I will return to the matter of organising when discussing events in terms of temporary organisations in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER 4: THE TEMPORARY EVENT ORGANISATION

A total of about four hundred volunteers participate every season in the Raseborg Summer Theatre. The producer estimates that some 1,500 people have been involved in the productions over the years. He says he often thinks of the theatre as a foreign legion:

The Raseborg summer theatre is different to other summer theatres in the sense that... I like to call it a foreign legion, because we have no permanent participants from one year to the next. I mean, many of these kinds of [theatre] groups are kind of social groups that stick together year after year and that's fun for them but it can get pretty boring for the audience if the same people play the same parts year after year. And then some are better than others and some fit the part of the hero and so on... so to avoid that we start from scratch every year... of course, we are happy to have people take part in this several years but they shouldn't expect to get a leading role every year. (Interview 2002)

The “foreign legion” is a flexible organisation which is capable of renewal. Renewal versus tradition is a balancing act that Mia Larson points out as being characteristic of festivals (2003) On the one hand, a festival should be sufficiently recognisable in terms of a theme or a genre; on the other hand the audience expects to be surprised. To organise the recurring events of the study at hand, a number of activities are repeated in cycles. For the *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary, the event organising was a task which had no local precedent with the same aim. I see the notions of “starting from scratch”, flexibility, and renewal together with the characteristic that an event is produced and consumed simultaneously as important factors for conceptualising event organising. At the heart of it is temporariness.

I will therefore proceed by viewing events in terms of temporary organisations. A temporary organisation is an entity which is established for a particular task. When, however, does a temporary organisation start? Is it when a decision is formally (or informally) made to form such an organisation? Or is it when the members are assembled for the first time? And likewise, when does it end? When the group ends their final meeting? When

an evaluation report has been written and distributed? How does the organisation change over time? The terms temporary organisation and project imply a clearly demarcated organisational entity, but drawing a line around the temporary organisation is not evident. Instead of defining a temporary organisation according to predetermined characteristics, tasks or steps, a temporary organisation can be defined in practice.

In this chapter I will outline a theoretical frame of events in terms of their temporary quality. To do so, I will start by discussing views on organisational temporariness and stability in organisation studies. I will then turn to conceptualisations of temporary organisations. This will provide a frame to which I will then add some elements. Specifically, I want to add the concept of resources to the frame, and furthermore discuss the specific character of events.

## **ORGANISATIONAL TEMPORARINESS AND PERMANENCY**

How to achieve permanency and stability has been a central question in organisation studies. From organisational structure to strategy to culture, different concepts have been introduced to study how to achieve coherence and stability (Czarniawska 2007). However, stability may imply rigidity while temporality implies flexibility. It is here that the appeal of the temporary organisation lies with its attractive mix of “controllability and adventure” (Sahlin-Andersson 2002:241).

Karl Weick advocated a focus on “organising” rather than “organisation” in order to capture the dynamism of organisational life (1979). Organisational scholars have since then often evoked and followed his proposition. Even so, as Barbara Czarniawska points out, “when studying ‘organizing’, researchers mostly encounter processes that have already come to a happy end of a kind; that is, they have become reified into ‘organizations.’ Nevertheless, to study ‘organizing’ is to point out that ‘organizations’ are but temporary reifications, because organizing never ceases; to study ‘organizations’ is to deny this fact.” (Czarniawska 2004b:780.) If organisations are conceived of as stable structures, the activities that continuously go into upholding them are obscured. Also, looking at an organisation as a “happy end” does not account for the diverse efforts, unexpected turns and abandoned ideas that lead up to the current status. Organising involves complications and inconsistencies as well as coherence and order. In this sense, temporary organisations are



gratifying to study since "because of their temporary character, they make visible organizing processes which are usually taken for granted, and which are therefore normally opaque to both the actors and observers" (Pipan & Porsander 2000:6). The temporary form of organising demands for a collective to be formed for a certain predefined period of time (although the time frame may change as the process unfolds).

Anell and Wilson temporary–permanent dimensions may be conceptualised as "organizing in two modes" (2002:170) with a focus on activity flows rather than structure. They conceptualise the states of stability and flexibility as a focus on routines and projects (p. 173) and they outline the modern organisation as follows:

SETTING	ROUTINE-BASED	PROJECT-BASED
FOCUS		
ROUTINES	A. The permanent, stable organisation	B. The permanent, flexible organisation
PROJECTS	C. The temporary organisation	D. The "one of a kind" organisation

Table 2. Organisational settings and foci of modern organisations (Anell & Wilson 2002:173).

I do not wish to claim this to be an exhaustive categorisation of contemporary organisational forms. Rather, the table serves to illustrate how the temporary and permanent aspects of organisations are conceptualised. In the table, the temporary organisation is a form which appears in a routine-based (that is, stable) setting with a focus on projects. Anell and Wilson relate the table to how organisation studies have focused on these different illustrations of organisations. Classical organisation studies are concerned with the permanent, stable organisation and how to best structure the organisation so as to achieve stability. Anell and Wilson further describe how the permanent and temporary forms described in the table relate to the view on organisations as activity systems. An important point worth making here is that what is temporary can only be discerned in relation to what is permanent; it is not a question of two independent conditions of being.

A clarification of the use of the terms temporary organisation and project is worth making. Rolf Lundin parallels the two, in that he states that the term project is a more established term for temporary organisations (Lundin 1998:196). Mainstream research on projects has generally been of a normative and prescriptive character with a focus on single projects. According to Lundin (1998), one of the key differences between the “traditional” project management doctrine and a view on temporary organisation is the view of the former on projects as separable entities, decoupled from a context. Instead, he advocates an approach that goes beyond single projects, is theoretically informed and empirically based.<sup>10</sup> Following this view, a project is not seen as a separate, clearly demarcated entity but a mode of organising which has more widespread implications. Projects should be seen against “the specific contextual circumstances in which they develop” (Sahlin-Andersson & Söderholm 2002:13). To understand a temporary organisation, surrounding circumstances have to be included.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF TEMPORARY ORGANISATIONS

In their article *A theory of the temporary organization* (1995) Lundin and Söderholm propose four characteristic demarcations around which temporary organisations may be analysed: time, team, task and transition. These basic demarcations are established to provide an outline for defining the boundaries between the temporary organisation and its environment. *Time* is of principal concern for temporary organisations, as the term itself suggests. According to Lundin and Söderholm, time is indeed the focal point of a temporary organisation, and the view on time is linear in the sense that the organisation is seen to have a starting point and a finish.

The *task* is central in that it is because of it that the temporary organisation is created. Lundin and Söderholm also state that the task is more important to members of a temporary organisation than to those in a permanent organisation, as the formulation of the task defines the *raison d'être* of the temporary organisation. I would contend that also other than temporary organisations are created for a task, and that members of more permanent organisations may also find the task or stated goal of the organisation important, whereas members of temporary organisations might find the task of lesser interest (one can be a member out of obligation, for example). The

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<sup>10</sup> He refers to it as the Scandinavian School of Project studies.

degree of detail of the task which a temporary organisation is created for also varies. What I think that matters, however, is the foreseeable time frame of a temporary organisation which sets a certain pressure and therefore might create a necessity to clarify a task. The task is commonly stated as a singular one, although it might involve a number of complex organising objectives (see Pipan & Porsander 2000). To define the task entails partitioning, that is, decisions on activities to be carried out to perform the task. The partitioning is influenced by organisational norms of conduct and practices (cf. the bundles of tasks which Becker outlines for the production of art).

*Team* is the group of individuals brought together to accomplish the task of the temporary organisation. This relates to legitimisation, as “the team needs to relate to outside organizational contexts” (Lundin & Söderholm 1995:442). The temporary organisation needs to be seen as necessary or at least acceptable by external actors. This may prove challenging as “there may even be enemies outside, or the “environment” is simply uninterested in the temporary unit” (Lundin & Söderholm 1995:442). In short, the temporary organisation needs to make friends in order to legitimise its position. A legitimised position facilitates what is the fourth delineation, transition.

*Transition* implies that “something has to be transformed or changed as a consequence of the existence of the temporary organization” (Lundin & Söderholm 1995:442). The work that is undertaken in a temporary organisation is meant to have longer-lasting effects. The temporary organisation is mobilised in order to produce something which is supposed to extend beyond it. Lundin and Söderholm refer to how the outcome of the temporary organisation is to be transmitted to a permanent setting as bridging, and that one way of performing bridging is through evaluation of the outcome (Lundin & Söderholm 1995:449). Here, we come back to the notion of the value of events as touched upon in the introductory chapter. Willmar Sauter (2007) reflects on the seemingly irrational decision of the city of Uppsala to invest in the Swedish Theatre Biennale which concerns a limited, exclusive audience consisting of the organisers and participating performers only. There is no external audience. Would not exposure to a larger audience be a criterion for the city’s investment decision? Sauter goes on to conceptualise the value transformation that takes place through the event in terms of collective identities, a sign of prestige, and creating a sense of belonging to the cultural sphere. The value may not be (economically or rationally) defined, but there nevertheless is some kind of perceived value produced by the event, hence the willingness to invest in it.

The extending aspect of events may be thought of in terms of *ephemeral institutions*, that is “structured social events that bring people together on a sporadic or infrequent basis and yet still foster an identity that transcends the particular time of their occurrence” (Maher 1999:201). Timothy Maher gives the example of an annual art fair, how it contributes to an image of the neighbourhood also when it is not on, and its role in the regeneration of that particular urban area. Events and festivals are ephemeral in that they happen for a limited period of time. Of course, the organising does not cease inbetween as there are accounts to be settled, performers to be booked and other preparations to be made. But the event materialises only at certain intervals. “These happenings, these ephemeral institutions, often have a symbolic importance that contributes to their durability. Their economic role is dwarfed by their ability to bring people together and in the process create a cultural identity that helps unite them in a collective activity.” (Maher 1999:205.) A cultural identity is constructed by means of the ephemeral institution. Certainly, the attraction of an event lies in its presence; its sights, sounds, smells and feeling. You have to be there to experience it, to have “feelings of belonging that continue long after the actual event has taken place” (Ristilammi 2000:102) Ristilammi mentions the role of materialisation (Ristilammi 2000:102) as being important for the extension of events. Materialisation includes objects which are produced for the event (programmes, merchandise) and which serve to remind the participants of having been there.

Events and festivals can also be seen to extend by spawning other activities, which take place outside the event. Events which become recurring may define the community’s identity (for example the Music Municipality Hultsfred). Alternatively they may of course disappear. When a festival becomes an institution “its value and existence no longer need to be defended by the festival management” (Edström et al. 2003:161), meaning that it has become “accepted” and as a result perhaps “receives regular financial support from the municipality” (ibid.). Those events in the thesis which are recurring all receive annual funding from their municipality and they are to varying degrees seen as part of the local community’s profile. Still, this was not necessarily translated into accounts of stability or safety.

## IDENTITY AND BOUNDARIES OF TEMPORARY ORGANISATIONS

Moving away from seeing projects as separate, predefined entities makes way for seeing the varying ways in which they are defined in practice. Which activities that are considered part of a project vary, both between projects and over time within a project. To include or exclude functions or actors is part of defining the project. To start with, defining a task as a project gives it an identity (Lundin 1998). It becomes an entity that can receive budget allocations, for example. Project organisations may therefore be established with access to resources in mind (Sahlin-Andersson 2002:16). When organisational activities are delineated as projects there may also be a greater sense of controllability and follow-up of results. The degree to which projects are constituted as clearly demarcated and independent, or conversely as part of a larger organisation is what Sahlin-Andersson and Söderholm refer to as the “attachment–detachment dilemma” (Sahlin-Andersson & Söderholm 2002:19). Detachment makes a project visible and perhaps governable while attachment to a larger organisational context facilitates coordination. In this sense the temporary organisation permits breaking free from routinised rigidity while still maintaining control.

The attractiveness of a project’s presumed controllability yet adventurousness is addressed by Sahlin-Andersson, stating that the boundary work that goes into establishing projects is of crucial importance. In this respect a project is conceptualised as a discrete entity but its boundaries are not fixed; “they are socially formed, and ... have to be continuously defined, sustained, or changed” (Sahlin-Andersson 2002:243). Sahlin-Andersson applies Thomas Gieryn’s description of boundary work within science studies to projects and she thus acknowledges the political and ideological aspects of boundary-setting activities.<sup>11</sup> Sahlin-Andersson further discerns three central processes of boundary work with regards to projects: temporal, task, and institutional boundary work (Sahlin-Andersson 2002:245). It is around these that the identity of the project is established.

As regards temporal boundaries Sahlin-Andersson points out the driving force of a set deadline, and how it can be used to explicate not communicating about all details and referring to it as a force over which the project group has

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<sup>11</sup>Gieryn (1983) describes boundary construction between science and non-science as practical, ideologically informed work rather than a purely analytical task.

no control. A deadline is also seen to enable focusing on the task and mobilising commitment. The temporal demarcation is connected to how the task is defined – Sahlin-Andersson gives the example of how constructing the large arena for sports and entertainment in Stockholm, the Globe, was timed to host the hockey championships in 1989, thus linking its construction to a specific event. The event set the schedule, but it also defined the task of the project. As with temporal boundaries, task boundaries are also continuously renegotiated and revised. The formulation of the task affects the contextual setting of the project and, vice versa, a changed context may redefine task boundaries. Sahlin-Andersson also points out that “objectives ascribed to projects may differ over time and among actors” (Sahlin-Andersson 2002:253). Once again, a project is not a fixed entity, neither in terms of objectives nor in a temporal aspect. The boundary work is not in the hands of a single actor (for example a project manager, as the mainstream project management literature would have it) but is shaped by a number of actors which are connected to the project in different ways. According to Sahlin-Andersson the allocation of costs and revenues are important for how the boundaries of a project are drawn. The envisaged potential of attracting resources shapes the boundary work. Likewise, depending on which resources are engaged in the project the boundaries change.

The temporary character of an organisation permits renewal and strikes a contrast to stable organisations. At the same time, the temporary organisation needs to be contextualised. Defining an organisational task as a project, then, relates to controllability and renewal, as well as resource potential. While endorsing a processual and action-based view on projects, Sahlin-Andersson and Söderholm also point to the contextual embedment of projects. Projects relate to permanent organisations and to other projects, they may be interrelated over time and lessons learnt in one project may be used in a later project, and “projects that seem to be separate and independent may compete for resources, attention, commitment, and legitimacy” (Sahlin-Andersson & Söderholm 2002:18). Hence the “managing of the relationships among projects and with the wider context is one important aspect of project management” (Sahlin-Andersson & Söderholm 2002:18). This, however, is not necessarily a straightforward task.

## **SUMMARISING THE TEMPORARY-PERMANENT ASPECTS OF ORGANISING**

To frame an organisation in terms of temporariness implies that the particular time-relatedness is central for analysing the organisation, and moreover that there is a permanent context against which the temporary organisation can be outlined. Often this permanent context is a parent organisation. It is the parent organisation which initiates the temporary organisation in order to perform a specific task. After the task is carried out the temporary organisation is dissembled and its members return to their “normal” work in the permanent organisation. If the temporary organisation is set in a parent organisation the parent organisation controls the resources of the temporary organisation. The event organisations, when framed as temporary organisations, do not control the resources needed to make the event work. Instead, resources need to be engaged for it. The boundaries of the temporary organisation are a result of the resources engaged for it. At the same time, having an identity – for example, “the Lakeside Blues Festival” – enables resource engagement.

The attachment-detachment dilemma addressed by Sahlin-Andersson and Söderholm (2002) takes on an interesting dimension when it comes to organising cultural events. Attachment-detachment becomes related to the event’s place in the local community. A cultural event needs to have a place carved out for it; its existence needs to be legitimised.

How the boundaries are a result of resources engaged is an important point, and central for this study. I will further discuss resources and boundaries in the following chapter, where I also introduce actor-network theory as an approach for elaborating on these topics.





## CHAPTER 5: TEMPORARY RESOURCES

Our most important resources are the financial ones – and they are always a problem, mind you... artistic competence so we can make the event happen... organisational resources... and cooperation with the local community, support and cooperation, which we have tended to forget. We should have built a local basis from the start. (Manager, Avanti!, 5.1.2005)

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Our most important resource? Here. [He throws a list of volunteers on the table in front of me. I leaf through the list.](Festival manager, the Lakeside Blues Festival, 10.1.2005)

The overarching question of this study is how resources are engaged for organising cultural events. From having viewed events in temporary organising terms in the preceding chapter I will next discuss resources in an organisational context, starting with the resource-based view of organisations and then moving on to a reconceptualisation of resources in performative terms. Given my choice to focus on resources as a concept for analysing cultural event organising, an overview of how resources are conceptualised with regards to organisations is called for, although I will then shift to a different perspective.

In the section that follows I will borrow from the resource-based view (RBV)<sup>12</sup> of organisations to provide an initial frame for how resources are conceptualised in an organisational setting. To start with a general definition, a resource is “a source of supply, support or aid, esp. one that can be readily drawn upon when needed” (*Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary* 1996). Following this definition a resource is thus a means for attaining a goal. In an organisational context, resources are seen as necessary for organisations to exist. A resource is an element which contributes to the functioning of the organisation, otherwise it is a liability. A resource can, however, change into a liability if circumstances change; it can for example become obsolete.

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<sup>12</sup> The view on the firm as a set of resources can be traced back to Edith Penrose's “*The Theory of the Growth of the Firm*” (1959/1980), a source commonly referred to within the resource-based view, which emerged in the strategic management field in the 1980s.

Resources are contextually defined and subject to change. Seen from this perspective, organisations are in turn conceptualised as bundles of resources that enable them to function successfully. Resources are input and output elements – certain resources need to go in to the organisation to sustain and develop it, and other resources are the result of its output. In what follows I will outline the resource-based view according to defined categories of resources, the qualities they should possess, how they are to be managed, and finally a dynamic perspective.

## TYPIFICATIONS OF ORGANISATIONAL RESOURCES

A summary of definitions of resources produces three broad categories: physical capital resources, human capital resources and organisational capital resources (Barney 1991:101). The categories are further described as follows:

Physical capital resources include the physical technology used in a firm, a firm's plant and equipment, its geographic location, and its access to raw materials. Human capital resources include the training, experience, judgment, intelligence, relationships, and insight of individual managers and workers in a firm. Organizational capital resources include a firm's formal reporting structure, its formal and informal planning, controlling, and coordinating systems, as well as informal relations among groups within a firm and between a firm and those in its environment. (Barney 1991:101, original italics.)

Other typifications of resources include “items of capital equipment, skills of individual employees, patents, brand names, finance, and so on” (Grant 1991:118). Resources, then, are “all assets, capabilities, organizational processes, firm attributes, information, knowledge, etc. *controlled by a firm* that enable the firm to conceive of and implement strategies that improve its efficiency and effectiveness” (Barney 1991:101, my italics). The issue of control is central. With control it is implied that a discrete organisational entity – “the firm” – fully governs its resources.

## DESIRED QUALITIES OF ORGANISATIONAL RESOURCES

Efficient resource management provides a sustained competitive advantage. It is the “idiosyncratic firm attributes” (Barney 1991:100) that provide a competitive edge. Barney also identifies two assumptions regarding the character of the idiosyncratic attributes: they are heterogeneous between

organisations and they are imperfectly mobile. Organisations employ different resources, which cannot be freely transferred between organisations, in different constellations and that is what enables some organisations to gain a competitive advantage over others. Further, a resource needs to be valuable, rare, imperfectly imitable, and have no strategically equivalent substitutes in order to contribute to a sustained competitive advantage (Barney 1991:105-106).

## MANAGING ORGANISATIONAL RESOURCES AND THE NOTION OF POWER

Conceptualisations of resources invariably relate to power, as controlling resources equals having power. A resource is something objectified, awaiting utilisation in a strategically intelligent manner. Resources are the tangible and intangible assets of an organisation, which enable the organisation to implement its strategies. It is therefore vital to locate and assume control over critical resources.

Using the resource-based view, Wernerfelt formulates some propositions concerning its practical implementation: that resources which lead to high profits can be *identified*; that strategy involves finding a balance between *exploitation* of existing resources and the *development* of new ones; and that an acquisition is in effect the purchasing of a bundle of resources (Wernerfelt 1984:172, my italics). Robert Grant considers “the process of resource *accumulation*” (1991:115, my italics) as a condition for sustaining competitive advantage. Resources are thus managed by being identified, exploited, developed, acquired, and accumulated – approaches which assume that resources exist as such, and the strategic task consists of acquiring and deploying them.

Resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik 1972) addresses the relationship between the organisation and its environment, where “organizations are viewed as coalitions, altering their structure and patterns of behavior to acquire and maintain needed external resources” (Ulrich & Barney 1984:472). Two main concepts can thus be discerned: power and relationships. By analysing the actors in the organisation’s network and their relative power due to possessing crucial resources, the organisation may counteract dependence relationships. To be efficient, the organisation should focus on assuming control over resources that are defined as critical and scarce. Again, control is a central aspect. Also, as I stated above, it is assumed

that a separable organisation fully governs its resources. This implies that both the focal organisation as well as the resources can be outlined in terms of identity and boundaries. To be able to assert control you need to assert how boundaries are drawn.

## RESOURCES TRANSLATED INTO ACTION

Once acquired, resources need to be translated into action. A concept, which stresses the shifting character of organisational activities in order to keep up with change is that of dynamic capabilities (Eisenhardt & Martin 2000), that is:

“[t]he firm’s processes that use resources – specifically the processes to integrate, reconfigure, gain and release resources – to match and even create market change. Dynamic capabilities thus are the organizational and strategic routines by which firms achieve new resource configurations as markets emerge, collide, split, evolve, and die.” (Eisenhardt & Martin 2000:1107).

Dynamic capabilities, Eisenhardt and Martin (2000) argue, while being idiosyncratic, embedded and path dependent, also show commonalities across organisations, referred to as “best practices”. Dynamic capabilities are therefore seen as imitable. Examples of dynamic capabilities are product development routines and strategic decision making. This view on resources, which emphasises them being made to act, is the one that draws close to the view I will take in this study.

The above described conceptualisations of resources, then, see resources as given, i.e. they exist as resources and need to be identified, acquired and used. To acquire a resource implies that it is correctly identified and subsequently incorporated into the organisation. A resource is identified on the basis of its properties. However, when seeing organisation as a process rather than a reified structure, and as a nexus for competing, unstable, changing elements rather than a neat aggregation of clearly defined parts, its elements need to be seen in relation to how they perform rather than what their characteristics are.

The starting point of the RBV is to view the organisation as a bundle of resources. This sensitises one to that an organisation is made up of various elements which permit it to survive, and it also provides ideas of what those elements might be: equipment, a brand, knowledge, and so on. Resources need to have special qualities, which make them valuable. They are to be heterogeneous between organisations, imperfectly mobile, and imperfectly

imitable. It is this view of the organisation that is of interest to me – the image which presents itself is one of a coordinated action of distinct parts rather than a monomorphic, seamless entity. At the same time, aspects of boundaries and control are seen as quite straightforward and manageable. This is where I venture to seek a different perspective, which accounts for the circumstances where resources are temporarily engaged. I wish to conceptualise the coming together of resources as a process of engagement rather than acquisition. To become engaged not only implies that a relationship is forged; it also implies a change in state of the concerned parties. The resources are in the making.

## **RESOURCES IN THE MAKING: A PERFORMATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

The particularities that surround my study, and which the analysis needs to account for are, to recapitulate:

- The temporary aspect of organising
- Extending the temporary event for stability
- Resources, which cannot be categorised according to control/non-control.

While the resource-based view provides a taxonomy of resources I am in this particular case emphasising a view on resources as defined in action rather than by essence. The resource-based view implies an organisation with clear boundaries and which possesses the means for achieving and maintaining control over resources, be they exogenous or endogenous. The resource is always “on the receiving end”, meaning it is acquired and controlled. In circumstances where the boundaries of the organisation are ambiguous and where there is no total control over resources to be won, the resource-based view provides a limited view. I will therefore move away from it to frame resources as performatively constituted by the organising process. Engagement is a performative activity, hence my choice of that notion for analysing how resources are constituted. To be engaged indicates not only that a relation is formed between actors, but also that the actors change. Take the example of an audience, to keep to the theme of the study. An audience is not merely a group of people at the site of a performance – an audience is engaged in the performance; attentive to it and by their attention acknowledging the performance. The performance and the audience are constituted together.

Further, what is at hand in this study is not a stable organisation which acquires resources for sustained efficiency, but a collective organising endeavour which strives to temporarily engage scattered, mobile elements in order to organise an event. The elements include people and things which need to be collectively ordered for the event to happen. I acknowledge Becker's view on art as coming into being as the result of a number of different resources, thus pointing out the material aspect of artistic work. The end result is reversible, meaning it could turn out differently given other available pools of resources (Becker 1982). I wish however, to take his view "one step further" in viewing resources as not existing in ready (albeit fluctuating) pools, but as being constituted by the process of organising, in this particular case in organising cultural events.

How, then, are elements engaged in a collective organising endeavour? Instead of an analysis of acquisition and control as suggested by the resource-based view, an analysis which emphasises association and engagement is needed. This analysis should focus on how various elements come together, not as a result of them being passively acquired into a collective system but as a result of an engagement process by which the collective is constructed.

As Becker conceives of the making of art as the construction of art worlds, so is world-building also of interest to sociologist Bruno Latour. Becker and Latour engage if not in close conversation then at least in mutual acknowledgement, sharing an interest in how things come to be the way they are (e.g. Becker 1998; Latour 2005). Latour's worlds are heterogeneous collectives constructed and inhabited by humans and nonhumans. The collective building processes are termed actor-networks. The term network prompts one to think of a structure of connections between nodes. Actor-network theory, however, does not set out to draw a network as such: "Network is a concept, not a thing out there. It is a tool to help describe something, not what is being described." (Latour 2005:131.)<sup>13</sup> Instead it provides an approach for seeing how actors are established and interact, by following "associations between heterogeneous elements" (Latour 2005:5). The idea of ANT is to unravel the entanglements of associations, which produce entities such as scientific facts, technical tools and macro-actors like

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<sup>13</sup> Latour himself has commented on the confusing character of the term, from saying that "[t]here are four things that do not work with actor-network theory; the word actor, the word network, the word theory and the hyphen" (Latour 1997:2) to resigning that the name is "so awkward, so confusing, so meaningless that it deserves to be kept" (Latour 2005:9).

organisations – entities which, once they are solidified, seem obvious and relatively stable. To follow the intricate networks that are in place behind such “obvious” elements allows one to be sensitive to their precariousness; along the way many things might have taken a different direction, and even as they solidify they constantly need to be upheld, or performed, in order to continue to act. The task becomes to “acknowledge the existence of a larger network of actions and actors, beyond our current gaze; seek out and acknowledge the heterogeneity of this network [and] recognize the performative character of this collective” (Collins 2006:151).

## ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY IN ORGANISATION STUDIES, AND CENTRAL FEATURES FOR THIS STUDY

Latour’s work is originally situated within studies of technology and science (STS), but actor-network theory has gained ground outside the domain of inquiry regarding the production of scientific knowledge. ANT has for example been applied to studies of markets (e.g. Helgesson, Kjellberg, & Liljenberg 2004) and organisations (Czarniawska & Hernes 2005; Harris 2005), and to analyse the spreading of management ideas (Czarniawska & Sevón 1996; Collins 2004; Czarniawska & Sevón 2005). A particular study which bears similar marks to mine is Lena Porsander’s tale of how Stockholm became the cultural capital of Europe in 1998 (Porsander 2000). Porsander applies actor-network theory to show how different actors came together to form the project organisation Stockholm 98. A crucial actor which emerges in the process, at times taking an almost dictatorial role, is an event database. The story is one of how a central actor, the project organisation, associates other actors such as subcontractors to it while forcing them to comply with certain terms. It is an ethnography of a single project with a central actor, and while acknowledging her study I have chosen a slightly different approach. I will not focus on one central case, but rather follow the textual strategy of Helgesson and Kjellberg (2005) and provide a set of illustrations across studies.

Particularly with regards to the temporary organisation Henrik Linderoth suggests that one way of dealing with “the slippage between temporality and permanency” (Linderoth 2002:225) is to look to actor-network theory. This slippage is concerned with how the efforts made in a temporary organisation may be transferred into a more permanent setting. There is, then, the juxtaposing of a temporary versus a permanent organisational setting, and that the efforts made in the temporary frame should somehow be made permanent

so as not to be lost. The notion of transferring is important. When something is transferred it is moved from one place to another in an unchanged form.

To return to temporary organisations and actor-network theory, Linderoth asserts that there is a need to look at how the efforts of the temporary organisation are incorporated into the permanent one because “it is not unusual that renewal efforts in contemporary organizations fade away, or end up as something that was not the original purpose” (Linderoth 2002:225). Again, there is a delineated temporary and permanent organisation, and a wish to control the outcome of the temporary organisation and its transfer into a permanent setting.

A central feature of the temporary organisation is whether it exists to perform a unique or repetitive task (Lundin & Söderholm 1995:441). This implies that what constitutes a unique versus a repetitive task is clearly delimited. The goal of the temporary organisation is to perform a given task, a process which entails the coming together of several actors with possibly differing interests. It is here that Linderoth perceives a fruitful combination of temporary organisation theory and actor-network theory: the negotiation of these interests in terms of translation. The notion of temporality and permanency is interesting and not altogether self-evident when coupled with actor-network theory. Permanency, or durability, is achieved by means of assemblages which take on a steady character when the actants and actions that lead to the collective being assembled disappear without a trace.

There are some features as outlined earlier, which have led me to use actor-network theory for the study at hand:

To make something stable which is implicitly not

To have a range of actors participate while not gaining control over them.

Actor-network theory is neither a stabilised theory, nor a singular concept. ANT has been applied, extended, modified and acquired new dimensions in various ways. Theory – not just the actor-network one – can be seen as a “basic stock of ideas, routines, images and ingredients which may be selectively trawled, lifted and adapted to the situation at hand” (Gabriel 2002:143). To “trawl, lift and adapt” actor-network theory to provide one ingredient for analysing the organising of cultural events is part of building the framework. The benefit of ANT as I see it is to see the heterogeneous networks that are constructed through our actions, and to make one sensitive



to the “agentic” role of nonhumans. Categorisations of identities are outcomes rather than a priori statuses – they are not given in the order of things, and so “[e]ntities achieve their form as a consequence of the relations in which they are located and performed; that is, in, by and through these relations.” (McLean & Hassard 2004:507).

## PERFORMING IN RELATIONS

Of importance here are the two central features which make up the ontological foundation of ANT: relational materialism and performativity (Law 1999; Collins 2004; McLean & Hassard 2004; Gherardi & Nicolini 2005). The first one alludes to the semiotic heritage<sup>14</sup> of ANT and implies that “entities take their form and acquire their attributes as a result of their relations with other entities” (Law 1999:3). The appearance of an entity, then, is not due to its inherent, unchangeable characteristics but a result of the associations to other entities. Which implies that “[entities] are *performed* in, by, and through [...] relations” (Law 1999:4, original italics), hence the aspect of performativity. The identity and subsequent distinction and categorisation between entities is an outcome of this process, rather than given in the order of things.

How do these principles serve my purpose of studying resource engagement? They enable me to go beyond the received strategic view on resources. In sum, elements do not possess independent identities and essentialist characteristics but are constituted by the relations through which they perform.

## ACTION IS MEDIATED

An article entitled *Is this an object I see before me?* in the Independent caught my eye in January 2007:

A prop is thrust under your nose and instantly promoted from the role of corroborating background detail to that of a significant actor. This is a uniquely cinematic trick since, effectively, it depends on a sense of intercutting and redirected gaze. (Sutcliffe 2007).

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<sup>14</sup> John Law refers to ANT as “a ruthless application of semiotics” (1999:3).

This cinematic trick of giving objects a central role to play may also be inspirational for thinking about the role of objects in terms of actor-network theory. The promotion of objects to significant actors is one such matter, as is the required redirecting of the ontological gaze for doing it. The object referred to in the article is a cup of poisoned coffee in Hitchcock's *Notorious*. Whereas all objects need not necessarily be equally fatal, they may still play decisive roles in the unfolding of organisational plots:

[T]hings might authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on. ANT is not the empty claim that objects do things 'instead' of human actors: it simply says that no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting elements in which, for lack of a better term, we would call non-humans."

(Latour 2005:72, original italics.)

Latour thus grants agency to objects, a proposition which has been interpreted as endowing objects with intentions, which is not the aim. Wanda Orlikowski proposes to reframe the issue and distinguish between human agency and material performativity: "In this view, material performances and human agencies are both implicated in the other (human agency is always materially performed, just as material performances are always enacted by human agency), and neither are given a priori but are temporally emergent in practice" (Orlikowski 2005:185). I find this a helpful distinction as it steers away from the idea of intentional non-humans.

Latour makes a distinction between intermediaries and mediators (Latour 1999:307). Both are elements in a translation process, but their roles differ. An intermediary is an element the input and output of which is known. We might relate this to the strategic view on resources, where resources are arranged according to predefined categories and characteristics. A resource is known and its effect is likewise known; it is an intermediary for obtaining a set goal. A mediator is more difficult to grasp, its role is elusive but still significant. It cannot be predefined and its consequences cannot be assessed in advance. Mediators are elements in processes of translation. "Mediators lie half-way between actors and intermediaries. They do not simply 'pass on' or 'transmit', for they also intervene. On the other hand, imputation does not stop with them. Mediators orchestrate the recognition that separates an actor from the crowd." (Callon 1991:157.) An example of mediation is given by David

Middleton and Steven Brown (2005) regarding the agency of sticky labels at a neonatal care unit, saying that “they generate effects within the organisation which shapes the flow of work. Agency is [...] shorthand for the process by which these effects are generated. It is an event rather than an attribute. Not something that is possessed in the inherent structure of some entity, but rather a series of effects that emerge when the entity enters into certain kinds of relations with other entities” (Middleton & Brown 2005:312). I propose to view the engagement of resources in terms of mediation – a resource becomes a resource through mediation.

What can be said about the elements that are involved in the heterogeneous world-building mentioned earlier? Let us start with the *actants*. The term is derived from Algirdas Greimas’s semiotic use of it, signifying “that which accomplishes or undergoes an act” (Greimas & Courtés 1979/1982:5). An actant has a role or status – that of hero or villain, for example. An actant’s role or status may change, as “the hero will be the hero only in certain parts of the narrative – s/he was not the hero before and s/he may well not be the hero afterwards” (Greimas & Courtés 1979/1982:6). The actant has been adopted by Latour to emphasize the role of nonhumans as entities that drive a chain of events, as an actant is “[w]hatever acts or shifts actions” (Akrich & Latour 1992:259). As the word actor commonly evokes an image of a human ditto, the term actant is used to emphasise the heterogeneity of the elements of an actor-network. “Actant [...] is indicative of a symmetry between human and nonhuman agents; since both are subject to translation; both are actants” (Harris 2005:166). To underline the sometimes minuscule role that an actant may have and still be an actant, I find the notion that “actants are beings or things that participate in processes in any form whatsoever, be it only a walk-on part and in the most passive way” (Greimas & Courtés 1979/1982:5, quoting Tesnière) illuminating. This way, one is sensitised to the organising role of elements that might seem negligible.

Further, “an actant might become an actor (acquire a character) or remain an object of somebody else’s action” (Czarniawska 2004a:80). “[A]n actor is an actant endowed with a character” (Akrich & Latour 1992:259). According to Lena Porsander, who is drawing on Latour, “actants acquire an identity – they become actors – by repeatedly performing the same actions with similar results (a winner is an actant that repeatedly wins, a loser repeatedly loses etc.)” (Porsander 2005:19). “Thus, the questions to ask about any agent are simply the following: Does it make a difference in the course of some other agent’s action or not?” (Latour 2005:71.) “What is an ‘actor’? Any element

which bends space around itself, makes other elements dependent upon itself and translates their will into a language of its own.” (Callon & Latour 1981:286.) An actor is “any entity that more or less successfully defines and builds a world filled by other entities with histories, identities, and interrelationships of their own” (Callon 1991:140). Actors thus undertake a world-building endeavour.

In *Pandora's Hope* (1999), Latour gives a detailed account of how a piece of Brazilian dirt is turned into scientific evidence by the means of being displaced from the ground into a measuring system set up by the scientists. One step involves putting the dirt into little codified boxes, which give information on where the samples were taken. It is this precise moment which is of interest to Latour, where the piece of matter, as it is displaced (effectively, mobilised), is imbued with a vast range of new meanings, thus taking on another form. Becker refers to the said example, stating that “the constraints we thought ineluctably built into the physical object have a social and definitional component” and that therefore, “we can watch objects change character as their social definition changes” (Becker 1998:47). This change constitutes a movement; the object is in this case physically displaced and recontextualised by being associated with other objects and meanings. Translation is movement – it implies that an element, the properties of which are given at a certain point in time and space, becomes fluid and takes on new properties. Becker then goes on to elaborate on the seemingly stable properties of objects, a state which we grant most objects around us. It is the granting of stability which is the key according to Becker, as “objects continue to have the same properties when people continue to think of them, and define them jointly” (Becker 1998:50).

## THE NOTION OF TRANSLATION

How then, are associations forged, how do actants become actors, and how do actor-networks emerge? Through processes of translation, the “act of invention brought about through combining and mixing varied elements.” (Brown 2002:6.) Translation alters those included in the process. Latour describes translation as “displacement, drift, invention, mediation, the creation of a link that did not exist before and that to some degree modifies the original two” (Latour 1999:179). It is not “a simple act of transposition in which a predetermined goal is realized through a neutral intermediary.” (Harris 2005:166.) This may be compared to the resource-based view, where the resources – the objects of action – act as intermediaries that are

incorporated into the organisation in order to reach a set goal. When translation takes place, goal translation takes place as well (Latour 1999). "The original goal will be displaced or 'detoured' as a result of the elements necessary for its realization and the technological act in question is itself altered. It is no longer an individual or group with a single goal that acts but rather a composite entity, made up of the aims and properties of all the enlisted actants and the strategies and negations involved in making them behave as one." (Harris 2005:166.)

Callon on his behalf "points to a loose structure or 'network' of associations between ideas, things, people and resources [...] around which and through which translation processes are enacted" (Brown 2002:6). One such example is the often cited case of the decline and subsequent attempt at restoration of the population of scallops in the Saint-Brieuc bay in Brittany (1986), a case which treats researchers, fishermen and scallops as actors in a translation process. It shows how a network of relations, or associations, is formed to produce a state of affairs which, in its end form, may be taken as inevitable and true.

In his account, Callon outlines the phases or moments of translation whereby the researchers involved in the restoration project seek to establish an authoritative position, and define and enrol the other actors in the process. The study illustrates that the translation process is one of constant flux; it is negotiated and renegotiated by the actors. Callon's four moments of translation are problematisation, intersement, enrolment, and mobilisation. Problematisation involves defining the situation at hand: which actors are involved, how do they relate to each other, and what do they need to do in order to become aligned? Once this so-called obligatory passage point is established, the actors are locked into place through intersement: "To interest other actors is to build devices which can be placed between them and all other entities who want to define their identities otherwise." (Callon 1986:208.) The character of the devices thus used to cut off the actors from other competing intersements may, according to Callon, range from force (if competing links are strong) to seduction to "simple solicitation" (Callon 1986:209). Further, "Intersement achieves enrolment if it is successful. To describe enrolment is to describe the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the intersements and enable them to succeed." (Callon 1986:211.) Finally, translation allows many to act as one: "These chains of intermediaries which result in a sole and ultimate spokesman can be described as the progressive mobilization of actors who render [...]"

propositions credible and indisputable by forming alliances and acting as a unit of force” (Callon 1986:216). “To mobilize, as the word indicates, is to render entities mobile which were not so beforehand.”

Translation, then, is negotiation of interests, and subsequently identities, through certain passages and detours. What is important is that in the process the interests and goals, as well as those involved in it change. Translation is “both the movement of an entity in space and time, as well as its translation from one context to another” (Gherardi & Nicolini 2005:287), and “ANT investigates and describes the strategies, tricks, manoeuvres, actions and enterprises with which individual or collective actors undertake translations in order to consolidate the network that supports them and to make it as permanent as possible.” (Gherardi & Nicolini 2005:287.)

Michel Callon (1999) applies the term *framing* for analysing the boundaries of a network. In the particular chapter I refer to, framing is discussed in relation to the market as a network. Agents on the market take certain factors into consideration when performing their calculations: “a clear and precise boundary must be drawn between the relations which the agents will take into account and which will serve in their calculations, on the one hand, and the multitude of relations which will be ignored by the calculation as such, on the other” (Callon 1999:186-187). To make calculations one thus has to frame actors and their relations, “an operation used to define individual agents which are clearly distinct and dissociated from one another” (Callon 1999:188). The framing process, however, is an ongoing one where agents are reframed (externalities are transformed into internalities, for example) and have changing identities. A network is thus continuously in flux depending on the actions undertaken to uphold it. There is no absolute cut-off point; rather, there are various cut-off points that are constructed in time and space. The notion of framing as proposed by Callon once again points to the intricacies of boundary-setting, namely the ambiguity thereof. Here I find it relevant to relate to the issue of boundary work as presented in the previous section on temporary organisations, that is, that boundaries arise as a result of negotiation and that an organisational entity is constructed as a result of boundary work.

## ON THE QUALITY OF ASSOCIATIONS

Translation, then, is concerned with associations – how relations are forged and what happens to those (humans and nonhumans) involved in the process. While focusing on mobilising actants through creating associations, actor-network theory does not include descriptions of what qualities those associations might be characterised by. They are not described as for example emotionally or aesthetically based, or by any other qualitative notion. Emilie Gomart and Antoine Hennion (1999) characterise the association process as one of attachment in their study of music amateurs, where they constitute music as the mediator that functions as an attachment device. The devices that are put in place as *intersements* (Callon 1986) create a force that mobilises actants to form an actor-network. I have called this “force” engagement, as I want to emphasise the change in state that it implies for the involved actors and also include an aesthetic perspective.

## CRITIQUES OF ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY

Before proceeding, it is worthwhile to mention some of the voices raised against ANT. Jan Harris outlines three major strands of critique: firstly, that ANT is essentially reactionary (in that the “social camp” accuses Latour of granting objectivity to the hard sciences, whereas the “hard science camp” accuses him of infusing scientific procedures with the social), secondly, that the agency of objects is equated to that of humans, and thirdly, that he disregards issues of power, gender, culture and ecology (Harris 2005:173-174). ANT is seen as providing “a mapping of heterogeneous elements and conflicting perspectives” at most (Saldanha 2003:423), but it “leaves it up to the reader to criticise society” (Saldanha 2003:424). The political issue, however, can be addressed by looking at which networks are in place, and which are more durable than others. Networks “have differential capacities for articulation” (Collins 2006:149), that is, some networks are granted more license than others, for example when it comes to expert opinions. To look at which actors are endowed with the right to speak for others through the emerging actor-networks is a way of using ANT to make political claims.

Further, ANT has been criticised of being managerialist or centrist (Singleton & Michael 1993, see Law 1994), anti-humanist (Amsterdamska 1990), and relativist (Collins & Yearley 1992). It has also been attributed with Machiavellian and macho characteristics (Harris 2005) due to numerous ANT-

studies focusing on the emergence of a macro-actor and the process by which it enrolls others into the network (here, on the other hand, power becomes apparent).

The strong position granted to non-human actants by ANT is a contested matter, and a source of major criticism. Likewise, the “blind spots” of the approach when it comes to issues such as gender, for example, have evoked disapproval. Also, the forging of associations remains strangely void of passion, or some other similar force of attraction. I on my behalf have sought to address the matter by incorporating an aesthetic aspect in the analysis. As regards ANT as an approach, while acknowledging the strands of criticism raised against it, I still find it fruitful for the particular subject at hand – that is, to outline a performative perspective on resource engagement.

## **TOWARDS A PERFORMATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON RESOURCES**

Following a performative perspective, a resource thus gains its identity in relation to other entities and performs as a result of those relations. Following these premises, some reconsiderations may be summed up regarding how to view resources.

### **TYPIFICATIONS OF RESOURCES: FROM OSTENSIVE TO PERFORMATIVE**

The common typifications of resources (material, immaterial, human, financial and so on) imply an ostensive view, whereby something can be readily categorised and subsequently used. A resource is given as such – there is no trace regarding how the resource has become one in the first place. A performative view, on the other hand, puts the focus on how resources come into being – they are the consequences of collective action. In classical typifications, many types of resources are constituted by nonhumans, such as equipment, which remain passive objects of utilisation. Actor-network theory on the other hand, gives objects a prominent and action-inducing position.

I will thus see resources as elements, which are mobilised/enrolled in the organising process, and subsequently translated into resources. The ANT perspective allows for “surprising” resources to emerge, as well as allows for following potential resources which are not mobilised. Resources can be seen in the light of mediation as mentioned earlier, where “an intermediary is fully defined by what causes it” (Latour 1999:307) but “mediation, in contrast with



intermediary, means an event or an actor that cannot be exactly defined by its input and output” (ibid., p. 307).

#### THE MOBILITY OF RESOURCES: FROM DIFFUSION TO TRANSLATION

In line with the traditional typifications given to resources comes a set of qualities, i.e. how resources are constituted. After having been identified, resources can then be acquired, exploited, developed, and accumulated. Furthermore, in order to be considered valuable, they should be characterised by uniqueness, immobility and inimitability. Based on an ostensive definition of resources – they exist as such – it is possible to argue that they can be transferred across time and space without changing.<sup>15</sup> It is strategically vital to stop them from doing just that so that competitors will not benefit from them, ensuring that one has control over resources that are unique and immobile. Such a perspective implies diffusion, whereby it is the resource that moves or is taken because of being valuable in itself. In a translation perspective, however, a resource is not going anywhere in an unchanged fashion. Collective action gives rise to resources and they are locally composed. Uniqueness would therefore be the result of a network of relations, not an a priori character.

There are predefined categories and the notion that a resource can move from having the quality of being “a strength” to being “a weakness”, but there is no further elaboration on that transformative process. A performative view challenges the idea of strengths and weaknesses. Following Latour, a weak performance would be the result of the token being dropped, not due to the characteristics of the token itself. A resource, then, would not as such move from being strong to being weak or the opposite, but it would be rendered strong or weak, or would make it cease to be considered a resource altogether because of other collective actions. To be considered a resource, then, it needs to perform as one.

#### QUALITIES OF RESOURCES: CAUSE OR CONSEQUENCE

In the management literature, having resources equals having power, and “those that have resources attract more resources and thus more power”

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<sup>15</sup> A slightly different take is Fiol’s (1991) earlier mentioned notion of how resources need to be translated into action in order to contribute. To Fiol, translation concerns the cognitive processes through which an organisation’s assets are understood by its members and how those assets subsequently inform their actions; it is a sensemaking process.

(Clegg, Kornberger, & Pitsis 2005:160). Resources are traditionally seen as an impetus for action, the cause that allows something else to happen – once the organisation gets its hands on the appropriate resources it can start and maintain functioning. However, following Latour resources may be viewed as the result of association rather than the cause of action.

The notion of coalitions and relationships (e.g. Ulrich & Barney 1984) also has power attached to it. The RBV outlines establishing relationships between actors or between actors and objects, and that relationship is defined by the properties of the actors. I propose to look at it the other way – the relationship is what defines the actors.

In sum, to approach the question formulated at the outset of the study – how resources are engaged for organising cultural events – I have chosen to frame the study through the notion of temporary organising, and actor-network theory. I argue for the compatibility of these theoretical building blocks. While the former focuses on aspects of organising in a temporary setting, the latter focuses on how entities, such as organisations, are assembled. There are two aspects of actor-network theory, which I have emphasised particularly; that entities gain their identity in relation to other entities, and that they perform in and through these relations. Consequently, both entities and boundaries are the result of a translation process rather than being defined a priori. Moreover, the issue of boundaries is a central aspect of temporary organisations, such as the events included in this study. An emphasis is also to be laid on the *work* aspect of actor-network, that is, that constant work is needed to uphold organisational entities. I therefore find that actor-network theory provides a fruitful approach with which to investigate my chosen research topic given the aforementioned particularities.

## **PART II**

In which I take a closer look at the cultural events included in the study. I construct the analysis – with a particular focus on resource engagement – through formulating three resource engagement practices, which I subsequently outline. The concluding part summarises the findings and discusses the implications of the study.



## **CHAPTER 6: PRACTICES OF RESOURCE ENGAGEMENT**

This dissertation focuses on how resources are engaged for organising cultural events. To answer the question posed at the outset, I have laid out a performative approach to the subject in the first part of the dissertation, where I also introduced the events included in the study. The second part of the dissertation is dedicated to describing and analysing event organising practices. I have conceptualised events in terms of temporary organising and resources. My starting point is that resources are constituted by the organising, and that the boundaries of a temporary event organisation are constructed through the activities undertaken to organise the events. An event is not effortlessly placed in time and space; continuous work goes into securing its position. In this chapter I will outline practices of resource engagement, which, I argue, are of relevance for understanding event organising.

In the first part I addressed three aspects, which I find are relevant for analysing the organising of events. Firstly, their temporary character has consequences for resource engagement. Resources are engaged for a certain period of time, then they are “let go” again. Resources need to be re-engaged for the next event, as there is no continuous control over them. An event is not a permanent organisation, which aims at incorporating resources permanently. Instead, practices which overcome the temporariness in terms of resource control need to be put in place. The main issue here does not centre on change (an oft studied aspect of organisations) but rather around stability. When temporariness is the prevailing condition, stability becomes the exception. To reach a state where things “hold” and organisations, rules or artefacts become stabilised, is according to Latour an achievement worth investigating.

The temporary aspect of resources also raises the issue of boundaries. Organisational boundaries are ambiguous in any case, and when it comes to temporary organisations boundary work becomes pertinent. To address the issue of boundaries I have used the notion of temporary organising, and an actor-network approach. The notion of temporary organisations describes how an identity is forged for a temporary organisation – it is enabled as an identifiable separate entity as a result of how boundaries are drawn. Actor-network theory, on the other hand, sensitises one to the constructedness of any boundary. Entities emerge as a result of boundary work, not as a result of

innate characteristics. Rather, identities are relational and performative. Thirdly, I have wished to address aesthetics as the overarching quality, which infuses the whole process of event organising. Of course, the performances are aesthetic affairs themselves but I also see the aesthetic as an organising principle. To limit the size of the audience for picnic reasons gives aesthetic qualities prime over economic reasons. To reside in an old factory building due to its acoustics, and due to the building going well with an avant-garde image is based on aesthetic reasons. The feeling of belonging to a community when going to watch a theatre play is an aesthetic matter.

Drawing upon the three aforementioned aspects, I wish to formulate organising practices, which I argue are pertinent for analysing cultural event organising with an eye towards resource engagement.

The work that goes into creating a legitimate position for the event, and to create continuity in the case of recurring events I call *grounding* practices. Securing a position and creating durability is all in the making – it is not a state of being. The identity work is further carried out through *framing* practices whereby an entity is delineated and actors involved in its construction emerge. The third practice, *aestheticising*, focuses on the aesthetics of event organising. In formulating aesthetic practices I draw upon a relational aesthetic perspective. I do not claim the practices to be mutually exclusive; for example, the aesthetic can be seen as an overarching practice, which intersects grounding and framing practices. However, all three practices are linked to how resources are engaged for organising the events.

I will analyse the events through these three practices, guided by the question posed at the outset of the study: how are resources engaged for organising cultural events?

Before moving on, I want to emphasise that I will not analyse the events as five separate cases. This is not intended to be a comparative study of the events; rather, examples are drawn across events. In the analysis that follows the events appear under each practice rather than case by case.

## GROUNDING PRACTICES: SECURING A POSITION FOR THE EVENT

The depiction of temporary organisations in chapter 4 focused on the delineation of the temporary organisation from a permanent setting, such as a parent organisation. Further, I introduced the issue of legitimisation; of creating an identity and a legitimate existence of the temporary organisation. The attachment-detachment dilemma pointed out by Sahlin-Andersson and Söderholm (2002) addresses the balance of granting a temporary organisation an independent status versus it being embedded in a larger organisational context. A clearly delineated temporary organisation, the argument goes, has an advantage in terms of having a clearer identity. The events included in the study have a parent organisation, but the event is a central part of the organisation rather than an extracurricular activity. Instead, demarcation and attachment is related to the local community, which functions as a “permanent setting”. The degree of attachment to the local community is for example described in terms of collaboration partners and financial support from the municipality.

The four recurring events of the study have been running for several years, but the notion of repeatedly “starting from scratch” is mentioned in relation to the cyclical character of organising the events. There is, however, a degree of routinisation in that some actions are repeated, usually in a certain sequence and at a certain time of the year: sorting out the accounts after the event, sending in funding applications, engaging artists, recruiting volunteers, negotiating with sponsors, promoting the event, and so on. At the same time there is renewal (perhaps a new artistic director, deciding on a theme) and uncertainty (will the funding come through, perhaps the contract for the site of the event needs to be renegotiated each year). To reiterate to the two modes of organising as proposed by Anell and Wilson (see page 62) both routine-based and project-based settings are present.

The reassembling is facilitated by performing what I here call *grounding*, that is, creating a firm foothold for the event. Grounding also has to do with continuity. When it comes to the events, grounding serves to situate them historically and locally (i.e. constructing a locus). The event is attributed with a purpose and a direction. To refer to how the event started and how it is attached to the place where it is held makes a legitimate place for it. The

subject was touched upon as follows by one of the cultural secretaries I interviewed:

What I have learned through the years is that it is completely futile for some bureaucrat like myself to start thinking “what kind of a nice event could I organise here”, instead, there has to be an enthusiast who has the idea and comes to me with it and at that point I’m ready to cooperate if I feel it’s a good idea, but conjuring up [events] in offices, that does not work!

An event, to follow the cultural secretary, has to be conceived by an appropriate actor. An enthusiast is presented as such an actor, whereas an office bureaucrat – here meaning a representative of the municipality – is not an appropriate creator of events. Still, the point here is not so much whether a “bureaucrat” can conceive of an event or not (the *Louisa Sibelius Festival* saw the light of day in this fashion), but to illustrate the importance of an event having what is perceived as a legitimate origin. The theme came up repeatedly as I conducted the study, which led me to look at the events in terms of how they came about.

Before proceeding with the event genealogies, it is worth noting that the cultural secretary also expresses another issue which is of interest: what happens to an idea? In her example, the enthusiast (a term which implies a certain type of actor, someone who believes in an idea but who does not necessarily have the means to realise it) carries the idea and presents it to her, and she then makes the judgment regarding its goodness, whereby support from the municipality can be won. What she describes is one link in what could eventually form an actor-network (or, on the contrary, fail). How an event is conceived thus seems to be an important event (sic!), which is drawn upon to establish legitimacy.

#### NARRATING A BEGINNING

Consider *Avanti! Summer Sounds*. According to the story I was told by the general manager the idea which was to materialise into the festival was conceived while a member of the founding trio of the Avanti! orchestra, Esa-Pekka Salonen, and his composer friend, Magnus Lindberg, were indulging in their extracurricular passion – fishing – while taking in the picturesque view of the town Porvoo. Why not organise a summer camp for the orchestra in this town, complete with public performances? The story further has it that the



two young men then self-assuredly marched into the mayor's office to pitch their idea – a venture with positive outcomes, as the twenty years of the *Avanti! Summer Sounds* festival have shown. In this case, the narrated event which set the festival in motion is given a coincidental tone. The place where they happened to be was Porvoo. But since then much effort has been made to ground the festival there through associating others to the initial idea. And that there *is* such a story to begin with is a contributing factor.

The origin of the event is dramatised although perhaps the precise circumstances are not possible, or even necessary to recollect: “The circumstances in which an idea arose in the local time/space or, even more important, how and when it decisively came to the attention of a given group of organizational actors, are often unknown. ... It was frequently a meaningless event at the time. But when the translation of ideas into actions is well advanced, the actors involved feel a need to mythologize by dramatizing origins.” (Czarniawska 2006:8) The dramatised narratives of how the events included in the study arose differ, but they all serve to establish a starting point in time and space, and a reason for the event to be held. Thus began for example the *Lakeside Blues Festival*:

A Saturday night ecstasy fills a local bar in Järvenpää in AD 1977. Men in polyester trousers, one thing on their mind only, prance around the floor with the women while giving their ego the occasional boost with alcohol. The band interprets George Harrison in their broken English: “Sumtin in duh way see moovs...” In the lull frustration unloads: “What do you think you are, a bloody hippie? Use the ladies’ room!” a polyester man shouts to a long-haired fellow. “Take it easy”, the long-haired one says but the polyester man’s fist is already buried in his face. ... The September rain soaks the long-haired man as he walks home. The unfair treatment angers him. What can you do in this town? Where can you have a night out? Questions start to form in his mind. What happened to the revolution of the sixties? Where are the guys now ... who used to listen to real music: the Stones, Spencer Davis, Procol Harum? They hadn’t gone anywhere really. Only the world had changed. Now they were busy at work, many had families, some were building a house ... But they

had also noticed the miserable state of affairs. And so an idea started to grow.

(Adapted from Kari 1998:6)<sup>16</sup>

The story of how the *Lakeside Blues Festival* got started as told in the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary book of the Järvenpää Blues-Jazz Diggers' Association<sup>17</sup> is one of true yearning for good music and a grassroots initiative to counteract a perceived lack. What follows is an account of how local enthusiasts set in motion what has become a major blues festival. Its origins are recalled to give the festival an air of authenticity, and the rebel spirit which occurs in the story above is something that occurs throughout.

It all started from scratch in November 1977, when twenty people, tired of the lack of real living music decided to alter the matter. They founded a society for blues & jazz diggers and went on to arrange events, where blues and jazz artists and bands performed. (Kari 1998:5, English original)

The “real living music” they craved was jazz and rhythm & blues. In their view, opportunities to hear good live music were non-existent and so something had to be done about it.

The thought was vague to start with, but it slowly developed into an idea. If you want change to happen you have to bring it about yourself! A multiple-layered discussion was, incredibly enough, gaining a shape. It is not unusual to make plans larger than life over a couple of pints and then never do anything about it. But this time was different. (Kari 1998:6)

The first step was to place an ad in the local newspaper announcing a meeting for all those with a passion for “black rhythm music” and an interest in doing something about the miserable state of affairs. Twenty people showed up and the non-profit association “The Blues-Jazz Diggers” was promptly established on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1977. The combination Blues-Jazz appears alphabetically, “it did not indicate that the former was superior to the latter” (Kari 1998:7), and the name Diggers “was deliberately chosen to irritate the so-called better circles, for whom the word digger did not make sense” (ibid.). Three weeks

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<sup>16</sup> The text is originally in Finnish; all references made to Kari 1998 are my translations if not otherwise stated.

<sup>17</sup> Järvenpään Blues-Jazz Diggarit r.y. in Finnish.

later the association held its first event at a youth club. The association and its goal were presented to the 120 people who turned up. After the presentation some jazz and blues records were played, and a local blues band rounded off the evening. Later that year a Christmas party was organised; again, records were played and the same local band performed live.

There were about 150 people at the Christmas party so that made it clear that there was a so-called social demand for the digger-movement. Money was raised, too, there was a raffle where you could win records. The year 1977 passed on and the Diggers started working hard at developing this new cultural organisation of the town. (Kari 1998:7)

The main mission of the association was to provide opportunities for experiencing live music. In conjunction with this mission the Live Music Movement is mentioned. In the late 1970s a number of Live Music Associations were founded in Finland, building on an anti-commercial ideal, against the mechanical production and consumption of music, and working to create opportunities for experiencing live music. The first Live Music Association was founded in Helsinki in 1978 ("ELMU r.y." n.d.), and subsequent associations were grouped together under what was called the Live Music Movement. The Järvenpää Live Music Association (JEMU) saw the light of day in 1979. The Diggers and JEMU shared members to some extent but their cooperation remained scarce: "the Blues-Jazz Diggers were a politically neutral association. So was JEMU according to its rules, but it soon gained a left-wing reputation" (Kari 1998:14). JEMU was dissolved in 1984.

To be able to live up to their mission to provide live music events, the Diggers needed a venue for the purpose and so the local restaurants were contacted. The result was less than successful as no local establishment warmed to the idea of letting their premises be used by the association. Instead, the first gigs were organised in a restaurant of a nearby town, where the manager was more accommodating. According to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary historical overview of the association, it was the said restaurant manager who exclaimed the words "Why don't you organise an outdoor concert!" when the Diggers were having a get together in the spring of 1978, wondering how to expand their activities. The association had received their first funding from the municipal culture office that year and now the funding came in handy.

Several places were considered for the concert, among others a gravel pit in a nearby town. The choice finally fell on the grassy area by the lake Tuusulanjärvi on the outskirts of Järvenpää. The place gave the concert its name: Puistoblues, which translates directly as Park Blues, however, the English name which is used is the *Lakeside Blues Festival*. One can only imagine what a Gravel Pit Blues Festival would have been like. To gain access to the park was not self-evident. It is owned by the municipality and “[the decision-makers of the town] saw before themselves the menacing images of Woodstock and of uncontrollable, substance-using hordes of youths, who tear down fences and destroy everything in their path like a group of Huns” (Kari 1998:8). The decision-makers finally conceded and the first festival was organised in August 1978. A total of 504 tickets were sold and 28 people were engaged in the organising. One fact which made it easy for the Diggers to recruit performers for the first concert was that the number of music festivals was quite small in Finland at the time so there was less competition. The poster of the first festival boldly stated *Puistoblues 1978*, indicating that there would be subsequent festivals to follow in the coming years. “From the outset, the group had the idea to make this into a permanent, annually recurring event” (Kari 1998:10). The first steps had been taken for what has since transformed into one of Europe’s leading festivals within its genre.

Both in the case of the *Avanti! Summer Sounds* and the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, the municipality quickly emerges in the narratives of how it all started. Access to some form of municipal support is secured early on, although in both cases the profile of the festival is construed as unconventional and (for the *Lakeside Blues Festival*) anti-establishment. The music collective Avanti! was established as a counterforce to the perceived stiff, institutionalised conventions for performing classical music, and the *Lakeside Blues Festival* emerged out of the longing for live music coupled with rebellious audacity. The festivals are construed as emerging out of a passion for music, which transgresses and refuses to adhere to the current state of affairs. To set things in motion *for* something (more opportunities to hear good music) is an important a force as to set things in motion *in opposition to* something (prevailing conditions) when it comes to constructing an identity (Sevón 1996). A festival is one means for translating a passion for music into social and material practice.

On the other hand, the idea of organising a cultural event as a practice in itself can precede its contents or genre, as was the case of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival*. Composer Jean Sibelius spent the summers of his youth in Loviisa and did

some of his work there. The Sibelius connection provided an authentic, historic *raison d'être* for starting a festival:

In the tourist office of the municipality, the tourist office and the culture office, they started thinking about [ideas for a festival] in the late eighties and they chose Sibelius, because crassly speaking Sibelius is the most famous Finn abroad, and since Sibelius had such a strong connection to Loviisa it had to be capitalised upon. I don't think there's any point in creating an event that doesn't have a natural connection, because in that case it can be [held] anywhere and you miss out on an important dimension if you just make something up... so I think the Sibelius Festival works because there's a natural connection." (Museum director, Loviisa, 11.1.2005.)

Again, the notion of the event having to have its "natural" place is emphasised, although in this case it was conceived by "bureaucrats", to refer to the cultural secretary quoted previously. A way of creating a legitimate space for the event is to establish a firm link to the past, or rather to bring the past to the present. By activating the Sibelius connection, the festival gains its rightful place in the town. In this case, the past is inventoried for elements to help ground the festival. To mobilise the past is not merely to point to people or events in the past, it is to make "the past ... present in the present" (Haapala 2005:48; see also Taalas 2006). As Collins remarks with regards to Latourian worlds, the people therein may include "some of whom may be deceased, while others may merely inhabit (geographically) remote locations" (Collins 2006:148). Still, they participate in the world that is constructed. When Sibelius is associated to the festival, he appears in a particular role. The festival is organised with his help: Sibelius is displaced or "dug up" (metaphorically as suggested by Haapala 2005) due to his ability to be of support to a contemporary event organisation. The festival does not, however, only feature Sibelius's music, as "there wouldn't be enough music" in the words of the museum director. They do not perform any of his symphonies, only his chamber music pieces. Saying that there is not enough music states the implicit idea of renewal when it comes to festival organising. Sure, Sibelius has composed "enough music" to fill a festival or two, but what the museum director is referring to is that the same music cannot be performed repeatedly if the festival is to continue to survive. There is a balance to be struck between familiarity and renewal, as pointed out by Larson (2003). Familiarity is needed for the festival to gain an identity while renewal is needed to not offer the

“same old, same old”. The focus on renewal also indicates the presence and importance of a certain group of people: repeat visitors. Part of the work to secure continuity for a festival is to have a core audience which shows up year after year. To keep that audience coming the festival has to offer something new each time, while also being familiar.

The idea of being naturally grounded is complex. The authenticity of the Sibelius Festival is contrasted with another event by the museum director:

I think it is important for events to have [a natural connection], which motivates its existence and shows that it isn't made up. That's why I've always had some difficulties with the pirates of the Svartholma Sea Fortress [an 18<sup>th</sup> century fortress where activities featuring pirates are offered in the summer]. There have never been any pirates there and I guess I'm being fussy, I'm sure it's a clever thing for attracting tourists but it's not my cup of tea, and I don't have anything to do with it. It works well for school classes and so on but ... it doesn't have the connection which I feel is the strength of the Sibelius Festival. Sure, you can come up with any event and I know that they have thought about all kinds of events for marketing purposes, also with a historical connection. We have The King Comes to Loviisa [an event which enacts an 18<sup>th</sup> century military camp] which has a historical basis, and we have the Small Ships' Race which is natural, given that Loviisa is by the coast, and so on ... Events fit better when they have a connection which you can use from different angles, if there is a history you can build on. (11.1.2005)

The naturalness of an event may be constructed (for it is constructed) in various ways - by referring to history or geographical conditions, such as a sailing event being authentic because of closeness to the sea – but it is important that such an authenticating connection is drawn. If there is an authentic basis, the museum director further pointed out, other activities can be created around the festival. However, there are also limits:

You can use Sibelius in different ways, you can have concerts and lectures ... they've had Sibelius menus in the restaurants ... there will be a photo exhibition by the local photography association in the summer about Sibelius ... we will have an exhibition from the Museum of Finnish Architecture this autumn on Ainola [Sibelius' home in Järvenpää] ... so the theme is kept going

all the time. Then again, in some marketing projects they've tried to come up with all kinds of things, like Aino Sibelius jam [Aino was Sibelius' wife] and that is frankly a bit lame, I think. (Museum director, Loviisa, 11.1.2005.)

There are thus principles for how far the associated events and products can go. Introducing jam à la Sibelius' wife transgresses a limit of authenticity. This relates to boundary work – what is appropriate for the event and what is not – which is further addressed in the section on framing practices. further on.

A point is to be made of the museum director's statement that the "theme is kept going" through activities which have come about as a result of the festival, such as the photo exhibition. To say that the festival gives rise to other activities one-directionally is to miss an important point: that the festival is upheld by those surrounding activities. It also makes it clearer that the festival is part of a network of activities, rather than an independent, demarcated entity. It is not the festival that powers peripheral events only – the peripheral events contribute to upholding the festival.

The genealogy stories of the festivals incorporate ideas of legitimacy, of the "naturalness" of the festival with regards to building on a tradition, on local history, on the local landscape and so on. The festival needs a legitimised position, whether it is building on a tradition or creating something new. The genealogies can take on an almost mythical character (such as the two young, talented, audacious music students marching to see the mayor of Porvoo with their scores casually in plastic bags). This constructed organic, natural state of the festivals is of importance, and it is an outcome of which elements are associated to it rather than having an implicit "natural connection". It can be related to Eric Hobsbawm's notion of the invention of tradition in modern society, where "invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past." (Hobsbawm 1983:1.) The importance of having a connection with a past and owning an organically emerged, "natural" place in time and space concerns events and festivals. "However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious." (Hobsbawm 1983:2.) The important "natural" link with a historic past is constructed as one.

The events have a mission that goes beyond organising the event itself. The extension travels in time and space. To make that extension, agency has to be overtaken, upheld by someone or something else. This world-building is not necessarily about growing and making the event bigger in itself (e.g. *Avanti!* the orchestra sets a limit to the number of performances and thus the size of the festival; it is more important to keep the collective intact than expanding the festival by engaging external musicians). The extension, I found, was formulated in terms of “having a natural/authentic connection” to the place and the community. The event had to be legit in terms of being needed, or having grown organically out of something. To recapitulate the words of the museum director in Loviisa, if an event does not have “a natural connection” it becomes detached and decontextualised, “it can be held anywhere” meaning it no longer belongs in a certain place. Place, then, is an important element associated to the event.

### MOBILISING PLACE

The place where the event is held is connected to the festival name – *The Raseborg Festival*, the parallel name *Porvoo Summer Sounds* to *Avanti! Summer Sounds*, and so on. This is common procedure, from the *Stockholm Culture Festival* to the *Edinburgh Fringe* to the *Roskilde Festival*. Place is a distinctive marker of the festival. Of all the blues festivals in the world, the *Lakeside Blues Festival* can be recognised through its connection to the place where it is held. How this connection is described varies. The Raseborg, Loviisa and Tapiola events are not “coincidences” in terms of how they came to be held at those locations, but Järvenpää and Porvoo are. In some cases “place precedes festival” whereas in other cases it is the other way around. However, the two are intertwined and I wish to discuss the relationship between the place and the event. It is impossible to ignore the presence of place in all the accounts. When talking about the events place comes up either as a backdrop or as a central reason for the festival’s existence. Place in this context is more than a physical location designated by geographical coordinates. It is exemplified here by the cultural secretary of Porvoo, regarding *Avanti! Summer Sounds*:

The image value that Porvoo has received through *Avanti!* also supports the image of a cultural town, which Porvoo does have. Well, the local artists think that it is only a moniker with no substance and that actually nothing is done for the benefit of culture here. ... But still, we have our history and nobody can



take that away so in that sense Porvoo is always a cultural town no matter what the cultural input is. (11.1.2005.)

The history that the cultural secretary refers to is an artistic tradition. The latter part of the statement is interesting, that Porvoo is a cultural town regardless of whether there are cultural activities or not, due to a historical tradition. Seen from a performative perspective, this is not the case.

Raseborg is part of a municipality which has its administrative seat in Tammisaari, a town which also adheres to a cultural profile:

Lively associations and a will to create a cultural life... and you also need money of course, and even if the culture office's budget is minimal compared to other municipal units it is still quite large when compared to other towns in this region, that's why you can notice it in the the public space [of Tammisaari], that it is a culture town. ... Tammisaari has its cultural profile due to its history, it is the King's town<sup>18</sup>... and the small-town idyll with wooden houses, the old town and so on... but Tammisaari has always invested in culture. (Cultural secretary, Tammisaari, 12.1.2005.)

In the 2005 draft for a cultural policy programme for Tammisaari it is stated that:

Tammisaari can offer a unique wooden house idyll and a small-scale town environment. The closeness to the sea and archipelago marks the town. Tammisaari is given a unique position ... All [cultural] activities strengthen the general character of the town as a vibrant package with opportunities for education, leisure activities and nature experiences. The feeling of a positive, local community can be strengthened. ... A correct use of resources [municipal support and facilities] can result in the strengthening of Tammisaari-esque, positive cultural characteristics and in the widening of the room for manoeuvre regarding regional cooperation.

The cultural secretary told me of the plan to start a film festival in Tammisaari.

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<sup>18</sup> Tammisaari was founded by the Swedish king Gustav Vasa in 1546.

MJ: The film festival, then, is a new phenomenon; it is not something you'd readily associate with Tammisaari. ... Is that something you feel should be taken into consideration right from the start?

CS: I don't think you have to worry about that directly to start with ... I think it comes with time... agreed, creating a cultural brand is important... the Tammisaari Summer Concerts [a high-profile chamber music festival] for example, all the advertisements promote Tammisaari, "come to the small-town idyll to enjoy classical music", it fits the milieu here... then again, so did the Pop Party [a pop music festival which was organised for a few years and then discontinued] although apparently not well enough since it doesn't exist anymore... a film festival would also be smaller, we don't need another major event in Tammisaari ... We must think of the milieu, this small-town idyll, perhaps profile it towards that, create an image... but it can of course also be the other way around, that a festival creates an image for the town... so it works vice versa as well of course. (12.1.2005)

The question pondered by the cultural secretary is whether a "small-town idyll" demands a certain type of event so as not to be spoiled (the event should be Tammisaari-esque to quote the cultural policy programme draft) or whether conversely, the small-town idyll can be enriched by the addition of a new element, a film festival. What is Tammisaari-ness when it comes to cultural events? And what is Tapiola-ness, as we have seen that the organising of the anniversary was often shaped around ideas of what Tapiola was to be. The process is akin to performing a litmus test – the event has to go through a trial, be considered in terms of appropriateness. Can the event be "naturally" added to the prevailing conditions, can it be placed in a context?

Place is made and the making of it can be seen in aesthetic terms. In chapter 3 I referred to a relational perspective on aesthetics, where the aesthetic experience is created not by an object in itself but in relation to whoever is experiencing it. I will make use of Arto Haapala's formulation of place through *placing* and *sensing*, that is, the construction of place. Haapala starts by asking "What does it mean to identify a place and to become rooted into it?" (Haapala 2005:40). As an event is not there constantly to remind others of itself, it must be *placed* by different means. *Avanti! Summer Sounds* is placed in an artistic tradition of Porvoo:

The town of course has an artistic image and tradition, mostly in painting and pottery... Avanti! fits the image very well. (Cultural secretary, Porvoo, 11.1.2005.)

the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* is placed by means of cultural heritage and community spirit:

Maybe you could call it language politics or something... language is maybe the wrong word but some kind of belonging...I mean... I see Raseborg and the theatre like a meeting point for Swedish speaking Finns. You come there and you meet old schoolmates and friends you haven't seen in years because they will be there. (Producer, Raseborg Summer Theatre, 15.8.2002.)

and the role of the volunteers is emphasised for the *Lakeside Blues Festival*:

This whole thing with the volunteers... we're doing our own thing, we have no intentions of extending any activities to other places because then it becomes a job instead of a hobby. (The manager of the Lakeside Blues Festival, 10.1.2005, when I asked him if they have ever considered organising gigs outside Järvenpää.)

To be placed – to make a place one's own – is to “construe connections that are significant for us” (Haapala 2005:46). When talking to the manager of Avanti! I asked about how she would relate the festival to the town:

You could ask somebody in Porvoo but... this was now our seventeenth time and the first ten years were probably difficult for those living in Porvoo, as well as for the musicians because it was a phenomenon which was brought there from outside and thrown into the middle of town. There were these people playing around and crazy stuff going on and there was no contact [with the surrounding community], it did not grow organically from its environment and the people who live there were not involved. ... Nowadays, the municipality is admirably involved and the volunteers are valued, now there is understanding of how immensely important it is to tie the event to the place where it is held, and now local volunteers are engaged. I think it should have been like that from the start.

If you want to take a cultural event or any other event to a community from the outside you have to form a broad cooperation basis with the representatives of that community from the start, to create a local resonance... this has not been the case [for *Avanti! Summer Sounds*]. ... The people of the town are not that excited yet because the event only touches them five days a year and unemployment is high and there is econ- like in all communities people have their own lives to think about. Administratively it has worked well for the past few years but I think that one sign of the lack of contact is that it is very difficult to get sponsors... even for small barter agreements. The companies are small and they are not interested, and I don't mean to say that they all have to become interested in concert music all of a sudden if they sell motors or the like, but that the ... marketing value and PR-value would be recognised but in Porvoo it hasn't happened. And that's unusual. (6.8.2002.)

The manager relates the difficulties of establishing local relations to the fact that the event was brought to Porvoo by outsiders. She also draws upon the classical divide of art versus money in positioning the lack of interest in the festival against unemployment figures and economic difficulties.

But *Avanti! Summer Sounds* is also an important part of Porvoo:

Porvoo rides on the reputation of *Avanti!* ... to the rest of the country *Avanti!* and Porvoo are inseparable, and for many it is still a revelation that *Avanti!* does not equal the Summer Sounds festival, but that the Summer Sounds festival is only a small part of what *Avanti!* does. (Cultural secretary, Porvoo, 11.1.2005.)

The manager of *Avanti!*, however, says the festival constitutes a significant part of *Avanti!*'s activities. The issue exemplified by the cultural secretary illustrates the autonomous position of the festival, which can be seen against the attachment-detachment dilemma of a temporary organisation. Here, the notion of a temporary organisation being positioned in relation to a parent organisation is turned on its head – it is the temporary organisation that takes over as the main entity.

In 2004, the following events led to a transformation of the *Avanti! Summer Sounds* festival. To increase cooperation with the local community a project

was undertaken with a local development company. The project was funded by the regional development agency and was according to the project manager of the development company initiated by a group of business owners in Porvoo. She further relates the earlier disinterest of the same group to a very practical issue:

[The entrepreneurs] pointed out that when Avanti! held their concerts in the Art Factory and the new bridge wasn't built, the distance to the Art Factory was greater, and the entrepreneurs felt that the thousands of people who came to Porvoo to see Avanti! perform stayed on the wrong side of the river. They were on the west bank and they didn't cross the river [to the centre] to go eating or drinking or shopping and so the entrepreneurs felt that the visitors didn't leave enough money in Porvoo. So, we thought about what to do and I was given the task to examine the matter, and so I contacted the manager of Avanti! She said they would be happy to cooperate with entrepreneurs in Porvoo and that she has thought about it herself but since she works and lives in Helsinki she has no connections. So we started a project and received funding from the regional development agency. Twenty-one years ago when Avanti! started out in Porvoo they were young musicians and they were playing in the streets but that changed with the years and that's what we wanted to bring back to draw people to this side of the river, to shop and have a look at the old town and so on... and so we started with concerts in the parks, in the market place and outside shopping centres, and there was a concert on a boat in the river, and there are loads of cafés along the river [for people to sit and listen].. and one concert was played in a horse cart, which went around town. All this was not just done by Avanti! but also the music institute ... they worked with the students and the students were of course taken with it... it is the dream of many of them to some day be playing with Avanti! (Project manager, development company, 18.5.2006.)

Through the project a host of actors became involved in the festival, resulting in the arranging of concerts around town rather than indoors. This was to bring the audience-cum-presumptive shoppers to the right side of town from the viewpoint of the shopkeepers, and also to make Avanti! more accessible to the public.

Many people, especially here in Porvoo find Avanti's music difficult... they understand bits of their music but then they happen to go to concerts which are a bit more difficult to understand, so [Avanti!] wanted to get rid of the idea that their music is impossible to understand. That was one reason for this project and now, when they play in squares and streets, they play well-known pieces... it's not difficult at all. (Project manager, development company, 18.5.2006.)

The circumstance that presumptive members of Avanti's audience finds the music too "difficult", combined with the shop owners' motive to bring the audience closer to their turf induces a change in the festival. Associating new actors transforms *Avanti! Summer Sounds* from difficult to accessible, and from uninteresting to valuable for the shop owners. The shop owners would like to access the audience in the form of potential customers, but they can only do that if the audience is rendered mobile and physically displaced to "their side of town", mediated by the music of Avanti!.

For the *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary place was the primary reason for having an event in the first place, but it also proved to be a contested item. Sometimes a place is elusive or in need of reformulation, as when the entrepreneurs' association of Tapiola are trying to think of how to attract consumers:

M-L [a shop keeper] takes out a folder where she keeps a survey, which is "not to be distributed". [It is a customer survey of the shopping centre where she runs her shop.] She says that she thinks that other shop keepers have acted like "sleeping beauties" when not finding out about people's buying habits.

M [also a shop keeper] is of a different opinion, saying that some surveys have indeed been done. J [representing Tapiola's largest department store], asks N [a municipal culture department officer] if there are many "cultural visitors", people who come to Tapiola to consume cultural experiences. She says she thinks that Tapiola is fairly lively in that sense; there are events in the evenings. M-L still dwells on the topic of shopping, saying that the shop keepers need to understand that the buying habits of people have changed and that the construction work that was undertaken the previous summer caused harm to businesses.

J says that after nine in the evening the whole of Tapiola is dead, you're by yourself if you go out, the Garden City 50 project manager says it's a ghost town. The participants agree that there are enough cheap beer places, but cafés are needed. J says that when he was young the Central Tower was a busy place, people used to come from Helsinki to visit the top floor bar. [The tower at this point was office space only and the once renowned restaurant on the top floor was closed.]

E [the CEO of the advertising agency] says that if Tapiola is not a shopping centre – M-L has insisted she does not want to label it that way – then what is it? R [a shop manager] says that as a child she thought of Tapiola as Little Helsinki... M mentions the anniversary slogan “Everything good together” and says there is more to Tapiola than shops; there are dentists, masseurs...

M-L says it's a city... J suggests “urban centre” but then, at the apparent boring sound of the term, changes his mind. “Aren't we a garden city?” R asks, to which M-L retorts by pointing out the cutbacks that have been made, and then says “What garden city is this? It's not a garden city anymore! Maybe sometimes in the fifties.”

Still trying to think of what characterizes Tapiola, R lists “comfort, easy to reach, easy to walk around, you get fresh air, it's easy to come here to shop, there is a broad range of products and services, you can see the sky...” M-L says that Tapiola is human... M says that things go on in Tapiola, “it's not mummified”, to which he adds that in his opinion it is not easy to come to Tapiola by car, that's what his customers tell him and he doesn't think that the “easy to reach” concept should be used, instead, he thinks that “active” is a characteristic they should use.

M-L says people go to the Big Apple [a nearby newly built shopping centre with free parking] where you can access everything under one roof, to save time. (Excerpt from field notes, 29.4.2003.)

The entrepreneurs are struggling to find a concept that would embrace the spirit of the place while also being attractive. The task poses some difficulties.

Tapiola is mentioned in reference to Helsinki and the concepts that come up have to do with being a place that is easy to visit and which has everything you need – “everything good in one”, as the anniversary slogan suggests. However, there are several newer and larger shopping centres nearby, the Big Apple being one example. In Tapiola you can see the sky because you need to go outside to move between shops, but in the Big Apple you don’t have to go out and you have free parking, which you do not have in Tapiola. The parking issue was extensively discussed during some meetings I attended. There were comments of Tapiola being “dead”, a “ghost town” while what should be communicated is that it is “active” and “not mummified”. An aim of the anniversary was to show that the latter was the case.

When I interviewed the manager of a development company which was involved in the organising of the anniversary, he described Tapiola as “a multifaceted centre for business and services, which is marked by a unique cultural history and a care for the environment ... it is an open air shopping centre which isn’t artificially covered, it is genuine.” (10.6.2003.) Usually, having all stores under one roof in a shopping mall is seen as convenient, but here the fact that you have to step outside in order to get to one shop from another is one feature which is presented as making Tapiola genuine. Covered shopping malls equal artificiality. Moreover, the anniversary “serves as a reminder that Tapiola has a history and when you have a history and a tradition, you have value. Tapiola was not artificially conceived, and there is a history of fifty years ... it is not just about contrived selling of merchandise ... instead there are other values which are advantageous, the value package of Tapiola”. To refer to a history of 50 years might not seem as a substantial amount of time, but it points out the importance of having a history as such. The genuineness of Tapiola is associated with the values upon which it was built, of the idea of the fruitful coexistence of “man and nature”.

The historic past and the possible burden it presents came up at one event I visited, where the result of an architectural competition for a new office was presented. The event was held parallel to an international conference about Tapiola called Roots and Seeds, which was organised by the Helsinki University of Technology. At the architectural event, I chatted to one of the main speakers of the conference.



I ask him what he thinks of the [Roots and Seeds] conference so far. He says he thinks it's boring. I comment that many conferences are boring, but he says that this one is boring in a particular way: it is boring because everyone says the same things about Tapiola. He says a city cannot be a museum and we discuss Tapiola for a while. He says he thinks people are looking too much backward instead of forward. "I smell death", he says. ... I say that yes, perhaps Tapiola lives too much in the past and he replies that it was already in the past when it was built, which sounds quite disconcerting to me. ... The current construction plans that he has seen are too much like past ones, he says. Changes are only cosmetic. (Excerpt from field notes, 4.9.2003)

The state of being built on positive values on the one hand, as stated by the manager of the development company, and being regrettably anachronistic on the other hand was something which came up often during the organising of the anniversary. The anniversary was to help freshen the image and cast off the anachronistic cloak.

In Raseborg, the place is engaged by way of identity and tradition, due to the student assemblies that were held there in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Every time the theatre sets up its production, this sense of a Swedish-speaking heritage is invoked through the gathering of the audience and the people involved in that production, in that place.

#### UPHOLDING AN ETHOS

The birth of the *Lakeside Blues Festival* and its subsequent development is tied to a certain way of doing the festival, which is manifest in the Digger spirit. The Blues-Jazz Diggers association has approximately 200 members. The festival organisation engages about 600 volunteers each year. They are divided into some 70 functions (transport, security, catering, construction, and so on), each of which has a team leader. Most of them have been involved for years and so have a lot of experience in organising the festival. The only ones being remunerated are the artists. The association has a board consisting of ten members, who decide on the festival content. The turnover of volunteers is low; most people participate year after year and bring their family and friends.

The Diggers' volunteering spirit was born at the first festival. Someone knew the technicalities of construction-making, another knew something about electricity, a third took care of coffee and catering and so on. (Kari 1998:10)

The Digger spirit is referred to as being one reason for not expanding festival activities to other locations. Certainly, after organising the festival for some 30 years there is knowledge about how to do it technically. But the practice is presented as being non-transferable.

Because we have a voluntary organisation and we do our own thing it can't be transferred elsewhere, it is the *Järvenpää* Lakeside Blues Festival that we do. We've been asked to do something close by, a big concert or something, using our organisation and our know-how but that wouldn't be the same thing, it changes precisely from being a hobby to being work. (Festival manager, 10.1.2005)

The technicalities of organising a festival might be straightforward and transferable, but it is not a question of organising any blues festival, it is a question of organising the *Järvenpää* blues festival. The name of the town stands as a referent of more than the geographical location. It refers to the passion of live music that started the festival, to the volunteers that show up every year, to the picnic blankets in a sunny park – a combination which, if altered, loses its meaning.

To refer to the Digger spirit as an element which makes the festival nontransferable is to draw upon and simultaneously uphold what could be called an ethos of the festival. It draws close to the framing practices I will discuss in the next section, as upholding an ethos is position the festival by adherence to what is considered a fundamental element of it.

#### EXAMPLES OF OUTCOMES OF GROUNDING PRACTICES

The grounding practices which I have outlined – narrating a beginning, mobilising place and upholding an ethos – concern securing a position for the event, legitimising it and making it “present when absent”. The practices thus all have a foundational theme: that of authenticity versus artificiality. To be authentic is seemingly important – it contributes to the legitimacy of the event – but authenticity can be constructed in many ways. Authenticity is constructed by means of engaging elements which speak in favour of the

event and thus become a resource for the event. These elements can traverse time and space. To achieve legitimacy and in extension continuity thus depends not on the innate excellence of an original idea, but on the chains of translations which carry it.

One important authenticating association is that to place. To be “naturally” *placed*, that is, having a connection to a place helps overcome temporariness. “Natural” connections are forged with a history (what historical event or person might justify a festival?) or with the character of the place (what type of event suits an idyllic small town?). Place, however, is not only the passive backdrop of an event. Place designates the event and vice versa. Authenticity is performative; that which “is natural” is made so by associations.

To secure a legitimate position is important for any organisation, but when it comes to a temporary organisation such as an event the circumstances are different. Not only is the organisation assembled for a specific temporary task, but what is produced is also consumed simultaneously. Still, there are materialisations of an event such as merchandise, which can be seen to carry the event outside its boundaries. There are also testimonies in the form of stories told by those attending the event, and reporting done by media – elements which contribute to extending the event.

The grounding practices described above can be seen as mediating practices for engaging resources. In the case of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival*, for example, the authenticity is constructed by means of referring to historical circumstances; that a famous composer had ties to Loviisa. This authenticating connection is made to pave the way for municipal support – it is seen to enhance the image of the town – and to attract an audience. Narrating the beginning of the *Lakeside Blues Festival* emphasises the importance of volunteers; they are cast as the force that set the festival in motion and that continues to uphold it. The realisation of that story happens every time when the festival is on and the volunteers turn up – and the story can in turn be seen as an element which contributes to the volunteers actually turning up, thereby continuing to be a resource for the festival.

## FRAMING PRACTICES

To frame something implies constructing a boundary, which delineates the framed from that which is outside the frame. That which is inside the frame makes up a whole, emerging against that which is outside the frame. Depending on how a frame is drawn, things appear differently. The frame is not predetermined, it is the result of organising practices which extend beyond the frame: “the framing process does not just depend on this commitment by the actors themselves; it is rooted in the outside world, in various physical and organizational devices. This is why framing puts the outside world in brackets as it were, but does not actually abolish all links with it” (Callon 1998:249).

Defining a task means establishing lines of activities and actors that are to be included – and conversely excluded – from the organising process. I call the inclusion and exclusion work that goes on *framing* in line with Callon’s use of framing as “an operation used to define individual agents which are clearly distinct and dissociated from one another” (Callon 1999:188). Agents arise as a result of a framing process, rather than the frame being drawn as a result of already existing agents’ identities. As mentioned in the chapter on temporary organisations, Lundin and Söderholm refer to task partitioning as a process of inclusion and exclusion. A temporary organisation is delineated for identity purposes; as an independent entity it becomes visible and gains agency. Its identity is constructed by ways of negotiation and establishing boundaries, as pointed out by Sahlin-Andersson. Identity work entails inclusion and exclusion of activities and actors. A stabilised identity is seen to allow for persistence over time.

What, then, does this mean in terms of event organising? Framing the event means establishing the event as an identifiable, separate entity. The event is organised by means of a number of actors being assembled and performing according to “what is expected of them”. For example, the aim of the *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary was to gather local actors to display the cultural richness of the Garden City. Which actors to include (or exclude) was frequently touched upon throughout the anniversary project, here exemplified by the project manager:

PM: First when I started doing this, I thought it would be pretty much... with companies and cultural organisations but it has kind of expanded so that the technical side is now more accentuated than I originally thought. ...

MJ: The project is broader than I imagined

PM: Yes, it is, well, it has to be [broad], it is a very local thing and we need to get the strong actors of this area represented and I think we have succeeded in general. Of course, for some reason or other someone is always left outside but I would say that at least ninety-nine per cent of the area is represented.  
(26.2.2003)

The shape of the anniversary changed along the way, from starting as an event with a cultural emphasis to include a broader spectrum of actors. A frame is established around “Tapiola” and “local”. These are the premises upon which the organising of the event rests – it is to be an event which represents the local. The next step, then, is to determine who the “strong actors” are and include them in the anniversary. From a Latourian perspective, strong actors arise as a result of successful negotiations. The anniversary can be seen as a point of passage, which weeds out the “weak” actors. To partake in the anniversary is to be identified as a strong actor in the sense of being important enough to be allowed to represent Tapiola in the anniversary.

When we scan through the anniversary brochure she mentions that some events have not been included because they are too “motley” or “we didn’t want to include them”, “they didn’t contact me or I didn’t contact them”. One event is included “on charitable grounds”, another because it is organised by a sponsor [but has nothing to do with the anniversary].  
(Excerpt from field notes 13.3.2003)

There was constant although not necessarily overt or clearly defined inclusion and exclusion work going on, to produce an anniversary which would somehow represent “what Tapiola is about”.

Framing can also be extended to aesthetic criteria of the process of association, or in the following case, disassociation. After a meeting with a potential partner, the project manager appeared dismissive:

I ask her how the meeting with [the potential partner] went and she is less enthusiastic. They seem to have a number of “weird” things they want to do and she wonders how they’ll get funding for it all. They were supposed to be involved in the May 24<sup>th</sup> event with an invited guest but now she can’t come and the project manager thinks in that case there is no point. So the idea is now that the [potential partner’s event] will be marketed in conjunction with the anniversary and the anniversary will be marketed during their event. (Excerpt from field notes, 25.4.2003)

This potential partner had an event scheduled on their own, and were looking to integrate it into the anniversary celebrations. What the potential partner was planning apparently did not fit the idea of the *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary and was excluded – or explained as being excluded – on the grounds of “weirdness”, of mismatch. The same went for an event that the local entrepreneurs’ association were planning:

The marketing assistant [representing a partner] starts by asking what we thought of the planning meeting with the entrepreneurs’ association. She and the project manager are critical of some of the ideas presented in the first meeting. They think that the event does not promise to be tasteful. The project manager feels reluctant to let the event use the anniversary logo – she wants the event to be “stylish”. And there seems to be no clear target group for the event. (Excerpt from field notes, 20.3.2003)

The desired exclusion of the event, like in the previous example, is expressed in aesthetic terms. I will discuss the aesthetic aspect in the following section, but the example goes to show that the outlined practices are not mutually exclusive.

In some instances, work to include others is undertaken but not successful, as the manager of *Avanti!* told me, when talking about an attempt to engage schools and nurseries:

I sent [the teachers] material about the forthcoming performance, and since it is based on the book by Astrid Lindgren [a children's book author], the book could be read and discussed in the lessons. We had the idea – and I thought it was a great idea – that after having read the text the children could make their own art, both the nurseries and the primary schools, they could express their ideas of the story... We had the intention of organising a children's art exhibition in the Grand foyer [during the festival] so that when the children would visit it or walk by it in the summer they would have seen their art work would be there, admired by others. I did not receive a single reply! (5.1.2005)

For the manager, the prospect of an art exhibition should attract the schools to participate in the festival. Success is dependent on all actors concerned latching on to the idea. The nurseries and schools may become a resource for the festival, but only if they agree to read the story, paint the pictures and display them during the festival.

These are some examples of the framing involved in the organising of the events. In what follows I will further discuss framing in different contexts.

## DISTRIBUTING TASKS

The *Raseborg Summer Theatre*, the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* and *Avanti! Summer Sounds* employ a division of labour between a manager and an artistic director, or director in the case of the theatre. The managers hold a permanent position; in Loviisa it is the municipality's museum director who acts as the festival manager. The artistic directors of *Avanti! Summer Sounds* and the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* are engaged on an annual basis. In Raseborg, the same director has been employed for a long time, but the contract is negotiated annually. The artistic director of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* has a long-term contract. The *Lakeside Blues Festival* is run by the Diggers with the board in charge, and the chair of the board acting as festival manager. For the *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary, a project manager was specifically employed by the culture office.

*Avanti! Summer Sounds* is the only event which draws on the same group of performers every year, that is, the members of the *Avanti!* orchestra (save an international guest). For the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, domestic and international artists are engaged, among them usually one widely recognised star performer who can draw a crowd. The *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* operates on a small budget and the artistic director emphasises his role in engaging performers for the festival:

There is quite a large network, which I can use. The festival doesn't have the largest possible budget, after all... so all artists have to be able to make a compromise when it comes to the amount they're paid. We can pay okay but not season fees... festivals seldom can... but it's fairly easy for me to get the artists to come. We do each other's gigs and we know that we can easily put a concert together in one or two rehearsals and it'll be good. It's a group of people that I work with regularly. (Artistic director, 15.6.2002.)

At Raseborg, a director is employed for each production and in practice it has been the same director since 1993<sup>19</sup>, himself also having acted at Raseborg in the early 1970s. The producer suggests which plays to be performed, a matter then formally decided upon by the board of the Ring. The producer also suggests a director and takes part in the casting of the ensemble. Due to the fact that the same director has been engaged for several years, "people think he's self-evident but that's not the fact", explains the producer. First the play is selected, after that the director.

Volunteers are important for making the events possible. The *Lakeside Blues Festival* has the largest number of volunteers per annual festival by far of the five events, some 600. The *Raseborg Summer Theatre* has about 50, *Avanti! Summer Sounds* rely on some 20-25 volunteers, while the small organisation of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* engages less than five. Ulla Habermann (2001) defines volunteering as a commitment that someone feels towards an idea or a community, as well as the action that such commitment may spark in individuals and groups. By this definition a volunteer is subsequently a person that, by her own choice, performs a non-compensatory task in a formalised organisational setting.

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<sup>19</sup> A different director was engaged in 2007.



In connection with the *Lakeside Blues Festival* as well as the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* the non-profit association form of organisation is related to the volunteers. It is presented as a necessary organisational form for retaining volunteers, as well as a form which restricts the performing of some tasks. In the case of *Avanti! Summer Sounds* an attempt was been made to establish a local non-profit association, but it did not persist. The cultural secretary of Porvoo mentions three major events of the town: *Avanti! Summer Sounds*, a Romani music festival, and the film festival *Laterna Magica*. All three are organised by non-profit associations.

CS: [All the largest three festivals in Porvoo] have lots of volunteers... no shortage of free labour there.

MJ: Where do they come from?

CS: They are locals.

MJ: Are they members of the associations?

CS: Not necessarily, no. *Avanti!* uses local volunteers for example, and I have been involved in it, too. We tried to form a "Friends of the Summer Sounds" non-profit association but it didn't appeal to people. They wanted to work as volunteers during the festival but they didn't want to join an association. We tried it for a couple of years and then we dissolved the association. Since it was clear that the volunteering spirit was sustained without an association there was no point in having it. (11.1.2005)

This type of volunteering is slightly at odds with Habermann's definition, as performing voluntary work in an organisational context usually entails being a formal member of that organisation. Here, the volunteers become resources for the temporary organisation while not being members of the parent organisation. In fact, not having formal membership is a condition for the volunteering. In the case of the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, the number of volunteers clearly exceeds the number of members of the Diggers association. Here, too, the volunteers participate in the festival only. At the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* there is a mix as some of the volunteers of the cast are members of the local associations of the Ring, but not all. Services such as

catering and parking assistance which are carried out at the performances are performed by the local associations.

The large number of volunteers is vital for the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, but it also restricts some activities, as the festival manager points out when we talk about sponsorship:

Companies? This is an area we could improve. We do everything through voluntary work and it's hard to use your spare time to negotiate [with potential sponsors] and make presentations. I've done most of that work myself. We have a newspaper, a brewery, some smaller companies, a phone company... not that many larger sponsors. (10.1.2005)

Performing certain types of tasks transgresses the implicit or explicit boundaries of what a volunteer is expected to contribute with.

That is the problem with voluntary work; you usually get paid for these types of jobs [negotiating corporate partnerships] ... so for some types of work you get paid and for others you don't and that's when it becomes difficult to draw a line, and so this kind of work usually gets neglected or done badly. It is difficult to find people to perform that job, to negotiate and find partners as voluntary work... so you can't really find volunteers or people who would do it... because it is pretty tough, to make presentations and models of what the partnerships would look like... there are few people generally [who can do that kind of work] and if there were any they would be offered business jobs. (Festival manager, the Lakeside Blues Festival, 10.1.2005.)

In practice they “draw the line” with everybody so that nobody receives monetary compensation (save the artists). In 2005 the festival manager stepped down from his position as chairman and instead became responsible for developing partnership relations. The function was thus stabilised in order for the task to be more attended to.

The cultural secretary of Järvenpää also touched upon sponsorship and the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, while presenting a slightly alternative view of the topic:

Sponsorship could be increased but... because it is a core group that [organises the festival], because it started the way it did... if someone contributes with

money they might start having wishes or even making demands regarding what kind of music should be played and by whom... so there is a freedom to it [not having sponsors], it's easy to understand that the Diggers have wanted to keep it their own. (10.1.2005)

Here, sponsorship is related to possible external control. Sponsorship money is the lever by which control of quality and content might be controlled.

For the *Raseborg Summer Theatre*, there have been discussions regarding transforming the theatre into a limited company, but the producer believes it would decrease the associations' engagement. It would, like in the case of the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, cause discussions regarding who is to be paid and possibly create a conflict between salaried staff and volunteers. The foundational principle rests on voluntary work but in contrast to the *Lakeside Blues Festival* some people are employed for the productions. They include the main cast (usually between two and five actors), the director, technicians, ticket sales, administrative personnel and directing assistants – a total of some thirty people. Many volunteers return year after year, and recruiting volunteers is done by word of mouth. The *Lakeside Blues Festival* also recruits volunteers through their webpage, according to the manager some ten to twenty sign up through that channel.

## SPOTLIGHTING CERTAIN ELEMENTS

An audience is more than a receiving party when it comes to performances. The audience is part of the consumption as well as production of the event, an important contributing factor to the aesthetic experience – a central factor, as without an audience there is no performance. The audience is active and involved (Guillet de Monthoux 1993) and it becomes part of the staging (Sevón 2002). Sometimes the audience engages in activities that go beyond being an attentive spectator or listener – they spread their picnic blankets and enjoy a day out with the others in the audience. If we see the audience as an actor “on a par” with the performers as regards their role for making a performance, its significance can be seen as something more than a passive receiver. The outcome of a performance is dependent on the interaction between the performers and the audience. One exists in relation to the other, and the goal of an event is to “transform guests from spectators to fully engaged participants” (Goldblatt 2002:68). Engagement precedes transformation; that which is engaged acquires a different identity. “A rock

concert, or a sculpture exhibit, does not bring together already existing objects, subjects and social groupings – rather, this is a conjunctural event in which the relevant objects, subjects, and social groupings are *co-produced*<sup>20</sup> (Gomart & Hennion 1999:228, my italics). One entity is co-produced in relation to another.

The *Tapiola Garden City* 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary was partly sponsored by the municipality, and the function of the anniversary was to celebrate the community of Tapiola. Those gathered under the auspice of the anniversary (for example, represented in the anniversary brochure) gained a particular identity. At the same time, the anniversary changed as different actors came together to perform it. As the municipality was the sponsor and the occasion for the celebrations, its representatives – the municipal decision-makers – appeared significantly. Some events were created in order for a decision-maker to have their moment in the spotlight.

Actors in the local community are needed to uphold the event. The *Raseborg Summer Theatre* is connected to several local actors. As mentioned earlier, the theatre is run under the auspices of the network of local non-profit associations, called the Ring. The manager<sup>20</sup> of the Ring is also the producer of the summer theatre. The summer theatre constitutes a large economic part of the Ring's activities, "translated into money, ninety-five percent of our activities take place in July" according to the producer. According to the action plan for 2007 the Ring is "an organisation which functions for the coordination, service and interests of regional youth, community and cultural organisations" ("VNUR verksamhetsplan 2007") The Ring is further described as the leading non-profit cultural producer of the region. In addition to the Festival and the activities described above, the Ring runs a cultural centre in cooperation with the regional college. The centre is called the Printers' Theatre and is housed in an old print shop. It is the rehearsal and performance space for the college's drama programme and for the summer theatre, but other cultural events are also organised there. The producer outlines the mission of the Ring in three: organising the *Raseborg Festival* (including the theatre), running the cultural centre (i.e. the Printers' Theatre), and functioning as an umbrella organisation for the community associations.

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<sup>20</sup> The Swedish word verksamhetsledare has no direct equivalent, but it signifies a managerial position and is commonly used in non-profit organisations.

When I met the producer for the second time in 2005 he talks about a new project he is in charge of. It is an EU-funded project aimed at making the member associations present on the web, getting the local associations to get broadband and to create a web portal that would function as a collective site for the region's associations and present the castle ruins and the *Raseborg Festival*, in short, promoting and packaging the region's cultural activities. The project *raseborg.org* is organised for that purpose and the portal becomes the passage point through which an actor-network is mobilised. If the region is mobilised there is bargaining power to be won, for example regarding EU-funding.

The success or failure of a performance is usually at least partly measured in audience numbers. Not only the size but also the composition of the audience plays an important part. Sometimes a small but "knowledgeable" audience is preferred to a large but indiscriminate one as a small group of connoisseurs can grant the performance a desired higher status.

It has been said that the music of Avanti! has never been music for everybody, only for the open-minded and I think it's pretty well put, a bit provoking but... really, [we] do not aspire to be a festival that attracts everyone ... in order to for example maximise our income and cover our costs... if it's up to us we will never plan the [festival] programme around some audience gadgets [popular artists] for large audiences... we tend to be [a festival] for a relatively small and select crowd. (Manager, Avanti!, 6.8.2002)

On the other hand, the audience may play a larger part when considering the programme, or play:

I know the countryside audience pretty well... they have quite a strong prejudice... they say like "we're not going to come and see a sad [play]". (The director of the Raseborg Summer Theatre, 31.10.2002)

As said, the audience is not a passive receiver of a performance but its part also extends to being included in the organising as its perceived preferences shape the event. When posed the question regarding which the most important resources are for organising the events, the audience was not mentioned as one. Still, there was always an idea of the audience, often a very inclusive one, as the artistic director of Avanti! presents it:

I think [the audience] expects us to be very... varied and... and... kind of uncomplicated because we ourselves like to do all kinds [of music] for anyone... we don't have any special demands regarding aiming for a certain kind of audience, instead we aim for anyone who's interested in something partly serious and partly totally crazy and partly something that combines the two higgledy-piggledy...

However, the audience is also expected to play its part in an acceptable manner:

I expect them to be genuinely interested, more so than a normal Helsinki Philharmonic audience in the winter for example ... because you accept the fact that there are people who are interested in a variety of classical music and who have bought season tickets and they come and they follow something and then there is always something with which they can't be bothered or don't want to.. kind of engage a hundred percent ... the atmosphere always varies in those types of settings and that's okay and you try to do your best anyway ... but when it comes to a festival like this you expect every one to be there to want to listen to a hundred percent ... it doesn't matter if they are children or adults or pensioners or whatever ... but the attitude should be there, and if it isn't I feel we have the right to be a bit disappointed. (Artistic director, 20.8.2002)

For the *Raseborg Summer Theatre*, the audience is an ambivalent element. On the one hand, the dependence on the audience is related to freedom from sponsors, which means productions do not have to be accommodated according to the latter. On the other hand, the audience has a powerful say precisely because they are such an important part of making the theatre survive.

That's why we do this, so that these [amateurs] can take part and make this into something... this is theatre for the people in its most positive sense... theatre for the people by the people, definitely not elite stuff... and that is perhaps reflected in the repertoire because we want the plays to appeal to a large audience, from the young to the old.. so maybe it is a weakness in the choice of repertoire that we can't pick narrow productions even though sometimes perhaps we would like to... but it's not financially possible because

we wouldn't get an audience... and also it would go against the very idea of this being a festival for the people... of course, [the plays] can also be dramatic and deep sometimes.. but the performances also have a social function. (Producer, 4.1.2005)

The theatre seats 1,200 people and has to be able to attract a sizeable audience for each performance.

Of course we have to plan for as large an audience as possible... you can't count on the same audience turning up every year and... that means that our productions need to appeal to school children as well as retired people. And everyone inbetween. (Producer, 15.8.2002)

They cannot count on the audience turning up year after year although according to the producer "25 percent" will turn up no matter what they perform. According to the director, those people come there "because it is their day out and a tradition". Still, the performance has to give a lasting impression which will compel the audience to return. The audience is involved in the organising, and contributes to shaping the event not only while being present – but also of course by being present and further, by being engaged when present.

Regarding how he would like the performances to be evaluated by critics the producer says that the one word he does not like is "traditional", clarifying that he does not mind it a general manner but would not like to see it in a critic's review. Positive reviews are of importance, as "people want to go to performances that other people go to". This leads on to an interesting aspect of resource engagement – how resources interact to engage each other, so to speak.

## SITING THE EVENT

Facilities come up in a variation of contexts. There are facilities that are used outside the festival (rehearsal space, office space) and facilities that are used for the festival. Avanti! have their office and rehearsal space in Helsinki, and those facilities "provide continuity" as the manager puts it. During the festival in Porvoo different spaces are used for concerts, notably the church and a converted factory, the Art Factory. The Art Factory was long the subject of

debate in Porvoo but a decision was made to convert it into an arts and culture centre.

The *Raseborg Summer Theatre* leases the premises from the National Board of Antiquities and the contract states that the stage has to be removed at the end of each season. The stage thus has to be rebuilt every year, which generates a considerable cost. The construction work is done by professionals for security and practical reasons; it cannot be made by volunteers only. Not even the basic structure remains the same every year; everything is altered according to the current production. “You have no idea how precarious it all is” the producer tells me. The Ring has its office space in a house in the nearby town Tammisaari. They own the house and the idea with investing in it was that it could be used as collateral. However, the site is leased from the municipality – the Ring only owns the house. The value of the house does not amount to much and so it has not been of use as collateral.

The venue for the theatre is in the countryside which means that transportation is a major factor. Lack of a proper road all the way to the area is a problem as the pedestrian bridge that leads there cannot take any heavy transports. Instead they use a tractor path across the neighbouring farmer’s field to get the equipment there. There has been no response from the National Board of Antiquities to suggestions to construct a road. An association functions as the National Board of Antiquities’ “right hand”, producing tourist guide books and leasing the café to a private entrepreneur. A road could increase the number of visitors which in turn could produce more summer jobs, an argumentation the producer builds up as he explains why the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* is about more than giving performances. He sees the ruins as a neglected and underused resource, “there isn’t even an information board about the ruins and their history”. The mission of the National Board of Antiquities is to preserve the country’s material cultural heritage. The board emerges as an important character while not cast in a positive light. Also, the producer thinks the ruins could have more to tell, granting them additional weight:

There have never been any excavations at Raseborg, nobody knows... when the castle was founded and why... which is a bit exciting of course, it means that everybody can create their own idea of it but as I see it, [the ruins] could also become scientifically very interesting if they could get the excavations



organised. There could be exhibitions and presentations and such things.

(15.8.2002)

The site of the event is thus not only a matter of occupying physical space; it serves as a framing practice which enables resource engagement.

## PACKAGING

What seems to be important – and this goes for the other events I studied as well – is an activity which I refer to as *packaging*; that is, aligning different elements to make an interesting, coherent or appealing whole. This packaging is not a calculative activity (as in marketing/image/tourism is often made out to be) but an iterative process involving moments where some elements need to be transformed in order to be incorporated, and the character of the package is also changed along the way depending on which elements are incorporated. Sometimes the package ends up as a stable entity in itself, being one element in another package.

Packaging is an activity which concerns linking the event to other elements while not necessarily attempting to incorporate them in the event organisation. When considering packaging and events, one type of packaging is that of linking the event to services such as accommodation and other activities in the area. The event is used as a means for linking to activities which are not imperative for the event, but which are considered to offer an enhanced experience if utilised.

A way of stabilising the ephemeral event is through associating it with other similar items, i.e. often other events. The resulting package is to represent a coherent whole. In Raseborg, several events have been grouped to form the *Raseborg Festival*. In Loviisa a number of events have been grouped under the label “The Big Five” when promoting the town: the Sibelius Festival, the Small Ships’ Race, the King Comes to Loviisa, the horse races and the Peace Forum. It is a diverse group of events which have been included in the package, but a package nevertheless communicates coherence of some kind. Those events that are made part of the package are made representatives of the town and thus become part of an actor-network to promote the town.

On a regional level, events become part of yet another package, the regional one. In the regional cultural programme document (2003), three events are mentioned as being central for the region: *Avanti! Summer Sounds*, the Romani

music festival in Porvoo, and the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival*. Packaging can also take place with the event as the main actor, where other actors and activities are placed under the auspice of the event.

In the case of the Tapiola anniversary a large number of events were organised throughout the year (a total of 137 events were listed in the programme). All separate events were at the same time meant to be part of a metanarrative of what was being celebrated; they had to fit the holistic picture of celebrating the Garden City. Events were selected and planned with an eye towards creating this image. The practice of packaging was inscribed through the anniversary brochures which were issued twice, containing all the activities which were included in the anniversary. The anniversary functioned as a mediator through which other events were repackaged:

A great deal of these events, almost all of them are events that take place in this area regardless of there being an anniversary, only they might be set up a bit more elaborately [for the anniversary]. ... And my role, or the role of the anniversary project is to gather them together for the brochure. It's the first time that that the cultural activities and other events of the Tapiola area are presented together and it looks quite rich. Well, it is rich normally as well but since it is usually not presented in one brochure for example, people don't perceive how rich it is. ... Printing products are fantastic in the sense that they keep reminding people that things happen, that "aha, there's something new going on" and "oh that's right, things do happen here". (Project manager, Garden City 50, 26.2.2003)

Later on in the project, the project manager returns to the issue of the brochures again, and their role for creating an idea of abundance:

Actually, the function of the brochure is more that of creating an image than spreading information, because we could just use flyers to inform people when the anniversary week takes place, but the fact that what is going on has been gathered in one package gives the image that there is a lot going on and that we are active and so on... it is more a question of image. (13.6.2003)

The manager of a local development company, who was involved in the organising of the anniversary, also commented on the programme:

I'm sure you've seen the blue brochure and the vast amount of events on offer... now and then I wonder if they have anything to do with Tapiola at all... but [the anniversary] has spawned activities and the municipality [the Tapiola 50 project] has been very generous in including all kinds of events ... [the anniversary] has a catalytic effect ... I've noticed it in other circumstances as well, that people and non-profit associations have a great amount of energy and a will to participate if only a channel is provided. (26.6.2003)

The anniversary provides the catalytic channel through which activities flow. At the same time, however, passing through the channel places certain demands on those who wish to do so. The channel can be narrow, defined by boundary-work. The anniversary channels activities and makes them visible, but it is not a free for all. Those who want to use the channel need to accommodate to certain criteria.

#### EXAMPLES OF OUTCOMES OF FRAMING PRACTICES

Framing practices serve to establish the scope of an event, and to define the actors involved in its realisation. I have described framing practices in terms of distributing tasks, spotlighting, siting, and packaging. These practices do not only define which task is to be performed by which actor; they also draw boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, and shape the identity of the event as a result.

As I wish to outline framing practices, they do not only concern how the event is encircled by boundaries of practice, but also how these practices give rise to certain actors, and what the consequences are for the organising. For example, engaging volunteers does not only imply having tasks carried out with no monetary compensation, it also implies which forms of organising are acceptable as a consequence. In one case, the volunteering principle is raised against the possibilities of negotiating sponsorship, as that work is seen to fall outside the frame of volunteering. Also, when putting the spotlight on certain resources, other resources simultaneously enter onto the stage and become resources. Resources thus “latch on to each other”.

## AESTHETICISING PRACTICES

Aestheticising practices refer to how aesthetic aspects can be seen to not only be distinctive features of an event (as described in the excerpt below), but as an overarching practice which enables resource engagement. Aestheticising practices are thus not separate to the grounding and framing practices outlined above; some of the aspects presented in the previous sections on grounding and framing practices could be seen in aestheticising terms.

I enter the church. It is adorned with fresh roses to create an apt setting for Die Pilgerfahrt der Rose which Avanti! are about to perform. I am seated in one of the pews. A woman sits down next to me. While we are waiting for people to be seated and for the concert to begin we start to talk. She has been to the festival before and the reason she is here is that they bought a whole bunch of tickets for the family and she picked this one. Her children study music, she herself is a painter. What she likes about Avanti! is that there are always surprises. "You can see the personalities of the artists, of all the members of the orchestra, much more so than if you go to a concert in the Finlandia house [in Helsinki]" When I ask if there is a special feeling at Avanti! she says it is "ecstatic space" and that the concert the previous evening had been absolutely fantastic, liberating, "I have never experienced such silence!" She says that people were absolutely silent for several minutes after the last piece. It had been quite something. She repeats a couple of times that she is not a connoisseur and she also says that Esa-Pekka Salonen [one of the founding members of Avanti!] was a pupil of the Porvoo Music Institute, which her children attend now. She mentions the Art Factory, which is quite rundown. It's an old factory and they use it for concerts because there is no concert hall in Porvoo. (Excerpt from field notes, 29.6.2002)

The excerpt from my field notes from a concert at *Avanti! Summer Sounds* touches upon the aesthetic in several ways. First, the adornment of the church with roses was done to extend the theme of the concert by way of decorating the space and providing a visual (and olfactory) experience in addition to the

music. The woman in the audience I talked to expressed what a powerful impact the earlier *Summer Sounds* concert had had on her. In Loviisa, the artistic director of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* tells me of the importance of creating an intimate atmosphere at their concerts, to capture the original feeling of chamber music being performed in a small-scale, intimate setting. The *Lakeside Blues Festival*, on the other hand, is looking to have a sizeable audience. The first time there was an audience of over 10,000 was in 1991 when the main act was John Lee Hooker. That amount comes close to the maximum allowed amount of audience for the main concert (the festival altogether drawing a crowd of over 30,000). It is not a matter of space; the park could take more people, “but not on picnic blankets” as the festival manager puts it. He says the audience are of an “older” category, and there are many families with children who come to spend a nice, hopefully sunny, afternoon enjoying a picnic on the grass while listening to music rather than standing up in a dense crowd. The maximum amount of tickets they sell thus depends on the size of a picnic blanket, as it were.

A good feeling , that's what many have come to expect, a summer thing... where you meet people you know and you spend time together, sit on a blanket, have a picnic... spend a nice day listening to great performers and performances and... I think that for many... a core audience of a few thousand always show up no matter which artist is performing and we always have [performers] who are definitely not well-known and perhaps have had no record sales over here but still, the live performances are great to watch... (Festival manager, the Lakeside Blues Festival, 27.6.2002)

These decisions and practices are of an aesthetic character. In chapter 3 I referred to Welsch's notion of aestheticisation processes whereby the aesthetic dimension is either seen as a “sugar-coating” device, or whereby the aesthetic dimension can be seen as a foregrounding aspect of relating to the world. I further discussed the aesthetic of events – the inherent quality whereby an event is supposed to provide an aesthetic experience. To ensure this aesthetic experience certain organising measures are undertaken, such as creating appropriate conditions for the best possible experience. The result is a constellation which may cast objects and people in a different, aesthetic light. “[O]bjects in our familiar surroundings function in a general sense: they have a practical function, and as such they disappear into their function. To see them as objects, or aesthetic objects in the traditional sense, they have to be

digged up from their functions.” (Haapala 2005:49). Objects which are “dug up” in a metaphorical sense shift from acting as functional objects to act as aesthetic ones. Also, “objects or practices are liberated for full symbolic and ritual use when no longer fettered by practical use” (Hobsbawm 1983:4). Displacement and movement is also part of a Latourian world-building, as outlined in chapter 5. The process whereby elements are mobilised (or “digged up” to paraphrase Haapala) and displaced can be seen as translation.

## AESTHETICISING SPACE

The facilities where the performances are held are sometimes not constructed for that purpose. For the concerts there are no concert halls in Loviisa or Porvoo. Instead, the festival in Loviisa makes use of a cinema, the church and a school while in Porvoo the church and the Art Factory serve as concert halls.

A disputed issue of the *Avanti! Summer Sounds* festival has been the so-called Art Factory, an industrial building dating from the early 20th century where concerts are held during the festival. It has served as a manufacturing site for construction products, horse shoes, steam engines and metal chains. Nowadays it is available for rent for different public and private occasions. The acoustics are excellent, which is one major reason for it being a desirable concert hall. It is, however, run down and there was a local debate about whether to tear it down and make way for a shopping centre, or to restore it. A decision has been made to keep it, but there are no funds to restore it. The general manager and the artistic director of *Avanti! Summer Sounds* both expressed frustration over the fact that they felt that the municipal decision makers did not seem to be prepared to invest in the building. The factory has become a central issue around which the future of the festival is positioned, local politics are conducted and, more generally, a discourse regarding the significance of the type of performing arts represented by *Avanti!* is exemplified. The manager expressed disdain regarding the building being seen as *Avanti!*'s despite the fact that they only use it one week of the year. According to her, *Avanti!* has been made the representative of the building, and the building has become a symbol of “*Avanti!*'s silliness”.

Some artists have their studios in the Art Factory, there is a café and a meeting point for the unemployed, which, according to the cultural secretary, are used a lot. Music and theatre performances are given by local and visiting

groups and companies. The factory does not stand redundant, but it is not in satisfactory condition.

The Art Factory's acoustics are good, they are excellent and ... I think that spaces that exist in the townscape and that have grown organically should be used and fortunately some of them are being used ... that you commit to the history and the culture and the physical being of the town ... a concert hall would be good in the sense that you'd have a suitable framing with enough oxygen and seats where people have a good view and so on ... but for me and Avanti! the space [in the Art Factory] which has already been renewed would be fine if there were proper seats that don't creak and clank and shudder every time you sit down and cause a disturbance, or that the walls were solid so that if someone goes to the toilet you wouldn't hear the water flush through the pipes while someone else is playing pianissimo! [She laughs.] (Manager, Avanti!, 6.8.2002)

The Art Factory can be seen as a mediator – an element which subsequent decisions regarding Avanti! hinge on. It is an element that “shapes the flow of work”, to reconnect to Middleton and Brown's notion of mediators (2005:312). It is connected to decisions regarding its perceived value, which is shaped by the businesses in town, the politicians and the inhabitants of the town. Avanti! have tentatively investigated the possibilities of moving the festival to some other place, and much frustration is embodied in the unresolved situation of the Art Factory. The building is an important and ambivalent actant. It contains possibilities

Porvoo deserves [a decent concert hall], which could be used not only for music but also for theatre performances, and it could be a conference centre, *it could be anything*. It could liven up Porvoo in many ways. (Cultural secretary, Porvoo, 11.1.2005)

and struggle:

The factory environment is perhaps typical in the sense that we've been there for ten years and the shabbiness has no value in itself and we've talked about it every year and we've fought for it and even argued with, and asked and begged the town of Porvoo to do something about it. (Manager, Avanti! 6.8.2002)

but also value, as the general manager continues:

But maybe you can think about it positively, that in such an environment you can focus on the basics, you don't need a fancy setting – it can also be a very strong musical political or cultural political comment, in the sense that for art or culture to thrive it does not need a temple... it can be a very provoking comment. In our particular situation it is out of necessity, and it could be considerably neater and more attractive but still it expresses quite sympathetically what the [Avanti!] collective is all about, just like the Cable Factory [in Helsinki] where our office is. We've also given concerts there, focusing on the basics.

The cultural secretary of Porvoo expressed concurring thoughts regarding the Art Factory:

CS: A decision has been made to keep the factory, but no funds are set aside to do something about it.

MJ: So it is not being restored?

CS: No, the restoration money available each year is very limited; we can do something minimal but not a thorough restoration.

MJ: Yes, from what I understand it is not in mint condition...

CS: No, it's quite... on the other hand it's a two-edged sword, because some like it that way, it's fun because it's kind of romantically dilapidated and those world class stars do come here to perform... it is in a terrible state but the acoustics are very good, so they come here... Paavo Berglund [a well-known conductor] has said that it has the country's best acoustics. (Cultural secretary, Porvoo, 6.8.2002)

The project manager of the development company points out some circumstances which have made the factory a contested site:

MJ: According to what I understand the Art Factory has to be renovated quite thoroughly?



PM: Yes, the foundation is the worst bit... part of it lies on clay and part of stands on wooden poles and part on steel poles... that's the biggest job, and then there are some smaller things but it won't be as expensive as people think

MJ: Is there a cost estimate?

PM: Not yet, it depends on what is done to it altogether but it won't be millions as people say, definitely not... and there has also been talk about the toxic soil underneath it, there is toxic soil underneath the factory but when they renew the foundation they will move away the toxic soil. (18.5.2006)

The Art Factory comes to represent a nexus for conflicting programs and antiprograms. One program – of which Avanti! is an advocate – is to make a political decision (a stabilising inscription) to transform it into a cultural centre. By establishing the Art Factory as a stable feature, the festival would become more durable.

In Loviisa there is no concert hall either. Instead, the festival makes use of the cinema and the church for concerts. The art director of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* described the performance spaces:

We are missing a concert hall, of course we are. But the Marilyn [cinema] which we have used works well. Some things are not perfect... the acoustics are good but if we had an old historic small chamber music hall it would be [perfect] and that's why we've relocated to the church to a greater extent... it is big, it is beautiful it is acoustically beautiful and that's why I have relocated to the church more and more, we used Marilyn a lot more during the first few years. (15.6.2002)

The perfect concert hall for the artistic director would not be a newly constructed one but an old, historic and small one, which would frame the performed music aesthetically as well as functionally. The church is described as “acoustically beautiful” which is a capturing expression. As with the Art Factory in Porvoo, acoustics are important for creating an aesthetic experience. The presence of acoustics – which can only be discerned in relation to music being played – makes the church suitable for the purpose of the festival. Acoustics are generally important for performing music, and here they take centre stage meaning that when they are present, whichever building

that “houses” acoustics is transformed into a concert hall. Be it a church (which is not optimal sizewise if one is to create an ambiance by drawing a certain amount of people as the audiences are small for a place the size of the church) or an old factory (with noisy water pipes); for the festival the fact that there are acoustics make them important. For the Art Factory to become acoustically beautiful, music had to be played in it. The acoustics were there as potential, but silent as long as they were not being engaged by music. And suddenly a new feature of the factory emerges, one that transforms it into a central resource for the festival.

## DESIGNING THE EVENT EXPERIENCE

Event design is concerned with creating a special, aestheticised time and space. This concerns deciding on the activities that are to take place during a certain event, and the setting for performing the activities. The artistic director of *Avanti! Summer Sounds* described designing a theme for the festival in architectural terms:

I feel like an architect somehow... it is about constructing a whole, which needs a strong foundation to stand on in order to hold together... and there needs to be a clear idea and a clear look to it for it to be attractive... it's like building anything big... Especially the foundation, and with that I mean that I wanted there to be a clear theme which can be discovered whether you step into it for just one concert or whether you are there for the whole week experiencing several performances... that you can acquire the mood, you get an idea of the emotions and atmospheres and the thoughts and ambiances that are in the foreground of the festival this particular time. ... And the next step is to, both subconsciously and consciously, start thinking about particular pieces and composers... which of course presupposes that you know a lot ... and I do because I have been fanatically interested in all kinds of music-making and I have continuously gained knowledge about all the epochs and styles and so on... inside me I carry a broad knowledge about types of music and composers and styles and even particular pieces. (20.8.2002)

The artistic director of the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* also had an outspoken strategy when it came to having a theme:

I've had a theme [for each festival] all these years, which I think is a good concept that I intend to use in the future as well. During previous years, we've had for example a French music theme, we've had a Slavic music theme... last year we had Johann Sebastian Bach as our theme and this year the theme is Nordic music. I think it's important that there is a kind of style to it all... I think that gives the audience more... they are able to learn more and I believe it to be important that the audience gets a feeling of the wholeness, "so this is what it looks like"... also, Nordic music is almost never played. There are pearls that should be played but it... it's simply not possible in the frame of the seasonal programme. (15.6.2002)

That the festival should provide a meaningful whole seems to be important. Moreover, the festival is said to provide, like in the case of *Avanti!*, an arena for otherwise neglected or marginalised music to be performed. It provides a site of possibility, of being able to overlook boundaries which might otherwise be in place.

This notion of the event constituting an aesthetically pleasing entity also came up in the case of the *Tapiola Garden City* anniversary. When planning the celebrations, the metaphor employed was to construct an "arch", which would tie different activities together to create a continuous flow. The concert which concluded the main event was organised in collaboration with a professional production company. At a meeting with the production company their representative stressed that a certain number of artists had to be assembled in order for the concert not to become a "torso". A feeling of abundance, a flow of activities, and an overarching theme are guiding principles. The event is to make up an aesthetic whole in terms of form and content.

Making an aesthetic whole is part of constructing an experience, which constitutes quality and value of the event. To be able to offer quality is central. What in practice is meant by quality differs, from the avant-garde performances of *Avanti!* to the popular plays of the *Raseborg Summer Theatre*. Quality is what enhances the value of the event. The festival manager of the *Lakeside Blues Festival* considers the festival the most valuable brand of Järvenpää.

MJ: What do you think the festival means to the town?

FM: I think, and this is my personal opinion, that the blues festival is the town's most important brand. Yes, Sibelius lived here and so on but the concerts [the annual small-scale Sibelius festival] are not living events, events that get attention in the media, the Sibelius Weeks with concerts for thirty people in some small hall and things... [the blues festival] is definitely the event that Järvenpää is known for.

MJ: Is the municipality aware of it?

FM: Sure they are – it doesn't show in their financial support but of course they are. (10.1.2005)

The value of the *Lakeside Blues Festival* is positioned in relation to another festival, a smaller classical festival. More than saying something absolute in terms of what constitutes event quality, the relating of the two is of interest. It is in relation to the other festival that the *Lakeside Blues Festival* can be asserted according to a particular value – that of constituting an asset for the town as a brand.

According to the producer of the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* the choice of play (and the subsequent possible success or failure) is about timing, of having a gut feeling for what the audience could be interested in at that moment. Therefore the decision about the plays cannot be made two years in advance, for example, although that way the following year's play could be marketed in conjunction with the performances of the running year. The director describes the audience as quite conservative and shunning dark and sad plays, a reason why he was a bit fearful of *The Brothers Lionheart*, which nevertheless became an audience success (the death of Astrid Lindgren, the author of the story, some months before the production opened was according to the producer a major contributing factor). Other audience successes are familiar musicals such as *The Sound of Music* (the all-time record of 20,000 people in 1993), *Grease* and *Annie*. There is always an element of music in the productions. Sometimes music is a practical way of facilitating changes on stage as there is no curtain. Some plays are musicals but the producer says putting up a musical is not an end in itself. The director says there has to be music; it is a guiding idea of the *Raseborg Summer Theatre*. Even if the piece is originally a play it is adapted so that there is music. The music is an expected part of the experience, and designing the plays according to an expected character of the

audience – one which does not want to engage in too serious performances – bears consequences for which plays are chosen and how they are adapted for the *Raseborg* stage. The audience, then, are not mere onlookers (and ticket buyers), they play an important part in co-constructing the event.

We wanted there to be some... really deeply engaging, intense peaks, like the atmosphere in the night concert, and Mahler, and... and some other pieces as a counterweight to the more jolly... fiddler type situations, like what we did at the HumpAvanti! spectacle [with a more popular style of music] where you count on the audience being relaxed in a very different manner than when listening to Mahler. That is the way it should be, they react immediately and laugh and comment and whistle and shout and that is what it is supposed to be like. (Artistic director, Avanti! Summer Sounds, 20.8.2002)

In the case of the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* as well as *Avanti! Summer Sounds*, the expectations on the audience and the function of the audience is described in terms which go beyond that of attentive spectator.

#### PERFORMING A SENSE OF BELONGING

As I walk from the parking lot towards the stage area, there is a constant stream of people. Since it is an open air theatre performance people are sensibly and casually dressed. A family is carrying a blanket. A narrow dirt road leads to the castle ruins and stage area.

As the road ends the castle ruins are in front of me, the stage to the left. Four flags fly along the palisade that marks the stage area; the Finnish, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish flags. There is a ticket booth where people queue up. I join the queue. Two women behind me in the queue are talking about the play. They know the person who plays the main character; he is the boyfriend of a relative. They say he attends the Theatre Academy. A girl selling programmes is walking down the queue. A family of four in front of me, the dad says “Only one more to go and then your done?” when he buys one. (Ctd. on next page)

She says "I've already sold a whole bundle" and as they say goodbye when she continues walking down the queue I get the feeling they know each other.

The weather is sunny, perfect late summer weather. There is a little red cottage where coffee is sold, and there is also a stand next to it where more coffee and snacks are sold. Quite a few people have prepared for the interval by bringing their own snacks with them; a group of people have a picnic on a blanket. Some people wander off towards the ruins, others gather around the coffee cottage or sit by a table and on benches that there are outside the theatre area. There are lots of children; the picnicking group is being entertained by a toddler who is happily running around. As the play goes on the sun sets behind the audience, making the air a bit chilly. Some people have brought blankets.

After the play when the applause has finished there are some special things to attend to as it is the last performance of the season. A man steps forward as all the actors are still on stage and says there are many names to be mentioned tonight. A number of people get special mentionings and t-shirts with custom made print: "It's such fun to play a part in this". A couple of actors have been involved since 1971 and one actor who has been with them "since the beginning" (1966 according to the programme leaflet) and has appeared in 25 plays receives a portrait drawn of him with the castle ruins in the background and the speaker announces that a grant has been established in the actor's name. He looks moved as he receives the portrait. When the ceremonies are over the audience starts making its way towards the exits. Some crowd by the stage where they mingle with the actors. (Excerpt from field notes, the Raseborg Summer Theatre, 3.8.2002)

To meet friends, have a picnic and enjoy a day out is part of participating in an event as well as experiencing the artistic contents of it. A sense of belonging and the experience of being part of something is aesthetic (Ramírez 1991:30).

The *Lakeside Blues Festival* is a tale of participatory work and community spirit. Volunteering takes a central role in the organising of the festival, and the spirit of voluntary work is addressed in the anniversary book.

People have many needs, and to fulfil those needs is important. Otherwise people become frustrated. One of these needs is to be a member of a group, to be part of something the ideology of which feels right and worth striving for. And it is no secret that being part of a group requires external signs. ... It is not enough to be part of a group; you must also tell the rest of the world about your membership. "I am a Digger, goddamnit!" Luckily, such communication is made easy in today's society. All you need is a t-shirt which is adorned with the logo of the worthy association. And so the Diggers needed to have one of those shirts right at the beginning. (Kari 1998:10)

It is not enough for people to be part of a group. You also need acceptance, praise and the experience of success. It makes your self-confidence strong. To be active in groups such as the Diggers creates the opportunities for the individual to experience precisely that. The Diggers make up a circle of friends with whom it is fun to do things which you consider to be good and constructive. When we organise events, and particularly the festival itself, we usually create something tangible. I have noticed that through the years when, after the festival is finished, the members say to each other: "Goddamit, we did it!" (Kari 1998:22)

Now, I might have painted an idyllic picture of the Digger movement and the blues festival. It was partly true, but not always. In the early days that idealistic image was pretty accurate and truthful. The activities were small-scale, decision-making was collective and everybody had a good time. But people probably have an inbuilt mode of operation or instinct according to which everything has to grow bigger and better. Well, that seems to be the driving force of development generally. And that was true for the Diggers' activities as well, where, for me, 1981 marked a milestone. That year the first clear step forward and upward was taken. Activities grew, responsibilities grew and differences in opinions started to surface. (Kari 1998:23-24)

The festival manager of the *Lakeside Blues Festival* mused on what volunteering is:

When you think about it, what makes six hundred people do an incredible job voluntarily year after year... and, well, it is... friendship and togetherness and also the feeling that this event creates. (27.6.2002)

Equally at Raseborg, participation in the performances simultaneously engages participation in a broader sense:

We strive to touch people by doing performances that are good and emotionally engaging... but then there are also other goals which are just as important, and they are about bringing people together... call it language politics or whatever, language is wrong but some kind of belonging... I see Raseborg [the place] and the summer theatre as a meeting point for Swedish-speaking Finns in the summer. When you come there, you meet your old friends from school that you haven't seen in years, but they come [to Raseborg]. (Producer, 15.8.2002)

In pondering the role of chance and how things proceed so as to lead up to the studied event to finally happen, Howard Becker writes: "Assembling all the necessary components for a symphony concert certainly won't cause the concert to happen, and in no way guarantees that it will, but if we get all the musicians assembled to play a symphony concert... and if the audience shows up... and if there is no fire or tornado or other unexpected natural obstacle... then it is hard to see what would prevent the concert from taking place." (Becker 1998:32.) Well, sometimes they take place even when there is a fire. In 1993, the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* was struck by lightning two days before the premiere and a great part of the décor was burnt to ashes by a fire which started in the middle of the night.

The year we did *Sound of Music* the set burnt down two days before opening night... talk about a catastrophe! But we managed to turn it into a triumph, much due to the director. When we arrived at the site he said that we will not postpone the production, we are going to go ahead as planned. That was Monday morning... on Sunday night the set burnt down and we rebuilt it in two days. A hundred people showed up and rebuilt it in the pouring rain... we



didn't have the chance to do any more rehearsals but that year was a success, we had an audience of twenty thousand. And the performance was a hundred times better because there were some... charred constructions, like there was a little bit left of the convent, which made it look exactly like it had been burnt down on purpose, and we also put out charred beds and pieces of the stage so that when the audience arrived there was a smell of soot and smoke... and the performance was much more awesome than it would have been otherwise... and better. (Producer, 15.8.2002)

The incident is also narrated in the historic overview of the theatre, making it an example of how the theatre manages to mobilise support from wide and afar on short notice (people from regions further away came to aid with the reconstruction). This also constitutes a form of engagement, one which goes beyond the event performances. Again, it is a sense of belonging which is at the heart of this particular aesthetic circumstance.

#### EXAMPLES OF OUTCOMES OF AESTHETICISING PRACTICES

I have formulated aestheticising practices as aestheticising space, designing the event, constructing experiences of quality, and performing a sense of belonging. Aestheticising practices have to do with how the event organising displaces elements, thus endowing them with aesthetic qualities. The Art Factory exemplifies one such instance, where the performing of music transforms a factory building into an acoustic wonder. Event space is aestheticised space. Designing the event entails ordering activities – the progressing of the event starting with constructing a special site for it, directing streams of people, marking the start of the performance, marking the end of the performance, and the dissolving of the event – which creates an aesthetic experience. By employing such aestheticising practices, an audience is engaged metaphorically and literally – not only as being present at the event but also as co-producing it. Quality draws an audience but an audience also creates quality.



## CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim that I set forth at the beginning of this dissertation was to study *how resources are engaged for organising cultural events*. The primary focus was set on conceptualising how resources are constituted in the making, that is, by organising processes. The setting – cultural events – was chosen with regards to events being a marked feature of what has been called a culturalised economy (Löfgren & Willim 2005). Events encompass an explicit aesthetic aspect, which I was looking to include in my study. Further, the temporary aspect of events and event organising offered an organisational setting, which I perceived as being fruitful for studying resources in the making. It is when an organisation is being formed or when changes are undertaken that negotiations regarding the organisation's scope and members are most clearly traceable.

Five cultural events were included in the study: four recurring events in music and theatre, and one anniversary which spanned a number of cultural activities. The anniversary was a one-off event. I wanted to include one event which had no immediate precedent. Whereas the recurring events to varying degrees have established routines, the one-off event was held for a particular purpose with no intention of repeating it. The event organisation was assembled from scratch, providing a first-hand view of how the process developed. I further chose events that were organised by non-profit associations and the public sector, in this case two municipalities.

To conceptualise event organising I have used the notion of temporary organisations. Applying the notion of temporary organisations allowed me to define a set of actions defined by time. It is the duration in time (or rather, a pre-established end in time) which provides the foundation for a temporary organisation. There is a beginning, an end and a stated transitional aim.

I have further viewed event organising in terms of resources. I started by outlining how the resource-based view understands organisations as bundles of resources. According to this view, it is of importance to identify and control resources which contribute to the successful functioning of an organisation. In addition elements which do not as of yet perform for the organisation can be identified as potential resources, which therefore need to be acquired and incorporated into the organisation. The guiding assumption of the resource-based view is that resources are given and transferable as such.

My contention was that the resource-based view does not account for how organising can be seen to not only “gather” resources, but also how resources can be seen as constituted *by* the process. I therefore proposed an approach according to which resources are performatively constituted by the organising process.

I have called the movement by which resources are constituted *engagement*. Whilst drawing on the Latourian notion of how actors are associated to each other, I have chosen the concept with an eye towards incorporating an aesthetic edge. Engagement implies an attraction and a change in the state of the actors that engage, and I wish to emphasise that engagement is not merely a mechanical feat but that it in this case is aesthetically founded. This is perhaps clearest with human actors, as partaking in an event is engaging in an aesthetic experience. The aesthetic aspect, however, also goes for non-human actors who are engaged in the event organising process. I have viewed this aestheticising practice as one where objects are displaced from their functional capacity to become aesthetically defined. I have seen this as practices which stretch through time and space – and this is where the extension of the event comes in. Resources are not limited to people and things that are “here and now”.

The performative view on resources further opens up for rethinking the relationship between activities, such as the main festivals and other activities. It is not uncommon that a number of auxiliary activities come about as a result of a festival. Does one give rise to the other? Does a festival once it is established spawn other activities? What I argue is to be considered are the interrelations of these activities. Related activities might be important as a continuous supporting device for the festival. It is not a one-directional movement from “head festival” to “side activities” but an interactional configuration which works both ways. This can again be related to resources: a resource does not have qualities which automatically grant it “resourceness”. It becomes a resource by being part of a network of relations.

In chapter 6 I outlined three practices of resource engagement. The practices included how durability is constructed for an event (grounding), how different actors of the event organisation gain their shape and identity, and how the event organisation is defined accordingly (framing), and how the aesthetic aspect of event organising shapes the organising throughout (aestheticising). I argue that these practices are imperative for understanding how resources are engaged for event organising.

## GROUNDING

An event is visible and experienceable for a short time only. When the music stops playing or the actors come off stage, when the audience has left and the premises are cleaned of rubbish there might be few signs of an event having taken place. But as I have pointed out in the study, an event does not take place in a vacuum. The four recurring festivals in the study – *Avanti! Summer Sounds*, the *Lakeside Blues Festival*, the *Raseborg Summer Theatre* and the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* – all fall back on past festivals and a sense of place in the community where they are being held. Through various means a legitimate place for the event is created. One way is to claim a historical contingency, like the *Loviisa Sibelius Festival* which was founded upon the fact that the famous composer spent some time in the town. Such is also the *Raseborg Summer Theatre*, which is presented as building on a tradition of 19<sup>th</sup> century assemblies held by the historical castle ruins where the theatre has its annual performances. The *Lakeside Blues Festival* gains its legitimacy by having been born out of a lack of good live music and amateurs' drive to do something about it. I have called the acts of establishing a legitimate place for the event grounding. Grounding stabilises an otherwise ephemeral organisational endeavour.

This raises questions about an implied natural status of an event. An event gains a legitimised position for example by means of constructing it as a natural part of a historical chain of events, or by pointing to an authentic will or spirit which resulted in the event being established. The event is narratively placed in time and space. To view the legitimate position as an outcome of "grounding work" rather than as a foundational quality of an event makes for possibilities to further analyse how this grounding is undertaken. Grounding, then, does not only concern organising events and festivals. It can be seen as a conceptual device for also studying temporary organisations in other contexts.

## FRAMING

Looking at how resources are engaged implies that elements are assembled, brought together. It is vital for the festival organisation to associate others to it. However, I would argue that the notion of dissociation is equally important for understanding the process. It is what I have discussed under framing in chapter 6 – the operation which makes elements distinct and dissociated from others. I parallel it with how temporary organisations gain an identity by being

framed as consisting of a set of relations and actors which are brought together for a specific task. It also defines what is not the temporary organisation. When some actors are engaged, others are excluded (the overflowing of the frame), and this dissociation is as an important part of organising the events as is the association of actors. Drawing boundaries is thus a central aspect of framing, as the term itself implies. It is creating possibilities for an actor to come into being, to take place, or conversely hindering an actor from coming into being. It is also delineating what the actor which comes into being looks like. Practices create boundaries, they do not merely confirm existing ones. It is also continuous work as boundaries may leak, move or disappear.

What can be further derived from the practices of boundary setting is the notion of ownership. Ownership here does not denote a legal binding; rather, it is used in a metaphorical sense. Ownership issues can be seen in drawing inhibiting boundaries to exclude unwanted elements and in actions undertaken to preserve certain features of the event. Usually ownership implies that an owner has control over possessions. Claiming ownership of a festival does not equal having control over resources. Ownership of a festival cannot include possessive power, as resources need to be re-engaged each time a festival is held. The notion of ownership is, however, a fruitful construct for analysing organisational configurations. If a festival is “owned” by for example the municipality, or by its inhabitants makes a difference.

## **AESTHETICISING**

Event organising is aesthetic production. I have adopted a relational view on aesthetics, meaning that the aesthetic is not an essential aspect, but an attribute which is relationally constructed. On the one hand it implies that events can be seen as “aestheticising tools”, as is often the case when an event is established to enhance the attractive qualities of a town or other community. In this case one can see it as an aesthetic sugar-coating (Welsch 1997), as embellishment. But I argue that event organising can be seen in terms of more deep-seated aestheticising. Staging and carrying out an event involves uprooting and re-placing elements in new configurations, which compose aesthetic entities. An event is not only the result of a number of actors being assembled to experience a performance – an event effectively recasts those actors in aesthetic terms, be they human such as an audience or non-human such as a factory. Aestheticising practices are not separate to

grounding or framing practices, rather, aestheticising complements and permeates those practices.

## **IMPLICATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH**

That four of the events described in the study are recurring means that the constant work that goes into upholding this type of organisation becomes particularly visible. One successful festival does not guarantee an equally successful next year. There is a constant urgency when it comes to securing financial support, for example. For the one-off event the sense of make-or-break was particularly present. If the event was to fail there would be no renewed attempt – it would “go down in history” as a failure. The recurring festivals on the other hand have had their shares of good and bad years. If continuous work is needed to make the festivals recurring and to uphold them, then their demise is a constant threat – or, I would argue, opportunity. The precariousness presents both possibilities and peril. Change work that takes place in a stable organisation is often cast as an aberration, a necessary rupture which will eventually have beneficial consequences. For the temporary organisation change and precariousness is inherent. However, the loss of certainty and stability comes with a gain in possibility for renewal. The issue in focus here, then, is one of stability being the exception, and to see how that is constructed.

I would like to argue that it is precisely the ephemeral character of the event which gives it its flavour. It is in the knowing that this is here and now – the performance I am experiencing, this sunny day I am having with thousands of others – it will come to an end because that is how the event works. Recognising the temporary aspect creates a special atmosphere and a sense of urgency to the organising. Will we succeed this year? Will the play be received well? Will this year’s guest conductor deliver as promised? Will there be a sense of satisfaction as we look out over the empty festival field and congratulate ourselves on yet another year well done? Will the people of this community participate in celebrating it – how can we ensure that? Once a festival is over we can again start from scratch. It is a burden and at the same time a felicitous circumstance. This unbearable but inescapable precariousness of event organising is a central feature. There is also a ritual cycle to it which creates expectations and, although the event is ephemeral, a sense of familiarity and continuity. Festivals are compared – which year was

particularly good and why, which year was bad – thus being incorporated into a chain which itself shows continuity and purpose.

As I have conceptualised resources in this study, they are “in the making”, that is, constituted by the organising. This means that they emerge in relation to other elements, and that they perform in those relations. One important aspect that arises as a consequence of the perspective is that resources interact, so to speak. One element creates the other – the star draws the crowd, for example (unless a “stronger” element such as a costly ticket price) prevent the two from aligning.

The events described in the study are examples of cultural production and consumption. An emphasis on the production of cultural goods can be seen in the rise of the cultural industries, a cluster which has been more markedly profiled in recent years. The cultural industries are based on the notion to capitalise on the value of aesthetic goods. At the heart of the cultural industries are perhaps not the producers as much as the experience-seeking consumer. The events in the study had their core audiences, which they said would turn up “no matter who is playing”. Clearly, such an audience does not only seek the cultural good produced by the performances but also the experience that the festival as a setting can provide. There is a call for studying festivals with a view to understanding the organisational dynamics, and I on my behalf have attempted to answer the call in part. There are, however, other aspects which in the course of the dissertation work have presented themselves as well worth further investigation, but which I deemed fell outside the scope of the present study. This leads me on to suggesting avenues for further research. It is my plan and aspiration to pursue research of festivals and events and I am pleased to see that there are ample opportunities for further work. The issues that follow are the ones I feel are the most compelling ones.

The political aesthetics of event organising presents itself as a topic for further investigation. The aesthetic experience at a festival is not only emotional but also political, for example in in-group, out-group terms. When a cultural event is assembled, it is not only an artistic, aesthetic experience which is put together; it draws on existing cultural (in a broad sense) and political prevalences. An inclusion of for example cultural policy making in further research would be of benefit for pursuing this topic further. This also includes an additional dimension to studying resources as politically constituted.



The inescapable significance of place emerged in the study, and it is an aspect which is well worth pursuing further. Place is a dynamic construct rather than the geographical coordinates at which the event takes place. Place is not only utilised when an event takes place, it is constructed. This of course becomes particularly pertinent when events are held in order to commemorate or inaugurate a place. Particular aspects of place and events which I wish to pursue further in this respect are events related to regeneration projects, and, touching upon studies of leisure and tourism, the construction of destinations by the means of events.

It has been my aspiration to contribute to the understanding of event organising with this study. The act of undertaking the study and producing this text becomes part of constructing that understanding, should it successfully be associated to an ongoing chain of translations. What is now left for me to do is to release it and wish it felicitous travels.



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